

Is Quality Education a Livelihood Strategy?

The Relevance of Secondary School Education in Kisoro district, south-western Uganda

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This Master's Thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

Abstract

This research addresses the secondary school education's impact on people's livelihood strategies in Kisoro district, south-western Uganda. Currently, approximately 80 percent of households in the district use agricultural livelihood strategies to produce food and generate income. Most parents want their children to attend secondary school. Historic events have impacted Ugandans' attitudes towards the rural lifestyle and livelihood strategies.

Furthermore, past events resulted into a school system dominated by academic subjects and teacher-centeredness encouraging cramming of information rather than independent and critical thinking. Today, students can freely choose among vocational subjects in addition to the academic requirements. Secondary school education is a platform of knowledge and competence for students to rely on later when making a living.

The objectives of this study are to explore the *Quality* of secondary school education in Kisoro district, and to examine its usefulness for local livelihood strategies. Furthermore, the *Quality Education* and *Sustainable Livelihoods* frameworks are combined to identify the contextual settings in the study area, to discover the current role of secondary school education, and to understand how secondary school education can assist people in bringing positive change. A mixed methods approach has been used for data collection.

The findings show that stakeholders in secondary school education regarded enabling inputs and outcomes as indicators of *Quality Education*. The majority of participants believed secondary school education was important for socio-economic development. Evidently, the most used teaching practises in secondary schools were teacher-centred as a time-saving factor, or because child-centred methods were misinterpreted. The subject content was largely non-contextualized, and the quality of vocational subjects was affected by the dominance of theoretical instruction as opposed to practical training. The majority considered poverty to be widespread in Kisoro district due to the dominance of subsistence farming. This livelihood strategy was impacted by a vulnerability context. Respondents recognized the potential of secondary school education to assist students in becoming self-sustained and less vulnerable to socio-economic and environmental trends, shocks and seasonal changes. However, due to teaching and learning strategies, limited subject contextualization and parental involvement, and inadequate infrastructure and materials, the potential of secondary school education to bring positive change to livelihood strategies is underutilized.

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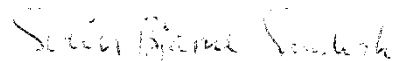
It is important for me to express my gratitude to all the others who supported me during the field work.

Declaration by candidate

I hereby declare that this thesis:

*Is Quality Education a Livelihood Strategy?
The Relevance of Secondary School Education in Kisoro District, south-western Uganda*

is a result of my own research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been credited. The thesis has not been submitted to any other universities than the University of Agder (UIA) for any type of academic degree.


Svein Bjarne Sandvik

Ås, 15th December 2011

Place and date

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List of abbreviations

ANER	Adjusted Net Enrolment Ratio
CRTF	Curriculum Review Task Force
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EDI	Education for All Development Index
EFA	Education for All
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEI	Gender-specific EFA Index
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
LC	Local Council
MoFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIR	Net Intake Ratio
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NTC	National Teacher College
PPP (1)	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PPP (2)	Purchasing Power Parity
PLE	Primary Leaving Examination
PTC	Primary Teachers College
RC	Resistance Council
TC	Town County
UACE	Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education
UAS	Universal Adult Suffrage
UCC	Uganda College of Commerce
UCE	Uganda Certificate of Education
UTC	Uganda Technical College
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USE	Universal Secondary Education

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and problem statement

In Uganda, there is a contradiction between national economic development objectives promising ‘prosperity for all’ and farmers’ livelihood conditions illustrated by low and quite often dropping productivity and incomes. This derives from the lack of “a modern, market oriented and commercialized agricultural sector” (Nanyeenya *et al.*, 2009: 1103).

Commonly known, most rural households in Kisoro district are stagnated and rely on subsistence farming carried out on fragmented land. They are challenged by external disturbances such as price fluctuations and unpredictable weather changes. Hence, their level of socio-economic resilience is low. Most rural households in the district are stagnated and rely on subsistence farming carried out on fragmented land. They are also challenged by external disturbances such as price fluctuations and unpredictable weather changes. Hence, their level of socio-economic resilience is low. When missionaries first arrived in Uganda, they brought the European instructional education system which discouraged critical and creative thinking. Soon after, the era of colonialism started. During this time, Ugandans were influenced to believe that local customs and livelihoods were of lower quality than European (Tiberondwa, 1998). This is still impacting the Ugandan society today as many people who live in rural areas wish to be formally employed rather than continuing with subsistence farming. Today, children in Kisoro district often receive education that does not equip them with useful skills and mindsets to improve this situation, thus, a vicious cycle of poverty is maintained, rather than broken, by the education system. Secondary school education is for many children the last academic level and they should therefore acquire skills and knowledge which they can benefit from afterwards in their livelihoods. It is therefore important to study how the secondary school education impacts and how it can impact livelihood strategies.

The social justice approach is utilized to understand the quality of education (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011). It is based on several theories such as “human capabilities” (Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 2009; Walker, 2006), the human rights and human capital approaches by UNIFEC and UNESCO, respectively (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011), and on Fraser’s (Fraser, 2008; UN, 2003) global view of social justice. Another model, called the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) is meant to draw a clearer picture of inter-relationships related to living and surviving in communities affected by poverty: illustrated by

a shift from needs and resource oriented approaches to people centred and participatory strategies (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003; DFID, 1999a). The secondary school education system and people' livelihoods reside within the same societal context. The two models have therefore been merged into the Quality Education and Livelihood Framework (QEL) in order to understand the links between the education and livelihood contexts. In brief, findings show that the potential of using secondary school education as a livelihood strategy is underutilized.

1.2 Research objectives

This exercise has two objectives: To study the quality of secondary education in Kisoro district, south-western Uganda, and to examine its relevance for local livelihood strategies.

1.3 Research questions

The following set of questions has been used to achieve the objectives:

1. What are the indicators of quality secondary school education in Kisoro district?
2. What are the challenges in secondary school education?
3. Which teaching and learning approaches are used in secondary schools?
4. Which livelihood strategies are employed by people in the district?
5. How are environmental and socio-economic disturbances in Kisoro influencing the livelihood strategies?
6. Is the secondary school education useful for people in Kisoro district?

1.4 Methodology in brief

The fieldwork was carried out in November 2010 in Kisoro district, south-western Uganda. The research design is a combination of three designs; cross-sectional, multi-case study and comparative. The primary data was collected using a mixed research approach consisting of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Semi-structured interviews, self-completion questionnaires, formal and informal conversations with key informants, observations, and secondary data analysis were used as data collection tools.

1.5 Terminology and vocabulary

Adjusted Net Enrolment Ratio (ANER) measures the portion “of children of primary school age who are enrolled in either primary or secondary education” (UNESCO, 2011a: 262).

Gender Specific EFA Index (GEI) is the “composite index measuring gender parity in total participation in primary and secondary education, and in adult literacy. The GEI is calculated as the arithmetic mean of the gender parity indices of the primary and secondary gross enrolment ratios and of the adult literacy rate” (UNESCO, 2011a: 360).

Global North: I have used this terms instead of mainstream descriptions of ‘modernized’ regions in the world such as “Western world”. This term is commonly used to describe the parts of the world involved in development assistance. However, the most typical development actors and donor agencies are based in countries situated in the Northern hemisphere, which makes the term “Western” an inaccurate description.

Global South: The term is replacing more commonly used terms like “Developing” or “Poor” countries. Most development related activity which the media and scholars give attention to takes place on the African continent, in South Asia and in Latin America. Hence, it is more suitable to link these activities’ to their geographical location rather than using terms which, practically speaking, can be applied everywhere. Because several poor and relatively poor countries, not commonly involved in Overseas Development Activities (ODAs), are found in Eastern Europe, in the Middle East and in central Asia.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is “the value of all final goods and services produced in a country in one year” (UNESCO, 2011a: 360).

Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER): the “total enrolment in a specific level of education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the population in the official age group corresponding to this level of education. The GER can exceed 100% because of early or late entry and/or grade repetition” (UNESCO, 2011a: 360).

Gross National Income (GNI) stands for “the value of all final goods and services produced in a country in one year ... plus income that residents have received from abroad, minus income claimed by non-residents” UNESCO (2011a: 361).

The **Net Enrolment Rate (NER)** is defined as the “enrolment of the official age group for a given level of education, expressed as a percentage of the population in that age group” while a **Net Intake Rate (NER)** points to all the “new entrants to the first grade of primary education who are of the official primary schools entrance age expressed as a percentage of the population at that age” (UNESCO, 2011a: 361).

Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) is “an exchange rate adjustment that accounts for price differences between countries, allowing international comparisons of real output and income” (UNESCO, 2011a: 362)

UGX is the abbreviation of Ugandan shillings. On 1st December 2010, 1 US Dollar (USD) was equal to 2315 Ugandan Shillings (UGX) (XE, 2011).

Rufumbira vocabulary

Boda-boda: Motorcycle taxi

Inzoga: Alcohol

Muzungu: White man

1.6 Thesis outline

Chapter 1 introduces the background, problem statement and objectives of the thesis, and briefly summarizes the used methodology.

Chapter 2 is a contextual background of Uganda and the study area in relation to general country and district facts, the history of education, the current Ugandan education system, the political system, and local livelihood strategies.

Chapter 3 is a combined literature review and theoretical framework functioning as a written environment for the analysis of empirical findings. It defines *education* and unfolds major historic developments of *Quality Education* and *Sustainable Livelihoods*. The two concepts are merged into a model called *Quality Education and Sustainable Livelihoods (QELF)* designed to understand the usefulness of secondary school education in Kisoro district.

Chapter 4 explains the methodology used in this study such as research strategy and design, selection and description of study area(s), sampling and data collection methods, technical details, and ethical considerations.

Chapter 5 present the findings according to each research questions and analyse them.

Chapter 6 contains concluding remarks and main findings.

Uganda, often called the Pearl of Africa, is a landlocked country located in East Africa bordering with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania and Rwanda (see

Figure 1). It covers a total area of 241,038 Km² (CIA, 2010a). Ugandans claim that Lake Victoria, the largest water body in Africa, is the source of the Nile. Most of Uganda is a plateau with rims of mountains in the south-east and south-west. Margherita peak on Mount Stanley is the highest mountain measuring 5110 meters above sea level (CIA, 2010a).

The climate is tropical and quite rainy interrupted by two main dry seasons from December to February and from June to August. The most available resources in Uganda are fertile soils and rainfall. It is therefore not a coincidence that 82 percent of the workforce is engaged in agriculture, which composes nearly one-fourth of Uganda's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (CIA, 2010a). Around 22 percent and 9 percent of the land is arable and cultivated, respectively. Coffee, tea, cotton and flowers are major agricultural export commodities along with fish from the Victoria lake basin and small-scale ponds (CIA, 2010a). There is abundance of food in Uganda to feed the population. However, a semi-arid climate imposes a severe problem for food production in northern parts. Famine and malnutrition incidents are also affected by inefficient trading systems and allocation of resources within Uganda. It is worth mentioning that large oil deposits have recently been discovered in the Lake Albert region in western Uganda (Anderson and Browne, 2011). Ugandans themselves are both positive and sceptical to this discovery. An oil-boom may be beneficial for Uganda's socio-economic development or it may be a curse. Commonly known, oil-rich African countries struggle with environmental degradation, foreign oil-companies thirst for wealth along with rent-seeking and patronage among domestic elites.

The Ugandan population growth rate of approximately 3.6 percent is among the highest in the world only positioned behind Zimbabwe and Niger. The population is estimated to reach 35 million during 2011 (CIA, 2010a) whereby two-thirds stay in rural areas (Grogan, 2009). On average, a Ugandan woman could bear between six and seven children (UNESCO, 2011a). The mean age is fifteen years and nearly 50 percent are fourteen years old or younger. The second largest population group is fifteen to sixty-five years (circa 48 percent) and only 2 percent are above sixty-five years old (CIA, 2010a).

Uganda’s Human Development Index (HDI) was 0.422 ranked as number 143 of 169 countries in 2010, based on a composition of three dimensions: health, education and living standards (UNDP, 2010a). These dimensions are measured by life expectancy at birth, mean years of schooling, expected years of schooling, and Gross National Income (GNI) per capita using US Dollar Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) (UNDP, 2010a). Uganda’s HDI has improved since 1990 and surpassed the average score in sub-Saharan Africa in 1995.

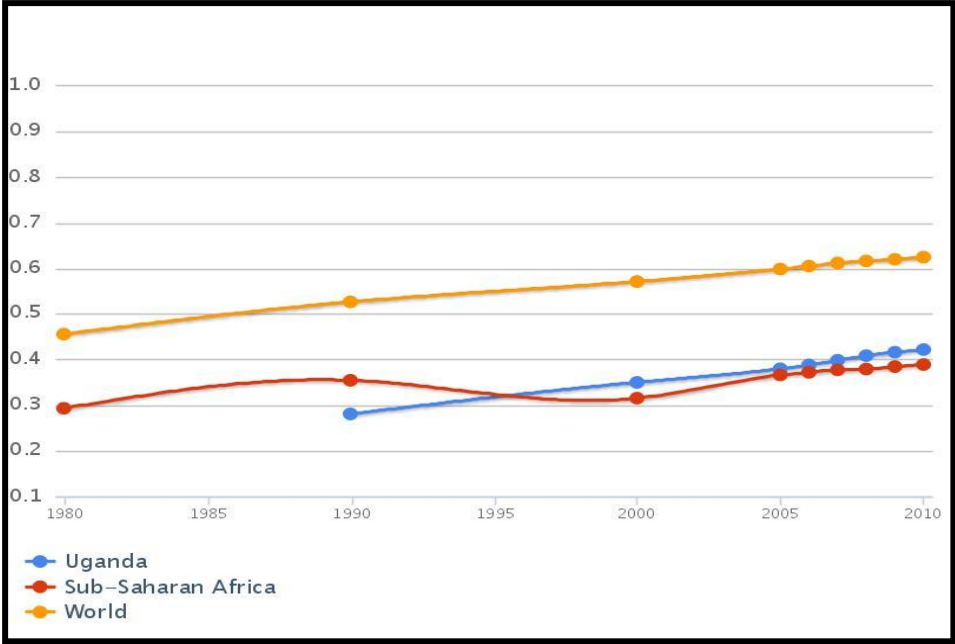


Figure 2 – Human Development Index trends 1990-2010
 Source : UNDP (2010b)

The Education for All Development Index (EDI) is based on four components: Primary Adjusted Net Enrolment Ratio (ANER); adult literacy rate; Gender-specific EFA Index (GEI); and survival rate to grade 5 (UNESCO, 2011a). Uganda’s EDI is 0,798, which is number 99 on a list of 125 countries with available data.

2.3 History of education in Uganda

“Education was not introduced in Africa by Europeans. What they did was to introduce European or Western education. This [...] is not the same as introducing education because not all education is European” (Tiberondwa, 1998: 1).

The following sections describe important events in the history of Ugandan education related to how education practises from the Europe was brought to Uganda by missionaries. Teacher-centred approaches taught children to obey rather than asking questions. The approach therefore encouraged cramming rather than independent and critical thinking. Furthermore, the colonialists indoctrinated people with the belief that traditional customs and lifestyles were inferior to western customs and lifestyles. This past has therefore exercised great influence on Ugandan's attitudes towards the rural lifestyle and on the educational institutions' ability to be fruitful learning environments.

2.3.1 Traditional education systems

Informal education systems existed in Africa before the era of missionaries. It was based on transfer of knowledge between people during daily activities. Such education did not have a specific time span as people gained knowledge throughout their whole life. Traditional education aimed on equipping people with values and attitudes, to stimulate intellectual growth, and to develop constructive thinking, conceptualization and creativity (Tiberondwa, 1998). The education enabled people to deal with the natural environment; to cooperate with individuals and secure tribal membership (group dynamics); to ensure tribal discipline; to maintain cultural aspects; to learn technical skills for construction and production; to maintain tribal law and order; and to practise religion (Ssekamwa, 1997). In Uganda, there were, and there still are, many tribes with different traditions and languages, thus, referring to pre-colonial education as one specific system is meaningless as each group applied education in their own specific way (Tiberondwa, 1998; Ssekamwa, 1997). Such education was considered to be conservative as societal changes happened slowly compared to European standards. However, Africans considered the traditional education to be suitable for their ways of living, and therefore successful (Tiberondwa, 1998).

2.3.2 The arrival of missionaries

In 1877, the first missionaries set foot in Uganda, where they were embraced by the king of Buganda; Kabaka Mutesa I. They were followed by French catholic colleagues two years later. In addition to Christianity, missionaries brought with them education from the Europe, which later paved the way for colonial policies (Ssekamwa, 1997; Tiberondwa, 1998; Mutibwa, 1992). The Kabaka expressed suspiciousness towards the new arrivals and their reason for coming. It seemed unlikely that they had crossed the continent only to share their religion. Nonetheless, he was impressed by their "superior" religious and materialistic knowledge which he hoped would be useful for protecting the kingdom and its people from

foreign threats (Ssekamwa, 1997; Tiberondwa, 1998; Mutibwa, 1992). In the following years, there was a struggle for political and economic dominance in the area between Muslims, Catholics and Protestants to which different local kingdoms had sided. The presence of missionaries directly and indirectly created conflicts between tribes in the area. For example, to thank Christians for helping defeating the Muslims in a battle, king Mwanga, the Kabaka's heir to the throne, made sure that only Christians could become chiefs and own land. Missionaries cared about more than spreading the gospel of God. It was also about becoming involved in local political and economical affairs to secure access to natural resources for their home governments. The consequent confusion among local chiefs and Kings is unimaginable. After a series of conflicts and battles for power, the Imperial British East African Company, which was the leading Protestant authority, forced king Mwanga to hand over authority in 1892 (Tiberondwa, 1998). The company continued to be in charge, also for education related matters, until 1894 when the British Government formally gained administrative control. Uganda had slowly become a British colony by cunning, not by brutal force. However, the missionaries continued to carry out daily activities in schools such as administration, maintenance, construction and teaching, alongside Ugandan teachers until Independence Day in 1962 (Ssekamwa, 1997).

During the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the protestant and catholic missionary groups established small "bush" schools throughout Uganda, and larger "central" schools in population centres (Tiberondwa, 1998). The missionaries strongly believed that education and Christianity should go hand- in-hand, and the schools became beneficial for the colonists as they 'shaped' Ugandans into good colonial citizens. Children were consistently taught "that African customs and traditions were wrong and unacceptable to the 'new' God" (Tiberondwa, 1998: 35). Schools were built where missionaries lived or where they had sent newly trained Ugandan teachers. The missionary sites were called "missions" or "parishes", and were triangulated through three types of institutions: schools, churches and health centres (Ssekamwa, 1997; Tiberondwa, 1998). Even though many Ugandans were not interested in Christianity, they became 'Christians' in order to get access to formal education and 'Western' medicine. In the villages, where Ugandan teachers served, one building functioned as both school and church (Ssekamwa, 1997; Tiberondwa, 1998). The colonial power used pupil-teachers to educate their fellow Ugandans about Christianity. In fact, several Ugandans became missionaries on their own, something that increased their socio-economic status. People regarded them as role models.

2.3.3 Inferiority

The missionaries were known as “Muzungu” (white man) among Ugandans. Consequently, other foreigners with such features were equally respected, including British Commissioners. It was therefore obvious that Ugandans regarded everything that was Western, including education, as a socio-economic ladder for individuals and also collectively for groups. For example, not to seem of less standard than muzungus, traditional leaders attended churches frequently without being genuinely interested in Christianity per se (Tiberondwa, 1998).

To gain control, the missionaries used “the concept of obedience to masters” from the bible (Tiberondwa, 1998: 66). Africans thus feared disobeying their colonial masters because of possible punishment from ‘above’. Consequently, the school reports emphasized good conduct, and the graduates who had ‘bad conduct’ reports, which normally meant questioning the orders from teachers, found it difficult to get either jobs or admission into institutions of higher learning” (Tiberondwa, 1998: 66). In fact, Christianity was a criterion for Ugandans who were recruited to occupy administrative positions.

Ugandans were also indoctrinated about their own culture being inferior to European civilization, that their religions were evil and that their traditions were unimportant. The combined effect of formal and religious education assisted the colonial power in making Africans feel less negative towards colonialism, and simultaneously making them believe they were inferior to all that derived from the Europe.

2.3.4 The education system under governmental control

The colonial government became involved in Ugandan education in 1925 through an establishment of the department of education, and in 1927 after introducing an education bill, it got directive control (Tiberondwa, 1998; Ssekamwa and Lugumba, 2001). However, the missionary groups still owned and managed their schools which were dominated by literacy education. According to Ssekamwa and Lugumba (2001), there were three main criticisms of missionaries in Uganda. First, the education provided was claimed to be purely theoretical. Secondly, there was almost no supervision. Lastly, the education did not encourage pupils to seek a life in the villages they came from. It rather prepared them for an urban life. The type of education which was introduced in Africa by the European missionaries has been criticized for preparing the Africans for white-collar office jobs. Nevertheless, the elitist type of education introduced in Africa by the Christian missionaries, though new to Africa, was not new in other countries. A civil society was associated with academics. Like with the old philosophers in Europe, good successful positions were considered to coincide with

academics, not crafts and practical subjects. This was a clear indication of class differences. “The ideas which found their way into the European system of education encouraged the separation and upgrading of few people from the masses” (Tiberondwa, 1998: 61), and it is this mentality that the missionaries brought with them to Africa and Uganda.

Missionary teachers were incapable of providing relevant education to Ugandans because the education they provided was not favourable for Ugandan conditions, thus the education attained by Ugandans was not relevant and beneficial for them (Tiberondwa, 1998). Ugandan children received non-contextualized subjects using a terminology originating from elsewhere. According to Tiberondwa (1998: 62), they were

“... not playing games or doing any of the things they would do out of school. The music you hear will not be a native song but the parody of a familiar European hymn. None of the acute problems of village housing, sanitation, water or food preparation are present either in theory or practice. There is no building, making or repairing with the hands, no cultivation of the garden. Instead the brown bodies are huddled over a chart or a book”.

The department of education and the colonial office urged for a more balanced curriculum of both theoretical and vocational subjects in school as only a fraction of people became employed as clerks in offices (Ssekamwa, 1997). Inspired by the Phelps-Stokes Commission report, that was based on experience from the USA where slaves received education that made it ‘easier’ for them to adjust to the environment, an education project was initiated. It enabled students to develop technical skills in subjects like agriculture and commerce and was started in several “central” schools, often using vernacular as the instructional language (Ssekamwa and Lugumba, 2001; Ssekamwa, 1997). Ugandans were supposed to become more efficient farmers. It was for example common to see schools with gardens where students carried out agricultural activities. However, this project was cancelled in 1936 due to opposition among missionary groups and within the colonial government as ‘adaptive’ education was believed to be ‘retrogressive’ (Ssekamwa, 1997). The gardens were a common sight for several years after that, but they were not really popular among students as teachers often used garden work as punishment. Furthermore, parents did not wish a future village life for their children. They hoped education would be a doorway to a prestigious life as office workers (Ssekamwa and Lugumba, 2001; Ssekamwa, 1997). Technical education policies and schools were also implemented, though, Ugandans regarded technical skills as inferior to literary education.

They considered technical schools to be for students with low societal status, similar to how people did not want to be associated with an agricultural lifestyle (Ssekamwa, 1997).

2.3.5 Towards independence

From 1940 towards independence, the colonial government in Uganda implemented policies to prepare Ugandans for ‘responsible governing’, yet the policy makers did not know that independence would come as early as 1962 (Ssekamwa, 1997). On the other hand, the British government did not want to educate too many Ugandans for administrative positions. They preferred British workers because that helped decreasing unemployment rates in Britain. As a result, there was a great lack of trained Ugandans qualified to run governmental bodies, which became a major reason for why the transition to independence became difficult (Ssekamwa, 1997). Another reason was the dependence on economic growth which in turn would finance governmental structures. To resolve this, one had to rely on education as those holding certificates and degrees were believed to automatically contribute to economic growth. Thirdly, the pedagogical approach to education used by missionaries for decades had made Ugandans lose confidence in their ability to solve things on their own (Ssekamwa, 1997; Tiberondwa, 1998). Commonly known, the British colonisers were inspired by behaviourism in their development of classroom activities, and believed that learners could only develop knowledge through instruction, reward and punishment; a methodology that was common during large parts of the 20th century (UNESCO, 2004). To solve the challenge, policy makers strived to create an “African identity and personality” in schools mainstreaming subjects such as African geography and history, as they had earlier learnt that the only information worth learning is that of the “white man” (Ssekamwa, 1997: 169-170).

The well-known problem of education creating job-seekers instead of job-creators became a serious issue in Uganda towards the 1970s, as students graduated without having anywhere to work. That has been blamed on a too theoretical curriculum. This debate resulted in the Uganda National Educational Policy Review Commission’s (UNEPRC) suggestion of implementing Basic Education for National Development (BEND), which sought to balance practical and theoretical skills in primary and secondary schools. This in turn would enable people to produce jobs if they failed to find employment (Ssekamwa, 1997).

2.4 The current Ugandan education system

Because of Uganda's historical background, the present education system follows the British design. It is divided in four; pre-primary, primary, lower and upper secondary. The following sections will elaborate them starting with the lowest level. Under each school level section, a selection of current education trends is presented. Other secondary levels and higher education levels are presented in

Figure 3 and

Table 2.

2.4.1 Pre-primary education features

Children may attend pre-primary education, also called 'nursery school', which usually lasts for 3 years between the age of 3 and 6. They join 'baby class' when they are 2-3 years old and afterwards 'middle class' for one year. Then at 5-6 years, they go to 'top-class' (Muhwezi, 2003). In nursery schools, the children engage in activities such as playing, singing, dancing and drawing, and then 'prepare' for primary school through basic reading and writing.

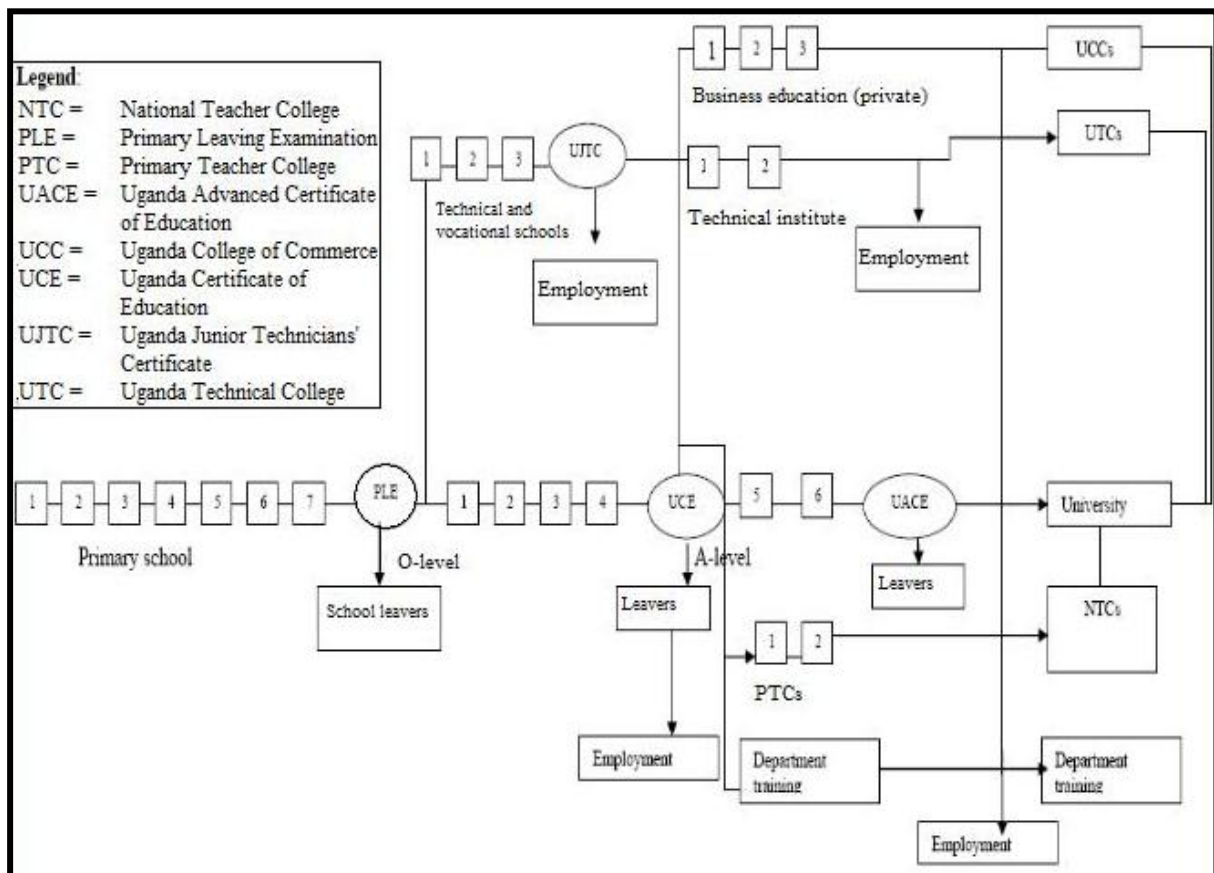


Figure 3 - The Ugandan education structure

Source: Adapted by Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011) from Muhwezi (2003); SACMEQ (2010); UNESCO and IBE (2010)

Recent development in pre-primary school education: Only private nursery schools accommodated children in 2008, of which 51 percent were girls (UNESCO, 2011a). The total Gross and Net Enrolment Ratios (GER and NER) were 19 percent and 10 percent, respectively. Children from the 20 percent richest households in Uganda are 25 times more likely to attend early childhood programmes than children in the 20 percent poorest households (Nonoyama-Tarumi *et al.*, 2008). And until recently, it was only common for children living in urban areas to attend pre-primary education (UNESCO and IBE, 2010).

