



**Consortium for Research on
Educational Access,
Transitions and Equity**

**Policies on Free Primary and Secondary
Education in East Africa:
A Review of the Literature**

Moses O. Oketch and Caine M. Rolleston

**CREATE PATHWAYS TO ACCESS
Research Monograph No 10**

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Educational Access, Transitions & Equity

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List of Acronyms

CREATE	Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity
DHS	Demographic and Household Survey
EAC	East African Community
EFA	Education for All
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
FPE	Free Primary Education
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FHS	Free High School
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GPI	Gender Parity Index
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KPE	Kenya Preliminary Examination
LEA	Local Education Authorities
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
NAPE	National Assessment of Primary Education
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TAPA	Tanganyika African Parents Association
TANU	Tanzania African National Union
UPE	Universal Primary Education

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Comments by Angela Little and Tony Somerset on earlier drafts were helpful. None share responsibility for the review. Thanks also to Fran Hunt for editing and Elena Dennison for presentation of this report.

Preface

This research monograph is one of several in the CREATE Pathways to Access Series that address policy formulation and implementation. Specifically it reviews the international research literature on the formulation and implementation of policies on free primary and secondary education in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda since independence in 1963, 1961 and 1962 respectively. The monograph addresses the origins of these policies, and the increasing role, over time, of the international development community. What are the politics of policy formulation? How have policies changed over time, and why?

In the immediate post independence period policy priority was given to the expansion of secondary and tertiary education in all three countries. But it was not long before competitive politics, social demand and faith in the role of education led to active policies for Universal Primary Education in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Kenya and Tanzania. While initial enrolment gains were rapid, both countries experienced setbacks subsequently. The reasons for this and the greater involvement of the international community in recent years are explored. The story of Uganda's rapid progress towards Universal primary education starts much later, in the mid 1990s, in the wake of the transition to democratic politics. The abolition of fees at different points has been critical in all three countries in increasing enrolments.

Moses Oketch and Caine Rolleston offer an important contribution to our understanding of the underlying determinants of policies for free primary and secondary education, the patterns of access that follow from specific policies and the undermining of achievements in the context of economic decline on the one hand and the imposition of fees on the other.

Professor Angela W Little
Institute of Education, London
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Summary

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are among the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa which have recently implemented policies for free primary education, motivated in part by renewed democratic accountability following the re-emergence of multi-party politics in the 1990s. However, it is not the first time that the goal of expanding primary education has been pursued by these three neighbouring countries which have much in common. Since the 1960s, they have attempted to expand access at various levels of their education systems albeit with differences in philosophy and in both the modes and successes of implementation. All three countries continue to face the challenges of enrolling every child in school, keeping them in school and ensuring that meaningful learning occurs for all enrolled children.

This paper provides an a review of the three countries' policies for expanding access to education, particularly with regard to equity and the enrolment of excluded groups since their political independence in the 1960s. It considers policies in the light of the countries' own stated goals alongside the broader international agendas set by the Millennium Development Goals and in particular, 'Education for All'. It is concerned with the following questions: What led to those policies and how were they funded? What was the role, if any, of the international community in the formulation of those policies? What were the politics and philosophies surrounding the formulation of those policies, have the policies changed over time, and if so how and why? The paper also discusses the range of strategies for implementation adopted.

Tremendous growth has occurred in access to primary education since the 1960s, not least in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The challenge of providing equitable access to schooling has been addressed in a series of education drives with varying motivations, modalities and degrees of success, the most recent of which pays attention to the increasingly pressing question of the transition to secondary education. The success of such policy remains to be seen but will be crucial for the widening of access to the benefits of education and to economic opportunity, particularly for those groups which history has so far excluded.

Policies on Free Primary and Secondary Education in East Africa: A Review of the Literature

1. Introduction

This paper is written for The Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) based on the experiences of three East African countries in terms of the formulation and implementation of policies around access to primary and secondary education since their independence in the 1960s. The three East African countries Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are often held up as countries in Sub-Saharan Africa that have succeeded in the implementation of free primary education which is viewed as the first step towards achieving Education for All (EFA) and some of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In all three countries the implementation of free primary education (FPE) policy is leading to new policies for access to secondary education and ironically, in the case of Tanzania, to a decline in primary enrolment. Using CREATE's four 'zones of exclusion'¹, this paper aims to explore the formulation of policies for access to primary and secondary education since the 1960s. The paper addresses the following questions: What led to the policies and how were they funded? What was the role, if any, of the international community in the formulation of the policies? What were the politics and underpinning philosophy surrounding the formulation of the policies and have the policies changed over time, and if so why?

The paper also reviews strategies for implementation and considers whether the implementation involved phasing in by grade or was simultaneous across grades and whether pilots were used or implementation took place at the national level straight away. Issues including how responsibilities were allocated and how teacher training was carried out are discussed. A number of matters concerning the implementation process are explored, including questions of the supply of school places, the level of social and economic demand and the presence of possible access inhibitors (including the availability of facilities). Access indicators such as pupil flows and rates of retention/dropout, achievement, transition to secondary and participation of excluded groups are considered. We also explore issues of the institutionalisation, replicability and financial sustainability of FPE policies, along with the implications for the poorest groups and we offer an overview of recent policies on access to secondary education.

All three countries have recently implemented policies of FPE. In Uganda, FPE is regarded as having been largely successful in terms of improving access since its implementation in 1997 (Ministry of Education and Sports, Uganda, 1999; Deininger, 2003; Bategeka, 2005; Al-Samarrai, 2003). In Kenya, enrolment increased by 18 per cent from 5.9 million children in 2002 to 7.2 million in 2004 following the implementation of FPE in 2003. The newly elected National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) Government, which announced and implemented the policy, regards it a success (Republic of Kenya, 2005, p. 39). In Tanzania FPE was announced in 2001 but the process has been described by some analysts as being slow and has raised questions as to

¹ CREATE has identified four 'zones of vulnerability' which it uses to describe different stages of educational access, these are: zone one: children who have never been to school; zone two: children who have been to school, but have dropped out; zone three: children at risk of dropping out from school and zone four: children who are excluded from lower secondary education despite completing primary.

the Tanzanian Government's ability to deliver a totally successful universal FPE (Galabawa, 2001) .