2.4.2 Primary school education features

Children go to primary school for 7 years (P1-P7) enlisting for the first time at the age of 6. The core of today's primary education curriculum is founded on a series of education policies from 1992 called the Government White Paper. Based on this, the Curriculum Review Task Force (CRTF) designed a holistic curriculum based on values, emphasizing the importance of vocational skill training (UNESCO and IBE, 2010). It consisted of the following subjects: Technology (including art and craft); mathematics; languages and literature (vernacular, English and Kiswahili); social studies; religious education; music, dance and drama; agriculture and household economics; business and commerce; science, health, environment and population education; physical education; and community service scheme (UNESCO and IBE, 2010). These were grouped under four core subjects called English, Mathematics, Science and Social Studies (Tomasevski, 1999). The curriculum was realigned in 2000/02, though, the same subjects were kept. Since then, the curriculum has evolved from being objective oriented towards being based on themes and the creation of competence, eventually resulting in the formation of a thematic curriculum in 2007 (UNESCO and IBE, 2010). Content-wise, the current curriculum is similar to its forefathers, though using a different terminology. The subject themes are called: "our school and neighbourhood; our home and community; the human body and health; food and nutrition; our environment; things we make; transport in our community; accidents and safety; peace and security; child protection; measures; recreation, festivals and holidays" (UNESCO and IBE, 2010: 14). During 'lower' primary school levels (P1-P3), children learn using the local language. P4 is a 'transition' year whereby English gradually becomes the instructional language, and learners are introduced to subject oriented education. This setup enables children to learn more holistically and prepare

them for upper primary levels (P5-P7). In order to prepare learners for secondary school, the curriculum is subject-based and English is the only instructional language during these last years (Altinyelken, 2010b; UNESCO and IBE, 2010).

Universal Primary Education (UPA): In 2000, six goals called Education for All (EFA) were defined in Dakar, Senegal, for governments around the world to meet the challenges in their education sectors by 2015. Goal number two states that children are to receive compulsory and free primary education of quality (UNESCO, 2011a). The Ugandan government implemented Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997 three years before the EFA agenda. The new education act from 2008, “stipulates that primary education shall be universal and compulsory for all children aged 6 years” (UNESCO and IBE, 2010: 3). However, the major incentive for this action was not the demand for reform. UPE was used as a campaign platform during the first direct presidential elections in Uganda in 1996, as the current President, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, pledged to provide free education to four children in each family if he won. The reform also included the provision of teaching material, school infrastructure, teacher training and salaries (Oketch and Rolleston, 2007). The year after, GERs and NERs in primary schools consequently skyrocketed from 77 and 57 percent in 1996 to 137 and 85 percent, respectively (Oketch and Rolleston, 2007). The main aim of UPE was to enrol children. However, the rapid enrolment overwhelmed schools’ capacity to provide enough infrastructure, instructional material, and teachers. Furthermore, the schools that had relied on tuition fees were now under governmental funding, which often delayed or failed reaching schools. Rapid enrolment created lack of quality and inequality, which are problems still prevailing in the Ugandan primary education sector today (Grogan, 2009).

Indicators	Years	Uganda	World	Developing countries	Sub-Saharan Africa
Adult literacy and illiteracy					
Adult literacy rate (15 and over) (%), Total	2005-2008	75	83	79	62
	2015	81	86	83	69
Adult illiterates (15 and over), % Female	2005-2008	66	64	64	62
	2015	64	64	64	61
Pre-primary school					
GER in pre-primary education (%), Total	2008	19	44	39	17
Primary school					
Pupil/teacher ratio, primary	2008	50	25	28	45
GIR in primary education (%), Total	2008	159	112	114	116
NIR in primary education (%), Total	2008	71	No figures	65	56
GER in primary education (%), Total	2008	120	107	107	102
NER in primary education (%), Total	2008	97	88	87	76
School life expectancy (expected # of years of	2008	10	11	10	8

formal primary schooling), Total					
Repeaters in primary school, all levels %	2008	11	3	5	15
Dropouts in primary school, all grades %	2006	68	7 (2008)	17 (2008)	30 (2008)
Survival rate to last grade (P7) %	2006	32	93 (2008)	83 (2008)	70 (2008)
Enrolment in private institutions as % of total enrolment	2008	9	8	11	9
Transition from primary to secondary general education (%), Total	2007	61	94	90	64
Secondary education					
Pupil/teacher ratio in secondary school, Total	2008	19	18	20	25
Secondary school teachers, % Female	2008	25	51	46	29
GER in Lower Secondary (%) , Total	2008	31	80	76	41
GER in Lower Secondary (%) , Female	2008	29	78	74	26
GER in Lower Secondary (%) , Male	2008	33	81	78	45
GER in Upper Secondary (%) , Total	2008	14	55	49	27
GER in Upper Secondary (%) , Female	2008	12	54	48	23
GER in Upper Secondary (%) , Male	2008	15	56	50	30
Repeaters in secondary general education (%), Total	2008	2.4	3.4	5.9	13
Enrolment in private institutions as % of total enrolment	2008	51	12	16	15

Table 1 – Education sector trends in Uganda with regional comparisons

Source: Table generated using UNESCO’s data search tool (2011b)

Recent development in primary school education: Although NERs in Uganda are relatively high, almost one-third of the children drop-out during P1 and probably over 800.000 primary school aged children may not be enrolled (UNESCO, 2009). A headcount in fifty Ugandan schools shows that nearly one-fourth of enrolled pupils were absent during the time of enumeration (MoES, 2009a). The average pupil/teacher ratio in Ugandan primary schools is around fifty to one (MoES, 2009a; UNESCO, 2011a). However, average figures hide domestic disparities as findings suggest that some schools approximately only have 1 teacher for every hundred pupils (UNESCO, 2009). It is more common for primary schools in rural areas to lack teachers than urban ones. Furthermore, in urban areas, sixty percent of primary school teachers are female, while their colleagues in rural areas only compose 15 percent of the female workforce (UNESCO, 2011b). (See

Table 1 for additional statistics).

2.4.3 Secondary school education features

The total duration of secondary education is six years; four years in lower secondary and two years in upper secondary. If learners pass the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE) in P7, they may continue with lower secondary education, also called ‘Ordinary-level’ (O-level) at the age of 12. Here, children study the following compulsory subjects: “English; mathematics; biology; chemistry; physics; geography; history” (UNESCO and IBE, 2010: 16). Schools implement additional subjects such as, literature, religious education, music, art, agriculture,

technical drawing, wood work, metal work, business education, home economics, clothing and textiles, food and nutrition, depending on their capacity (UNESCO and IBE, 2010). In S3 and S4, students have to choose a combination of compulsory and elective subjects. The minimum requirement is 8 subjects (7 compulsory and 1 elective) and the highest allowed number of subjects is 10 (7 compulsory and 3 elective) (Muhwezi, 2003; UNESCO and IBE, 2010). Usually, boys select technical subjects such as wood and metal work, construction, and technical drawing, while girls tend to concentrate in studies such as household economics, textile, clothing, food and nutrition (Muhwezi, 2003). After passing the exams in S4, they are awarded with the Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) and may qualify for upper-secondary school, known as ‘Advanced-level’ (A-level). Here, the candidates chose at least three and no more than four principal subjects which will grant them the Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE) if they pass the final exams in S6. Students may then apply for admission at Universities and other higher education institutions (Muhwezi, 2003). A common feature in Ugandan primary and secondary education is that learners may be subjected to a repetition of school years. This happens when a student fails to perform above a certain academic standard during end of term exams.

Universal Secondary Education (USE): The increased number of children attending primary school in Uganda after the implementation of UPE enhanced the society’s demand for easier access to secondary education. In 2006, Uganda therefore became the first sub-Saharan African country to implement free Universal Secondary Education (USE) due to “rising parental demand, employers’ need for a more highly educated workforce, and a national presidential election in which the incumbent President again recognized that a promise of ‘free’ education could draw votes” (Chapman *et al.*, 2010; DeJaeghere *et al.*, 2009). USE does not mean that secondary school is universal and free of charge. Parents sending their children to governmental schools participating in the scheme still have to pay for accommodation (in boarding schools), lunch, uniforms, scholastic material, and medical services. Not every governmental school is following the scheme, and USE is not often implemented in private schools (Chapman *et al.*, 2010). When the USE program started, it only covered the first two years (S1 and S2), and was implemented in 804 governmental aided and 431 private schools (UNESCO and IBE, 2010). Secondary schools, which follow the scheme, provide free education at the entire O-level. Learners pay tuition when they enter the A-level (S5-S6).

Recent development in secondary school education: In 2008, there were 627 private and 847 government aided secondary schools in Uganda (DeJaeghere *et al.*, 2009). However, the numbers have most likely increased as the secondary education sector is growing. In 2008, the total GER in O-level were thirty-one percent and approximately fifteen percent of qualified children were enrolled in A-level (UNESCO, 2011a). A reason for this difference might be explained by the recent growth in secondary education as a result of USE. Children who joined secondary school education because of the new reform could earliest finish O-level in 2009. Another reason is that children must pay tuition in A-level, which many parents cannot afford. A headcount was carried out in 92 schools in 2009 whereby eighty-four percent of all enrolled students were present during the time of visit. The same exercise showed a pupil/teacher ratio of 23:1 (MoES, 2009a), which is slightly higher than findings from 2008 (UNESCO, 2011a) (See

Table 1).

Description of secondary school types

a) Governmental aided and private schools: The main difference between them is that governmental aided schools are funded by the central government, while private schools rely on their own fundraising to meet operational costs. It is frequently believed among Ugandans that governmental aided schools tend to provide education of lower quality than private schools. Lack of or delayed promised financial resources, poor and/or lacking infrastructure and scholastic material, and unmotivated and underpaid teachers are synonyms for ‘public schools’. Commonly known, private schools mainly raise funds from students through tuition fees, which vary in price from school to school. Schools with high status and history of good results are often more expensive than poorly performing schools. Non-USE schools tend to lose students to cheaper institutions, although they may be situated farther away.

b) Rural and urban schools: This terminology (rural and urban) describes schools’ location both geographically and socio-economically. When a school is ‘rural’, it is geographically remote in relation to towns and other types of centres. It is well-known that remotely located schools in Uganda are not prioritized by the government like central schools, as far as funding is concerned. Yet most rural educational institutions are governmental aided. Rural schools are usually hard to reach because of long distances and the access roads’ low quality. Side

roads in Uganda are difficult to manoeuvre on due to potholes and slippery gravel, especially during and after rainfall. In a Ugandan setting, these areas usually lack access to infrastructure such as electricity. Urban schools are located in or nearby centres, towns and cities. They are usually larger than rural schools in terms of compound size, number of buildings, and teacher workforce. Naturally, an urban location gives easier access to electricity.

c) Day and boarding schools: In day schools, students go to school in the morning and return home in the afternoon. ‘Boarding’ means that they accommodate students at night offering them meals. Differently from day schools, boarding schools therefore have additional infrastructure such as dormitories and kitchens. They also offer evening classes, thus, students in boarding schools have the opportunity to focus more on their studies than their colleagues in day schools. Some schools, both day and boarding, have teachers’ quarters. Governmental aided and private schools can function as day or boarding schools, or both.

d) Girls’, boys’ and gender mixed schools: Some schools are gender selective admitting only girls or boys. In Uganda, it is commonly believed that girls tend to perform better academically when not distracted by boys. Another common argument is that parents do not trust girls’ safety in mixed schools. It is also well-known among Ugandans that many girls get pregnant during secondary school and it happens more frequently in mixed schools than in gender streamed ones. Boys’ schools offer subjects that are traditionally more popular among boys than among girls, such as wood work.

Education level	Cycle	Award	Progress opportunities
Pre-primary	Age 2-6	-	Primary Education
Primary education	7 Years (P1-P7)	Primary Leaving Examination (PLE)	Lower secondary (O-Level) Technical and vocational schools Technical institutes
Lower secondary (Ordinary Level)	4 Years (S1-S4)	Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE)	Upper secondary (A-Level) Teacher training: Primary Teacher College (PTC) or National Teacher College (NTC) Technical and vocational schools Technical institutes Other departmental training institutes: Technical and business colleges; Specialist training colleges; Vocational training centers
Technical and vocational schools	3 Years	Certificate	Technical Institute
Upper secondary (Advanced Level)	2 Years	Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE)	University Uganda College Of Commerce (UCC) Uganda Technical College (UTC) Teacher Training (PTC or NTC) Other departmental training institutes
Teacher training	2 Years	Certificate	University

(PTC)			
Teacher training (NTC)	2 Years	Diploma	University
Technical institute	2 Years	Diploma/Certificate	UTC
Other departmental training institutes	-	Diploma/Certificate	UTC UCC
Uganda College of Commerce	2/3 Years	Diploma	University
Uganda Technical College	2 Years	Diploma	University
University	3/5 Years	Diploma/Degree	Post graduate studies

Table 2 - The structure of Uganda's education system

Source: Adapted by Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011) from SACMEQ (2010) and Muhwesi (2003)

2.5 General district information: Kisoro

Kisoro district is located in south-western Uganda bordering with Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and the districts of Kanungu and Kabale (see

Figure 1). The south-western region in Uganda is “known as the Switzerland of Africa because of its lush scenery, cool temperatures throughout the year and mountainous terrain” (Sebikari and Natwijuka, 2008: 6). The centre of Kisoro is situated approximately 1910 meters above sea level next to the Virunga Mountains which consist of both active and inactive volcanoes. The volcanoes in Kisoro district called Muhavura, Mgahinga and Sabinyo are all extinct. The total area of Kisoro is 730km². Mutanda, the largest lake, is situated in the district’s geographical centre. Much of the terrain is also covered by swamps (Sebikari and Natwijuka, 2008). The climate is dominated by two rainy seasons between September and December and from March to May. However, this seems to be a ‘thumb’ rule since it often rains outside these periods. The three main ethnic groups are: Bafumbira, Bakiga and Batwa, and the most spoken languages are Rufumbira (similar to Kinyarwanda) and English (MoFPED, 2000). The demographic density is reported to be high in Kisoro compared to national standards (Kazoora *et al.*, 2008), and Kisoro is the poorest district in western Uganda (UBoS and ILRI, 2008).

Kisoro once was a county called Bufumbira, until 1991 when it was separated from Kabale district to become a district on its own (Karibwije and Rwabwogo, 2005). The political and

administrative levels in Kisoro are divided in one county, and three constituencies, with lower local governments in the following 13 sub-counties (see

Figure 4): Bukimbiri, Busanza, Chahi, Kanaba, Kirundu, Nyabwishenya, Nyakabande, Nyakinama, Nyarubuye, Nyarusiza, Nyundu, Muramba, Murora, and Kisoro Town Council (Sebikari and Natwijuka, 2008). In contrast, I was informed during my stay in Kisoro district that the LC4 level is no longer used.

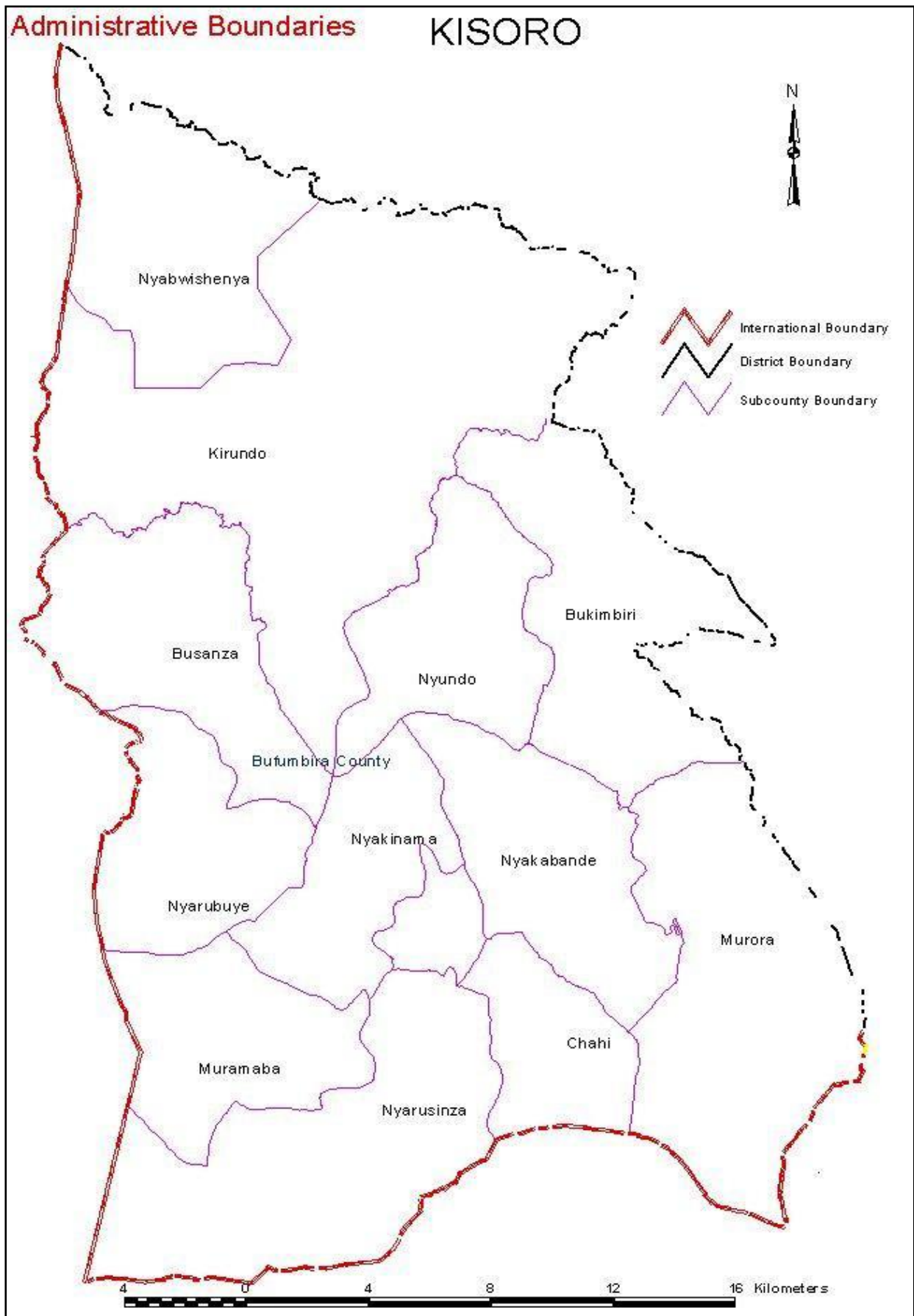


Figure 4 - Administrative boundaries in Kisoro district
 Source: Sebikari and Natwijuka (2008: 9)

2.6 Current secondary school education in Kisoro

It is challenging to locate reliable and updated data about the secondary education sector in Kisoro district, and that is the main reason for choosing this study area. There are 26 secondary schools (ten government aided and sixteen private schools) (Sebikari and Natwijuka, 2008). However, due to the rapid expansion of secondary education, the number is believed to be higher today. The average walking distance for children to go to school is 8km, which is quite longer than the national average of 3km (Sebikari and Natwijuka, 2008). Some of the reported challenges in secondary schools in Kisoro are lack of trained teachers, teaching facilities such as laboratories and libraries, safe drinking water, and high operating costs (Sebikari and Natwijuka, 2008).

I gathered more information about secondary education in Kisoro during a field work (see chapter 4 for methodology and chapter 5 for findings and analysis).

2.7 Livelihood strategies in Kisoro

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) divides Africa in different zones called farming systems based on factors such as topography, main livelihoods, agricultural population and poverty (Hall *et al.*, 2001). Accordingly, Kisoro district is a highland perennial farming system characterized by a high rural population, small and intensely used land holdings (on average, less than one hectare) cultivated area per household with 50 percent being smaller than 0.5 ha) (Hall *et al.*, 2001). Furthermore, mainly perennial crops are reported to be grown such as various banana and plantain types, beans, coffee, and to some extent cassava, sweet potato and cereals. There is also a prevalence of cattle. Tendencies of diminishing farm sizes, declining soil fertility, and poverty are very common (Hall *et al.*, 2001). People's coping strategy is intensified land use, though with low pay-off. The potential for situational improvement is limited because of "small farm size, absence of under-utilized resources, shortage of appropriate technologies, poor infrastructure, and markets and few opportunities for off-farm activities" (Hall *et al.*, 2001: 36).

FAO's characterization fits well with the situation in Kisoro as people actually rely on a combination of subsistence farming and cash cropping. Commonly known, subsistence farming indicates that the production output from a farm or a household is mainly used for home consumption. It would therefore not be appropriate labelling Kisoro district with only

such features, as more and more people participate in local and domestic markets, become employed in private and public sectors, and endeavour in private enterprising. Nevertheless, figures from 2002 indicate that 89 percent of people in Kisoro relied on subsistence farming for survival, while the national average in 2008 was 68 percent.

2.8 Uganda's five-tier local government structure

I identified chairpersons and chiefs in different levels of the local government structure in Kisoro district as stakeholders in secondary education. My respondents were tied to the various political levels, and the following section will therefore explain how the local government structure is setup.

The current local government structure in Uganda is a result of the decentralization process initiated by the current President Mr. Museveni and his regime called National Resistance Movement (NRM) mainly to maintain peace and stability in the country. They rebelled the government in a civil war during the 1980s and politically united Ugandans despite their ethnic and religious differences (Francis and James, 2003). During the civil war, the NRM used local Resistance Councils (RCs) to resist the sitting government, and after the war ended, they assisted in maintaining order. In 1992, today's decentralization reform was implemented transforming the RCs into a five-tier pyramidal structure of Local Councils (LCs) transferring more control to the grassroots (see Figure 5).

I will now present the various LC levels' most common duties based on several secondary sources (Bazaara, 2003; Francis and James, 2003; Raussen *et al.*, 2001; Steiner, 2006). The structure has both administrative units and governmental functions, whereby the LC1, LC2 and LC4 levels are administrative, headed by the chief administrative officer from LC5 and by Sub-county chiefs at LC3 levels. The LC5 is the highest local government structure, while Sub-counties are regarded as the lowest local government structures. The LC1 chairpersons are community leaders. They work in conjunction with councils majorly to settle minor disputes and violations. The LC2s councils are not equally active apart from coordination of LC1 activities, settling unsolved issues, and being a link to the LC3 level. The LC3 level is mainly occupied with taxation, fundraising and allocation of resources. In many ways, the LC5 level is similar to the LC3 levels since they both have tax-raising authority (Francis and James, 2003; Sæbø, 2007). The local council on county level is not utilized in Kisoro district since it was a county before. The structure has therefore 'skipped' the LC4 level.

Local councils	Level	Functions
LC5	District (Composed of 3-5 counties)	Local government Exercise all political and executive powers Provide services Ensure implementation of government policy and compliance with it Plan for the district Enact district laws Monitor performance of government employees Levy, charge, and collect fees and taxes Formulate, approve, and execute district budgets
LC4	County (Composed of 3-5 Sub-counties)	Administrative unit Advise district officers and area member of parliament Resolve problems and disputes Monitor delivery of services
LC3	Sub-county (Composed of 3-10 parishes)	Local government Enact by-laws Approve sub county budget Monitor performance of government employees Levy, charge, and collect fees and taxes Formulate, approve, and execute sub county budgets
LC2	Parish (Composed of 3-10 villages)	Administrative unit Assist in maintaining law, order, and security Initiate, encourage, support, and participate in self-help projects Serve as communication channel Monitor the administration and projects
LC1	Village (Composed of 5-50 households)	Administrative unit Assist in maintaining law, order, and security Initiate, encourage, support, and participate in self-help projects Recommend persons for local defence units Serve as communication channel with government Monitor the administration and projects Make by-laws Impose service fees

Figure 5 - The Ugandan five-tier local government structure

Source: Adapted by Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011) from Raussen *et al.* (2001)

Chapter 3: Literature review and theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of a theoretical framework is to create a written environment for the analysis of empirical findings. The next section describes the nature of education followed by a brief presentation of Quality Education (QE). Then, the major historic developments of QE are outlined. Afterwards, the Department for International Development's (DFID) model for understanding QE called Implementing Education Quality in Low-Income Countries (EdQual) is presented. I have also turned the attention to teaching and learning approaches. They are critical ingredients in education and consequently for the development of sustainable livelihoods. The chapter continues with a presentation of DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF). Separated, the DFID's models do not describe the elements of this study. I have therefore merged them into a new and unique model named Quality Education Livelihoods Framework (QELF).

3.2 What is education?

The processes of teaching and learning have always existed in one form or another and it constantly surrounds us. There are two main views of education: A transfer of knowledge between individuals or between groups of individuals; and building learning environments for individual or group construction of knowledge (see Altinyelken, 2010a; Ask *et al.*, 2003; Dembélé, 2005; Dembélé and Ndoye, 2005; UNESCO, 2004). Furthermore, education is informal or formal. Informal education is often connected to older times such as in pre-colonial Africa where siblings were apprentices using life as their classrooms and having older family members as masters (Omolewa, 2007). An example of informal education is when parents educate their children. They may intentionally or unintentionally teach them polite behaviours and eating techniques by words or action. It “may be considered as the cumulative effect of a person's experience where life and activities of the society constituted the curriculum” (Tiberondwa, 1998: 13). It is a transfer of culture, where culture is everything in a society worth learning for individuals to their own benefit or for the society they live in.

Formal education is famously related to the development of institutionalized “western” education which gradually emerged from centuries of European history as a combination of Greek philosophy, Roman imperialism, and the spreading of Christianity. Formal education is

usually attained in schools and universities and it is not uncommon for employers to organize educative courses for employees at the workplace. Formal education has a defined timeframe and curriculum. Learners are supposed to learn a syllabus (input) and show progress during tests, exams or tangible products (output).

3.3 Quality Education (QE) in brief

I will use the following sections to present the concept of Quality Education (QE). It is a contextual concept constantly undergoing change “characterized by discussion and debate among policy makers, practitioners and other groups” (Adams, 1993: 1). It is difficult to distinguish between education and QE as the latter is more “debated than articulated” because of its conceptual broadness (Schubert, 2005: 53). Evidently, the concept is relative as “it changes over time and differs geographically due to variation of aims, functions and the means to realize them” (Sifuna, 2007: 689-690). There is no simple all-encompassing definition. In fact over fifty varieties have been identified (Adams, 1993; UNESCO, 2004). My aim is therefore not to arrive at a specific definition here, but to unfold the concept’s historical evolution and dimensions. Hopefully, this will enable me to operate the concept as a tool for studying the quality of secondary school education in Kisoro district. In brief, the purpose of QE is to strengthen the individuals’ ability to accomplish economic, social and cultural objectives, to strengthen the protection of societies and improve the ways in which leaders govern them. In many ways the quality aspect makes society more equitable (Dréze and Sen in UNESCO, 2004).

3.4 The history and evolution of Quality Education (QE)

Lately, the focus on quality has been sharpened. It started more than six decades ago with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights asserting that education was everyone’s right. United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Commission on the Development of Education (ICDE) emphasized the importance of relevant education and lifelong learning to achieve societal equality and equitable democracy. The commission pin-pointed that education systems supporting “scientific development and modernization” without marginalizing “learners’ socio cultural contexts” should become available to improve the quality of education (UNESCO, 2004: 30). Subsequently, covenants

eventually lead to an International Declaration of Human Rights in 1976 (UNESCO, 2004). In 1990, another international treaty,—Convention on the Rights of the Child—came into force. This treaty focused more specifically on children’s right to education. This was further incorporated in a declaration of Education for All (EFA) during a World Conference in Jomtien, Thailand, some months later. The aim of the conference was to emphasize the increased access to education and improvement of its relevance. It also recognized that increased access alone would not be enough to ensure individual and societal development. Attention was therefore given to quality (UNESCO, 2000; UNESCO, 2004).