All three countries have common characteristics and historical backgrounds regarding access to education. At all educational levels, access had historically been limited to the few during the colonial period and hence the three countries faced similar educational and literacy challenges following political independence in the 1960s. Kenya declared a campaign for Universal Primary Education (UPE) free of charge as a long-term objective in 1963. Tanzania followed in 1967, and Uganda, although lukewarm in its desire to expand primary education nonetheless experienced improved access from the time of independence in 1962 until the late 1970s when internal political conflict and war caused serious disruption (Bogonko, 1992). All three countries exhibited patterns of exclusion across the four CREATE zones identified earlier. In more recent years and following the re-introduction of multi-party politics in the late 1990s, they have all announced and implemented new policies for FPE (Stasavage, 2005). The three countries have had different experiences with the implementation of both UPE in the 1960s and FPE in the 1990s and have different philosophies underpinning their education expansion more generally.

Sharing common borders, the three countries came together to form the East African Community (EAC), a loose federation as a political vehicle to pursue common goals in the 1960s. The community broke down in 1977 following philosophical differences in their development strategies. Tanzania and Uganda followed a socialist model of development while Kenya adhered to capitalism in practice (although referred to 'African socialism' in development strategy policy documents). On being faced with similar challenges, partly as a result of policies of economic liberalisation under Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), the EAC was revived in the 1990s to provide a common platform from which to address common problems.

While FPE is often associated with Jomtien and Dakar conferences of 1990 and 2000 which set the current EFA targets, the idea of UPE in the three East African countries is traceable to the 1961 Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, held in Addis Ababa. The main purpose of the Conference was to provide a forum for African states gaining independence 'to decide on their priority educational needs for the promotion of economic and social development in Africa, and in the light of these, to establish a first tentative short and long- term plan for educational development in the continent, embodying the priorities they had decided upon for the economic growth of the region' (UNESCO, 1961: v). Nonetheless, UPE was only set as a long-term goal by the conferences, when resources would permit it to be realized, estimated to be in 1980. Instead in these countries priority was placed on the expansion of secondary and higher education to meet the required manpower needs, in order to take over the running of the state from the departing colonial governments. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania were represented at this conference and the educational expansion policies they each ultimately pursued upon attaining full independence had a semblance of or at least were influenced by the short-term and long-term goals commonly agreed in Addis Ababa.

The rest of this paper is organised as follows. First, we discuss policies and action taken in the immediate post-independence era in relation to the CREATE zones of exclusion. Second, we present the formulation of those policies again in relation to the CREATE zones of exclusion. Third, we discuss implementation strategies and the implementation

processes. Fourth, we discuss the institutionalisation, replicability and financial sustainability of these policies. Fifth we outline the implications of these policies for the poorest groups in line with CREATE's zones of exclusion. Sixth we provide an overview of recent policies on access to secondary education in relation to zone four (those students who complete primary school, but do not successfully transfer to secondary). A summary and our recommendations for policy related empirical research follow.

2. Immediate Post-Independence Policies on Access

Independence and education were intertwined in all three East African countries. However, they differed on how they emphasised and implemented policies for expanded access to education. Tanzania was the first to attain independence in 1961 and Julius Nyerere, the founding president, having been a teacher himself, placed emphasis on secondary education for the nation's development. Uganda followed in 1962 and there too Milton Obote, the founding president immediately emphasised the need to expand education to meet national development needs and priority was given to secondary education. Kenya gained independence a year after Uganda in 1963 and Jomo Kenyatta's Kenya African National Union (KANU) Government did not hesitate to declare education one of its key priorities for national development with emphasis placed on the development of secondary and tertiary education. The three countries adhered to the agreed framework set out at the Addis Ababa conference which prioritised the expansion of secondary and tertiary education. This emphasis related to the need to meet key manpower requirements.

Although prioritization of education policy driven by manpower needs immediately followed independence, the three governments also identified 'ignorance' and illiteracy as two of the problems they needed to tackle through education. This essentially implied an expansion of primary education. As a consequence access to primary education became linked to the notion of development and its provision began to preoccupy the three governments. Access had been problematic during colonial administration as there were many Africans who were simply denied entry to education both for practical and political reasons. In practical terms, the rural subsistence economy may have not required people to be well educated. In political terms, an educated population may not have served the interests of the colonial system. Many who managed to gain entry to primary education could not continue beyond four years of education because of the Standard IV examination process. Access to secondary education was extremely limited and those who managed to reach it often regarded themselves to be elite Africans. Often they were rewarded with immediate employment in the civil service, an opportunity which immediately set them apart from the rest of the population. Given the benefits the people of these countries could see from those who had accessed secondary education, the demand for it became very high. However, access to secondary education required prior access to primary education. Thus, the demand for primary education was driven by the benefits attached to secondary education. Education immediately became an issue of disagreement between the Africans and the colonial governments and was used as a theme to fight for political independence. Once independence was attained, expanding access to those who had been excluded by the colonial administration became an important means of gaining full legitimacy and of reassuring people that political independence was not a sham (Bogonko, 1992). A number of policies were pursued to facilitate rapid access for those who had been excluded.

An immediate policy initiative to expand access in the three countries, was the abolition of racial schooling systems which had existed during the colonial period and the development of one national education system. However, this action did not expand access for the majority who had been excluded because fees remained a barrier. What it did was to open access to the emerging African political elites who could afford to pay the fees charged in what had been well equipped formerly European-only schools. The

next step which improved access in Kenya and Tanzania was the abolition of the Standard IV examination, although fees remained a barrier to many poor households. In Uganda the situation was already better as they had put in place a policy for six years of uninterrupted primary education and for two-years junior secondary education, which was open to all who could pay for it. This had placed Uganda ahead of both Kenya and Tanzania in terms of transition to some form of secondary education although in reality very few managed to go past the six years of primary education (Bogonko, 1992: 24)

Tanzania championed the idea of a federal East African country and her leader Julius Nyerere had been willing to delay Tanzania's attainment of independence by one year if this would facilitate the formation of such a community. Kenya and Uganda were however lukewarm to the idea and as a result independence was attained by each country separately (Southhall, 1974). Still, the spirit of an East African Community remained and the leaders of the newly independent countries felt that a common education would be instrumental to the achievement of this goal. Moreover, by the time of independence the only university available in the region, which was shared by the three countries, was the University of East Africa at Makerere in Uganda. The need to have a uniform education system was therefore one of practical necessity, if the countries were to share the university in an effort to quickly meet their manpower needs. Admission to the university had to be based on some agreed uniform or equivalent number of years study in primary and secondary education. To deal with this problem, Nyerere, Kenyatta and Obote as heads of state in each of the three countries called for a common seven year primary education cycle. Consequently by 1964, Kenya had scrapped the Standard IV examination and the former primary and intermediate courses were replaced by one consolidated seven-year primary course, which was fully implemented in 1966 (Bogonko, 1992, p. 24). This resulted in a rapid increase in the number of children proceeding to the Kenya Preliminary Examination (KPE) taken at the end of the primary cycle from 62,000 in 1964 to 133,000 in 1966 (Kenya, MEARS, 1964-66, 2, 4 cited in Bogonko, 1992, p. 24). Uganda also introduced changes leading to the merging of the six year primary education and the two-year junior secondary schooling into one seven year primary education system by 1967. This had a significant impact on access as 'formerly only about one out of three or four primary-school pupils obtained places in junior secondary school' (Bogonko, 1992:24).

Tanzania followed in 1966 when the Standard IV examination was scrapped in towns and then in rural areas in 1973 (Morrison 1976:271 cited in Bogonko 1992:25). Bogonko argues that Tanzania's separate treatment of rural and urban education reflected the scant attention paid to the expansion of primary education to the masses (Bogonko, 1992). Rather, the policy that was openly supported in Tanzania was the expansion of secondary and tertiary education, which was believed to be more useful for economic development than primary education. Tanzania's actions seem to have been more in line with the recommendations reached at the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference where expansion of secondary education to meet manpower needs was prioritised over access to primary education.

The move by Tanzania in 1973 to eliminate the Standard IV examination for the entire nation now meant that all three East African countries had an uninterrupted seven years of primary education. This had a significant impact in promoting access and for many of their citizens, the benefits of independence were now manifest. The uniform system of education continued in the three countries until Kenya changed its education system to an

eight year primary, four-year secondary and four-year university education (8+4+4) system in 1984 (Bogonko, 1992: 25).

In terms of impact on access and in relation to CREATE's zones of exclusion, the integration of the racially-divided schooling system into one national system, along with the elimination of the Standard IV examination led to improvements in access to primary education for those who had been excluded during the colonial period. Although government policy placed an emphasis on the expansion of secondary education for manpower purposes, it was at the primary level 'where education experienced the most tremendous and most unprecedented growth of all in terms of both the number of schools and of pupils' (Bogonko, 1992:25). While there was an emphasis by the governments on zone four, reduced exclusion in zones one to three was also achieved.

In Kenya, enrolment at primary level increased by 23.3 per cent between 1964 and 1968 from 980,849 to 1,209,680. This rose even further such that by 1983 nearly 93 per cent of school age pupils were enrolled, up from less than 60 percent in 1963. Enrollment in 1983 stood at 4.3 million pupils. The highest rates of growth were witnessed between 1970 and 1974 following the announcement that school fees had been abolished. This happened firstly in semi-arid areas and for needy cases throughout the country, and then for the first four years throughout the country (Bogonko, 1992:25; Buchmann, 2001).

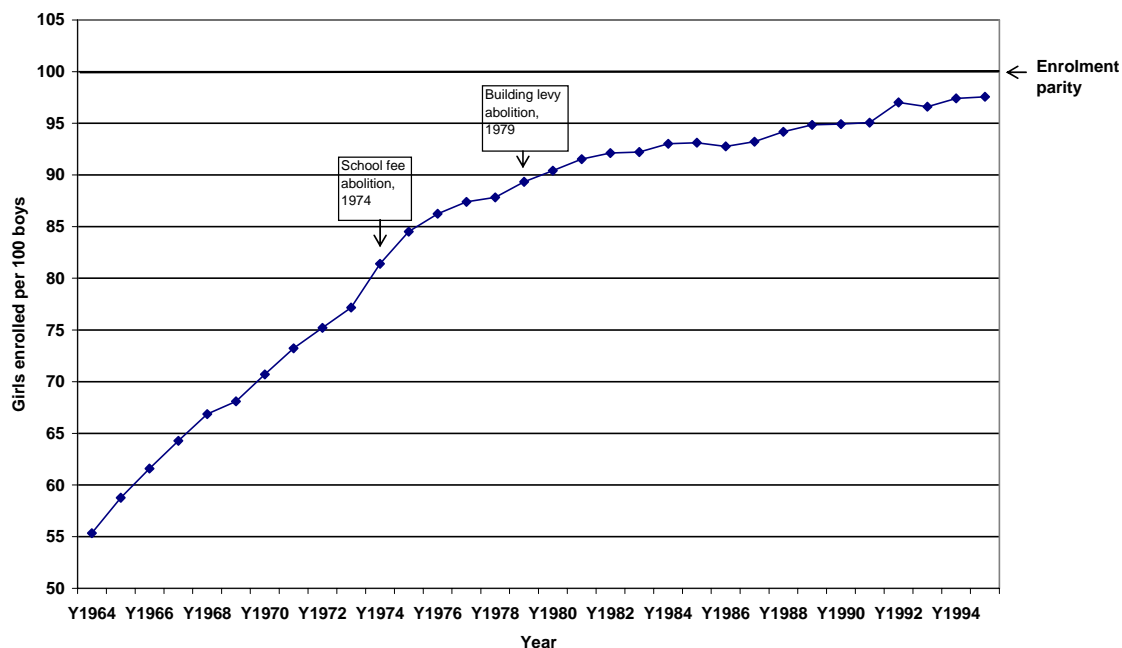
Tanzania followed suit in 1969 in response to the pressure from local community leaders and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) leaders to expand access. Expansion of government-aided primary schools had previously been restricted by government policy which placed an emphasis on secondary education. The only significant expansion of access that was allowed following pressure by political and community leaders was that of unaided schools. The decision to restrict government expansion of primary education seriously affected access. It was Neyerere's speech during the launch of the second National Development Plan (1969-74) in which he lamented low levels of primary enrolment in Tanzania as 'unacceptable to a country which claims to be building socialism' that triggered a change in policy which saw Tanzania achieve universal primary education in 1977 (Bogonko, 1992).