In 1993, the Delors report was released by UNESCO and ICDE targeting lifelong learning as a necessary ingredient to cope with challenges imposed by a constantly changing world. The report leaned education on four pillars; learning to know, to do, to be and to live together (Delors *et al.*, 1993). Learning “to know” is about the daily acquisition of general cognitive skills based on local and external inputs which in turn enable people to continue learning throughout life (UNESCO, 2004; Delors *et al.*, 1993). In order to continue learning, people must learn how to learn. Learning “to do” relates to a practical application of acquired skills or competence building. Learning “to be” and “to live together” are quite similar pillars. The former relates to how individuals express themselves through personal autonomy, responsibility, memory, communication and physical capacity (Delors *et al.*, 1993) and refers to “the skills needed for individuals to develop their full potential” (UNESCO, 2004: 30). The latter encompasses aspects of human rights that individuals should adhere to, along with good citizenship founded on ethical grounds (Burnett, 2008a). This pillar is rooted in latent human resources like tolerance, mutual understanding and interdependence (Delors *et al.*, 1993).

The same year, Adams (1993: 7) summarized the most frequently used dimensions of quality as “inputs, processes, outputs, outcomes, and value added” and differentiated quality from similar and inconsistently used terms such as efficiency, effectiveness and equity. The complexity and dynamic nature of QE and the difficulty of operationalizing it in general terms was recognized. He argued that quality is “linked to the diversity, conflicts and power divisions within society” and marginalized the need for an international solution (Adams, 1993: 22). Instead, ‘on-the-ground’ stakeholders in education were encouraged to collaborate for a continuous development within schools and communities to enhance capacities and commitments for the improvement of quality (Adams, 1993). The main strategies central in overseas development initiatives had simultaneously moved from focusing on people’s needs to mainstreaming the principle of participation and people-centeredness.

Throughout the last decade, United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) has evolved the notion of quality into: learners’ health and promptness to learn; safe and well-resourced learning environments; relevant curriculums for attainment of basic skills; child-centered teaching pedagogy; and outcomes based on competence and attitudes in line with national education policies and civic-participation (Schubert, 2005). Hence, UNICEF has been the most influential user of the “human rights approach” in the QE discourse. The approach’s focal points are learners’ fundamental right to receive education, learner-centeredness and democracy (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011). The Global Campaign for Education (GCE), closely tied with UNICEF, expanded the approach to include education’s responsiveness to individual learners’ and local communities’ need. It also regarded the education sector as accountable for parents’, communities’ and taxpayers’ investment in education (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011).

Simultaneously, the human capital approach had become the other dominating wing in the Quality Education (QE) discourse. UNESCO is the largest developing agency supporting the approach, and is best known for the Education for All (EFA) goals as defined in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000, a parallel effort to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The human capital concept emerged due to a growing concern for severe inequality in developing countries. Economists realized that nations with slow economic growth tended to be affected by gender inequality, urban/rural differences and regional inequalities. The approach is therefore heavily supported by the world’s financial institutions as the focus on QE seems to create stronger economic growth than a sole focus on quantity (Tikly and Barrett, 2011; Hanushek and Woessmann, 2007). Effectiveness in schools and the adjusted human capital approach became expressed through linear models focusing on inputs (e.g. infrastructure, scholastic material, and teacher quality) and outputs (cognitive skills, academic promotion, career and increased standard of living) (Tikly, 2011).

Among the most accepted QE frameworks is designed by UNESCO. It goes beyond the linear approach by including a context dimension (see Figure 6). The context dimension links education inputs, processes, outcomes with the society. The development of knowledge and skills changes society by spreading values and empowers people with prosperity, freedom and ability to communicate. Simultaneously, a Quality Education sector is an indirect reflection of the socio-economic condition in the surrounding society (UNESCO, 2004).

The human capital approach is criticized for considering inputs and outputs as more important than individual learners’ and communities’ differences and needs. Additionally, the teaching and learning processes, often called the “black box” in education, tend to receive inferior attention (Samoff, 2007: 489; Tikly, 2011: 7).

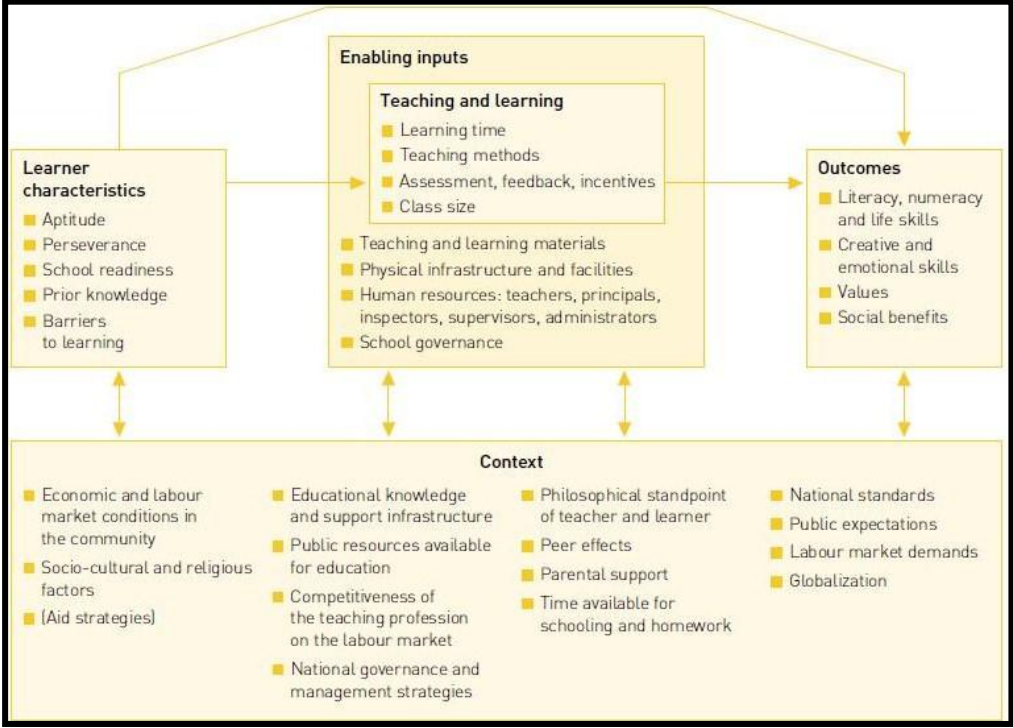


Figure 6 – UNESCO’s QE framework
Source: UNESCO (2004: 36)

The Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) has combined the human capital and rights approaches into a step-by-step framework for the creation of education systems. It primarily targets emergency and post-crisis environments ensuring the provision of Quality Education. It is based on five domains called: foundational standards; access and learning environment; teaching and learning; teachers and other education personnel; and education policy (INEE, 2010). The core ideas of this framework are relevant for all contexts as “they describe internationally agreed human rights as well as good practice” and the “minimum requirements for quality education and human dignity” (INEE, 2010: 10). It is said to return stronger education systems during recovery and development of societies.

In any case, the human rights and capital approaches are heavily guided by regional policies and programs from the Global North for defining education quality, and are therefore typical examples of top-down approaches in development (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011).

Tikly and Barrett (2011) and Tikly (2011) belong to the ‘new’ school in Quality Education thinking which scrutinizes ‘conventional’ notions of QE such as human capital and rights approaches. Similar to INEE (2010), they argue that any attempt to explain quality must be carefully adapted to each local context by taking the intrinsic and dynamic societal factors into consideration (also see Dembélé and Oviawe, 2007; Verspoor, 2005a). Through DFID’s EdQual program, an initiative building on African experiences, a new approach called “the social justice approach” has been developed for understanding QE (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011). It is an expansion, combination and continued development of the human capital and rights approaches. The following section is a presentation of that approach.

3.5 The social justice approach

The social justice approach is inspired by Sen’s (2009), Nussbaum’s (2000), Walker’s (2006), among others’ reflections on human capabilities, and on Fraser’s (2008) views on global social justice. “Capabilities” is described as individuals’ or communities’ potential to accomplish desired objectives in life (Sen, 2009). From that point of departure, and in line with the human rights and capital approaches, it is argued that education is a right on its own, and a tool for strengthening livelihoods, the production of outputs and to ensure human security (Sen, 2009; Nussbaum, 2000). “Capabilities” should not be reduced into mere outcomes in education, such as reading and writing skills, but should be correlated with interpersonal skills like independent and critical thinking (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011; Walker, 2006). “Capabilities” also implies “the freedom and opportunity for an individual to convert whatever resource she may have at her disposal into achievements or outcomes of different kinds” (Tikly and Barrett, 2011: 7).

The social justice approach has incorporated the fact that education may reduce people’s capabilities (Fraser, 2008). If teaching methods are teacher-centred and authoritarian in nature then that education will probably not foster individual and critical mindsets. A poorly contextualized and outdated curriculum may promote irrelevant skills. As a result, learners may not become well versed with local livelihood strategies or labour market requirements.

Based on the above theories and experiences, the social justice approach builds on three inter-related principles: Inclusion; relevance; and democracy (Tikly, 2011: 10; Tikly and Barrett, 2011: 9-12). ‘Inclusion’ means that education should respond to learners’ different aptitudes and needs. It also means that learners should have access to necessary resources and

overcome economic, social and cultural barriers so that they may convert those resources into personally sought objectives. The significance of ‘relevance’ is that education outcomes should be in line with national development objectives and trends. It should contribute towards sustainable livelihoods and wellbeing, and be treasured by involved communities. With ‘democracy’, the social justice approach refers to stakeholders’ participation in developing learning outcomes for schools, and the education sector’s accountability for accomplishing those outcomes (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011).

3.6 Understanding Quality Education (QE)

A framework based on the social justice concept presented above has been developed to understand what quality education means in a local sub-Saharan African context. It shows the interaction between three overlapping arenas: the policy environment; the home and community environment; and the school environment (see Figure 7). To make sure that the inputs within each enabling environment are converted into wanted outcomes the framework includes processes which bind the environments together. Different from UNESCO’s model which referred to the context as ‘potentially’ influencing factors, this is “a tasty soup in which the outcomes (a good quality education) depend on the particular mix of ingredients (inputs and processes) and the interaction between environments” (Tikly, 2011: 11).

The quality of education is decided by how well those enabling inputs and processes bridge interaction-gaps between the environments (Tikly, 2011). There is a sign of synergy and coherence between the school and home/community environments if parents participate in stakeholder meetings at school. And the synergy is additionally increased if policy makers adjust education policies based on parents’ dissent.

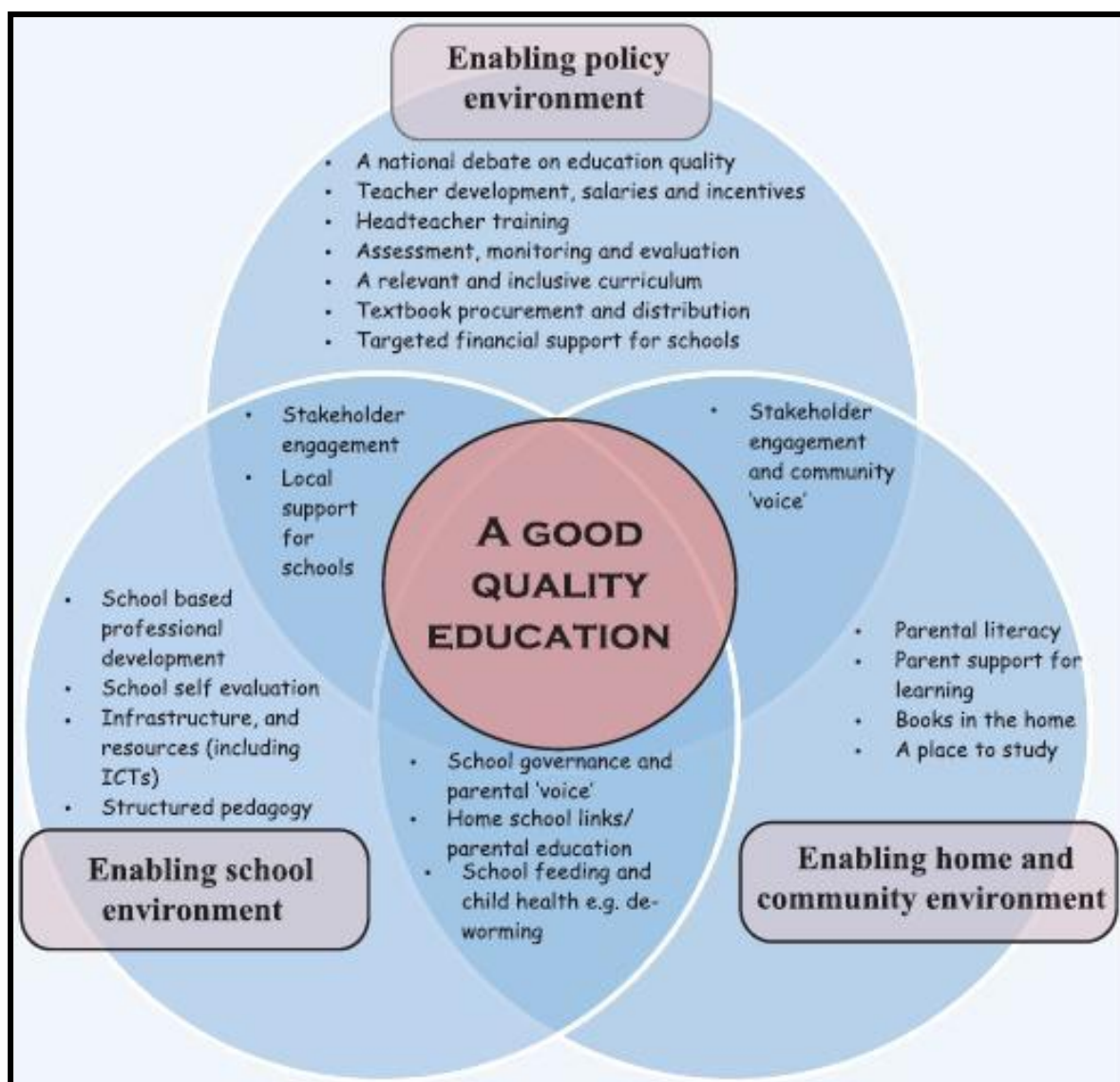


Figure 7 - A framework for understanding Quality Education (QE) based on the social justice approach
Source: Tikly (2011: 17)

3.7 Teaching and learning approaches

The pedagogy of teaching and learning processes influences the outcome of Quality Education. It is therefore a matter of importance for sustainable livelihoods and development as well. I have been careful not to over-emphasize the pedagogical aspect in this thesis because pedagogy *per se* is not relevant in the context of development. The next paragraphs will look more closely at the 'black box' which can be divided in three main approaches: Instructional; Constructivist; and Social constructivist.

3.7.1 Instructional teaching

“One of the criticisms levelled at African schools is that pupils do not learn how to learn or how to take initiative. This makes education lose value because children do not develop attitudes that are important in a productive society. Research on learning indicates that effective learning strategies, including meta-cognition, and study strategies are just as important as the content to be learned” (Dembélé and Ndoye, 2005: 157).

The above authors argue that international agendas for increasing children’s access to education should endorse the principle of learning strategies and cross-cutting skills, instead of only focusing on book knowledge. An education which does not focus on quality dissemination methods and ‘how’ students learn loses relevance. Such teacher-centred or instructional learning is common in sub-Saharan Africa whereby a “lecture driven, rigid and authoritarian” approach inactivates learners (Altinyelken, 2010a: 152).

Instructional teaching is based on transmission of information from active teachers to passive learners. They depend on teachers’ pace and source selection where most information is uniform and objective. Through such “surface” teaching learners absorb information by cramming and regurgitates it during tests and exams, which encourages performance rather than deep understanding (Ask *et al.*, 2003: 5). It is a behaviourist approach stipulated by the belief that learners are not able or motivated to build knowledge by themselves; that people learn best through stimuli such as reward or punishment (UNESCO, 2004). Behaviourism is an extreme form of instructivism. This was common during the first half of the 20th century when missionary teachers were operating in Uganda (see chapter 2); the traces of such practices are still visible in Ugandan schools. The approach was heavily criticized in the famous book called “Pedagogy of the oppressed” by Freire (2006; 1st edition 1985). Freire referred to instructivism as “banking education”. The pedagogy of the oppressed referred to an exercise of power exemplified by teachers who disseminate specific information to learners without providing alternatives, thus discouraging critical thinking. He argued that instructivist approaches were of low quality, not relevant for learners, and usually used in poor countries.

3.7.2 The constructivist approach

One does not learn efficiently through pure instructions, as the brain memorizes better by using previous experiences to learn new knowledge, or by adding knowledge to existing experiences (Braband and Andersen, 2006). Learners should construct knowledge through activities and teachers should link this activation to what students are expected to learn

(Houghton, 2004). Teachers engage learners by making them explain, relate, prove and apply expected learning outcomes, and assess them accordingly. Consequently, learners become responsible for their own learning (Braband and Andersen, 2006; Ask *et al.*, 2003) (Figure 8).

The constructivist and humanist views are closely linked because each individual is unique and characterized by differences in aptitude, perseverance, knowledgebase and disabilities. In contrast, instructive teachers are more concerned with their own teaching activities than about learners' background and understanding. As a result, the learners are classified as good or bad depending on how responsible they choose to be and how well they cope with the instructivist teaching approach (Braband and Andersen, 2006). Those who do not taking responsibility for their own learning will not create meaningful understanding of the subjects. The constructive process, on the other hand, where students are focal points in the classroom, makes much more sense. The idea of child-centeredness is to promote and strengthen learners' skills through creative and independent thinking and critical application of information leading to meaningful understanding (Altinyelken, 2010a). The introduction of a thematic curriculum in Ugandan primary schools embraced the concept of child-centred approaches. By focusing on the activation of children instead of teachers, learning was fostered through practical exploration, observation and experimentation (Altinyelken, 2010a).

However, several challenges occur when practically applying constructivist approaches. In most Ugandan settings, children are expected to respect and obey their superiors avoiding criticism and opposition (see chapter 2). Thus, the cultural setting contradicts the very nature of constructivism (Altinyelken, 2010a). Furthermore, a study of Ethiopian teachers' and head teachers' understanding of Quality Education exemplifies how inconsistently child-centred strategies are applied (Barrow and Leu, 2006). The research revealed that respondents only focused on the active involvement of students in class while ruling out their learning achievements. When teachers were asked to mention examples of "good student learning", most of them referred to "active participation of students in class" accompanied by "reciting what has been said in class" (Barrow and Leu, 2006: 4). The Ethiopian teachers face a dilemma that might explain this contradictory implementation. Memorization by repetition is necessary because of what the curriculum and examination policies demand. Hence, teachers and principals fail to use a constructivist approach since their material and instructions are rigid (Barrow and Leu, 2006). The experience related to faulty application of child-centeredness could be used to influence future policy-making processes in order to improve the quality of education (Barrow and Leu, 2006).

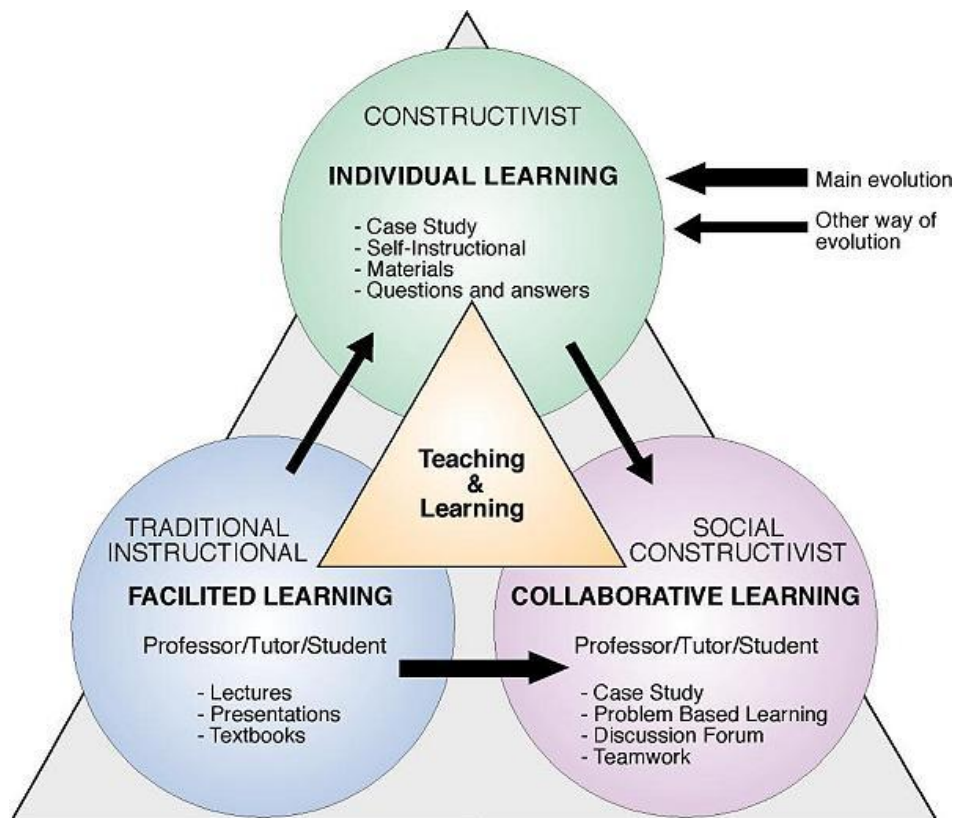


Figure 8 – Integrating the three pedagogical approaches
 Source: Ask *et al.* (2003: 7)

3.7.3 The social constructivist approach

The efficiency of a learning process increases tremendously when discussing with others the knowledge we have processed and analysed by ourselves. Such processes have a social constructivist approach (see Figure 8) where teachers and learners, while stepping into each other’s shoes, jointly solve problems to generate new knowledge (Ask *et al.*, 2003: 5). Nevertheless, it is important for teachers to maintain structure by keeping learners on-topic. Such ‘teacher-guided discovery methods’ maintain the constructive nature of learning through “cognitive activity rather than behavioural activity, instructional guidance rather than pure discovery, and curricular focus rather than unstructured exploration” (Mayer, 2004: 14).

In a complex and fluid setting, just like the social justice environment (see Figure 7), the usefulness of a social constructivist approach is evident. A pre-requisite for Quality Education is the networking between the school, policy, home and community environments because there has been “a shift from a largely mechanical view of the world to a more ecological, holistic and constructivist view” (Ask *et al.*, 2003: 4). A social constructivist approach can therefore be useful for learning about strengths and weaknesses within people’s livelihoods.

Nevertheless, one must question whether it is realistic to expect teaching and learning approaches evolved in the Global North to smoothly work in the sub-Saharan African settings. Child-centeredness is often supported by international donor agencies on ideological grounds as they believe such strategies promote political democracy and economic development, thus facilitating the introduction of neo-liberalism (Tabulawa, 2003). In fact, there is a similar trend of moving towards social mobility as “a shift from particularistic to universalistic bases of achievement” (Hannum and Buchmann, 2005: 340). Perhaps locally evolved teaching and learning strategies to preserve cultures and simultaneously improve efficiency and quality in Ugandan schools would be better than conventional classroom (instructional) teaching?

I will now present the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) followed by my own framework in order to point out the links between education and the people’s livelihoods.

3.8 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF)

In brief, the Sustainable Livelihood Framework is a people-centred, bottom-up tool for increasing knowledge about livelihood dynamics; especially rural livelihoods in poor countries (DFID, 1999b). Based on their concern for the effects of rapid population growth, Chambers and Conway (1992) were in the forefront of developing and elaborating the concept in the early 1990s for the Institute of Development Studies (IDS). There was a growing fear of global and regional development trends that seemed to increase gaps between rich and poor and jeopardizing the integrity of the environment. It was believed that especially people in rural areas would become more vulnerable due to lack of capabilities, equity and sustainability. Moreover, any development strategy should consider these three sub-concepts (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Approaches to development throughout the 1970s and 80s mainly aimed on production input and output, employment rates and cash income; they were not sufficiently responding to global changes and uncertainty (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

During the 1980s there was a growing concern for exploitative use of natural resources and consequent effects for human life and institutions. In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) consequently released the Brundtland Commission Report famous for its definition of sustainable development: “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own

needs” (WCED, 1987: 43). The concept is a paradigm of its own and central to the SLF. However, it has been criticized for being an all-encompassing, unclear and popular development catchphrase (Lélé, 1991). The use of “sustainable development” is ruled out in this thesis because of the term’s conceptual wideness. I further believe the knowledge about its position within development thinking is sufficient for understanding its influence on SLF.

The increasing environmental distress was followed up by the International Institute for Environment and Development’s (IIED) conference in 1988 called “The Greening of Aid: Sustainable Livelihoods in Practice” and United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP) first issue of the Human Development Report (HDR) in 1990 (Solesbury, 2003: vi). Shortly after, the concept of sustainable livelihoods emerged. Based on the new line of ‘thinking’, it became a holistic way of meeting the limitations of conventional development. The approach continued to be debated and conceptualized by several organizations and researchers such as Scoones (1998) for the IDS, Carney (1998) at the Department for International Development (DFID), and Ellis (2000) among others. It became a policy frequently employed during overseas development initiatives in the Global South by agencies from the Global North (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003; Solesbury, 2003).

3.8.1 Defining a “livelihood”

There are many definitions of “livelihood” in the literature. Influential scholars who have discussed the SLA outline modified versions of Chambers and Conway’s pioneer work from 1992 (see Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003; Carney, 1998; DFID, 1999a; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998; Solesbury, 2003). Noteworthy, these definitions are fixed in time, meaning, they risk not taking societal changes into account and may fail to adapt (Ellis, 2000). The following definition is tailored by Scoones (1998: 5):

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base”.

3.8.2 Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) features

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework encompasses several core elements which influence individuals’, households’ and communities’ livelihood, and I will use the following sections to describe the framework’s features. Among a wide range of such models, I have chosen to use DFID’s SLF in this thesis (see Figure 9) which is inspired by Carney’s work (1998). In

contrast to conventional top-down and linear approaches which strictly focus on inputs and results, the most used SLFs, such as DFID's, are dynamic and formed by feedback loops. The framework is therefore not an end in itself, but a means to an end (Carney, 1998; DFID, 1999b). The various elements of the SLF are presented differently from source to source and their differences are not emphasized here. My aim is to extract the framework's core ideas in order to create a contextualized framework presented later in this thesis.

a) Vulnerability context: Peoples' livelihoods are influenced by the external environment dominated by factors such as trends, shocks and seasonality (Carney, 1998; DFID, 1999b). People are vulnerable because of limited or lack of control over them. Typical trends in rural Uganda are various dimensions of poverty, high population density and property fragmentation which hinder farmers from sustaining agricultural production. Common stresses are heavy precipitation, pests, erosion, and price fluctuations. Agricultural production cycles, prices and chances of finding or creating work are domains of seasonality. Although the above sounds rather negative it might have positive effects. Heavy rainfall can push people to invent coping strategies to prevent crops from being destroyed next time it rains. Furthermore, the factors within the vulnerability context are all interlinked one way or another. Heavy rainfall may be expected (seasonality) or come as a surprise (shock) to farmers. Usually, prices on agricultural outputs fluctuate regularly or unexpectedly due to effects of supply and demand, which again are shaped by weather patterns. Some of the prevalent causes and effects involved in the vulnerability context will be discussed in the chapter of findings and analysis.