Uganda also attempted to expand access to education for its citizens but achievements were fewer than in Kenya and Tanzania. Between 1964 and 1982, primary-school enrolment in Uganda rose by only 166 per cent. During the same period, the corresponding increases in Kenya and Tanzania were 327 per cent (from 980,849 to 4,184,602) and 523 per cent (from 633,678 to 3,312,799) respectively. In the 1970s, the annual average growth of primary-school pupils was 6 per cent for Uganda, 12 per cent for Kenya and 16 per cent for Tanzania (Bogonko, 1992: 27-28; also see Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). The need to overhaul colonial policies and to expand educational access felt so strongly in Kenya (and to a lesser extent in Tanzania) was much weaker in Uganda. The presence of a substantial white-settler community in Kenya meant that control of the schools was sharply contested during the colonial period, and access for Africans to education for more than four years severely restricted by the colonial government. In Uganda, by contrast, educational expansion started much earlier and was less problematic. It is likely these differences account for the more modest rates of enrolment expansion achieved by Uganda in the immediate post-Independence years.

Further analysis of expansion of access after independence based on gender indicates that the three countries considered the issue of gender seriously in their plans for educational expansion. At independence in each of the three countries, the ratio of girls in primary school as percentage of total enrolment was less than 40 per cent. This was low in relation to female proportion of the total population in each of the three countries which stood at more than 50 percent. According to Bogonko (1992), progress was made in enrolling girls. For instance, in Kenya the proportion of girls enrolled in primary school increased from 34 per cent of the total enrolment in 1963 to 46 per cent and 48 percent in 1975 and 1986 respectively. In Tanzania it went up from 36 per cent of the total primary school enrolment in 1962 to 42 and 50 per cent in 1974 and 1986 respectively. In Uganda, enrolment of girls increased from 37 percent of the total enrolment in 1965 to 40 and 44 per cent in 1974 and 1983 respectively. Bogonko (1992) attributes progress to constant appeal to parents by the government in each of the three countries to disengage in cultural beliefs which acted as barriers to demand for girls' education.

While each of the three countries attempted to encourage equal access for both girls and boys, Tanzania moved fastest in removing barriers inhibiting access for girls. By 1986, Tanzania had more girls than boys enrolled at the primary level by .05 per cent. Kenya closely followed Tanzania with 48 per cent of her primary enrolment being girls by 1986. Uganda lagged behind both Tanzania and Kenya. However, in spite of these gains, females were still under-represented at the primary level. Figure 1 below shows the progress made in bridging the gender gap in primary enrolment in Kenya between 1964 and 1995. Plotted on the vertical axis is the Gender Parity Index (GPI). At independence in 1963, there were only 55 girls for every 100 boys enrolled. That has since improved tremendously over the years. Somerset (2006) attributes improvements in the GPI during the first decade of independence to changing parental attitude towards the education of daughters rather than overt Government policy targeting girls. The abolition of formal school fees in 1974 accelerated what had already been a steady social trend such that between 1973 and 1975 the GPI went up from 77 to nearly 85. Where fees had been a barrier to access, girls were the most affected (Somerset, 2006). The abolition of building levies in 1979 also gave a boost to the GPI although as evidenced from the curve this was much smaller compared to the 1974 Government policy to abolish formal fees. Somerset concludes that 'since 1980, as the group of excluded girls has become smaller but increasingly marginal, further improvement has been much slower. The GPI reached 95 in the early 1990s, since when it has changed little' (Somerset, 2006:16). The (re)introduction of FPE policy in 2003 may have improved the GPI but the figures were not available to the authors at the time of this review.

Figure 1. Kenya: Representation of Girls in Primary School Enrolments
Girls enrolled per 100 boys, all grades, 1964 to 1995



Source: Somerset (2006).

Although there was tremendous growth in education in Tanzania and Kenya in the 1960s and 1970s, economic growth in the late 1970s was less positive. This affected the government’s ability to successfully sustain a policy of universal and free primary education. Uganda had already experienced turbulent political leadership following coups and counter coups which affected its education system in the early part of the 1970s. The mid 1980s into the 1990s featured little in terms of expansion of access to primary education. The gains that had been made in the 1960s and 1970s were eroded following the implementation of economic structural adjustment programmes promoted by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The World Bank and IMF had considered Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as necessary policies for readjusting and revitalising African economies. SAPs were to achieve this by reducing the role of the state and improving the role of the market in determining economic activities and policies. In the social sectors such as health and education, SAPs introduced demand management policy. Consequently, the education sector was seriously affected when cost-sharing was introduced and parents were asked to carry some of the burden of educating their children. Enrolment declined and only picked up again following the new drive to achieve EFA by 2015, and the announcement of FPE in each of the three countries. Uganda was the first to declare and implement FPE in 1997. Tanzania followed in 2001, and Kenya implemented its FPE in 2003.

2.1 Formulation of Policies

2.1.1 Kenya

Announcing UPE as an objective to be pursued by the Government was one step towards assuring the citizens that political independence was not a sham. Independence was

therefore the first catalyst which triggered a commitment towards UPE in Kenya. The KANU campaign in 1960s and its manifesto included the provision of universal primary education upon attainment of independence (Bogonko, 1992). The First National Development Plan 1964-1969 highlighted the need to expand education and noted that 'education and national development are so closely related in a developing country that it is almost impossible to speak of one without the other' (Republic of Kenya, 1964a:305). Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 (Republic of Kenya, 1965) also included education as an instrumental part of Kenya's development strategy but pointed out that emphasis should be placed on the economic value rather than social value of education. Education was to be 'regarded as the principal means of relieving the shortage of skilled manpower and equalizing economic opportunities among all citizens' (Republic of Kenya, 1964a:305). Provision of universal primary education was nonetheless identified as the first of the three long-range objectives for Kenya's educational programme. The other two were to ensure availability of enough places at the secondary and higher levels to educate those with recognized abilities, and to organize the educational system to meet the manpower needs of the country (Republic of Kenya, 1964a:305). The Government in its First Five Year National Development Plan 1964-69 noted that the movement towards universal primary education would not only satisfy the demand by the *wananchi* (Swahili word for citizens) for this level of education but was instrumental for unity and cohesion of the nation. UPE was associated with widespread literacy which the government linked to overall development and national stability. The following statement in the National Development Plan 1964-69 sums up the government's view:

Widespread literacy opens up many avenues of mass communication as an effective means of keeping people well informed on national, African and world problems, as well as on local affairs. An informed citizenry is necessary if a democratic African socialist state is to develop (Republic of Kenya, 1964a:305).

While the Kenyan government recognised the importance of primary education along these lines, it was not ready to create any illusion that it would provide it free of charge in the short term. It is clearly stated in the Plan that 'primary education is largely a local responsibility' (Ibid:306) and that while the achievement of universal primary education remained the policy of the Government, for purely economic grounds the development of primary education could not be given 'as high priority as secondary, technical and higher education' (Ibid:306). This continued as the official government policy during the second Five Year National Development Plan 1970-74 where it is stated that 'Universal primary education, Government's long-term objective, will continue to possess high priority... in order to ensure equal opportunity for all people to play their full part in the development of the country' (Republic of Kenya, 1970:453). But it was made clear that it remained impossible to provide free primary education for all. To signal the priority placed on secondary education, the Government scrapped fees for Forms V and VI in low-cost schools and reduced them in what were high cost, formerly European only schools. This was aimed at increasing the supply of middle level and high-level manpower but in itself also fueled the demand for the lower levels of education (Republic of Kenya, 1964a:307). It is clear that the government started not with UPE but with Free High School (FHS) for purely manpower reasons.

The belief in a link between education and economic development, as evident in the First Five Year National Development Plan 1964-69 and in subsequent National Plans of

(1970-74), (1974-78), (1979-1983), (1984-1988), (1989-1993), (1997-2001) and (2002-2008), as well as in the Sessional Paper No. 10, is another factor which triggered Universal Primary Education policies. Although it was believed that the true economic value of education could only be realised through the expansion of secondary education, the Government was sympathetic to the Kenya Education Commission Report of 1964/65 (Republic of Kenya, 1964b) which stated that primary education was a minimum basic educational requirement. Nonetheless, the Government still believed that rapid expansion of education, particularly secondary education would lead to much needed economic development. The Kenya Education Commission (1964b) had also recommended the abolition of racially segregated schools and strongly advised that the Government should take full charge in the formulation of education policies. The Commission's views were taken on board and were reflected in the emphasis that the Government placed on the expansion of primary education in practice (although in policy terms, priority was on the expansion of secondary and tertiary education to meet manpower needs).

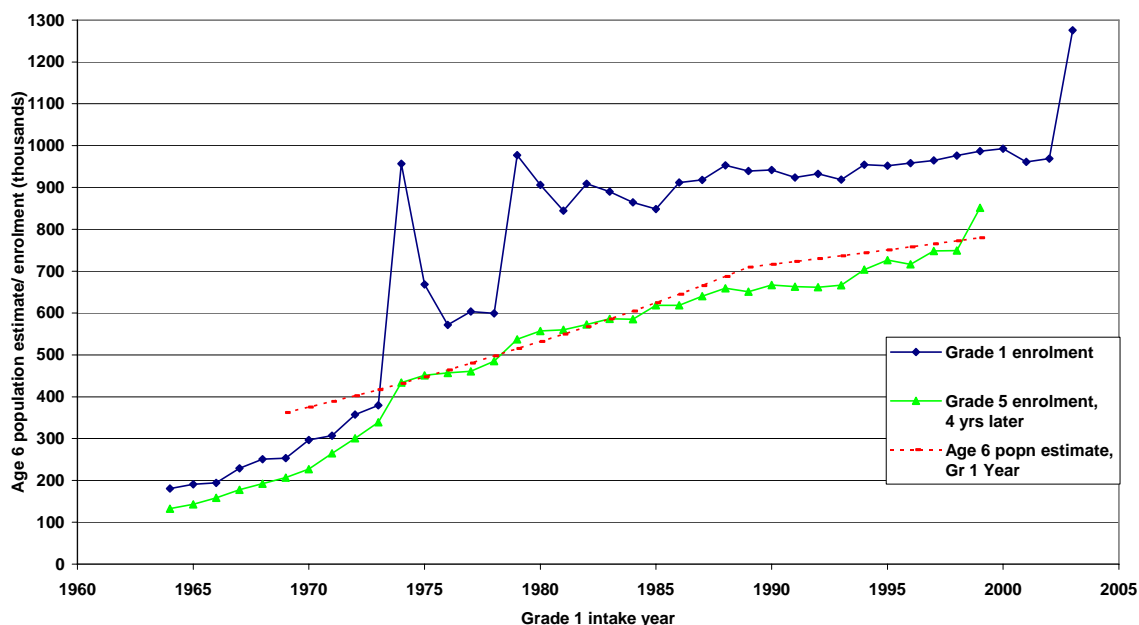
Low levels of literacy and the need to fight illiteracy, ignorance and disease was another factor that triggered the adoption of the objective of universal free primary education. It was believed that fighting ignorance among the African population would improve their lot and make life better. Given that the majority of the population were rural dwellers with limited monetary income the government had to take charge of the provision of education.

Demand for education was high following independence. Having taken charge of politics and matters of development, it followed that a 'developmentalist' state could not ignore education. Education was to be a tool for inculcating loyalty to the state, a sense of national unity and a means to teaching African values (Republic of Kenya, 1964a). Its access by all citizens could not have been more important if these goals were to be achieved. The disparities between regions also necessitated the need to formulate policies for universal education. The Government believed that education could be a means to mitigate the inequalities that had existed during the colonial period (Republic of Kenya, 1964a). The colonial government did not provide education to regions that appeared to have low potential, such as semi arid areas. Neither did Christian missionaries provide or build schools in regions that had already experienced Arabic and/or Islamic influences, such as the coastal parts of Kenya. These regions therefore had lower access to formal education at the time of independence in the 1960s.

The ruling KANU party had committed itself to free primary education by the end of the first decade of political independence. In 1971 a presidential decree had abolished tuition fees in the most geographically disadvantaged areas and in 1973 all areas for Standards I to IV. A fee of Sh.60 was imposed for Standards V, VI and VII throughout the country. (Republic of Kenya, 1974:410). It was anticipated that these measures would result in a significant increase in enrolment in primary education. However, the financial and logistical implications of these policies had not been subjected to close scrutiny prompting a priorities rethink by the Ministry of Education in 1974 as pupil enrolment rose dramatically. Although school fees had been abolished, no counter measures were put in place to replace lost revenue and consequently primary schools resorted to the use of a "building levy" which in most cases turned out to be higher than the school fees charged previously. Enrolments initially doubled in most districts but fell back to their original levels following the introduction of the "building levy" (Muthwii, 2004).