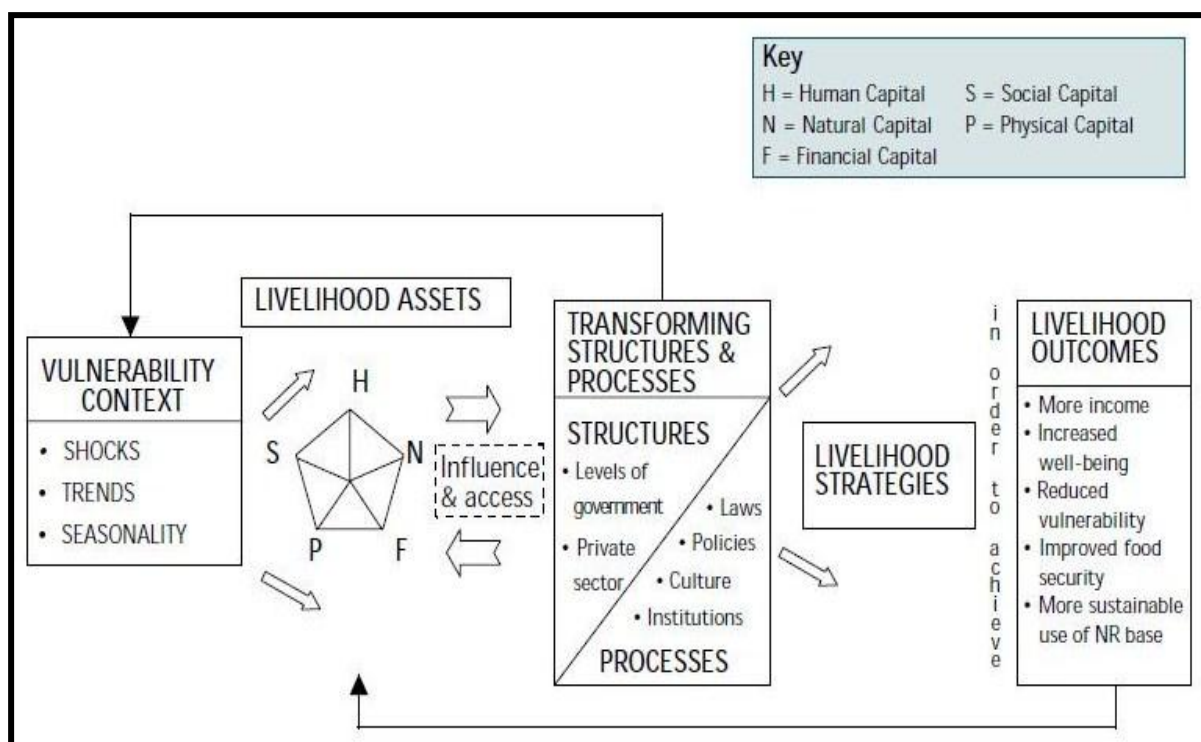


Figure 9 – The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF)

Source: DFID (1999b)

b) The five groups of livelihood assets/capitals: Livelihood assets or resources are central to most organizations and scholars concerned with the Sustainable Livelihood Approaches (SLF). Chambers and Conway (1992) referred to them as tangible resources such as food stocks and financial savings (stores), and natural and physical resources. These influenced people’s capability to form a living through intangible assets such as access and claims. Such resources can be grouped into five types of “capital”: financial; human; natural; physical; and social capital (Carney, 1998; DFID, 1999b; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998). Based on experiences from developing countries the authors believed that access to and influence from a combination of these assets is necessary in order for households to create and maintain positive livelihoods.

Capital	Examples
Financial	Bank savings, cash and access to credit. Furthermore, such stocks can be liquid, meaning that financial resources are invested in livestock or items with value.
Human	In order to follow and achieve desired livelihood strategies and objectives people depend on good health, ability to work, knowledge and skills.

Natural	Resources found in the biosphere, such as land, water, plants and animals used by people to fuel their livelihoods.
Physical	The infrastructure on which livelihoods are based on and depend on, and the equipment used to create production output.
Social	People depend on personal informal networks and connectedness, and their relation to formal groups and institutions, which altogether forms a web of trust, mutual understanding and aid. This safety net enhances people’s chances of successfully influencing and navigating through the vulnerable context.

Table 3 – Livelihood assets/capitals

Source: Carney (1998), DFID (1999b), Ellis (2000) and Scoones (1998) adapted by Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011)

c) Transforming structures and processes: Social relations, formal institutions, organizations, policies, laws and regulations transform livelihood assets into livelihood strategies (Carney, 1998; DFID, 1999b; Scoones, 1998). They are also called “mediating processes” as “contextual social, economic and policy considerations” mediate this transformation process (Ellis, 2000: 37). Education processes may therefore enhance peoples’ asset base and assist them with determining which livelihood strategies to follow. Simultaneously, a higher asset base strengthens peoples’ ability to influence the transforming structures and processes through increased civic participation. Furthermore, “understanding the institutional processes allows the identification of restrictions/barriers and opportunities (or ‘gateways’) to sustainable livelihoods” (Scoones, 1998: 12). This is illustrated by direct feedback to the vulnerability context in

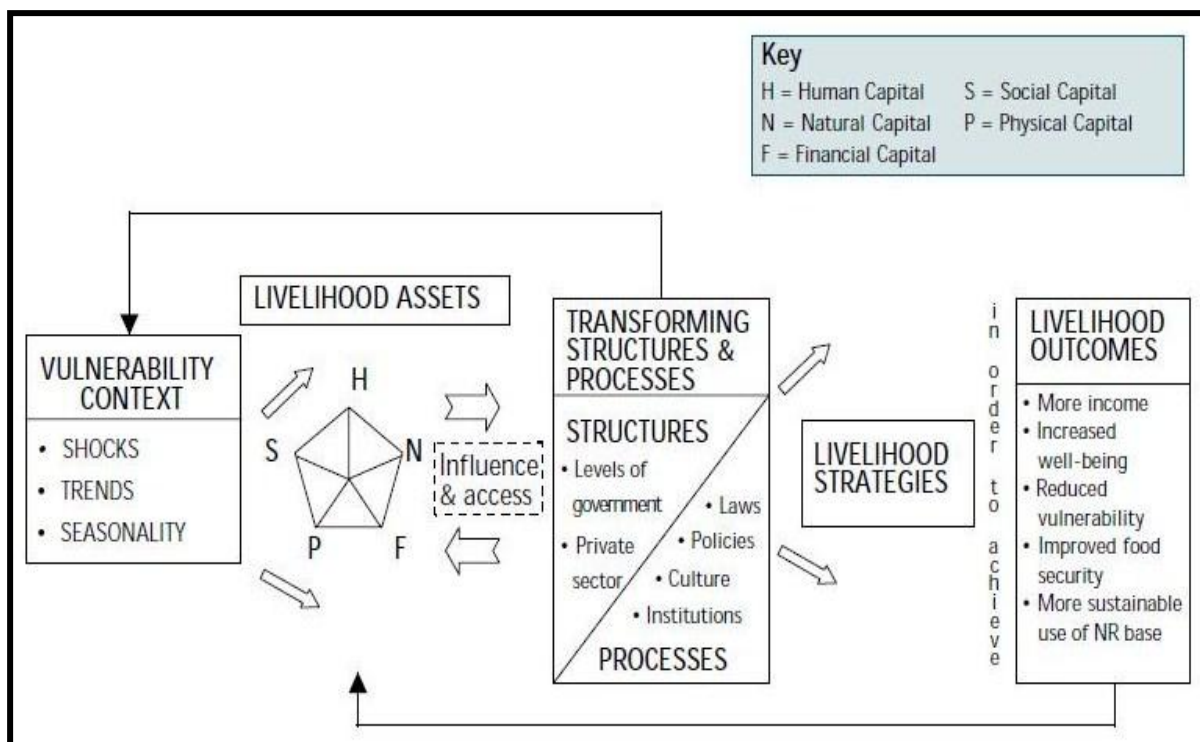


Figure 9. One needs to identify and understand the mitigating processes to see why people are vulnerable and how to limit their vulnerability. Access to quality education boosts human capital which is an effective tool to prevent or limit effects from vulnerability.

Interrelationships between assets, transforming structures and processes and livelihood strategies/activities are therefore created over time (Ellis, 2000).

d) Livelihood strategies and outcomes: According to Scoones (1998), there are three main types of livelihood strategies in rural areas: agricultural intensification (boosting production output using better methods or tools) and/or extensification (extend agricultural activities into additional areas); livelihood diversification (combining on and off-farm income generating activities); migration (seeking permanent or temporary employment elsewhere). The most frequently pursued strategy is a combination of the three (Scoones, 1998). As a result, people generate new and better (hopefully) livelihood outcomes such as higher income, increased well-being, lower vulnerability, improved food security, and a sustainable utilization of natural resources (DFID, 1999b; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998). Although most references in this chapter refer to livelihood outcomes as rather positive, one must keep in mind that outcomes can also be negative.

3.9 Linking Quality Education (QE) and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF)

The scope of this study is to discover what opinions stakeholders in secondary education have about quality education and to find out if they consider the secondary education in Kisoro to be relevant for local livelihood strategies. The two frameworks presented above are suitable for investigating situations within their domain, but neither of them bridges the concepts of QE and Sustainable livelihoods together. Figure 7 illustrates how the various enabling environments related to education are linked by processes to ensure quality. The framework is open-ended and evolving, thus, inviting readers to continue searching for approaches to improve the quality of education in local contexts (Tikly, 2011). Similarly, the SLF is not an accurate copy of reality but a guidance to understand and assess livelihoods.

The SLF has multiple entry points (Scoones, 1998: 7) and the education sector is one possible doorway for exploring livelihoods. The home and community environment within the EdQual framework is another potential start line for understanding livelihoods. I have contextualized the two models into a unique model: Quality Education and Livelihood Framework (QELF) (Figure 10).

3.10 A combined framework: Quality Education and Livelihood Framework (QELF)

By keeping in mind the features of DFID's models of Quality Education and Sustainable Livelihoods it should be fairly simple to understand the setup of the Quality Education and Livelihood (QELF). I have used the next paragraphs to outline its content. In line with the open-endedness in the original frameworks, the dashed lines in this model indicate a high level of fluidity between contexts. Furthermore, QELF refers to learners', households', and communities' asset base as an integral part of sustainable livelihoods.

The education context is replacing the SLF's transforming structures and processes. Schools are civic structures that provide education processes forming the enabling school environment in DFID's QE model. The education context includes basic enabling inputs displayed in UNESCO's model. The inter-relationships between enabling policy, human/community, and school environments displayed in DFID's education model are therefore present in QELF as constant influence between the education and societal contexts.

The education context in QELF is described as a strategy for change, meaning that people have the potential of using education as an instrument to increase their asset base, reduce

vulnerabilities and change livelihood strategies. This is in line with the social justice approach discussed earlier which refers to education as a tool for people to realize their capabilities. Changed livelihood outcomes influence the level of vulnerability, illustrated by a feedback loop to both the asset base and vulnerability context in Quality Education and Livelihood Framework (QELF).

The Quality Education and Livelihoods Framework (QELF)

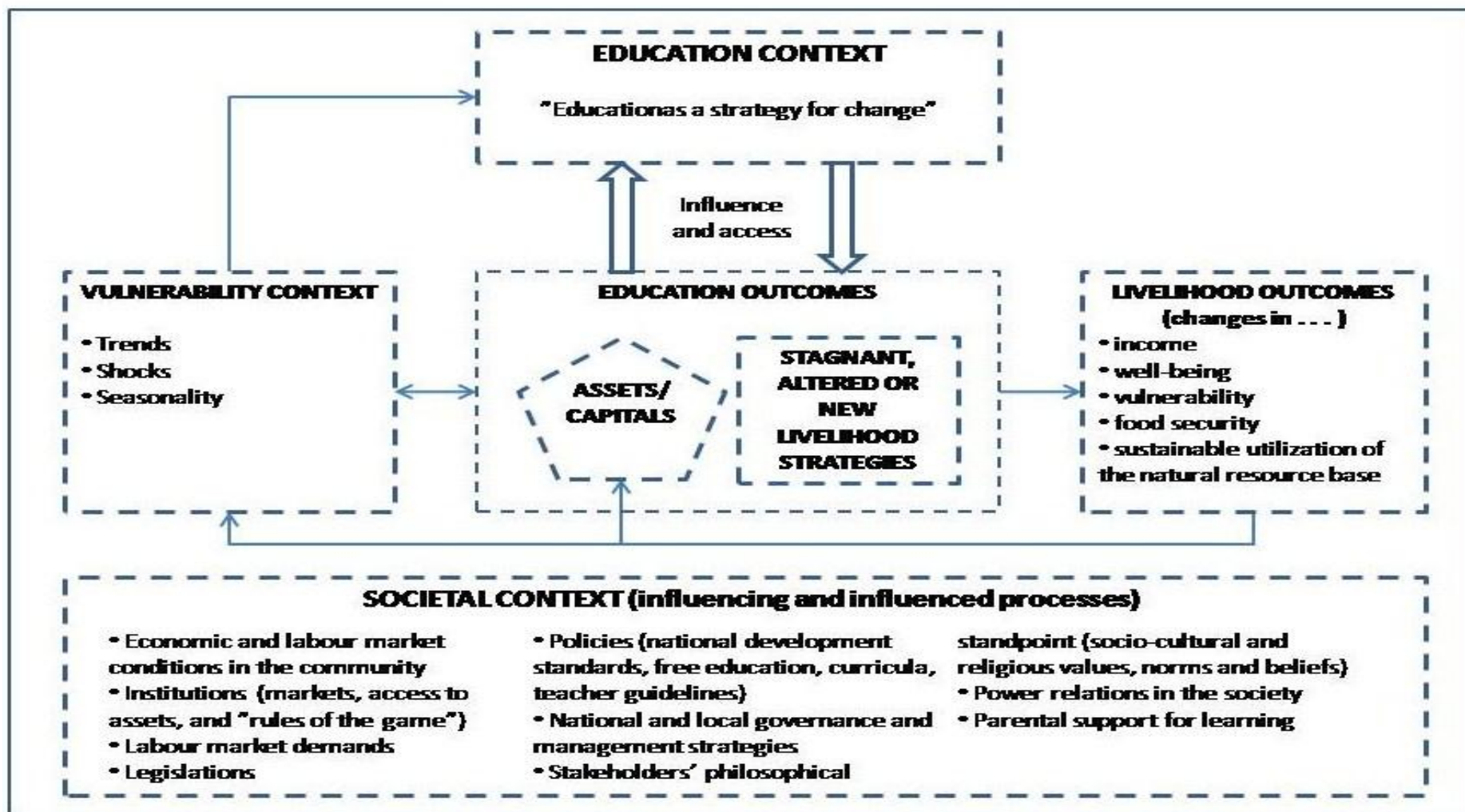


Figure 10 - The Quality Education and Livelihood Framework (QELF)
Source: Author (2011) adapted from DFID (1999b), UNESCO (2004) and Tikly (2011)

3.11 The relevance of education

Early in this chapter I mentioned the challenge of defining Quality Education (QE) and that international agencies are known for generalizing problems and approaches in educational improvement. The elaboration of QE has shown that quality is moving away from solely focusing on educational expansion towards creating and sustaining human development. It equips “young people with the skills they need to participate in social, economic and political life” (UNESCO, 2009: 104). Additionally, it results in human development by tapping into individuals' talents and potential and by developing their personalities giving them the opportunity to “improve their lives and transform their societies” (UNESCO, 2000: 8). Several scholars have discussed the importance of educational relevance in the African context, which DFID streamlined as one of three important principles in their QE framework. Samoff (2007), argues that QE is directly influenced by how well it is aligned with conditions in the local setting where education takes place. In fact, a contextualization of local practices related to health, agriculture, science and technology into school processes is important to improve the quality of education. In this way, the “links between the learning environments of school, home and community” could be strengthened (Omolewa, 2007: 606). However, today education systems are frequently not reflecting the dynamics of local contexts in sub-Saharan Africa.

3.11.1 Why investing in education?

Chimombo (2005) also argues that quality is more important than quantity in education. Just like in Uganda, a policy of free primary education was implemented in Malawi in the mid 1990s leading to a rapid increase in national enrollment rates. However, poor infrastructure, lack of teaching material and quality teachers resulted in schools' incapacity of enrolling and promoting children. Many dropped out before becoming literate. Parents pointed out that Quality Education is more than the provision of infrastructure and material as it “requires relevance to local needs, adaptability to local conditions, and flexibility in addressing cultural obstacles” (Chimombo, 2005: 168). Low quality has made stakeholders turning their backs on education as “no material benefit seems to come from” it (Chimombo, 2005: 168). In fact, investment in education often has low immediate economic effects, as the positive outcome of schooling usually materializes itself after 10 to 20 years (Hannum and Buchmann, 2005; Krueger and Lindahl, 2001). If quality education is not prioritized, the “Malawian society may soon contain a lot of young people who have passed through the primary cycle, but who cannot make a meaningful contribution to the development of the country” (Chimombo, 2005:

170). In that case, education is nothing more than a credential (Hannum and Buchmann, 2005). Lack of financial capacity is a common problem in households all over sub-Saharan Africa and when parents invest in education for their children it is a heavy financial burden for them. Many parents chose not to spend money on education when they know that the few available jobs require more than primary education (Sedel, 2005).

On the other hand, educational investment increases societies' economic output and individuals' earnings, and it strengthens people's ability of finding, creating and shifting employment (Olaniyan and Okemakinde, 2008). Parents in many developing countries believe that education increases chances of getting well paid jobs, meaning that they see their children's education as an exit from poverty. They may also choose not to invest in education of low quality (Olaniyan and Okemakinde, 2008). In other words, there are voices within the QE literature linking quality to the importance of improving livelihood strategies. Especially in terms of strengthening people's ability to establish income generating activities.

The majority of people in low-income countries live in rural societies dominated by agriculture, where the school curricula is oriented towards urban lifestyles (Szirmai, 2005). Consequently, the focus on subjects of relevance for the local population, such as agriculture, is almost non-existent. To foster socio-economic development through secondary education the focus should be on developing "educational systems that are both relevant to the life situations of people in developing countries and provide meaningful entry into the modern international world of science and technology" (Szirmai, 2005: 241).

3.11.2 Human capital and sustainable livelihoods

People follow various livelihood strategies to build their societies, and for that they depend on "basic material and social, tangible and intangible assets" (Scoones, 1998: 7). Many developing countries invest in the education sector to empower individuals and to streamline "values, ideas, attitudes and aspirations which may be in the nation's best development interest" (Olaniyan and Okemakinde, 2008: 161). These assets are livelihood resources, also mentioned as various forms of capital (Ellis, 2000; Carney, 1998). The sequence in which these strategies are applied is important, and certain resources are necessary pre-requisites. This study has earlier referred to Quality Education as an irreplaceable ingredient for socio-economic development. There is, however, one livelihood asset that is more related to quality education than others; human capital. The following sections elaborate how the concept is seen from the perspective of sustainable livelihoods.

Scoones (1998: 8) defines human capital as “the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health and physical capability important for the successful pursuit of different livelihood strategies”. People’s human capital increases when developing knowledge through education, and it is often materialized through increased productivity and higher income (Ellis, 2000). Put differently, it is a development of people's potential as “productive agents, changing abilities and skills, even modifying motivations and values” (Peet and Hartwick, 2009: 69). It is therefore clear that human capital and human capabilities, which I discussed during the presentation of the social justice approach, are interchangeable concepts.

Education is an important ingredient in production activities. In line with human capital theory (and the capability approach) Olaniyan and Okemakinde (2008) argue that knowledge accumulated by previous generations should be absorbed by next generations. They should build on previous experiences and develop new knowledge in form of livelihood strategies, products and services. In fact, by obtaining resources needed for processing new ideas and solutions through education, technological advancement is accelerated (Olaniyan and Okemakinde, (2008). Overall, the human capital theory therefore states “that an educated population is a productive population” (Olaniyan and Okemakinde, 2008: 158). Hence, quality education is a necessary instrument for attaining such capabilities.

3.11.3 Education alone does not create and maintain sustainable livelihoods

Hannum and Buchmann (2005) refer to international development agencies such as, UNESCO and the World Bank, arguing how these multilateral agencies assume that socio-economic development derives from education related factors such as human capital building, expansion of educational opportunities, an increase in social equality, and improvement of health and democracy. However, according to Hannum and Buchmann (2005), education does not necessarily have impact on socio-economic development. They ask if economic growth increase the quality of education or if quality education generate economic growth? This controversy is evident in countries such as Uganda that have a large rural and poor population group which traditionally do not have good access to wage employment. Even if this group of people is the one that could benefit the most from education, they may not be able to take advantage of it. So theoretically, unemployment rates would rise or remain the same in such a situation. Even with high levels of educational quality, people would not be able to generate more income when living in poor macroeconomic and labour market environments (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011; Hanushek and Woessmann, 2007). In fact, job markets in sub-Saharan Africa are often not aligned with the curricula provided in schools (Gakusi, 2010).

Education also gives few returns to rural people who live in stagnant societies, especially in terms of agricultural practices (Hannum and Buchmann, 2005). Farmers, who have modernized their production techniques and increased their economic standard of living, take more advantage of education than people who have not experienced this empowerment. Therefore, when evaluating educational investments economically, direct returns should be regarded. Such returns show the balance between opportunity costs and expected benefits (Olaniyan and Okemakinde, 2008).

In terms of health, the expansion of education has positive effects. In Uganda, figures “indicate that children of better-educated mothers have lower mortality rates”, and that educated women, regardless the quality of the education, are more able to process information about health” than uneducated women (Hannum and Buchmann, 2005: 342). Nevertheless, there is a “need to develop data collection strategies that allow more detailed national contexts, and thus enable investigations of the attributes of education that facilitates outcomes across a variety of realms” (Hannum and Buchmann, 2005: 342). The usefulness of combining the frameworks presented in this thesis is therefore clear.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

“Methodology is the science or critical study of methods” (Bond, 2005: 21).

This chapter will describe the study’s methodology which is based on a mixed methods approach of both qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis tools. It is based on a combination of research designs. Then the study area and key informants are characterized followed by the strategies for selecting schools and respondents. Similarly, the data collection tools and the results from using them are presented. The chapter ends with technical details, data analysis methods and ethical considerations.

4.2 Research strategy: mixed methods approach

The first objective of this study is to study the quality of secondary school education in Kisoro district, south-western Uganda. The indicators of quality education and education challenges will be identified. Extra attention has been given to the applied teaching and learning strategies. Secondly, people’s livelihood strategies will be explored by evaluating its usefulness in a sustainable livelihood perspective.

It is important to make ontological considerations when carrying out field work. According to Bryman (2008), ontology describes the relationship between social actors and social entities. The ontological position of objectivism views social entities as theories or structures existing outside our reach. They are external, such as hierarchy, laws and regulations among groups of people or within organizations (Bryman, 2008). Shaped by objectivism, quantitative research methods are therefore rooted in the paradigm of positivism which is usually related to the application of numerical “experiments, surveys and statistics” (Bond, 2005: 23). In contrast, qualitative research methods share the ontology of constructivism which uses social drivers to describe social phenomena: relationships between actors and entities are shaped and altered during interaction (Bryman, 2008). Qualitative research is an interpretative social science (Bond, 2005) and “a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2009: 4).

Every data collection method has weaknesses. A pure quantitative approach based on laws and formulas applied in social science research may be irrelevant for “the actual lives of real

people” (Bond, 2005: 23), and qualitative methods might become diffuse as they often generate knowledge without having facts and figures to ‘hold on to’. Furthermore, many factors may influence the research outcome, such as data collection methods and research questions. During field work, one might discover that some research methods or questions are not adequately addressing the objectives. Challenges may also be encountered during the process of analyzing collected data, which may reveal surprises in form of lacking or irrelevant information. To overcome these problems, I used a “mixed methods research” approach (Bryman, 2008: 602) taking advantage of the combined effect of both qualitative and quantitative strategies. Bryman (2008: 606) argues that “a research method from one research strategy is viewed as capable of being pressed into the service of another.” In this way, the qualitative and quantitative approaches are “triangulated” in order to compliment each other’s limitations, and to avoid biased pitfalls from single methods (Bryman, 2008: 379; Patton, 2002: 247).

I triangulated my approach by carrying out both qualitative and semi-structured interviews, which enabled me to collect data of both constructive and objective character. I strengthened my understanding of the society through hands-on experience and observation. The mixed methods approach also assisted me in locating secondary data of both qualitative and quantitative nature to complement my personally collected dataset. The information at hand therefore enabled me to produce both statistics and qualitative text. My approach to research therefore held a “pragmatic worldview” (Creswell, 2009: 10).

4.3 Research design

It is important to select one or a combination of research designs to give the research approach a sense of direction. Such strategies of inquiry may form a framework for data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2008: 31; Creswell, 2009: 11). The terminology of these designs varies from source to source. Bryman (2008), refers to them as experimental, cross-sectional, longitudinal, case studies, and comparative designs. Creswell (2009) expands the list with ethnography, phenomenological research, grounded theory and narrative research.

There are various ways of labelling these designs. Both Bryman (2008) and Creswell (2009) agree that several design options, such as cross-sectional and experimental designs, are more used in quantitative than in qualitative research. Simultaneously, they argue that the designs can be applied to fit both camps depending on the situation. Research designs may also be

fixed or flexible (Walliman, 2006: 42). Fixed designs, such as cross-sectional, longitudinal and experimental designs, are usually applied in quantitative research as they facilitate the deduction of collected data based on pre-established theory. Flexible designs such as case studies, ethnographic designs and grounded theory, evolve together with the data collection in an inductive manner (Walliman, 2006: 42). As a general observation, it is therefore argued that when research designs are applied in quantitative studies, they often get a deductive character, and become inductive when applied in qualitative approaches (Bryman, 2008: 54).

I decided to combine three designs in my research which are presented and discussed below with the following order; cross-sectional, multi-case study and comparative design. Bryman (2008: 44) emphasizes key elements in his definition of cross-sectional design, and I have used them to describe how I applied the design in my research.

“A cross-sectional design entails the collection of data on more than one case (usually quite a lot more than one).” In this research, I have collected data from a large number of individuals from different groups of stakeholders in education.

“...at a single point in time.” I collected my data more or less at the same time (during two weeks).

“...in order to collect a body of quantitative or quantifiable data.” I used qualitative methods to collect data, and most of it is therefore qualitative. However, much of the information is quantifiable, which means that I can create statistics based on qualitative information.

“... in connection with two or more variables (usually many more than two)...” My variables vary between the different sample groups and include independent variables such as age, gender, educational qualification, workplace, position, and dependent variables such as teaching and learning strategies, education relevance, and challenges in education, among others.

“... Which are then examined to detect patterns of association.” Most of the questions I asked to all individuals within a group of stakeholders (Head teachers, teachers, parents and local leaders) were the same, which means I can compare them with each other and correlate them with various variables.

According to Walliman (2006: 45), a case study is associated “with a social group, community, system, organization, institution, or even person or a type of personality.” It is

therefore the “attention on a single instance of some social phenomenon” (Babbie, 2010: 309). I have collected data from four different groups of stakeholders in education (Head teachers, teachers, parents and local leaders) and I regard them as multiple case studies. Additionally, I found it logical to characterize my research design as comparative since I am comparing different case studies with each other. In fact, the comparative design is often used in cross-national research where social phenomena in different countries are compared using the same research tools (Hantrais (1996) in Bryman, 2008: 58). I have used the same principle in my research, only at a different level.

4.4 Selection of study area

I selected Uganda as my research country primarily because I have spent much time there since 2007 both as an exchange bachelor student in development studies at Makerere University and as a volunteer working for the Uganda National Teachers’ Union (UNATU). As a result, I have gained much knowledge about local development related matters, especially in the education sector, and also established a broad network of personal contacts. My experience with the Ugandan history, cultures and languages enabled me to skip the ‘settling-in’ phase one must go through when arriving new to a country. Altogether, Uganda was therefore a natural choice. I feel especially attached to south-west Uganda as most of my personal network extends into the districts of Mbarara, Ibanda, Kabale and Kisoro (see figure 1). In the process of choosing a study area, I therefore considered the availability of research assistants who could be helpful for logistics, language interpretation and to identify key informants. Thus, after considering the various options, I came to understand that Kisoro district would be a good option.

The main reason for selecting Kisoro district is that I wanted to study an area where little similar research has been carried out before. After searching the literature, I realized that Kisoro district is seldom mentioned. In fact, in Uganda as a whole, very little has been written about the sustainable livelihoods framework through the lens of quality education. I therefore hoped this research could assist in filling that gap. Kisoro is a relevant place for applying the sustainable livelihoods framework because of its dense demography and fragmented land combined with people’s reliance on subsistence farming. This research investigates what quality secondary education means to people in the district and what relevance the education they access has for them in a sustainable livelihood perspective.

4.5 Time frame for field work

During the months before I commenced my fieldwork, I was informed by research assistant *one* that the third and last term in secondary schools in Uganda end in early December. This was confirmed by MoES (2009b: 3) in its 2010 school calendar where term three in “primary, secondary, technical/farm schools and community polytechnics” was scheduled to last from 6th September 2010 to 3rd December 2010. I therefore planned for my field work to start in early November 2010. That would give me approximately one month to collect data.