The Fourth National Development Plan (1979-83) was released under new political leadership. Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's founding President died in August 1978 and was replaced by Daniel Arap Moi, his Vice-President. Moi continued in the steps of his predecessor under the KANU banner of *Fuata Nyayo* (follow the steps) by maintaining universal primary education as a standing educational objective of his new Government. Although UPE had not been achieved, enrolment had grown from less than 50 percent in 1963 to over 85 percent by 1978 (Republic of Kenya, 1979:152). The language had however shifted from that of emphasising secondary education to that of recognising primary education as the foundation of economic and national development. The following statement illustrates this: 'the primary stage of education is the most important for any child since it is here that basic knowledge is given to the child and foundations for an economically productive and satisfying life are laid' (Republic of Kenya, 1979:154). The Plan brought forward what had been steady UPE progress by stating the Government's objective to provide universal primary education for seven years, free of charge to all children of primary-school age. The government also aimed to abolish building and other school funds in primary schools and to provide free milk to primary school children throughout the country (Republic of Kenya, 1979:155). The feeding programme was mainly to attract pupils from semi arid areas to attend school. This policy shift during Moi's first year as the President of Kenya effectively completed a seven year universal free primary education policy that was 'truly' free by ensuring that loopholes such as charging of "building levy" where fees were abolished could not again arise. The impact of abolition of fees in 1974 and in 1978 is presented in Figure 2. Enrolment increased following the abolition of fees in 1974 but immediately dropped between 1976 and 1978 because building levies were imposed or replaced fees. In 1978, both fees and the building levy were abolished which resulted in increased Grade 1 intake in 1979. Although there was subsequent decline, the curve of Grade 1 enrolment in 1979 is not as steep as those that followed the 1975 rise in Grade 1 intake. It is also evident from Figure 2 that significant dropout occurred before Grade 5 from 1975 onwards. In the first decade of independence there was apparently no widening of the gap between enrolment and dropout. As noted by Somerset (2006:3), 'the curves are shaped not only by dropout, but also by repetition; and further, by pupils resuming their education after a period away from school'. Clearly, enrolment patterns in Figure 2 reflect alternate periods of relative stability and those of sudden change. Sudden change reflects responses to Government initiatives such as the abolition of formal school fees in 1974, the scrapping of the building levy in 1979 and the re-introduction of free primary education policy in 2003 (Somerset, 2006).

Figure 2. Kenya: Age 6 Population Estimates, Grade 1 intakes and Grade 5 survivors, 1964 to 2003



Source: Somerset (2006)

Like Kenyatta who had used UPE campaign as means of assuring the citizens that independence was not a sham, Moi also seemingly used UPE as way of reassuring the people of Kenya that he would continue along the steps of the founding president, and that people should not panic at the change of leadership. There was a shift in policy however in the way secondary education was to be organized. The Government announced that it would only allow for a modest expansion in secondary education in order to correct the imbalance between districts and between boys and girls (Republic of Kenya, 1979). When Moi took over the leadership the best secondary schools had been concentrated in Central province, the home of Kenyatta and Nyanza province the home of Kenya's first vice president Oginga Odinga. The concentration also reflected where Christian missionaries had made their bases. In placing an emphasis on seven years of UPE, the government announced that due to the high cost of secondary education, parents would be asked to contribute more and that the bursary scheme at secondary education would also be reviewed.

During Moi's leadership primary education continued to witness rapid growth with Kenya achieving near universal primary education by the 1990s. Kenya's achievement in the development of basic education was a show-case among sub-Saharan African countries at the World Conference on Education for All in 1990. However, in the years that followed, many of the gains were lost or reversed for a number of reasons, which included economic decline and the introduction of 'cost-sharing'. Enrolment and participation rates at primary level declined between 1990 and 2000 and transition and completion rates stagnated. Gross enrolment rates at secondary level also declined and gender and regional disparities widened, whilst children with special needs remained under-enrolled. With this background, the NARC Government which was elected in 2002 pledged to provide free primary education for all in its 2002 manifesto (OWN and Associates, 2004).

Consequently, Kenya (re)introduced free primary education in 2003 with a view to establishing 'universal primary education' and meeting the EFA and MDG target of universal access by 2015. An interim target of a net enrolment rate of 85 per cent was established for 2005 (Vos et al, 2004). FPE again became an election pledge and was launched as a policy in 2003 when tuition fees and levies were abolished (Muthwii, 2004). Over the 1990s, enrolment had already increased by more than 27 per cent and gender parity in enrolment had almost been attained (Vos et al., 2004). Stasavage (2005) argues that rapid expansion in access to primary education in recent years in Kenya as in Uganda and Tanzania are linked to the (re)introduction of democratic elections in these countries, his point being that when leaders are subjected to competitive politics they tend to initiate policies that are popular with the electorate because they are aware that they can be voted out. Such was the case in the 1960s when independence was achieved in the three countries under multi-party politics. However, the newly elected leaders moved quickly to amend the constitution to outlaw multi-party politics within the first decade of independence in a bid to curb any opposition to their leadership and dictatorship. The cold war is said to have helped this scenario to sustain itself for decades. However, with the end of the cold war, internal as well as international pressure gained momentum and constitutions were repealed in the 1990s to allow multi-party politics. Stasavage (2005) argues that it is possible that causation flows between school enrolment and democratisation in both directions, owing to the increased incentive for democratic governments to expand education for a population to which they are accountable, and to the possibility that democracy is more sustainable in countries with a better educated population. Indirect effects of education such as income redistributive effects may also be associated with enabling democracy. Presidential popularity is also said to be higher in countries with a recent significant increase in primary school attendance and attendance rates have been found to be significant in explaining a proportion of cross national variations in presidential popularity levels. The conclusion may be that African democracies provide more primary education than non-democracies (Stasavage, 2005).

2.1.2 Uganda

Uganda did not have as successful an experience with the expansion of primary education as Kenya and Tanzania. For example, enrolments in public primary schools rose from 524,867 in 1964 to 720,127 in 1970 and then to 1,036,920 and 1,582,009 in 1976 and 1982 respectively' (Bogonko 1992:27). A number of factors are associated with Uganda's less impressive performance. They include a lack of funds, the long distance to schools from rural and sparsely populated areas, a substantial proportion of unqualified teachers and the military rule of Idi Ami (1971-1979). However, Bogonko argues that the first three setbacks were equally prevalent in both Kenya and Tanzania, leaving it only possible to suggest the main reason lied in Uganda's leadership's lack of commitment to expand free primary education. Furthermore, Uganda devoted less of her budget towards primary education in comparison with Kenya and Tanzania (Bogonko, 1992:28).