Unexpectedly, research assistant *one* informed me during our first communication in October 2010 about the schedule for most secondary schools in Kisoro districts, and that they would end term three on 12th November 2010. I was therefore encouraged to carry out my field work immediately in order to finalize before school closure. As part of my master program at UIA, I submitted my research proposal on 29th October 2010, and I could therefore not carry out my data collection before that. It was also important to collect data in November, as the schools would first re-open in early February 2011. Hence, I conducted my field work between 1st and 14th November 2010.

4.6 The roles of research assistants and key informants

I used five research assistants during the preparation and execution of my field work. In this thesis, I refer to them as research assistant *one*, *two*, *three*, *four*, and *driver*.

Research assistant *one*: Originates from Kisoro district and lives there. Speaks the local language, and has a broad professional network in the district’s education and political systems. Assisted with; making the initial contact with Head teachers and the various local leaders by printing and giving them the cover letters; coordinating the Head teachers and local leaders; distributing and collecting the questionnaires; making appointments with respondents; transporting me to and from the schools.

Research assistant *two*: Originates from the district and speaks all the languages in the region. Assisted with; interpretation of the local language during interviews with parents; contextualizing semi-structured interview guides and questionnaires; carrying out interviews with parents.

Research assistant *three*: Has previously assisted several master students in carrying out their research. Assisted with; contextualizing semi-structured interview guides and questionnaires; carrying out interviews with parents.

Research assistant *four*: Works in one of the sampled schools and speaks the local language. Assisted with; interpretation of the local language during interviews with parents.

The *driver*: Transported me and research assistants *two* and *three* to and from the research area. Assisted with; transporting me and research assistants *two* and *three* to and from the research area; transporting us within the research area during week two.

4.7 Sampling

My goal was to use random sampling techniques for choosing study areas and respondents in this research. However, it was challenging to describe the importance of random sampling to my research assistants, and to ensure its concepts being applied during the selection phases. As a result, I decided to focus more on the qualitative aspects during the course of this study. I will use the following sections to describe the sampling processes and the related challenges, and speculate on what differences the lack of randomness may cause.

4.7.1 Selection of schools

I communicated with research assistant *one* by email and phone in October 2010 where I presented a list of all secondary schools in Kisoro that I could identify (MoES, 2008: 8-9). I expressed my interest in visiting five of them stressing the importance of “stratified random sampling” (Bryman, 2008: 173), meaning that schools in all sub-counties, both rural and urban, would be given a fair chance of being selected. Surprisingly, a list of five schools was presented based on my assistant’s personal contacts in those institutions (see Figure 11). I classified this as “non-probability sampling”, or “convenience sampling” (Bailey, 2007: 64; Bryman, 2008: 183; Creswell, 2009: 148; Patton, 2002: 241; Babbie, 2010: 197), because of that bias. The assistant could have selected the schools based on their performance or quality. Hence, I risked receiving only positive response on questions about quality education and challenges while the reality could be quite different. This factor could have been eliminated by a higher sample number. Furthermore, I realized that all except two schools were situated in vicinity of Kisoro town, and I suspected they had been selected because they would be ‘easy-to-reach’. Thus, all other secondary schools in Kisoro district had not been added to the

pool of schools the samples were extracted from. I risked not being able to identify challenges such as long distances, which is an evident problem in rural Kisoro. I accepted the samples because of three reasons:

1. Research assistant *one* convinced me that the personal bias had not influenced the sampling process. The schools had indeed been selected because of their location, because it would counter for the logistical challenges of limited time and weather conditions. I would not have managed to visit several ‘hard-to-reach’ schools in two weeks, because of long distances and poor road conditions during and after rainfall. In order to interview the head teacher, five teachers and five parents from each school, it was necessary to visit each site twice. I lived in Kisoro town during my field work and would not have had time to reach each school twice or more during the duration of two weeks if they had been too hard-to-reach, or if the teachers and parents had not been available during the first visits.



Figure 11 – Selected secondary schools in Kisoro district seen from north-east
Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (Plotted in Google Earth, 2011)

2. The assistant used “criterion” sampling (Bailey, 2007: 65; Patton, 2002: 243) meaning that the selected schools fulfilled certain criteria of interest. It is therefore characterized as a

purposeful sample method. And my interest in this study was to get a general picture of the situation among schools in Kisoro, ranging from their location, ownership, level, gender and whether or not they offer boarding facilities. By selecting two urban, one sub-urban, and two rural schools, the first stratification criterion was fulfilled despite a rather centred geographical distribution (Figure 11). The second criterion was met as four governmental and one private school was selected. Then three O-level and two A-level schools were chosen. The assistant made sure to select one boys' and one girls' school and three mixed schools, and among them, two day schools and three boarding schools.

3. Research assistant *one* explained the importance of being formally introduced to the head teachers in each school before arrival in order for them to take my research seriously. My assistant worked as an accountant in one of the selected schools, and had personal relations with staff members within three other schools. The pre-established trust and respect would make it easier to carry out interviews.

As a result of the above justification, five secondary schools in four sub-counties were selected as study sites: Seseme SS and Kisoro Comprehensive SS in Kisoro Town County (TC) (urban), Chahi Seed SS in Chahi sub-county (rural), Muhanga SS in Nyondo sub-county (rural), and Mutolere SS in Nyakabande sub-county (sub-urban). There are over 25 secondary schools in Kisoro district (see chapter 2), and my sample of two rural schools may seem unrepresentative. However, during my stay in the area, I learnt that the situation in rural schools is quite uniform. They all struggle with the same challenges. I therefore believe that the sample quality is more important than the sample size.

4.7.2 Description of the study sites

a) Chahi Seed SS: The school is located approximately 8km south east of Kisoro town in the midst of cultivated terrain. The access road, which is on route to Rwanda, is of relative good quality compared to other roads in Kisoro, and they are currently in the process of upgrading it from gravel to tarmac. I used 20 minutes to reach the school by *Boda-Boda* (motorcycle taxi). The compound has five buildings; one administrative, three classroom buildings, and one kitchen facility. The site also had designated areas for practicing agriculture.

b) Kisoro Comprehensive SS: The school is situated less than a km East of Kisoro town centre. The compound has five main buildings; one administrative/classroom building, one pure classroom building, one dormitory, one kitchen facility, and the head teacher's residence. The school runs a small farm, where the students carry out agricultural practices.

c) Muhanga SS: The school is located around 15km from Kisoro town on the North side of Lake Mulehe (Figure 11). The access road consists of gravel and stone and traverses rough terrain. It is of poor quality, especially during and after rainfall. I was lucky to visit the school unaffected by difficult weather, and it took me around 45 minutes to reach the school by *Boda-Boda* and car. The school's surrounding area is very hilly, and most of the terrain as far as the eye can see is cultivated. The kitchen facility and administrative building, which also have two classrooms, are constructed on a hillside, and the remaining four classroom buildings are situated on a lower altitude next to the lake.

d) Mutolere SS: The school is found around 4km from Kisoro town on a plateau surrounded by small hills. The access road is of relative good quality, though, random potholes and small pointy volcanic stones make the journey on a *Boda-Boda* quite unpleasant. The trip lasted for approximately 20 minutes. The compound is very large compared to other school yards in Kisoro, including several sports grounds. It has numerous buildings for different purposes such as, administration, classrooms, kitchen, dormitories, and teachers' quarters.

e) Seseme SS: The school constructed in Kisoro town and is easily accessible. The compound looked quite similar to Mutolere SS, except for the latter school's large sport grounds.

4.7.3 Selection of respondents

a) Head teachers and teachers: The process of selecting head teachers was simple as there is only one in each school. I therefore selected the whole population of head teachers from the available sample of five schools. Simple random sampling or probability sample is regarded as the most desired method for selecting individuals as each participant in the population in question has an equal chance of being picked (Bryman, 2008: 171; Creswell, 2009: 148; Patton, 2002: 243; Babbie, 2010: 198). In order to select such a sample of teachers, my wish was to acquire a list of all teachers working in each school in line with the cluster sampling approach (Creswell, 2009: 148) and then randomly select five teachers to be interviewed. However, a number of factors experienced during my first school visit at Seseme SS made this approach unrealistic:

- 1.** Several teachers were absent.
- 2.** Some teachers showed unwillingness to participate in the study because it interfered with their school work. Several potential interviewees were busy marking exams papers and planning their lessons during the time of visit.

3. I visited the schools during the examination period, thus, I felt that I could not ‘steal’ teachers’ time by keeping them from entering class as this could affect the exam preparation, execution and results.

4. Despite several efforts to explain the importance of random sampling, research assistant *one* encouraged me to save time by selecting those teachers we came across. Their availability reminded me about ‘convenience sampling’, where “cases that require little effort or forethought” are selected (Bailey, 2007: 65).

School	Identifier(s)	Sampling method(s)	Interviewer(s)	Location of interviews
Chahi SS	Researcher	Convenience and simple random sampling	Researcher	Chahi SS
Kisoro Comprehensive SS	Researcher and Deputy Head teacher	Convenience and simple random sampling	Researcher	Kisoro Comprehensive SS
Muhanga SS	Head teacher	Convenience and simple random sampling	Researcher	Muhanga SS
Mutolere SS	Deputy Head teacher	Convenience and simple random sampling	Researcher	Mutolere SS
Seseme SS	Researcher and research assistant one	Convenience and simple random sampling	Researcher	Seseme SS

Table 4 - Selection of teachers
Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011)

I decided to ‘conveniently’ select respondents from the staff room since all teachers, when at work, entered this room several times a day, thus, as a minimum requirement, ensuring a random sample of available respondents during the time of visit. This sampling approach was used in Chahi Seed SS, Kisoro Comprehensive SS, Mutolere SS and Seseme SS (See Table 4). In Muhanga SS, there were only five teachers present at school during the time of visit, and I had the opportunity to interview four of them. I interviewed the fifth respondent from Muhanga SS in Kisoro town.

In defence of this situation, it is important to mention that there is a difference between “conscious and unconscious sampling bias” (Babbie, 2010: 196), whereby I consciously accepted this non-random sample of teachers because of time constraints and transportation issues. I could have selected five random names from a list to ensure that all teachers had a chance of being selected, though; this could have forced me to visit the school several times;

to meet the teachers outside school or search for them at home; to wait after the examination period had ended; or to wait until the schools had re-opened in February 2011. A random sample would definitely ensure that all kinds of teachers could be chosen; male and female, trained and untrained, volunteers and employed, old and young, experienced and inexperienced, and teachers with socio-economically poor or wealthy backgrounds. Different teachers most probably have different ideas about quality education and livelihoods, and a random sample could capture these differences and their characteristics. Nonetheless, since I carried out flexible in-depth interviews, I could get the information relevant for this research. For example, after getting to know an interviewee's qualification level, I could probe more into that feature to see if unqualified teachers had other opinions about the relevance of secondary education than qualified teachers.

b) Parents: The initial plan for identifying respondents among parents was to follow the same procedure as first attempted during the process of selecting teachers (cluster sampling). I wanted to acquire a list of all parents with connection to each school, and then select five parents from each list. I presented this idea to the head teachers after interviewing them. However, I was discouraged from doing so because, either they did not have a list of all parents, or locating the parents selected from such a list would become a cumbersome and time consuming process. They did not believe I would have time to visit parents in hard-to-reach areas, and I could also risk failing to locate many of them as they would most probably be carrying out agricultural activities during the day. Nonetheless, each individual who assisted me in this process agreed to find a way around this problem using a combination of methods when identifying parents (See Table 5).

All the head teachers told me that parents do not necessarily live near the respective schools. They usually select schools for their children based on what their pockets can afford, not because of the schools' geographical location. Parents' economy is therefore a more decisive factor rather than the geography. The quality of education provided in schools is also important for them. Hence, the head teacher at Kisoro Comprehensive SS made a valid point about the geographic distribution of parents being random. This factor could fulfil my wish of using random sampling. Seven names and their contact information were tagged from a list of available parents. Eventually, I managed to interview three individual parents and one married couple related to this school. However, the sample can only be characterized as purposeful sampling, not random. I feared the samples would become too selective, meaning that only English speaking parents with a relative high socio-economic status would be chosen. This

would give me “good” information and the interview process would run smoothly without the need of interpreters. However, I was interested in talking to parents with various socio-economic backgrounds, as I believed vernacular speaking poor subsistence farmers would share different information than for example English speaking shop owners. A random sample would have increased my chances of interviewing all kinds of parents. However, the non-random sampling seemed not to affect the source or quality of information I received, because we interviewed parents in rural areas, seemingly both poor and wealthier individuals, and parents living in or with connection to Kisoro town.

School	Identifier(s) of parents	Sampling method	Interviewer(s)	Location of interviews
Chahi SS	Researcher and research assistant <i>two</i>	Random sampling	Researcher and research assistant <i>two</i>	Chahi SS
Kisoro Comprehensive SS	Head teacher	Combination	Research assistants <i>two</i> and <i>three</i>	Kisoro Town County; Nyarusiza Sub-County
Muhanga SS	Head teacher	Combination	Research assistants <i>two</i> and <i>four</i>	Muhanga SS
Mutolere SS	Teacher	Combination	Researcher and research assistant <i>two</i>	Mutolere SS
Seseme SS	Deputy head teacher	Combination	Research assistants <i>two</i> and <i>three</i>	Kisoro Town County

Table 5 – The selection process of parents and general interview information

Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011)

Research assistants *two* and *three* visited Seseme SS meeting the deputy head teacher after I had carried out interviews with teachers. The deputy was informed about the principle of random sampling and the desired approach of utilizing a list of all parents. Due to the non-existence of such a list, a report of available parents was presented instead, and my assistants randomly extracted seven names and carried out five interviews later that same day.

During my first visit to Muhanga SS, the head teacher agreed to identify five parents following the principle of random sampling basing his selection on a list of available parents. The five interviews were carried out two days later within the school compound with assistance from research assistants *two* and *four*.

Research assistant *one* contacted a teacher at Mutolere SS who agreed to identify five parents and invite them to school. The contact was briefed about the importance of random sampling,

and similarly to the selection of parents at Kisoro Comprehensive SS and Muhanga SS, five available parents were identified. The parents were interviewed at the school compound with help from assistant *two*.

The head teacher at Chahi SS reported that a meeting for all parents was scheduled within the timeframe of my field work. Since all parents were invited, it would be an excellent opportunity to get a random sample. The parents did not arrive as one group at a single point in time, but rather as a continuous stream of individuals before and during the first half of the meeting. We waited by the compound entrance and asked a random individual if he or she wanted to be interviewed. All of them were eager to participate. Then we carried out the interview and went back to the gate for a new selection round. We continued this cycle until we had a sample of five respondents. I expected that parents who came late for the school event to more likely say no than those arriving in time since they risked missing important information by talking to us instead. However, it seemed like the interviewees regarded the interviews as exciting and equally important.

c) Local leaders: I presented my interest in collecting information from ten local leaders in an email to research assistant *one* prior to my arrival in Kisoro. I pointed out that they should be stakeholders in education such as representatives from the Local Councils (level 1 to 5), the Uganda National Teachers' Union (UNATU) and the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES). In this case, research assistant *one* used a personal social network to identify available local leaders who live in proximity of the study area. When I arrived in Kisoro, we distributed questionnaires to 8 local leaders, while I carried out interviews with 3 using the same questionnaire (1 alone and 2 with research assistant *two*).

4.8 Data collection methods

4.8.1 Semi-structured interviews

As this study investigates how stakeholders in secondary education consider the quality of education to be, I decided to utilize qualitative interviews during surveys with Head teachers, teachers and parents. Qualitative interviews are conversations “in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent” (Babbie, 2010: 320). Consequently, this flexibility helped me to go ‘in-depth’ uncovering issues that could have been ignored with the more rigid nature of “structured

interviews” (Bryman, 2008: 437). Hence, I found semi-structured interviews to be the most appropriate tool as they enabled me to ask questions adhering to pre-defined topics without following a specific order (Bailey, 2007). During the interviews with Head teachers and teachers, I therefore used an “interview guide” or “check-list” (Appendix 3). I adjusted my language to each individual’s background and ability to speak English by designing questions from bullet-points during the meeting. This guided me through the issues to be covered, and helped me bringing the conversations back on track when the respondents went off topic. The flexibility of this guide was important as the participants revealed threads of information based on remarks made by the researcher, or by themselves, thus, leading to both expected and unexpected answers. The experience of carrying out the first interviews enabled me to know the most suitable order of asking questions or raising topics. Except from the extra questions, “a similar wording” was “used from interviewee to interviewee” (Bryman, 2008: 438). In a sense, the semi-structured interviews became structured with qualitative features.

Afterwards, I used semi-structured interviews during surveys of parents. The guide used during these interviews consisted of specific questions (Appendix 4) and were designed based on the information shared by head teachers and teachers. The earlier interviews had given me a picture of the situation in Kisoro, thus making it easier to know what to ask parents. The order of these questions was structured. Nevertheless, I gave the respondents flexibility to go in-depth as long as their information was within range of my study.

4.8.2 Self-completion questionnaires

I collected information from 9 local leaders who operated on the 3 lowest Local Council levels (LC1-LC3), along with 1 teacher union chairperson, and 1 district land officer, using self-completion questionnaires (see Appendix 5). Different from questionnaires used in quantitative research, which “have fewer open questions” (Bryman, 2008: 217), these ones had a majority of open-ended questions giving the respondents freedom to go ‘in depth.’ Bryman (2008: 217) argues that self-completion questionnaires save time, and I selected this tool because of my time constraints in Kisoro. After administering the questionnaires, I could continue carrying out interviews with other respondent groups, and collect them. As a result, I managed to access more information than if I had relied on interviews only.

4.8.3 Interviews and conversations with key informants

“Key informants are people who are particularly knowledgeable about the inquiry setting and articulate about their knowledge-people whose insights can prove particularly useful in helping an observer understand what is happening and why” (Patton, 2002: 321).

My key informants included a Head teacher in secondary school, a retired secondary school teacher, and my research assistant *two*. Their information helped me to understand the most important features of local livelihoods in Kisoro and impacting factors. They also shared information about how the education sector in Uganda, and more specifically in Kisoro district, has evolved through history, and how it has been impacted by socio-political and economical disturbances. Furthermore, they taught me about the design of secondary education, and how the political system is organized in Kisoro. There is a danger of obtaining biased and even wrong information from informants, and as a general rule, such knowledge should be regarded as “perceptions, not truths” (Patton, 2002: 321). In response, I made sure to ask peers for possible candidates, as the opinion of other sources was a good indication about the informants’ ability to provide ‘quality’ information (Mikkelsen, 2005: 89).

4.8.4 Observations

I gained additional knowledge about the quality of education in and outside school when experiencing how school compounds, classrooms and latrines looked like, how the children were dressed, and how they were taught. When utilizing the local road network between schools and villages, and experiencing heavy rainfall, I understood why children and teachers often come late to school or are absent. When observing how fragmented the land was, knowing how many people reside in Kisoro district, I understood why many people’s socio-economic life is stagnant as the little land they have is used to support subsistence farming. Besides interviewing people, I therefore gained information about the informal and social setting surrounding people through observation and experience.

4.8.5 Secondary data

The secondary data used in this research will be presented in the literature review. This will enable the researcher to relate empirical information collected during field work to international and national literature about the selected topic. During the early planning of my research, I realized the importance of supporting collected data with secondary sources in order to strengthen its reliability. The information was gathered using the internet during the course of 2010 and 2011. There have been several joined efforts to carry out cross-national studies about the education sector in sub-Saharan Africa, which has proved useful for me when discussing the various issues in Ugandan secondary education. The Ministry of Education and Sport (MoES) carried out a headcount in schools in Kisoro (MoES, 2009a), and describes the district’s enrolment status, though, without mentioning anything about quality education. The most reliable source of information from Kisoro used in this research is

“a situation analysis of priority farm enterprises and technology adoption status in the south west highlands of Uganda” (Nanyeenya *et al.*, 2009), where recent data about local livelihood strategies was collected in Kisoro using a thorough methodology. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that most national literature from Uganda varies in quality. For example, the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MoFPED) carried out a Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPP) in Kisoro district in 2000, which is now outdated (MoFPED, 2000). The local government in Kisoro issued an interdisciplinary report in 2007/2008 providing information about livelihoods in Kisoro with a special focus on the environment (KDLG, 2008). However, most of the data is unreliable as it does not contain a methodology.

4.9 Technical details about the data collection process

4.9.1 Interpretation of the local language and interview length

All head teachers, teachers, and the various local leaders mastered the English language. However, the majority of the parents who participated primarily spoke Rufumbira. Research assistant *two*, who mastered the vernacular language, was therefore actively involved in all the interviews of parents as interpreter. Questions were first asked in English, and then translated into Rufumbira. The respondents' answers were translated back to English and the process eventually became very time consuming. Nevertheless, this enabled me to transcribe the interviews without too much effort. The voice records of head teachers, teachers and parents lasted on average approximately 30 minutes, 23 minutes and 26 minutes, respectively.

4.9.2 The interview environments

Various factors made the interviews difficult to conduct and frequently affected the sound quality. I carried out several interviews with teachers outdoors when all rooms were occupied, and the recording quality was severely reduced due to noise coming from the school compound. When seated indoors, noise from slamming doors and people talking in neighbouring rooms was often disturbing as it interrupted the interview and reduced the sound quality. At times, people would even enter the room to collect things they needed during the interviews, which also hindered interviewees from speaking freely. During interviews with teachers at Mutolere SS, and with parents a few days later, hailstorms battering the metallic roofs made it impossible to record voices. I therefore waited for the weather to calm down before continuing, which wasted both the respondents' and my time. However, weather is a

factor beyond control and the respondents expressed great patience. Another factor, which I first realized during the voice transcription, was the effect of noisy mobile phone signals that had disturbed the recording despite the fact they had been in silent mode during the interviews. This effect is also recognizable when receiving phone calls near televisions and radios. Some respondents' voices were also really weak making their interviews difficult to transcribe.

4.9.3 Respondents' reactions to data collection

It is well known that some areas around the world are frequently visited by researchers of all kinds, and the same individuals might be interviewed or asked to fill questionnaires more than once. Future visits from researchers might therefore be experienced as repetitive and useless. Several interviewees and respondents asked how this research will benefit the people of Kisoro. I said the knowledge accumulated as a result of this research will be added to the existing body of knowledge within the field of social sciences. And hopefully, this research will be available for stakeholders in education in Kisoro as I plan to leave a copy of my thesis with the Head teacher of Mutolere SS, who is the chairperson of Secondary school Head teachers in Kisoro district. Furthermore, several individuals called for an increased presence of students like me, researchers in general, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), as they believed the problems in Kisoro district are to a large extent ignored compared to the attention other districts in Uganda receive. Several individuals also hoped that my research could attract the attention of Uganda's government to Kisoro district for solving problems related to reforms, policies, infrastructure, and supply and payment of school staff.

4.9.4 Logistics and time

A major challenge faced during my field work was to reach the research sites and travel back to my motel in Kisoro town each day within a reasonable amount of time. Kisoro Comprehensive SS and Seseme SS are situated in the district centre and were therefore easily accessible by foot. However, Chahi SS, Muhanga SS and Mutolere SS are situated 8km, 5km and 15km, respectively, from town, which demanded some extra coordination. During my first trip to Muhanga SS, and Chahi SS a few days later, I was transported by research assistant *one* on a *boda-boda*, which is a motorcycle. It is frequently used for transporting passengers in Uganda, and Kisoro district is no exception. The roads between Kisoro town and the surrounding villages are of poor quality and become inaccessible for most vehicles during rainfall. During the first week of my field work, the *boda-bodas* were the only available means of transport which stopped me from utilizing time efficiently. With the time I

had available, it would be impossible to reach the most remote schools twice to interview teachers and parents, as one return trip would last an entire day. During the second week, research assistant *two* and *three* plus their *driver* joined me with a Toyota Land Cruiser. During the following days, we therefore managed to reach Muhanga SS and Chahi SS one last time, along with two return trips to Mutolere SS. It is important to mention that it was the combination of coordinating appointments with Head teachers, teachers and parents, and logistics that made it challenging to carry out this field work within two weeks.

4.10 Data analysis

4.10.1 Transcription and coding

I spent two months transcribing the recorded interviews using Microsoft Office Word 2007. Then, I imported the files using a qualitative data analysis program called NVivo 9. The program was useful for coding the interviews. I created categories based on the different themes of information I found in respondents' answers. Eventually, I had numerous categories/themes stored in folders as chunks of text with links back to the original source. I made sure to group the categories according to each field work question and to each respondent group. Afterwards, I used the categories as dependent variables.

NVivo allowed me to assign a profile to each respondent. I assigned independent variables or attributes to these profiles such as gender, age, level of education, school, position, and years of experience. I correlated several attributes with each other for the demographical analysis. Furthermore, I correlated attributes with dependent variables in order to count and compare different respondent groups' answers. Overall, the coding tool was efficient in terms of discovering patterns of association and contrasts within my dataset.

4.11 Ethical considerations

During the research process, especially in relation to data collection, there was a risk of violating ethical principles. The sections below will unfold which ethical standards I followed during my field work.

4.11.1 Consent

When individuals are asked to be interviewed or to fill questionnaires, they might feel the pressure of doing so against their will due to social, cultural and religious factors. Bryman (2008: 121) refers to this as lack of informed consent arguing that research subjects should have time to choose whether or not they want to participate. Therefore, I asked respondents for permission to interview them or to give them a questionnaire. Prior to my arrival in Kisoro district, I sent cover letters by email to research assistant *one*, who distributed them to Head teachers and local leaders (see appendix 1 and 2, respectively). They were informative documents about the study's objectives and rationale and contained a section where I kindly requested the recipients to participate. Except from a couple of teachers who did not want to be interviewed, a majority of people show interest in participating as long as they had time to spare and were promised the utmost confidentiality.

4.11.2 Confidentiality

Every research participant has right of privacy, meaning that the researcher must pay attention to the principle of confidentiality in preparation for and during data collection and report writing (Bryman, 2008: 123). Before every interview, also in situations where respondents had already given me a green light, I explained why I carried out the survey, and where and when their information would be used. For instance, several respondents criticized governmental education reforms and policies. Consequently, I guaranteed that findings would be kept confidential and presented in my report without personal attachments.

I utilized a voice recorder to digitalize all interviews, and therefore the respondents sometimes expressed signs of suspicion. Before activating the voice recorder, I asked for their permission, and explained that the records would only be used to transcribe the interviews. As a result, the assurance of confidentiality became more of a ritual than deemed necessary, as most respondents enthusiastically wanted to proceed before I had finished my presentation.

Chapter 5: Empirical findings and analysis

Part 1: Introduction

During my fieldwork, I explored respondents' opinion about Quality Education and if this education is useful for people in Kisoro district. As presented earlier in the literature review and theoretical framework I have therefore linked the social justice approach, a framework of Quality Education, with the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework to understand the livelihood settings in Kisoro district and to see how secondary school education is used and may be used to bring positive change to livelihood strategies.

The first part is a brief presentation and discussion of demographics central to my research. Then the major categories of Quality Education indicators will be presented along with a clarification related to challenges in education. Afterwards, I have presented the indicators of Quality Education in detail according to each respondent group. Then, a discussion of the most used teaching approaches is included. Eventually, the chapter turns the attention to livelihood strategies and the influencing vulnerability context in Kisoro district. The last parts unfold respondents' opinions about secondary school education's relevance.

1.1 Demographics

Demographic details collected during this research include respondents' gender, age educational background, employment status, work hours, years of experience, and income generating activities. The majority of teachers interviewed were between 21 and 40 years of age, while all head teachers were above 40 years old. The age of parents was evenly distributed ranging from 31 to 70. Around two-thirds of the 11 local leaders interviewed were between 31 and 50 years old. This is illustrated by the figure below.

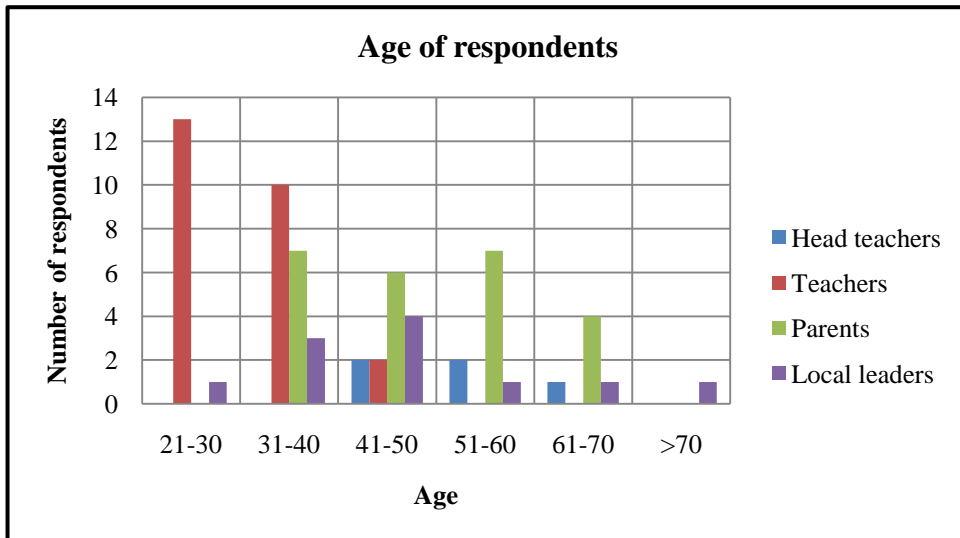


Figure 12 - Age of respondents (N=64)

Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011)

The next chart presents the distribution of respondents according to their level of attained education, which clearly shows that parents have received much less formal education than other interviewed stakeholders:

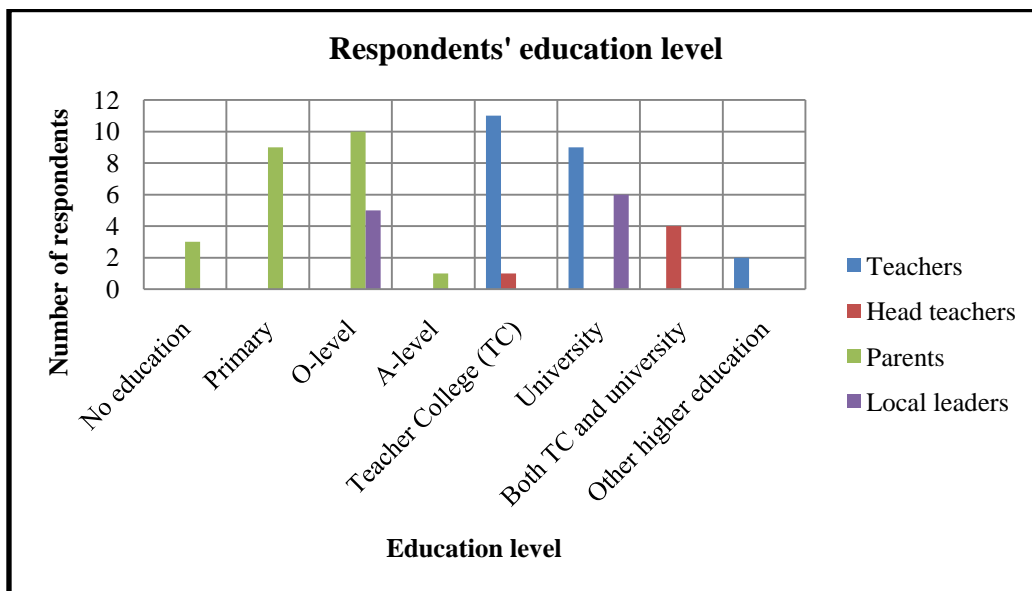


Figure 13 - Respondents' level of education (N=61)

Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011)

The next chart is a correlation between gender and attained education. The graphs show the percentage of respondents for each education level. It is clear that most female respondents have low education, and as the education level raises the number of females decline. This is

because most females in this research were parents with either primary or lower secondary qualifications, or no qualification. The blue graph is “divided” in two because the three highest bulks of male respondents were parents, teachers, and local leaders: Most fathers had attained primary or O-level secondary education, and almost every teacher and local leader had gone to teacher colleges and universities.

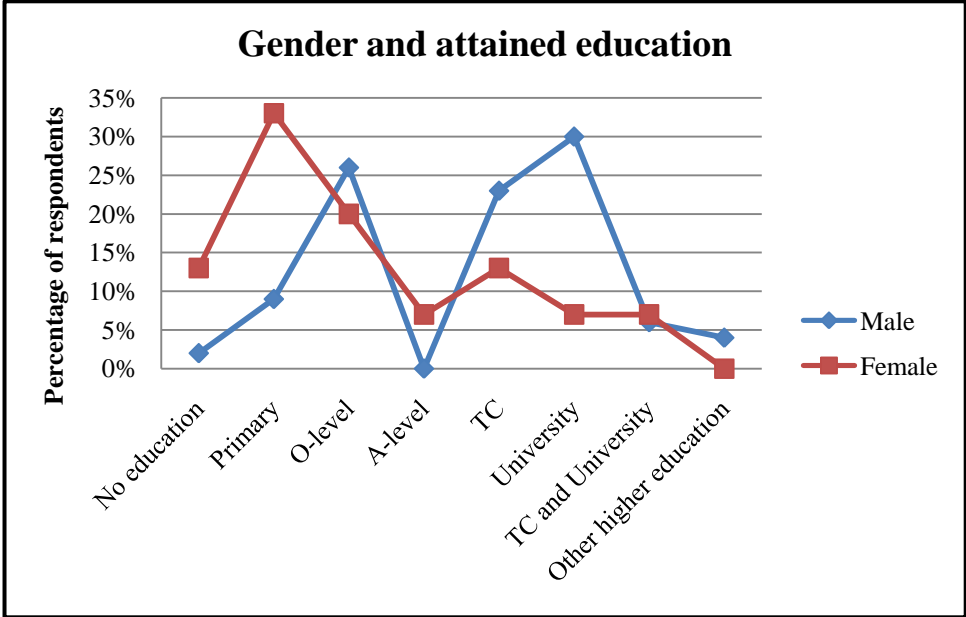


Figure 14 – Gender and education
 Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011)

In Kisoro the teaching profession is dominated by men. In Chahi SS, Muhanga, Mutolere and Kisoro Comprehensive I did not observe any female teacher except from one in the latter school. In Seseme SS there seems to be an even distribution of men and women, most probably because it is a girls’ school. There I interviewed three ladies and two gentlemen.

Most targeted teachers had three or less years of experience, while four had between four and six years. Five had worked between seven and nine years, and another five for more than ten years. Teachers in Kisoro district depend on more than their salary to sustain their life and families because more than three-quarters of them have other income generating activities. All parents relied on subsistence farming.

Part 2: The education context

2.1 Four indicator groups of Quality Education (QE)

“Quality Education” cannot be translated directly into any African language (Tikly, 2011). Rwandan teachers participating in a workshop in Kigali, Rwanda, suggested that Quality Education is divided in four closely related concepts. They speak Kinya-Rwanda, which is practically the same language as Rufumbira: “*Uburezi bufite ireme*, meaning ‘strong, firm or wholesome education’; *Uburezi buboneye*, meaning ‘appropriate or fitting education’; *Uburezi bunoze*, meaning ‘refined education’; and *Uburezi buzirinenge*, meaning ‘high standard or irreproachable education’” (Tikly, 2011: 19). Similarly, many parents who expressed their views about QE through the medium of Rufumbira in this study used a terminology that was rather vague in nature. They grouped answers into concepts such as ‘being able to attain knowledge that can develop you and that can sustain yourself in the future’ or ‘being able to be someone in the future’.

I have identified four major categories of indicators from respondent’s understanding of QE: Outcomes; Learner Characteristics (LCs); Enabling Inputs (EIs); and Context. “Outcomes” was the most important indicator group for all respondents. Local leaders and head teachers were not concerned about the “Context” to the same level as parents and teachers. Without surprise, teachers focused on EIs since they observe inputs in school such as infrastructure, materials and staff on a daily basis. Also take note of respondents’ little attention to LCs. The below figure illustrates the response trends. Then Table 6 presents each category’s sub-groups coded by colour according to respondent groups’ main answers.

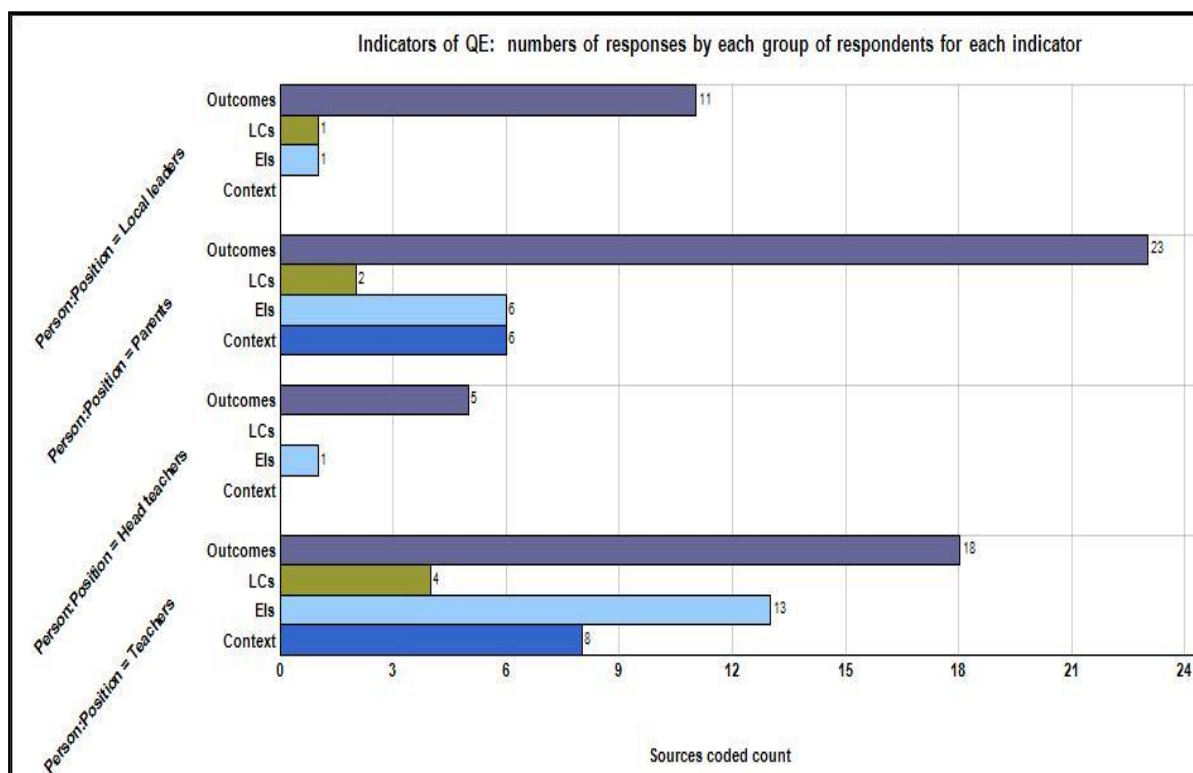


Figure 15 - Distribution of QE indicators (N=65)

Source: Author (2011). Legend: LCs = Learner Characteristics; EIs = Enabling Inputs

Context		EIs		LCs		Outcomes		
Parental support	Parental support	Infrastructure		Behaviour	Behaviour	Academic promotion	Academic promotion	
Policies (USE)		Intra-school communication		Commitment		Self-sustenance	Self-sustenance	Self-sustenance
		Relevance of curriculum	Relevance of curriculum	Qualifications		Capabilities		Capabilities
		School management				Cognitive skills		
		Teaching and learning material				Competence		
		Teaching and learning approaches	Teaching and learning approaches			Performance and grades		Performance and grades
		Teacher motivation				Social capital		Social capital
		Teacher quality						
		Teacher/student ratios						

Table 6 - QE indicator sub-groups divided according to respondents' answers and trends.

Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011). Legend: USE = Universal Secondary Education.

Color scheme: **Red** = parents; **Yellow** = teachers; **Green** = head teachers; **Blue** = local leaders; No color = less than a total of 4 answers.

The following part is an elaboration of the associative link between qualities and challenges because a large number of respondents referred to challenges when asked about quality, vice versa. Afterwards, the opinions about quality secondary education will be presented according

to each stakeholder group. Individual respondents frequently referred to indicators belonging to different categories. The total number of answers therefore exceeds the number of respondents. I have also discussed the indicators in relation to DFID's Quality Education (QE) framework and other relevant literature.

2.2 The associative link between qualities and challenges

QE can be defined according to outcomes such as examination results and number of graduated learners, or more generally as an improvement of earlier education systems (Adams, 1993; Schubert, 2005; UNESCO, 2004). Challenges are therefore factors which hinder the system and stakeholders in education from achieving such goals. Initially, I intended to separately present and analyze the responses to the questions about QE and challenges. However, they are like two pages of the same story. Many respondents referred to challenges when expressing their opinions about QE, and when asked about challenges they frequently talked about quality. For example, twenty-six respondents referred to the availability of scholastic material as important, and seven persons said that lack of such material is a challenge. A separate analysis of the two would therefore draw an irrelevant picture of secondary education in Kisoro. Furthermore, they interchangeably referred to both the current and an ideal secondary school education.

In contrast to the quality dimension where "Outcomes" was the most popular category, the respondents mainly linked challenges to "EIs" and the "Context". Figure 15 showed the respondents' limited focus on "LCs", a trend that is repeated in the below figure. I have therefore discussed "LCs" as part of the other indicator groups, not per se.

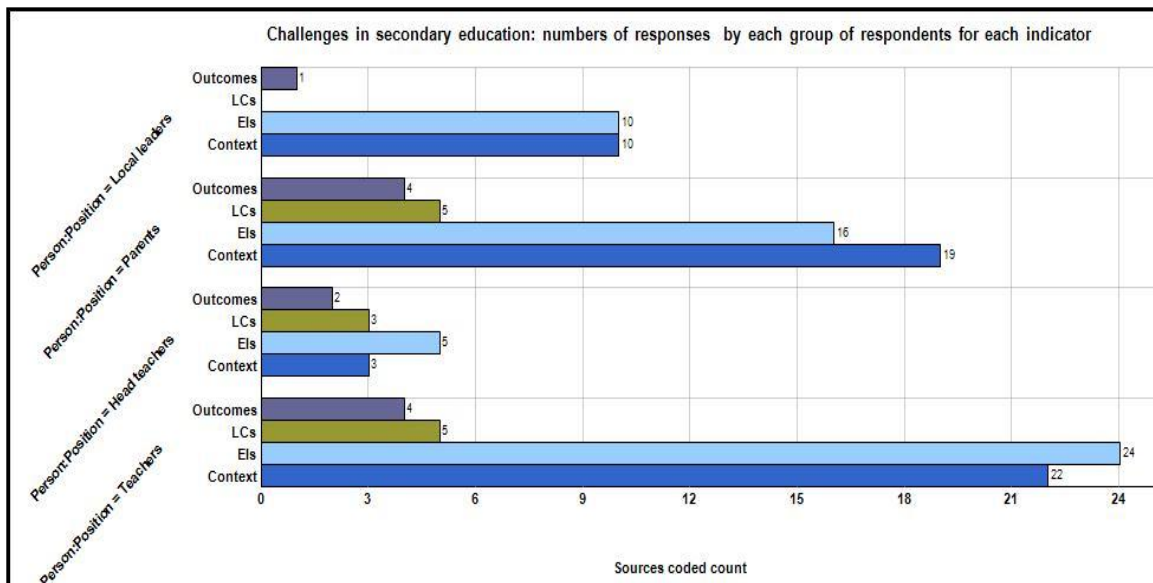


Figure 16 - Challenges in secondary education (N=65)

Source: Author (2011). Legend: LCs = Learner Characteristics; EIs = Enabling Inputs

Furthermore, several challenges and qualities are linked to each other across categories. ‘Poverty’ (Context), often characterised as lack of financial capital, directly hinders parents from buying the necessary scholastic material (EIs) for their children. And schools’ financial capacity (EIs) to provide infrastructure and teaching and learning aids (EIs) is affected by parents’ inability to pay school fees (Context). Combined, they form a fluid web of indicators based on the society’s contextual setup, learner characteristics, enabling inputs, and outcomes.

Table 6 is a categorization of respondents’ answers. I have not strictly followed that setup during my analysis because of the fluid nature of “quality”. I would also like to mention that it is beyond this study’s capacity to report all the similarities, differences and contrasts existing between individual respondents’ and stakeholder groups’ answers.

2.2 Quality Education (QE) according to respondents

The following sections present and discuss teachers’, parents’, head teachers’ and local leaders’ explanation of the term: Quality Education (QE). Figure 15 shows that around three-quarters of teachers referred to various types of “outcomes” when describing QE, a view the majority of parents and every local leader shared. Every second teacher related QE to “enabling inputs”. Similar to parents and teachers, the local leaders had more to say about challenges than about QE, and focused on enabling inputs and the context (see Figure 16).

Overall, teachers shared much more information than the other respondent groups which make their contribution largest.

2.2.1 Outcomes

Practical skills

According to one respondent, the current effect of secondary school education in the society is positive because households

“simply used to grow some crops before, but at least currently there is some sort of modernization” (Teacher 17).

Most teachers supported by several local leaders put it differently saying that secondary education in Kisoro is too theoretical and irrelevant, and expressed little confidence in local competence, blaming it on the lack of technical and practical training in secondary schools:

“We have very many engineers in Africa but they cannot even make needles. Instead we import needles from China” (Teacher 14).

Furthermore, one argued that *“the curriculum is sometimes designed in a way that these children who go out cannot practically put into practise. They cannot be creative. They just look out for white collar jobs”* (Teacher 4).

The head teachers also talked about relevance in different ways. Two argued that schools should follow the formal curriculum and use the given syllabus for teachers, while at the same time offer practical subjects in order to expose learners for more than just academics. Three defined human development as competence building which should result from the mentioned combined effect of theoretical and practical training. However, head teachers agree with teachers arguing that secondary schools are lagging behind in terms of relevance. It is exam-oriented and too often based on learners’ cramming information to pass exams:

“The concept of quality education is not present in most schools in Uganda. Schools are characterized as good if they have provided good results during exams. Sometimes the questions are familiar to the respondents because they are pampered with them” (Head teacher 2).

Hence, school management should use its imagination and creativity to make the curriculum more practical:

“They need to build up their materialistic stock to do that. However, they have plots for agricultural practices, planting seeds, explaining pests, and they have a piggery. In this way the students do not only learn theory, but gain practical skills which can enable them to start such practices after school” (Head teacher 3).

Usually, people in Kisoro acquire practical skills through peers from outside school, and say the schools lack the needed flexibility to make education more practical (not only in terms of funds but also in terms of rigid policies). According to one head teacher and several teachers, many of the currently optional vocational subjects should therefore become obligatory. Positively, head teachers said the curriculum is currently under renewal aiming at introducing more practical subjects so that schools can create job creators, not only job seekers.

Nevertheless, secondary school education resulting in skills with practical applicability building competence was a synonym for ideal education among teachers, every head teacher and local leaders.

Contextualized curriculum and lesson plans

Some teachers argued that assessment methods should be adapted to the local setting, which they are not. National exams are uniform throughout Uganda, and learners’ in rural areas, having less access to good infrastructure and instructional material, have smaller chances of scoring well than learners in ‘richer’ areas.

Self-sustenance, capabilities and social capital

Teachers believed secondary school education should give people an opportunity to become self-reliant and to participate in the society for individual and societal development. Most parents argued that education enables learners to develop and sustain themselves, their families and the society, and some also said that an education is good when it leads to a life outside the village. More specifically, four parents argued that social capital is increased through Quality Education because of enhanced social status and spreading of knowledge to peers. A main difference between teachers’ and parents’ view on QE is therefore the former group’s focus in-school relevance and the latter’s focus on post-school experience.

A number of local leaders referred to outcomes such as careers, enhanced social status and respect, or related to capabilities such as personal development and ability to carry out goals

set by the society. In relation to learners themselves, a local leader said that QE improves their general conduct, moral and discipline. The term “capabilities” was referred to by 80 percent of head teachers as well. Such skills were said to prepare learners for life after school:

“To learn how to live so that they can survive” (Head teacher 5).

2.2.2 Enabling Inputs (EIs)

Infrastructure

Five teachers explained that infrastructure such as, good and enough classrooms, teacher and learner accommodation, laboratories and libraries are important prerequisites for Quality Education. Altogether 8 parents and local leaders reported the same. My impression after living in Uganda and visiting Kisoro district is that most rural governmental aided schools do not offer accommodation for teachers and learners. There is only one secondary school that accommodates teachers: Mutolere SS. Furthermore, a teacher in Muhanga SS said that if the government could assist rural schools with offering free boarding services, then the students would not come late to school and they would have more time to do homework. The three urban schools I visited all offered boarding services, though, a large number of students are not using the services, usually because their parents or guardians cannot afford the boarding fees. According to key informant *one*, some students, often orphans, may be lucky to receive financial support from institutions, such as None-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

Instructional material

Teachers also believed that quality depends on the availability of materials such as books and instruments, especially for carrying out practical experiments, but 50 percent of teachers said their schools lack these things. Evidently, a majority of parents and local leaders was aware of this challenge too. However, parents did not blame schools for this, but thanked themselves due to poor household economies.

Teacher/learner ratios

Quality is shaped by teachers’ attention to individual learners (Altinyelken, 2010a). A high number of teachers said this requires moderate teacher/learner ratios. In response, seven teachers argued that enrolment rates in their respective schools are too high meaning that they often deal with nearly 100 learners all at once. The problem of high enrolment rates also meets the challenge of lacking classrooms as existing ones are congested with many learners. Furthermore, head teachers argued that it is impossible for teachers to then give much attention individual students.

Most parents have a more superficial picture of high enrolment as they consider it to be good due to the positive sound of high numbers. But some of them did mention negative effects such as lack of attention to individual learners.

Communication

Intra-school communication between learners and teachers strengthens learners' social capital because they learn to relate with people outside school. Teachers argued that learners' negative behaviour (discipline) and level of commitment are challenges in school.

Nevertheless, two of them mentioned that it is important to have good relationships with learners in order to create good learning environments. In fact, some parents argued that bad relationships between learners and teachers cause poor performance on both sides.

Teacher quality

Teacher described their own professionalism as decisive, especially in terms of being role models, committed, and well-qualified. In fact, a head teacher said what teachers' role is quite clearly: *"teachers should do the right things, though within the limits of formal education"* (Head teacher 2).

Two teachers said the size and the punctual arrival of wages is important since money motivates them. However, 30 percent of them and every head teacher characterised the salary as inadequate resulting in low levels of motivation and commitment.

"We have a problem of low income among teachers because some are paid as low as 100.000 shillings per month. There are some who do business besides teaching. There are some who, especially those who come from around here and who inherited some land from their parents they practise agriculture so as to survive" (Teacher 18).

Three parents also believed that small pay checks can make teachers unmotivated.

Nevertheless, one teacher argued that schools are forced to employ unqualified teachers because they cannot afford to pay for qualified ones.

Financial constraints, causes and consequences

Many teachers blamed their low and delaying salaries on schools' lack of funds.

Governmental aided institutions often experience a delay in shipments of money from the government, and sometimes they do not receive money at all. A large part of governmental aided schools' economy derives from parents' pockets, and consequently the schools suffer when parents are financially incapacitated and central funding is not sufficient. Private schools always rely only on parents' payment of tuition and their failure to pay affects the

schools' ability to provide Quality Education. Both teachers and head teachers said school administrations cannot buy enough materials or build sufficient infrastructure because of financial deprivation.

Another challenge is food: Sometimes neither schools nor parents can afford to provide learners with lunch. Every stakeholder group had this in common. They all reported that hunger affects learners' ability to concentrate. This problem is two-fold: some schools cannot provide enough food and many parents do not send their children to school carrying lunch.

Nineteen parents are unable to pay school fees because they do not earn enough money from subsistence farming, which is a problem thirteen teachers and almost every local leaders mentioned as well. According to one teacher, parents consequently

“make their children walk long distances to poor schools where there is Universal Secondary Education (USE)” (Teacher 20).

And several parents thanked the government for introducing USE which eased their financial burden.

Moreover, it explains why there is competition between schools in terms of attracting students. Kisoro Comprehensive SS, for instance, lacked learners. However, learners enrolled in schools providing USE tend to be less committed than learners in private schools because they feel it does not matter whether parents' relatively little investment is wasted or not.

2.2.3 The context

Parental support

Some teachers argued that parental support in terms of providing the necessary resources for learners, creating a conducive study environment at home, monitoring their progress, and encourage learners giving them moral to study, is crucial for the quality of education. Some parents said their own commitment and advisory role may impact learners' behaviour and discipline, whereas several teachers and one head teacher argued that many parents do not give learners the necessary moral support at home. In fact, several local leaders argued that learners lack moral support from home because of parents' negative attitudes towards education. Their perception of education is frequently the reason for why especially girls marry at an early age. They are supposed to get children and carry out domestic and agricultural work. Additionally, thirteen teachers had observed a difference between educated

and uneducated parents: the former group believe in education and support their children while the latter see education as a waste of time and a factor hindering them from carrying out livelihood strategies.

Two head teachers emphasized that children are not motivated to go to school. One actually said that *“most successful people in Kisoro who construct buildings and attend to other businesses never went beyond S4 in the past, which is affecting children’s moral today”* (head teacher 1). This may therefore explain parents’ negative attitude towards investing in education as they do not see the benefit from it (see also Chimombo, 2005). Two other head teachers argued how poor performance in primary school affects learners’ achievements in secondary school since they are not prepared.

Absenteeism and drop-out rates

Seven teachers said that drop-out rates are a major challenge in secondary school education caused by parents’ prioritization of domestic work, their inability to pay school fees, and learners who get married at an early age. Absenteeism and late coming was also mentioned by every respondent group explained by long distances between learners’ and teachers residences and school. According to teachers, head teachers and parents, problems with passing on poor roads exacerbated by heavy rain also affect school attendance. Furthermore, teachers reported their own absence as caused by their need to attend to other income generating activities, such as farming and other teaching positions. In relation to that, a head teacher argued that teachers who reside far from school frequently arrive late. Consequently, learners’ become undisciplined since they are left alone without supervision.

The head teachers exemplified drop-out rates with statistics: In one school 50 learners quit during 2010. Another school experienced a 30 percent drop in enrolled learners between S1 and S4 (O-level) while 20 percent of them reached S6.

Stakeholder collaboration

Some teachers said that collaboration between stakeholders in secondary education is important for quality education. They include school administrations, parents, foundation bodies, and both the local and central government. In contrast, another group of teachers argued that such interference in school affairs is negative, especially political involvement during campaigns and policy interventions by foundation bodies. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that only two parents believed their own involvement in school affairs is necessary.

2.3 Teaching and learning approaches

We have seen in the literature review that approaches to teaching and learning, or the ‘black box’, is important for the quality of education and consequently for people’s livelihoods.

During the first rounds of interviews, I realized that respondents seldom mentioned anything about this and I decided to give more space for this topic during the remaining interviews.

Mostly teachers answered thoroughly to these questions. So unless mentioned specifically, the findings in the following sections are based on their views.

2.3.1 Respondents’ understanding of learning-centred teaching

Several teachers and at least two head teachers showed knowledge about constructivist and social constructivist teaching approaches in this research. Every third teacher argued that teacher-guided-discovery methods (see Mayer, 2004) are used in secondary school education in order to generate deep understanding. Teachers introduce topics to learners who then solve problems in groups by trying and failing, and then discuss findings with the whole class. Thus, learning is achieved when using and developing creative skills.

Furthermore, many indicated that teachers and learners should learn from each other as a central aspect of learner-centred teaching:

“When teaching becomes learning and you learn from them it becomes of quality. When they discover themselves they cannot forget. But when you talk without involving them they easily forget what you say” (Teacher 4).

Similarly, three argued that teachers should not ‘monopolize’ the teaching role but focus on the topic and practices. However, this shifts the attention away from learners towards the objectives, which is a common characteristic of instructional teaching.

Hence, there are reasons to believe that several teachers participating in this study misinterpret the concept of learning-centred teaching. The concept is used consistently and interchangeably with learner or child-centeredness. The majority mentioned ‘questioning and answering techniques’ to be a central approach focusing more on learners’ activation and participation than on their development of knowledge. Many argued that learner-centred teaching is achieved when teachers show and tell learners what to do and when they answer correctly. In fact, two teachers argued that quality teaching occurs when learners reproduce the exact information teachers disseminate.

Parents generally provided me with quite superficial and vague answers when asked about teaching and learning approaches and most of them did not differentiate between Quality Education and quality teaching. Twelve parents simply said that good teaching happens when teachers teach and learners understand, indicating that they do involve themselves in or show interest for this. In fact, some parents said they had never visited their children's school and were therefore unaware of such details. Additionally, demographics show that a significant number of parents had received limited education. And I have earlier discussed that parents were more concerned about the outcomes of education than about enabling inputs.

2.3.2 Encouraging performance rather than deep understanding

Although some possess knowledge about learning-centred teaching elements it does not mean they carry them out. According to Altinyelken (2010a), teachers in Kampala, Uganda, were enthusiastic about child-centeredness in education, but they were sceptical to the practical application of it due to lack of structures leading to overpopulated classrooms, and lack of instructional material. Every head teacher, and several local leaders I interviewed, also confirmed this in Kisoro district which is decisive for which approach teachers chose.