Castle Education Commission, the first commission established by the newly independent Government of Uganda debated a range of issues affecting the education system and made its recommendations to the Government in 1963 but nothing on the list of changes that were recommended reflected, even vaguely the idea of free universal primary education. Apart from suggesting that primary education should last seven years instead

of six, the Commission dwelled mostly on the curriculum and the quality of education. This has prompted Ssekamwa and Lugumba (2001:149) to note that ‘the Commission’s suggestion that concentration be on increasing the quality of primary education, in circumstances where many primary school-age pupils had no opportunity to go to school, just could not be accepted’.

In the early years following independence, Ugandan education devoted a large proportion of its expenditure to the post-primary stages of education serving manpower requirements of the administration. Despite attempts to introduce reforms aimed at universalizing primary education, this situation continued into the 1980s as a result of negative political and economic climates (Avenstrup, Liang and Nellemann, 2004). Under the leadership of President Yoweri Museveni who came to power in 1986 after waging a bloody civil war against the government of Milton Obote, the Education Policy Review Commission (EPRC) was established in 1987, following consultations recommended implementing UPE in 1989. A government White Paper followed in 1992 and reforms in preparation for UPE began in 1993 including teacher and management development, curriculum and assessment reform, development of instructional materials and new arrangements for monitoring progress. Enrollment figures did not grow substantially until 1996 when the first direct presidential election was held in Uganda.

Museveni campaigned on a UPE platform, pledging primary education for the first four children in every family. Eleven years after gaining power he began the implementation of UPE in 1997. A nationwide enumeration exercise was undertaken and the government committed itself to providing tuition fees for four children per family, instructional materials, basic physical facilities, teachers' salaries and training. Gross primary enrolment rates (GERs) rose from 77 per cent in 1996 to 137 per cent in 1997 and net enrolment from 57 per cent to 85 per cent. Enrolment in P1 increased threefold and females accounted for 47 per cent of enrolments by 1999. Growth in the number of schools was not so rapid and average numbers of pupils per school doubled between 1980 and 1999. The pupil-teacher ratio rose from 37.62 pupils per teacher in 1996 to 51.83 in 1997 and 63.63 in 1999. The percentage of trained teachers, however, increased. Teachers' pay increased between 1989 and 1999 although it remained difficult for them to 'make ends meet'. In 1997, the 'drop-out' rate at the primary level was reported to be 6 per cent and the repetition rate 11 per cent (Avenstrup, Liang and Nellemann, 2004).

It appears that free primary education emerged from the transition to democratic politics. Political demand rather than rational planning seemingly triggered UPE in Uganda and the policy was consequently implemented without time for detailed planning and in the absence of sufficient data. Scepticism was prevalent and pointed to potential problems of finance, sustainability and educational quality. There was little time either to mobilise funding and make adequate budgetary preparations or to undertake the necessary structural and organisational reforms to develop capacity for massive expansion. Avenstrup, Liang and Nellemann (2004) have described the results as “access shock”. The burden of large increases in enrolment numbers resulted in overcrowding, multiple shifts, teacher and material shortages and a rise in ‘overage’ students. For example, the GER rose from 68 per cent to 123 per cent in the first year of UPE and enrolment rose 240 percent in six years. In spite of these shortcomings, access improved considerably and the effect on the poor was particularly marked. Access among the poorest quintile was almost as high as that of the richest quintile (Avenstrup, et al. 2004; Deininger, 2003). Confidence in the government’s ability to provide education rose and some private

resources were freed-up with the abolition of fees. But ‘access shock’ also resulted in the worsening of many other indicators, including the student-teacher ratio and the ratio of resources including classrooms to students. Drop-out rates increased and the ‘survival rate’ fell from 59 percent to 37 percent. Drop out is explained by factors such as early marriage or pregnancy, the need to work, disability or illness, failure, repetition and lack of interest. Avenstrup, Liang and Nellemann (2004) suggest that these factors may indicate falling educational quality which may also result from such factors as increasing teacher absenteeism due to stress

2.1.3 Tanzania

In Tanzania, the growth in primary education was outside government planning and contradicted the government stand on the expansion of primary education. It was not funded by the central Tanzania African National Union (TANU) Government. The growth was largely due to self-help efforts of Tanganyika African Parents Association (TAPA), to the endeavours of the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and to politicians (Bogonko, 1992). The people of Tanganyika having gained independence did not want anything that resembled the restrictions which had been placed upon African education under colonial period to continue into the post-colonial era. So if the government was not going to provide education to the Africans, the people of Tanzania were going to take it upon themselves to provide it, in order to advance their way of economic and social life. Unrelenting demand by the pressure groups sterilised the government’s policy to arrest the expansion of primary education. ‘The outcome was the opening of many unaided primary schools by TAPA and by many LEAs, notably in Kilimanjaro, Bukoba and Rungwe (Morrison, 1976 cited in Bogonko, 1992:26). Pressure against restrictions on expanding schools saw enrolment grow by 22 per cent from 59,000 in 1965 to 72,000 in 1967 with aided schools only accounting for 6 per cent of this growth (Bogonko, 1992). But as noted by Bogonko (1992:26) ‘admittedly, the percentage increases in the latter schools decreased from 12 in 1965 to 1 in 1969’.

Tanzania did not prioritise the expansion of primary education before the Arusha Declaration (February 1967) as it was believed that ‘no direct economic benefits flowed from primary school development’ (Bogonko, 1992:26). According to Bogonko (1992:26) the first two Development Plans (1961-1964 and 1964-1969) were aimed at restraining expansion of primary education. This however, did not actually result in stopping expansion from taking place. Pressure from TAPA and from local TANU leaders, combined with high social status attached to education led to contradictions between what Government policy prescribed and what was actually practised. It therefore became ‘difficult to arrest expansion’ (Bogonko, 1992:26). The demand for education was so great that even before the 1967 Declaration growth in primary-school enrolments had superseded all previous records. For example, enrolment figures increased in the period 1956-61 by 26 per cent whereas in the period 1961-66 they increased by 54 per cent (Morrison, 1976, cited in Bogonko, 1992:26).