Part-time teaching is common in Kisoro district, meaning that most teachers teach in many schools having limited time for constructive methods, which is a finding that all head teachers in this study confirmed. Simultaneously, the schools follow policies with clear objectives concerning the syllabus and time frames and teachers therefore concentrate their energy on covering expected content in time for the exam. Instructional teaching assisted by blackboards and chalk is the most frequent approach along with dictation where learners write down what teachers say, word for word. According to one head teacher, this *“lecture method (talking-listening) is very common but not recommendable in secondary school”* (head teacher 2). Very frequently, learners simply cram the content from textbooks, teachers' presentations and dictations in order to regurgitate it during tests and exams. The school system therefore becomes very result oriented encouraging performers. Some teachers argued that the quality of teaching is high when the syllabus is covered in time and when learners perform well.

Teaching that encourages performers rather than deep understanding is characterised as instructional teaching (Ask *et al.*, 2003). The approach is focused on results rather than on the process of learning. “Performance” was a dominant topic for teachers in Kisoro district. Well performing learners were characterised as “good”, “quick” or “bright”, while those not performing so well were described as “bad”, “slow”, “weak”, and also “average”. One of the

schools divided learners in different classes according to their performance. It was also encouraged by giving the best learners awards. Two teachers argued that competitiveness makes teaching more efficient as learners then focus harder to become the best performer.

Terms related to learners’ performance were used interchangeably by teachers. “Grasping”, “getting”, “picking”, and “understanding” seemed to have the same significance. They used these terms to express whether or not the learners were able to reproduce or recite what they had been told or shown by the teachers, or what was written in the textbooks. When a learner could answer correctly they had been able to “grasp”, “get”, “pick”, or “understand”. The significance of “grasping” and “picking” is close to the meaning of “absorbing” information, which is characterised as learners’ role during instructional teaching.

Instead of talking about learners’ “performance” like teachers expressed it, one-fourth of the parents’ instead referred to learners’ “ability” to understand and attaining knowledge. They recognized that learners’ poor abilities were caused by distractions at home such as domestic work. A total of four parents mentioned attainment of cognitive skills or advancement to higher educational levels as a qualitative assurance.

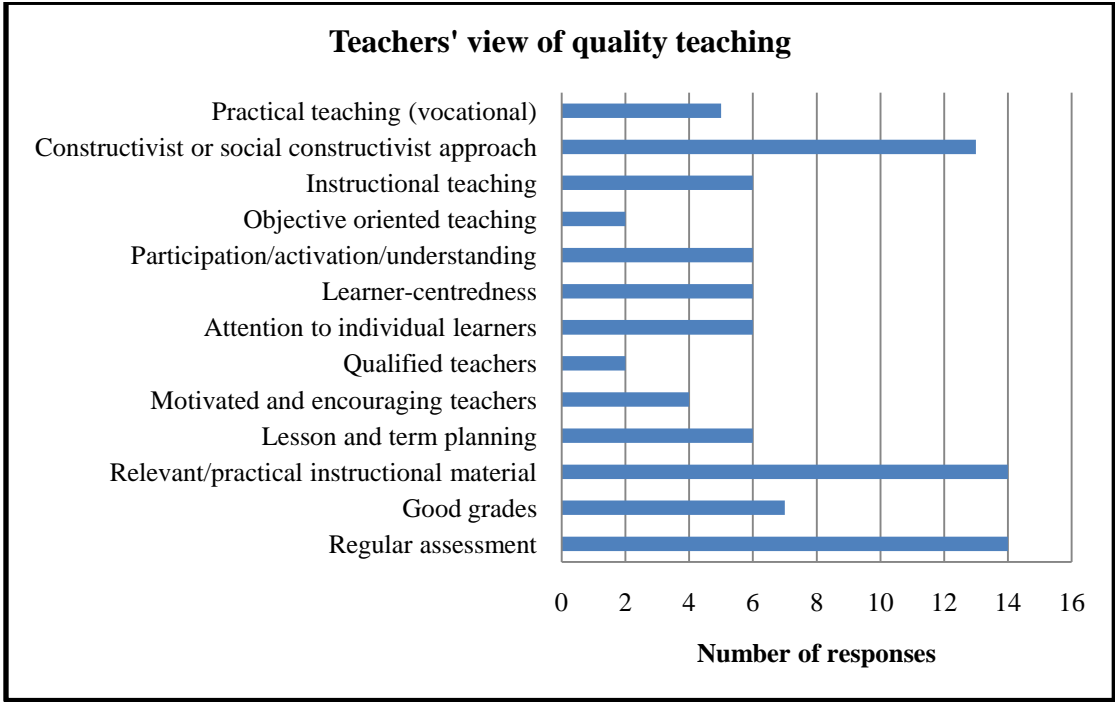


Figure 17 – Indicators of quality teaching and learning according to teachers (N=25)
 Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011)

Among those parents who had knowledge about teaching approaches, seven believed that current teaching strategies in school encourage both development of understanding and cramming. They argued that a combination is important because it is not enough for learners to just “get” what teachers are saying. Children must “understand” otherwise they easily forget. It is possible that several gave this answer since it sounds more positive than the alternatives. While teachers tended to characterize learners as “slow” or “bright”, several parents similarly evaluated learners’ as good at “cramming” or good at “understanding”. Parents highlighted the importance of learners asking and answering questions. IN other words, they share teachers’ ideas about participation and activation being more important than constructive learning. Figure 18 is a summary of parents’ views.

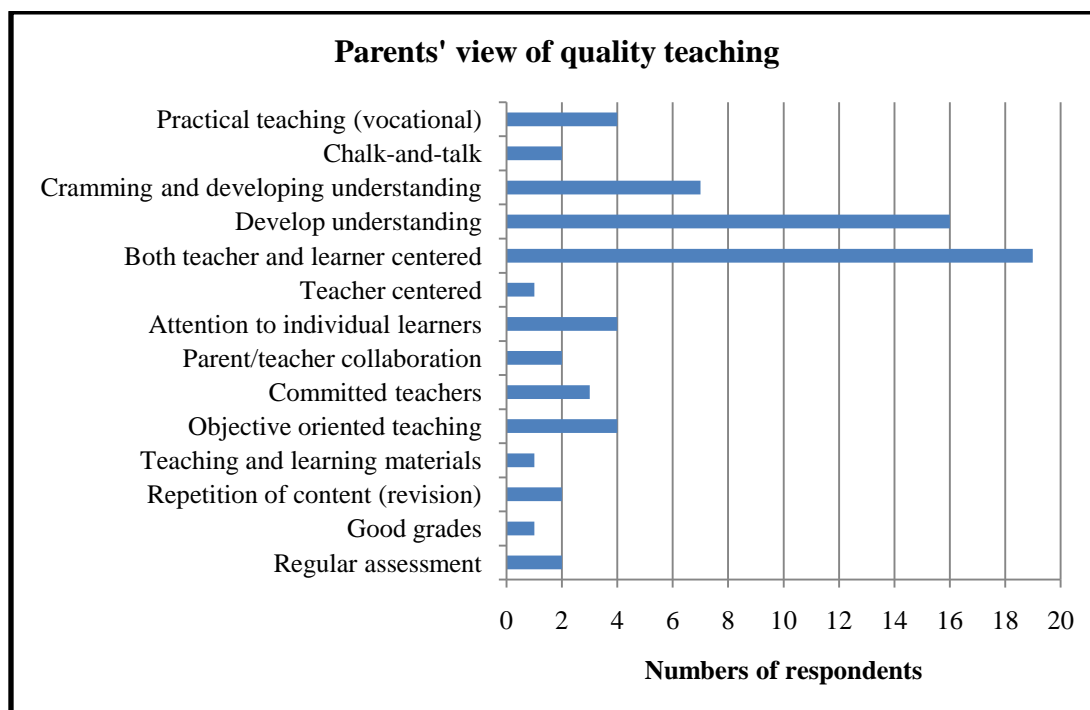


Figure 18 – Indicators of quality teaching according to parents (N=24)

Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011)

The majority of local leaders participating in this research argued that the best way of learning is to develop understanding explained by a recent change in exam questioning techniques. Now learners are expected to “understand”, while the exam questions previously were possible to answer by cramming information. Some noted that learners develop understanding by taking notes, which suggests that the actual meaning of “develop understanding” is learners’ ability to copy what the teachers have instructed them. In fact, cramming was mentioned by local leaders as important for the sake of producing results: In order to advance

to higher levels in education one depends on good grades. Two head teachers as well referred to academic promotion and good grades as signs of quality.

Many teachers mentioned the inclusion of “shy” learners as a challenge, as the best performers take responsibility for their own learning and are the most active in class. Since lesson plans are objective oriented, the shy ones tend to fall behind failing to “grasp” what teachers say. Then they are characterised as “slow” or “weak”. However, it is common practise to follow-up these individuals with extra attention, often using different methods such as discussion and dramatization, to make sure they are not left behind the other learners. Naturally, teachers continuously observe all learners’ performance based on test-results. This activity was called “revision” and enabled them to see whether learners understand set objectives. Such observation, feedback and good communication between teachers and learners is important for the quality of teaching and learning approaches (Ask *et al.*, 2003). A view all respondents highlighted.

2.3.3 Practical teaching

Most teachers support the idea of making learners practically applying subject content. One pointed out that teaching material should derive from the local environment in order to make learners understand and appreciate the significance of their surroundings. However, the terms ‘practical teaching’ and ‘demonstration’ were both used to describe this indicating that learners are “shown” practical examples. Examples given were visual aids such as photographs and maps, and showing how to make seedbeds for growing crops, and getting hands-on experience with laws of physics: real life examples. However, due to lacking instructional material the teachers resorted to unfavorable teaching styles. In fact, one local leader argued that learners’ should learn by alternative methods:

“Some teachers use methods from the 1980s, thus not using relevant methods and knowledge. New teachers are trying to be innovative trying new approaches” (local leader 9).

Nevertheless, this strengthens my earlier point about practical teaching being important to increase secondary education’s level of relevance and usefulness.

Due to lack of time I did not observe teaching and learning approaches in classrooms during my school visits. Hence, I could therefore not confirm what teachers and head teachers told me in terms of used methods. According to several studies teachers is an unreliable proxy in terms of reciting what takes place in class (e.g. Altinyelken, 2010a; Siraj-Blatchfrod *et al.*,

2002). When self-reporting they may draw a more positive picture of the situation than what is the actual reality. I have therefore taken their statements with a pinch of salt. An overview of teachers' opinions about quality teaching is presented in the below figure.

Part 3: Livelihood strategies and the vulnerability context

We have seen that the quality of education in Kisoro district suffers from contextual irrelevance, poor teaching and learning strategies, and lacking infrastructure and instructional material. Simultaneously, most rural households in the district are stagnated and rely on subsistence farming carried out on fragmented land. They are challenged by external disturbances such as price fluctuations and unpredictable weather changes. I will use this chapter to present and analyse my findings on livelihood strategies, the vulnerability context, skills learnt by children in secondary school, and discuss to what extent education is a strategy for change and livelihood improvement Kisoro district. The livelihood assets are not listed separately but are incorporated within the other sections. I found this to be a logical solution since people's livelihood strategies and the vulnerability context are mixed by all asset types such as natural capital (land, plants and animals) and financial capital (income from livelihood strategies and liquid capital), among others.

3.1 Livelihood strategies

RQ 4: Which livelihood strategies are employed by people in Kisoro district?

Nearly all respondents said that 80-90 percent of people in Kisoro district are subsistence farmers. Some referred to this livelihood strategy as "digging" since people spend much time ploughing and tilling the earth. 7 out of 25 interviewed parents relied solely on subsistence farming, while 16 combined it with other income generating activities. Several fathers said they sell labour assisting other farmers with "digging". 16 teachers said they engage in other income generating activities besides teaching.

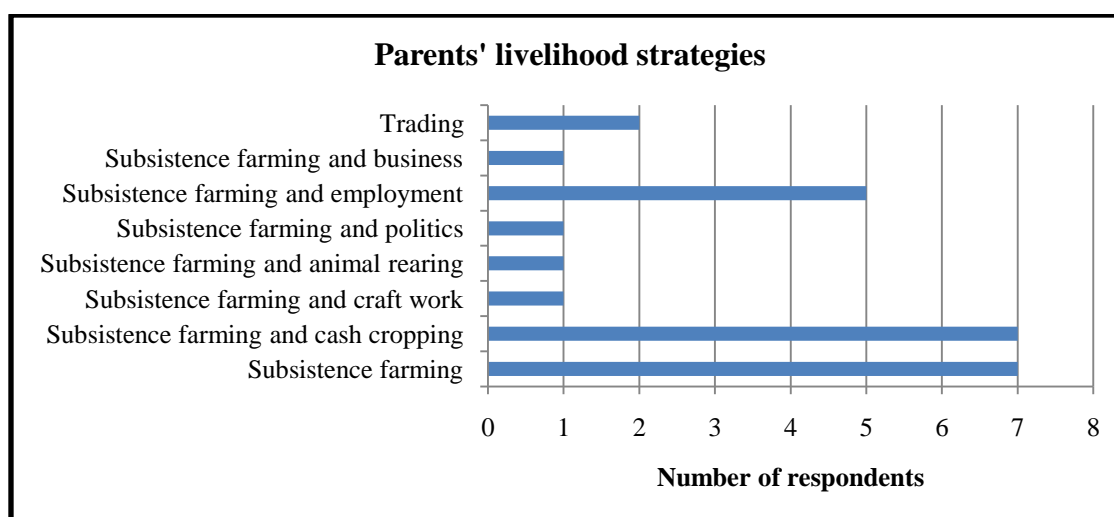


Figure 19 - Livelihood strategies among parents (N=25)
Source: Author (2011)

It is common for subsistence farmers to sell excess food, meaning that even those who said they only grow crops for consumption may actually be selling some of their produce. Only two said they are not practicing subsistence farming. Instead they traded clothes or crops.

Nanyeenya *et al.* (2009) collected information about livelihood strategies from 100 households divided equally within two sub-counties in Kisoro district: Nyakabande and Kirundo. The main sources of income in those households are presented in Table 7. The reliance on growing and selling crops and ‘other’ activities such as employment and trade is consistent with information received from my respondents. However, there is reason to question the reliability of the data as the source contains identical values and percentages that do not add up to 100 percent.

Sub-county N=100	Main sources of income (%)						
	Selling cattle	Cow milk	Goats	Pigs	Poultry	Crops	Other *
Nyakabande	0	2	0,5	2	0	82,4	13,7
Kirundo	8	4	14	0	4	70	0

* Including off farm employment, petty trade, artisans and selling labour

Table 7 - Main sources of income to households in Kisoro district
Source: Adapted from Nanyeenya *et al.* (2009)

According to Nanyeenya *et al.* (2009), the average farmer in Kisoro district earns around 810 US Dollar (USD) a year mainly from growing and selling crops. However, key informant *one*

stated that a typical subsistence farming household annually earn between 120 and 150 USD, or between 0.3 and 0.4 USD a day. Such households are considered to be low income earners by people in Kisoro and form the most common group of income earners in the district. The informant stated that a medium class family receiving income from a combination of activities such as farming, labour and business, earn between 1600 and 1800 USD a year. The inequality between classes of people in Kisoro is therefore evident.

According to key informant *one*, parents annually spend around 60.000 Ugandan shillings (UGX) (24 USD) per student in governmental aided schools. This does not include lunch and the learners stay at home. It is the arrangement most parents chose. The cost inclusive lunch is 200.000 UGX (78 USD). In Kisoro Comprehensive, the only private school in this study, the tuition fee for full boarding is 200.000 UGX (78 USD) per term. Day learners pay 150.000 UGX (59 USD) each term, including lunch. Additionally, parents spend between 20.000 and 25.000 UGX (8-10 USD) every term on scholastic material such as books, pens and paper. Uniforms are a one-time investment and not included in my key informant's estimation of costs. Parents' total income (financial capital) and expenditure on education draws a clear picture of the state of poverty among subsistence farmers in Kisoro district.

It is not very common to keep livestock in Kisoro. However, some parents reported that they have goats, pigs or chicken for home consumption and as an investment (liquid capital). The main crops grown in Kisoro are listed in Table 8 (also see MoFPED, 2000; Andrade *et al.*, 2008; Sebikari and Natwijuka, 2008). During my stay in Kisoro town in November 2010, I was informed that Irish potatoes were unusually expensive in local markets. The explanation was simple: limited availability due to the rainy season. Irish potatoes are harvested between the rainy periods. Other crops frequently grown in Kisoro district not mentioned by Nanyeenya *et al.* (2009) are millet and sorghum. Several respondents said, and I observed, that people use them to brew a local drink called "*Inzoga*" (meaning alcohol) for home consumption and for sale in bars. It is an important source of income for many, but also a source of alcoholism.

Sub-county	Main crop varieties (%)					
	Sweet potatoes	Irish Potatoes	Vegetables *	Bananas **	Fruits	Other ***
N=100						
Nyakabande	18,8	31,3	10,4	10,4	0	27,1
Kirundo	26,5	14,3	26,5	26,5	2	2

* Vegetables are mainly cabbages, carrots, onions and tomatoes; ** Bananas are predominantly cooking types; *** Mainly climbing beans

Table 8 - Main types of crops grown in Kisoro district
Source: Adapted from Nanyeenya *et al.* (2009)

3.2 The vulnerability context: The dynamics of shocks, trends and seasonality

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) includes a vulnerability context to help identifying and understanding factors that make people vulnerable in a socio-economic setting. Such factors are grouped into shocks, trends and seasonality (DFID, 1999b). I merged these factors into my own model (QELF) which shows how the vulnerability context is linked to the society including the education context, education outcomes, and livelihood outcomes. The contexts affect and are affected by each other illustrating that enabling processes and inputs in Quality Education (QE) and Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) are iterative in nature. The next sections will elaborate several challenges related to livelihoods in Kisoro.

Almost every parent participating in this study said he or she is vulnerable or very vulnerable to socio-economic and environmental conditions in the society (see Figure 20).

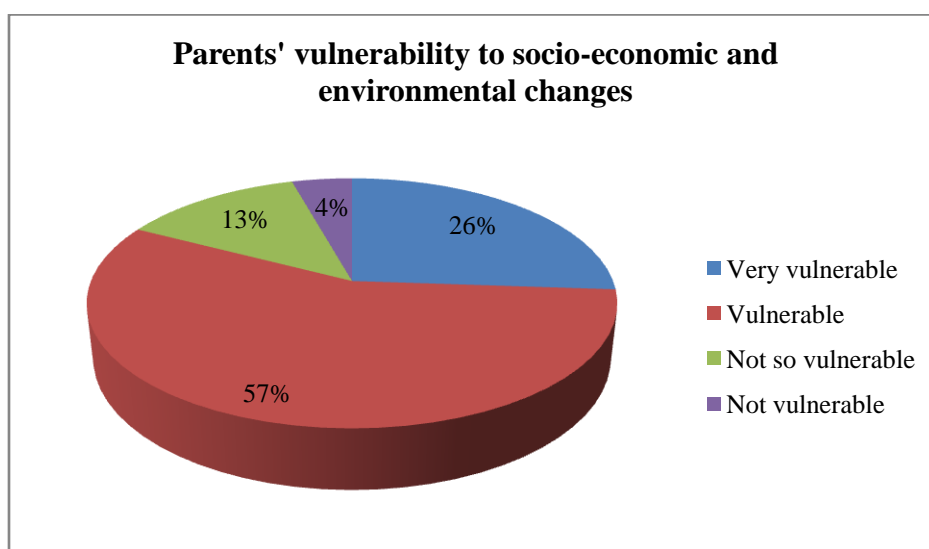


Figure 20 - Parents' level of vulnerability (N=23)
Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011)

Vulnerability is linked to subsistence farming being the major livelihood strategy in Kisoro. And respondents who practise subsistence farming said they mainly rely on growing crops. In Kabale, a neighbouring district geographically and geologically similar to Kisoro, farmers rely on rain because of little access to irrigation systems. Other challenges are: heavy rainfall affecting planting of crops (especially Irish potatoes), low temperatures, fragmentation of land, soil exhaustion, pests, and wilt (especially affecting Irish potatoes) (Rahman *et al.*, 2007). The combination of trends, shocks and seasonality affect peoples’ ability to chose and practise livelihood strategies critical for viable livelihood outcomes. The outcome may therefore be higher, stagnant or lower levels of vulnerability.

3.2.1 Poverty as a trend driven by livelihood strategies

Poverty is a trend evidently present in Kisoro district. Most respondents in this study described poverty as lack of financial capital, more closely as an effect of subsistence farming since this livelihood strategy results in low income. Around 50 percent of teachers and 9 out of 11 local leaders mentioned that poverty is striking among parents in Kisoro, which is why they fail to pay school fees and buy necessary scholastic materials. The below figure shows poverty levels in Kisoro from parents’ own point of view. It suggests that the number of parents who believe poverty trends in Kisoro are moderate is equal to the number of parents who thinks poverty is striking hard.

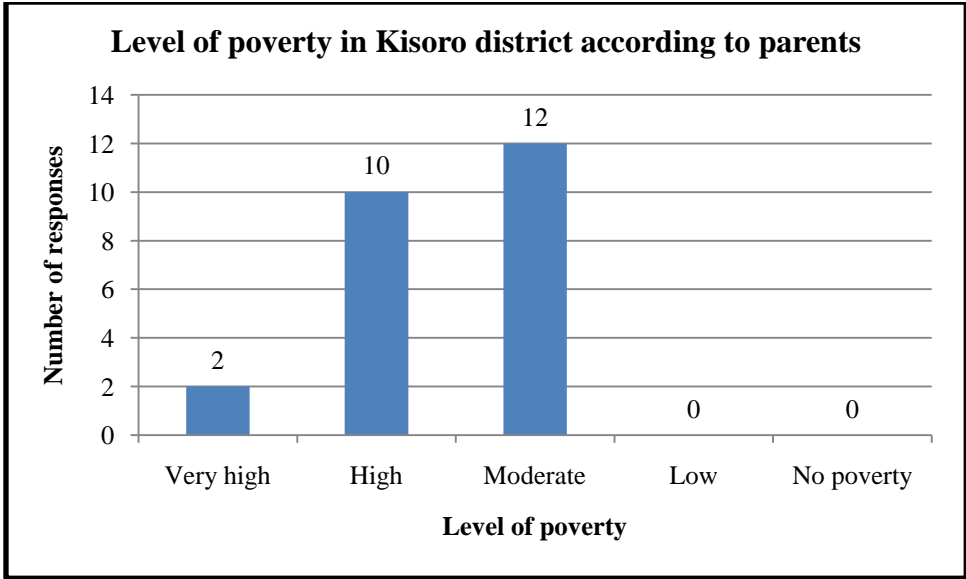


Figure 21 – Level of poverty in Kisoro district (N=22)
 Source: Author (2011)

According to one parent there is disparity in poverty levels throughout Kisoro district. It is usually higher in areas with low soil fertility than in places with high soil fertility. Soil fertility is therefore a driver of poverty since most people rely on subsistence farming. Furthermore, the types of housing (physical capital) are useful indicators of poverty. Four house types are existent in Kisoro district: (1) “non upgradeable” mud huts supported by branches mainly found in rural areas; (2) “upgradable” ones constructed by locally produced sun dried clay bricks supported by metal sheets and wooden poles usually located in rural trade centres; (3) “Semi-permanent houses” made from the same bricks though heavier supported by iron sheets and roughcast; (4) “permanent houses” made from volcanic stones and bricks are very common in urban centres (Sebikari and Natwijuka, 2008: 30). During my field visit I observed that people’s houses reflected their state of financial wealth as it takes more money to build and maintain for example semi-permanent houses than non upgradable ones.

3.2.2 Shocks and seasonality: weather patterns and price fluctuations

Changes in prices are caused by several factors. A majority of parents argued that they receive less income from growing crops in certain periods. These periods were described as “rainy seasons”. There are two main seasons for growing Irish potatoes in Kisoro district: from February to June and between October and December (Andrade *et al.*, 2008). Key informant *one* and *two* confirmed this arguing that Irish potatoes are mainly harvested in December and January and during the months of May and June. The majority of respondents complained about heavy rainfalls disturbing and/or destroying especially Irish potatoes resulting in low production outputs. However, other findings from Kisoro reveal that unexpected rain was not a major issue for people (Nanyeenya *et al.*, 2009), possibly explained by changes in weather patterns (e.g. less rain) during the period of data collection, or because of unreliable data quality. Nevertheless, one parent argued that farmers should not be surprised by changes in weather but learn the best periods for planting and harvesting crops. Some respondents reported that too much sunshine can destroy crops and farmers may therefore not get enough money to buy food and new seedlings. This can force people to plant their crops at a later stage which in turn results in seedlings being destroyed when it eventually starts raining. Such situations drive prices up across many production sectors because of low supply. Low production output among subsistence farmers is therefore both a cause and effect of vulnerability. One respondent said it is challenging to buy for example necessities for agricultural production such as seeds, fertilizers and pesticides when prices are high.

In contrast, when the natural conditions for growing crops are favourable it frequently leads to overproduction and low prices. One parent exemplified the outcome by not being able to sell crops before they rot, which leads both to a loss of food and income. In other words, there is a lack of storage capacity for most farmers, which is a common problem also faced by people working under similar conditions in Kabale district (see Raussen *et al.*, 2001). Furthermore, there seem to be a lack of trust between people engaging in business because they risk never being paid. Price fluctuations also make trading of all types of products and materials a risky activity, especially without having an economic buffer. The major constraints to crop production in Kisoro district are presented in Table 9.

Vulnerability can be absolute or relative. Subsistence farmers with inflexible household economies are absolute vulnerable because they do not have a buffer they can rely on when market prices are high or when they are not able to produce enough to eat. Those who are vulnerable relatively speaking are also affected but they have a buffer such as savings, storage facilities among others, which enable them to maintain a stable livelihood situation during fluctuations. They are more resilient than their counterparts. Hence, the market affects everyone, though on different economic levels, under different circumstances and with different consequences.

Sub-county	Main challenges in crop production (%)					
	Planting materials	Low yielding varieties	Low management knowledge *	Low prices	Drought stress	Other **
N=100						
Nyakabande	18,4	18,4	14,3	14,3	30,6	0
Kirundo	17	27,7	19,1	25,5	10,6	9,2
* Diseases, soil management and input use						
** Unexpected heavy rains and flooding, land shortage (14%), labour and equipment shortages (14%)						

Table 9 - Main constraints to crop production in Kisoro district

Source: Adapted from Nanyeenya *et al.* (2009)

3.2.3 The trend of land fragmentation

To enlarge the tax base, British colonizers encouraged people from neighbouring territories to settle in Kisoro during the early 1900s, which consequently led to land shortage and land fragmentation (MoFPED, 2000). Land shortage (lack of natural capital) has continued to be a problem due to high population growth and density. In 2005, the average land size per household in Kisoro was 1.4 ha. However, a standard deviation of 1.0 ha and a median of 0.8

ha indicate a wide dispersion from the average land size meaning that some plots are substantially smaller and some are larger (Andrade *et al.*, 2008). It is argued that some pieces of land are smaller than 0.1 ha (MoFPED, 2000). In comparison, each Norwegian farming household owns on average 21.8 ha used for agricultural activities (SSB, 2011). Obviously, the small plot sizes in Kisoro lead to small production quantities and low income, and results in degradation of soil fertility as farmers squeeze what they can out of their land using pesticides and fertilizers often avoiding crop rotation (MoFPED, 2000; Sebikari and Natwijuka, 2008). Farmers in Kisoro grow Irish potatoes twice a year, and sometimes a third time with the help of moisture in valleys and irrigation, while a rotation cycle of four years is recommendable. Furthermore, cultivation in steep hills easily causes erosion such as landslides (Andrade *et al.*, 2008). One farmer I interviewed confirmed the commonness of this practice often resulting from limited land availability pushing people to cultivate sites they would not touch otherwise. However, conservation measures have been initiated in form of established hill management committees in relevant areas (Sebikari and Natwijuka, 2008).

3.2.4 Other trends: long distances and labour related challenges

A couple of respondents talked about challenges of combining labour work with side income. When they do not receive their salaries in time they are not able to hire own labour for carrying out agricultural activities thus slowing down agricultural activities. When people rely on seasonal work their job insecurity is very low. Furthermore, such work is unreliable because of low or late payment of salary as described above.

Long distances between villages and markets and a hilly terrain make transport an issue. Distances were said to range from 3 to 20 km. Several parents cannot afford to pay for transport and must carry products to markets by foot or by bicycle. People living near markets are therefore less vulnerable since it is easier for them to sell their products than individuals living far away. On the contrary, one parent said that the poverty levels have decreased in one area due to newly established transport to the market, which means it has become easier to transport crops for sale.

The quality of education in Kisoro district suffers from contextual irrelevance, poor teaching and learning strategies, and lacking infrastructure and instructional material. Simultaneously, most rural households in the district are stagnated and rely on subsistence farming carried out on fragmented land. They are challenged by external disturbances such as price fluctuations and unpredictable weather changes. The following sections presents what parents expect from

secondary education and which school lesson content and practices they find relevant. We have seen in the international literature that children in Uganda receive education that does not equip them with useful skills and mindsets to improve their livelihood situation, thus a vicious poverty cycle is maintained, rather than broken, by the education system. What is the situation in Kisoro district?

Part 4: The relevance of secondary school education

4.3 Respondents' impression and expectation of secondary school education

Every parent I talked to had a positive impression about secondary school education. They said it improves learners' behaviour, cognitive skills, general knowledge, social status, life expectations and opportunities. Additionally, they hope secondary school education will enable their children to become self-sustained through employment. Once achieved, they expect them to return financial and material support to the family. Teachers, head teachers and local leaders returned similar answers to the question about parents' expectations (see Figure 22).

In the contextual background we saw that formal employment and the urban setting has been associated with modernity and superiority. It was the education first introduced by missionaries which formed this mentality among Ugandans. Evidently, numerous respondents in this study argued that parents regard a life in “villages” and rural livelihood strategies such as farming as inferior to urban lifestyles and formal employment. The search for an “upgrade” is one of the major incentives for parents to send their children to school:

“If you are found speaking vernacular, you are punished, you are being raised, because in school you are supposed to, you know, be different from the villagers. Otherwise when you come to school and you become the same there will be no difference” (parent 25).

The term “villagers” in such socio-economic setting has a negative tone. However, most urban Ugandans who originate from rural areas are proud to utter where they truly come from. Nevertheless, it is common practise in Uganda to regard the rural life as something below standard. Once educated, people in Kisoro therefore often migrate looking for formal employment in urban centres. Although many do not succeed with their plan they often

remain in the city hoping that one day they will find a job. A life in the “village” is therefore not something they want to return to because they do not want to be associated with an agricultural lifestyle since this has a lower social status than being employed.

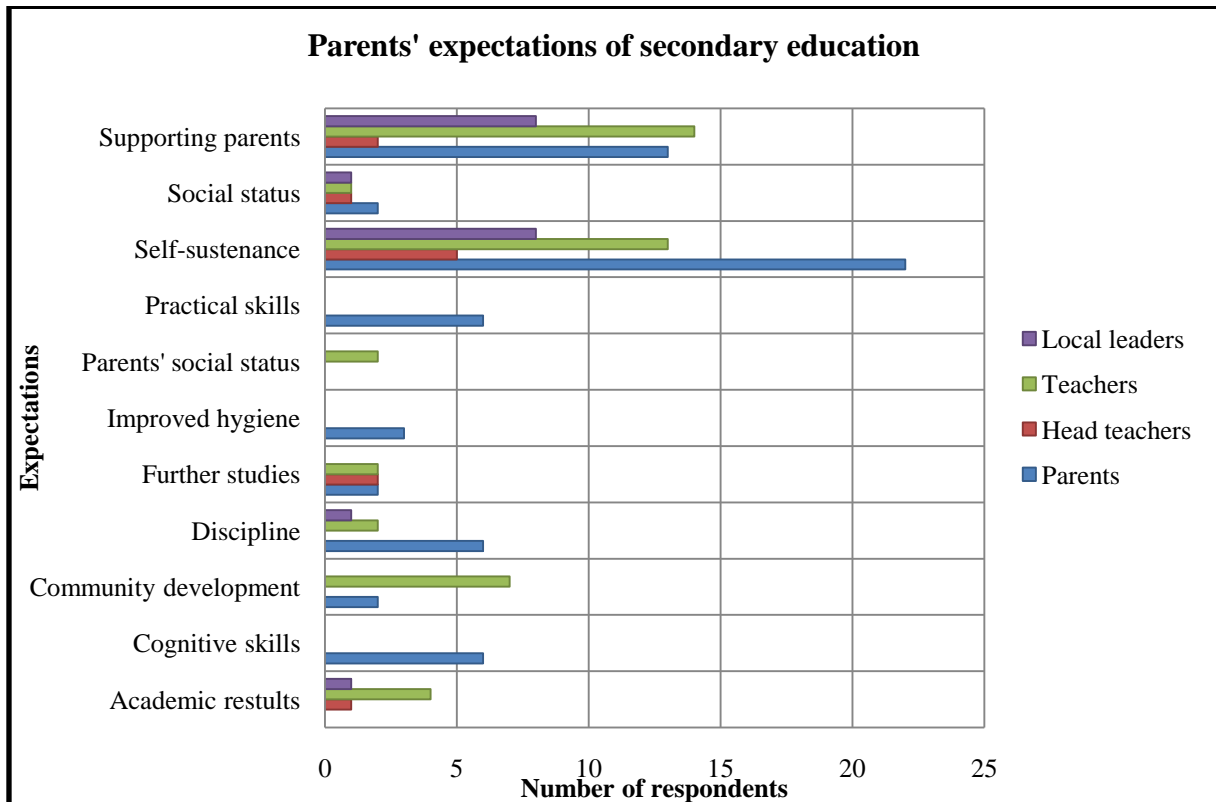


Figure 22- Parents' expectations of sec. education according to respondent groups (N=65)
 Source: Author (2011)

According to many teachers and Head teachers in this study this attitude is also common among students and parents. Consequently, several parents believe that opportunities generated by education increase their chances for a higher standard of living.

Two head teachers argued that most children enrolled in secondary school also have a negative attitude to agriculture. They do not want to become farmers because they consider such activities to be “dirty”. Although agriculture is taught in school they do not want to practise it. Therefore some parents believe the content in school is insignificant. However, some parents consider practical skills to be important for children as they can apply them at home helping the parents. Every third parent confirmed that their children indeed tend to assist their parents with livelihood strategies when at home.

4.4 Why is secondary school education relevant?

Figure 23 shows respondents' answer to my direct question about whether or not they find secondary education relevant. Approximately one-third of parents said secondary school education is relevant because it has a positive effect on families' income and standard of living. Considering the state of poverty in Kisoro district, this is clearly a hope more than a fact. Continuing from parents' expectations, one-third answered they believe secondary school education is relevant because their children use knowledge gained in school at home through agricultural activities like cultivation and harvest often resulting in better yields.

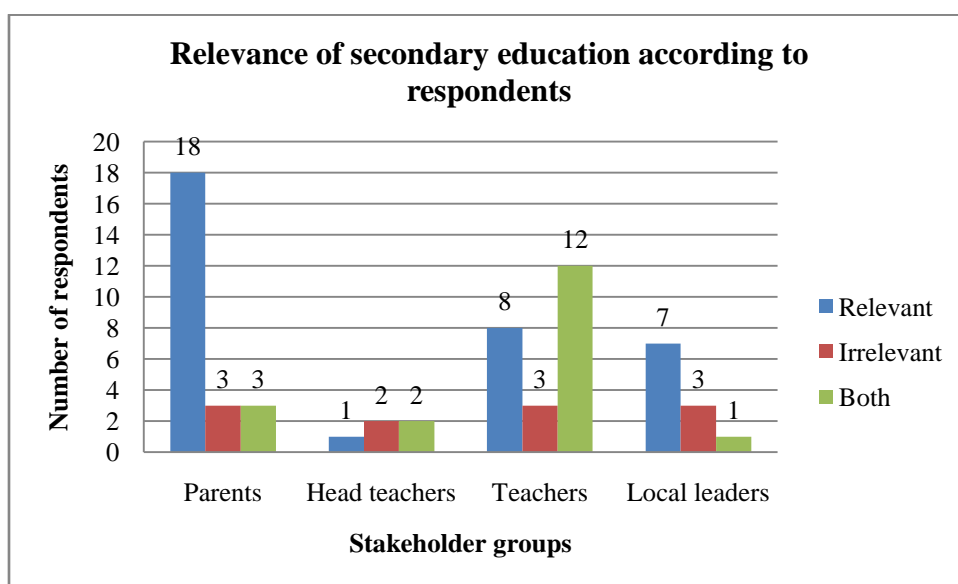


Figure 23 – Relevance of secondary education according to respondents (N=63)

Source: Svein Bjarne Sandvik (2011)

Similarly, five parents find it relevant because it assists children in becoming self-sustained. It makes learners more resilient beings in terms of increased competence levels and having more opportunities beyond engaging in agricultural activities to prevent or overcome challenges.

For example one said that when receiving income from employment, it may withstand shocks:

“In the last week, the hail storm cleared all the crops around here. Then automatically, when the hail storm comes and destroys all the crops that one who is going to get his or her salary at the end of the month, stands a better chance than the one who is at home” (Parent 11).

However, it is worth remembering from earlier in this chapter that approximately 30 percent of respondents considered secondary school education to be irrelevant due to lack of practical training in school.

4.4 Relevant skills

As mentioned in chapter 2, the secondary education system has two levels: Ordinary level and Advanced level. The core subjects are academic in nature, while the largest bulk of available subjects are considered to be based on values and skills. None of the schools I visited offered each vocational subject due to lacking infrastructure and material, manpower and financial limitations. In Uganda, boys usually select technical subjects such as wood and metal work, construction, and technical drawing, while girls tend to concentrate in studies such as household economics, textile, clothing, food and nutrition (Muhwezi, 2003). Seseme SS is a girls' school and offered therefore more female oriented subjects than the other schools. Mutolere SS is a boys' school and run a variety of technical subjects including wood and metal work. Kisoro Comprehensive SS, Muhanga SS and Chahi SS are mixed schools and could therefore provide both subject-types. Being situated within an agricultural society, all the schools taught agriculture, though with limited practical approaches. They had gardens where crop growing and animal rearing was carried out. Muhanga SS, the most remotely located school in this study could not afford providing much practical training and much was therefore left to the teachers' improvisation sometimes bringing private animals to school in order to exemplify the lesson plan. It is also important to remember that most respondents in this study argued that the secondary education is too much based on theory offering very limited practical training for the students.

The following sections will present and discuss several skills acquired by learners in secondary school education. The skills are mentioned by respondents' as relevant for reducing vulnerability to socio-economic and environmental trends, shocks, and seasonal changes taking place in Kisoro district. Furthermore, several skills are practically applicable in local livelihood strategies.

4.4.1 Agriculture

The majority of respondents in every group said that "agriculture" as a subject is valuable because it can make learners understand problems related to subsistence farming methods. They learn about pests and diseases which assist them in solving outbreaks by for example spraying crops and livestock using better pesticides. Especially parents called for more attention on this topic in secondary schools. Some learners become familiar with a technique called "mulching" whereby one covers the ground with materials (e.g. compost) to reduce evaporation, maintain soil temperature, increase soil fertility, prevent erosion and control weeds. In agriculture they also learn about soil compositions and which trees are useful to

plant and where to plant them. “Spacing” is a technique they learn to plant crops with correct distances between them. One parent argued that they learn how to diversify production into several crop types in order to be more resilient to shocks. To avoid crops from being destroyed by heavy rain or drought one local leader said learners receive information about favourable planting and harvesting seasons. More preventative skill training is also in place, such as building terraces and ridges to avoid erosion. One head teacher argued that the agricultural subject in school is useful because learners learn how to intensify crop-growing since land in Kisoro is very fragmented.

Another parent said that learners apply agricultural skills at home which they learnt in school, such as looking after animals more genuinely and assisting parents with increasing yields. Thanks to their children, several parents have therefore become aware of strategies to overcome vulnerabilities and increase production output.

Earlier, I explained that teachers are encouraged to improvise their practical teaching methods due to lacking instructional material. One of these teachers said his school acquired chicken. Learners learnt how to look after them as part of the lesson plan in agriculture. Divided in groups, learners supplied food and water and treated diseases throughout the year. The teacher has received positive feedback because graduated learners have told him that they are able to earn a living from domesticating birds and selling eggs.

There is a contrast between respondents’ description of many useful skills and their earlier opinion about an irrelevant secondary school education due to lack of practical training in Kisoro district. My understanding of this contradiction is that much of the practical ‘training’ learners receive, in fact, is largely based on theoretical demonstration.

4.4.2 Economics and commerce

Approximately every fifth respondent from each group referred to these subjects as useful. Children learn about inflation and why prices change, they also learn to discover coping strategies such as identifying and using new markets during times of high production output. Furthermore, the importance of saving money for financially difficult periods is taught, and how to run businesses. A local leader argued that learners become skilled in wholesale/retail business. The effect is seen in trading centres where new and small shops open frequently.

One parent said that children learn how to avoid pitfalls in business such as lending goods or money to financially unstable individuals, and how to formally pursue those who mishandle

credit. Those who understand economics may take advantage of uneducated people by paying them less than the market price. One parent indirectly pointed out that uneducated people make unwise decisions such as selling land.

4.4.3 Technical skills

These subjects were mainly mentioned by teachers and head teachers as useful skill generating subjects. For instance, clay brick production is practised throughout Kisoro districts and is therefore a common sight along the road sides. One teacher said he employs a few individuals in this business as a side income and argued that schools should be able to teach this profession. The number of brick-houses on the increase in Kisoro district means that such skills are needed.

Mechanics

Some teachers discussed the usefulness of mechanics revealing that their schools offer the subject. They claimed learners become skilled motorcycle repairmen and may earn money working in garages.

Carpentry/woodwork

Both head teachers and teachers argued that learners may make a living as carpenters and furniture constructors after graduation. They mentioned examples from Kisoro town where previous learners now make good money with this profession.

Information technology/typewriting

One school I visited offered general computer training for learners. According to their instructor, basic software training and typewriting is carried in both theory and practise.

Other subjects/content mentioned by respondents

Fine art (modelling, graphic design, e.g.); Sanitation and hygiene; Awareness about viruses and diseases; Environmental awareness; Tailoring; Family planning; Home economy; History; Physics; Biology.

4.5 How secondary school education is a bottom-up tool for livelihood change and consequently for development

This thesis has elaborated the history of education in Uganda and how the past has influenced many Ugandans into thinking that the agricultural lifestyle is inferior to urban lifestyles. This is one of many reasons as to why Ugandans living in rural areas today desire an urban

lifestyle. The socio-economic and environmental challenges people face in areas such as Kisoro district is another. Secondary school education is therefore seen as a way of changing lifestyle, of increasing wealth and gaining social status. In fact, we have seen that the majority of parents wish their children one day can become formally employed as a result of their investment in education.

However, in the literature review I unfolded the nature and potential of secondary school education as a development 'agent' or instrument. There are so many children who never reach further on the academic ladder. It should therefore be important for them to receive an education which they can benefit from. With increased capabilities and competence, people are in a good position to improve their surroundings. The combination of a social justice approach and the Sustainable Livelihood Framework illustrates well how secondary education may be an entry point for positive livelihood change. Today, the secondary school education in Kisoro district provides several opportunities for children to pursue their interest from academic options to technical subjects. However, the quality of secondary education is affected by lack of practical training, instructional material and constructive teaching approaches. So for now, education in Kisoro district remains an underutilized strategy for change.

Chapter 6: Concluding remarks

6.1 Review of problem statement and central literature

History shows that missionary activity and the resulting colonialism in Uganda shaped the education system and Ugandan's attitudes towards the rural lifestyle (Tiberondwa, 1998). Traces are still visible through the dominance of instructional and teacher-centred teaching approaches and Ugandan's somehow negative attitude towards the agricultural life. Today, it is well-known that the large majority of people in Uganda are subsistence farmers who, due to low income generation and production output, are vulnerable to socio-economic changes. In Uganda, there is a contradiction between national economic development objectives promising 'prosperity for all' and farmers' livelihood conditions illustrated by low and quite often dropping productivity and incomes. This derives from the lack of "a modern, market oriented and commercialized agricultural sector" (Nanyeenya *et al.*, 2009: 1103). The quality of education and how it impacts and may potentially impact rural livelihoods today is therefore an important issue.

The social justice approach is widely accepted as a locally adaptable framework for understanding Quality Education (Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011). It is inspired by several authors' focus on human capabilities (Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 2009; Walker, 2006) and Fraser's view of social justice (Fraser, 2008). And in line with UNICEF's human rights approach and UNESCO's focus on human capital it is therefore argued that education is a right on its own, and a tool for strengthening livelihoods, the production of outputs and to ensure human security (Sen, 2009; Nussbaum, 2000; Tikly, 2011; Tikly and Barrett, 2011). Furthermore, teaching and learning approaches are decisive for the quality of education as the development of creative and problem solving mindset make a big difference (Altinyelken, 2010a; Ask *et al.*, 2003). The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) has for many years been a central tool used to analyze people's livelihoods (DFID, 1999a). By exploring affecting socio-economic and environmental factors within the vulnerability context and people's livelihood strategies and outcomes one may understand where intervention and development is needed.

Separated, neither the social justice approach nor the Sustainable Livelihood Framework is designed to understand how education may impact people's livelihoods. In this thesis I combined the two creating a new framework called the Quality Education and Livelihood Framework (QELF) to study the quality of secondary education and how relevant it is in

relation to local livelihoods. There is little focus on this in the literature. QELF proved useful as an illustrative setup of the various involved contexts.

6.2 Main findings

The objective for this research was two-fold: To study the quality of secondary education in Kisoro district, south-western Uganda, and to examine its level of relevance for local livelihood strategies. The main conclusion is: Secondary school education is not utilized to its full potential in terms of being a strategy for livelihood change in Kisoro district.

The most central findings are outlined below.

6.2.1 Indicators of Quality and Challenges

Respondents in this research referred to aspects of both quality and challenges when describing their view of Quality Education. The most chosen indicators of quality were related to outcomes because of a rather result oriented education system. Most challenges were linked to enabling inputs and the general context mainly as a result of financial and material constraints in the secondary school education system.

6.2.2 An instructional teaching approach

According to participating respondents, an instructional teaching approach is widely used in Kisoro district. The school system is exam oriented encouraging performers rather than learners' development of understanding. Several teachers and head teachers are familiar with constructivist and social constructivist approaches but fall short of using them due to limited time and/or lack of adequate instructional material. Some teachers misinterpret learning-centeredness for being merely activation of learners. Overall, learners do not fully enjoy constructivist and social constructivist principles in school. Their ability to positively influence livelihood strategies may therefore be negatively affected due to limited experience constructivist principles.

6.2.3 Livelihood strategies and the vulnerability context

The majority of people in Kisoro district are subsistence farmers. They are influenced by a vulnerability context including land fragmentation, low production output, low income, weather disturbances, price fluctuations, poor infrastructure, long geographical distances, and poverty.

6.2.4 Secondary school education's limited role in livelihood strategies and development

Most respondents believed secondary school education is a good strategy for children's chances of generating more money and achieving a higher social status. However, few considered the education as an instrument for improving their current livelihood strategies. Instead, they hoped an investment in education would enable children to improve their standard of living and social status through formal employment.

Nevertheless, secondary school education is a potential bottom-up approach in development. It starts with children's exploration of the school, home and contextual environment by constructing relevant contextualized knowledge, skills, values and attitudes. The resulting competence impact the environment and institutional setup people are surrounded by and consequently their strategies for surviving. The combination of Quality Education and Sustainable Livelihood principles, which is this thesis's theoretical and practical backbone, is therefore a good strategy for reducing people's vulnerability, increasing their asset base and positively impact livelihood outcomes. If stakeholders fully recognize its potential it can support and strengthen the development of communities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Cover letter to head teachers

	Svein Sandvik University of Agder (UIA), Norway Phone number: +256 (0)774787065 Email: sveibs09@student.uia.no 22 nd October 2010
To whom it may concern	
Dear head teacher,	
<u>RE: COVER LETTER - MASTER THESIS RESEARCH</u>	
My name is Svein Sandvik, and I am 29 years old. I am a student at the University of Agder (UIA) in Norway pursuing a Master degree in Development Management. My field of study is secondary school education in the context of sustainable livelihoods.	
I am currently here in Uganda to carry out my field work focusing on parents', teachers', head teachers', and local leaders' understanding of <i>Quality Education</i> in Kisoro district. My aim is to visit 5 secondary schools interviewing the following number of respondents: altogether 5 head teachers, 25 teachers, and 25 parents with relations to the respective schools. I also hope to interview 10 local leaders.	
I therefore kindly request your permission to visit your school and carry out individual interviews with you, 5 teachers and 5 parents, all randomly selected. The questions are related to: (1) the definition of <i>Quality Education</i> ; (2) teaching practices (pedagogy); (3) your view on the importance of secondary school education for sustainable livelihoods.	
In order to identify 5 parents who have children enrolled in your school it would be of tremendous help if you may provide a list of those who are available. It is important that teachers and parents are selected randomly to ensure the representativeness of their answers.	
This will not take up much of your time and I can assure you, the teachers, and parents the highest level of confidentiality. The findings will only be used academically in my master thesis which I will submit to my university in Norway.	
Since December is a busy month for everyone, and since I am traveling back to Norway in January 2011, I hope the interviews may be carried out in early November.	
Please send me your details so I may contact you to confirm my arrival. Then we may agree on an interview schedule.	
Yours sincerely,	
Svein Bjarne Sandvik	

Appendix 2

Cover letter to local leaders

Svein Sandvik
University of Agder (UIA), Norway
Phone number: +256 (0)774787065
Email: sveibs09@student.uia.no
22nd October 2010

To whom it may concern

Dear head teacher,

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I am currently here in Uganda to carry out my field work focusing on parents', teachers', head teachers', and local leaders' understanding of *Quality Education* in Kisoro district. My aim is to visit 5 secondary schools interviewing the following number of respondents: altogether 5 head teachers, 25 teachers, and 25 parents with relations to the respective schools. I also hope to interview 10 local leaders.

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This will not take up much of your time and I can assure you, the teachers, and parents the highest level of confidentiality. The findings will only be used academically in my master thesis which I will submit to my university in Norway.

Since December is a busy month for everyone, and since I am traveling back to Norway in January 2011, I hope the interviews may be carried out in early November.

Please send me your details so I may contact you to confirm my arrival. Then we may agree on an interview schedule.

Yours sincerely,

Svein Bjarne Sandvik

Appendix 3

Checklist for qualitative interviews with teachers and head teachers

General information

- Age
- Gender
- Position
- Level of qualification
- Duration of this position - Years of teaching

Other income generating activities

- Quality education
- Indicators of quality education
- Major challenges in secondary education
- Challenges affecting the quality of education
- Teaching and learning strategies
- Teachers' expectations of learners

Livelihoods

- Secondary school education's level of usefulness for learners
- Secondary school education as an instrument for responding to livelihood challenges (Education system versus local needs)
- Relevance of curriculum
- Secondary school education as an instrument for: improving income opportunities; poverty reduction; reducing risks and vulnerability, increasing well-being etc.
- Parents' expectations from their investment in secondary school education

Appendix 4

Structured qualitative interview for parents

1. Gender - Age – Level of education

2. What is your perception about secondary education?

Positive – Negative – Not sure (Please comment)

3. What does quality education mean to you?

4. What are the major challenges in secondary education?

5. a) The teaching approach describes the type of interaction between teachers and students. What techniques are used to teach children in secondary schools?

b) In your opinion, what are the best teaching and learning strategies?

c) Do you consider the way teachers teach to have a significant effect on the quality of education?

Yes – No – Not sure (Please comment)

6. Which skills do you expect your child/children to demonstrate based on the education they have received?

7. a) What do you do to survive?

Subsistence farming – Cash-cropping – Wage-labour – Trade – Mixed approach
(Please comment)

b) How relevant do you find the secondary school curriculum in relation to your type of livelihood?

Very relevant – Relevant – Not so relevant – Irrelevant (Please comment)

8. a) In relation to question 7 a.): Which risks are involved?

b) Are students in secondary school developing skills that can assist them in reducing these risks?

Yes – No – Not sure (Please comment)

9. a) How vulnerable are you to social, economic and environmental changes?

Very vulnerable – Vulnerable – Not so vulnerable – Not vulnerable (Please comment)

b) Are your child/children developing skills in secondary school that can make them less vulnerable?

Yes – No – Not sure (Please comment)

10. Do people with secondary education find it easier to earn a living than those without?

Yes – No – Not sure (Please comment)

11. a) How would you describe the level of poverty among people in Kisoro district?

Very high – High – Moderate – Low – Very low (Please comment)

b) Do you think secondary education can reduce poverty?

Yes – No – Not sure (Please comment)

12. Is secondary school education improving students'?

Self-perception – Motivation – Self-confidence – Hope – Self-esteem – Emotional well-being
– Commitment – Not sure (Please comment)

13. What do you expect in return from your investment in secondary education for your child/children?

Appendix 5

Semi-structured questionnaire for local leaders

About this study

I am a Norwegian student pursuing a master degree in development management at the University of Agder (UIA) in Norway. During the course of a master degree a student is required to write a thesis to be submitted at the end of the program. As students we are encouraged to collect field information. I have chosen to carry out my research in Kisoro district, and this questionnaire is one of the tools I am using for collecting information.

The questionnaire

The questionnaire contains closed and open-ended questions. A closed question means that you tick off in front of a given answer. Please reply to the closed question by ticking off the preferred alternative. When there is a 'comment' option, you add a point of clarification if you feel you need to explain your answer. An open-ended question means that you have to formulate the answer yourself. They ensure that you can express your opinions freely. Please try to be as open and candid as possible.

All participants and answers submitted will be treated with complete confidentiality and anonymity. Your questionnaire will not be given to anyone else, and even if you write your name it will still be treated anonymously. Your answers will only be used in my master thesis. Furthermore, the data is very important to me for understanding stakeholders' perception of quality education. It will also come in handy for grasping which impact secondary school education has on people's livelihood strategies in Kisoro.

Feel free to ask if you have any questions, and in advance: Thank you for your participation in this research!

Please tick off in front of the preferred answer or fill in as appropriate:

1. Gender

..... Male Female

2. Age

..... 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70 Above 70

3. Your educational qualification

..... Primary education Secondary education Bachelor
..... Masters Other

4. Your position

.....

5. Years in position

..... 0-3 4-6 7-9 10-12 Above 12

6. Level

..... County Sub-county Parish Village

7. What does quality education mean to you?

.....
.....

8. What do you think are the major challenges in secondary education?

.....
.....

9. What perception do parents have about secondary school education?

..... Positive Negative Not sure

Comment

.....
.....

10. The teaching approach describes the type of interaction between teachers and students. a) How would you characterise teaching practises in secondary schools in Kisoro?

..... Teacher-centred Child-centred A combination Not sure

Comment

.....
.....

b) What is the most common procedure for learning in secondary schools in Kisoro?

..... Cramming Develop understanding A combination Other

Comment

.....
.....

c) What do you consider to be a good strategy for teaching and learning?

.....
.....

d) Do you consider the teaching approach to have a significant effect on the quality of education?

..... Yes No Not sure

Comment

.....
.....

11. a) What are people in Kisoro district doing to survive?

..... Subsistence-farming Cash-cropping Wage-labour Mixed approach Trade Other

Comment

.....
.....

b) How relevant do you find the secondary school curriculum in that context?

..... Very relevant Relevant Not so relevant Irrelevant

Comment

.....
.....

12. a) In relation to question 11. a), which risks are involved?

.....
.....

b) Are students in secondary school developing skills which can reduce risks?

..... Yes No Not sure

Comment

.....
.....

13. a) How vulnerable are people in Kisoro district to socio-economic instabilities/shocks?

..... Very vulnerable Vulnerable Not so vulnerable Not vulnerable

b) Are students developing skills in secondary school that can assist them in reducing their vulnerability?

..... Yes No Not sure

Comment

.....
.....

14. Do people having secondary school education find it easier to earn a living than those without?

..... Yes No Not sure

Comment

.....
.....

15. a) How would you describe the level of poverty among people in Kisoro district?

..... Very high High Moderate Low Very low

b) Do you think secondary school education helps reducing poverty?

..... Yes No Not sure

Comment

.....
.....

16. Is secondary school education improving students'

(You can tick more than one option)

..... Self-perception? Motivation? Self-confidence? Hope?
..... Self-esteem? Emotional well-being? Commitment ?
..... Not sure

17. What are parents expecting in return from their investment in secondary school education for their children?

.....
.....

18. What is your contribution towards improving the quality of secondary school education in your area?

.....
.....

Thank you for your time and valuable answers!