Almost as many children in 1971 as in 1961 failed to get places in primary school. As noted by Bogonko ‘this... infuriated President Nyerere to the extent that, on introducing the Second Five-Year National Development Plan (1969-74) on May 28, 1969 he called it ‘unacceptable to a country which claims to be building socialism’ (Nyerere 1973, cited in Bogonko, 1992:26-27). This presidential warning triggered a shift in policy which led to

rapid expansion of government aided primary schools. By 1974, aided schools registered unprecedented growth of 16.5 percent from 1,106,387 in 1973 to 1,288,886 in 1974 (Bogonko, 1992). This increased even further by 52.1 per cent in 1977 when enrolment went up to 2,973,487 from 1,288,886 in 1974. By 1977, Tanzania had achieved UPE and enrolment growth continued until 1982 when for the first time since Nyerere's warning it declined to 3,512,799 from 3,538,183 pupils in 1981 (Bogonko, 1992:27). As noted by Galabawa (2001), Tanzania had effectively achieved free UPE ahead of the target date agreed at the Addis Ababa Conference.

Under Nyerere's leadership, the 'Musoma Resolution' became the framework for a 'miracle' of enrolment growth. Expansion was achieved with little donor assistance and denominational schools were nationalised giving the government almost sole responsibility for provision. The organisational structure of the TANU Party facilitated central direction and top-down control. Fees were abolished and government spending grew as communities were mobilised in an effective drive to provide access for all.

The economic background, however, was one of little growth as Tanzania experienced a prolonged economic crisis in the 1970s and mid 1980s which, along with the associated policy responses led to the inability to sustain progress towards EFA (Galabawa, 2001). African socialism as the development strategy pursued by Nyerere encouraged heavy state control of economic activities which in the long-run led to the isolation of Tanzania by international investors and from foreign direct investment (FDI). Gross enrolment rates (GERs) rose from 39.1 percent in 1970 to 98.0 percent in 1980 then fell to 77.7 percent in 2000. Rates of 'drop-out' and repetition for the same years were 0.9, 2.0 and 6.6 percent. Absolute numbers in primary education were increasing despite fluctuations in the GER, doubling between 1975 and 1990 and rising a further 38 percent from 1990 to 2000. Population growth remained fairly high (2.7 percent in 1995) and the dependency ratio was also high with 53 percent of the population being under the age of 18 in 1995. Female enrolment rates fluctuated from 83.2 percent in 1985 to 77.6 percent in 1999 although the 'drop-out' rate was higher for boys than for girls (Galabawa, 2001).

Beginning in the mid 1980s, Tanzania was increasingly affected by HIV/AIDS which raised the dependency ratio causing a fall in demand for education and took the lives of many teachers (Galabawa, 2001). SAPs brought wide ranging economic and educational reforms emphasising private sector provision and financial efficiency. The Economic Recovery Programme of 1989-93 dismantled the central system of state control and moved towards a free-market orientation. In education, cost-efficiency measures were introduced alongside cost-sharing initiatives and the development of non-state provision. As a result the balance of financial burden shifted away from government and towards parents, which resulted in a growing inequality of access at all levels, along with disparities of quality (Galabawa, 2001).

The 'disabling' environment of SAPs raised the numbers of out-of-school children as costs rose and parental incomes fell. Poor macro-economic conditions in Tanzania thwarted 'self-reliance' and government tax revenues in Tanzania were low compared to neighbouring countries throughout the period, even by 2000. Despite a similar proportion of government spending being allocated to education as in Kenya and Uganda, spending as a proportion of GNP was much lower at only 2.3 percent in 1990 compared to the East African average of 5.12 percent. Notably, Tanzania spent 5.0 percent of GNP on education in 1980 and devoted 19 percent on government spending to education, a figure

which had reduced to 12.5 percent by 1985 and which recovered to 21.2 percent in 1995. Debt-servicing was a major problem for Tanzania and swallowed 23 percent of government expenditure in 1995/96 (Galabawa, 2001).

Galabawa (2001) shows that external economic factors had a substantially negative effect on Tanzania's UPE progress. Further, he identifies a number of internal weaknesses which worked to erode and reverse UPE's successes. Rapid expansion in the 1970s led to a 'crisis of distorted priorities' as education grew beyond the ability of the government to meet costs or maintain efficiency and effectiveness. Low relevance of curricula, classroom overcrowding, poor student nutrition, arguably inferior teacher training and a rising student-teacher ratio were evidence of declining educational quality and it may be that the pace of expansion resulted in the neglect of necessary structural preparations. Moreover, the links between quality and participation in education may partly explain falling enrolments. In poorer areas these issues were exacerbated where community capacity to meet costs was low and in the absence of a strategy to invest in and manage spending by districts, despite correlations between educational and regional poverty indicators. (Galabawa, 2001).

Recent expansion of education in Tanzania has been driven by the nation's Vision 2025 development plan and focused on addressing poverty to generate capacity both to provide and consume improved education. The lack of voice given to education stakeholders in the 'top-down' approach has been addressed in part by the greater participation of the donor community and weakening of central government control (Galabawa, 2001). Galabawa argues that empowerment and local ownership have been the key to enrolment rate improvements post-SAPs. UPE objectives in Tanzania have been articulated with a host of macro-policy objectives in what Galabawa describes as a 'holistic' approach. Public service reform and educational restructuring aimed at broadening the education revenue base, decentralisation and rationalisation began in the mid 1990s. The Poverty Reduction Strategy (2000) organises donor assistance to education according to the 'Tanzania Assistance Strategy' with the intention of distributing assistance more equitably and efficiently (Galabawa, 2001).

2.1.4 Summary

Free and universal primary education has preoccupied both citizens and politicians in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania from the 1960s onwards. This as we have noted has led to accelerated growth in the expansion of primary education. Politicians had promised free and universal primary education once the political goal of independence was attained. This was in line with the recommendations of UNESCO's Addis Ababa Conference of 1961 which set 1980 as the year when African states would achieve UPE.

In the initial stages, priority was not given to the expansion of primary education in the three East African countries and they differed in the manner in which they pursued this policy. In Kenya, the government did not act to restrict the expansion of primary education although priority was given to secondary and tertiary education. In Tanzania, the government had an overt policy to arrest the expansion of primary education and only allowed expansion following pressure from civil society, and without government funding. However, following the Arusha Declaration of 1967 the government of Tanzania mounted a successful campaign that saw it achieve UPE in 1977, ahead of Kenya. In both

cases, it is clear that demand triggered the formulation of early policies towards universal primary education. Also, the desire of citizens to break away from their colonial pasts when education for the majority African populations had been restricted, was another motivational factor towards UPE. The elimination of the Standard IV examination and establishment of seven years of uninterrupted primary education was a major policy breakthrough, although as noted, it was implemented differently in Kenya and Tanzania. It appears that Nyerere did not want a rapid expansion of primary education in the rural areas such that while the examination was abolished for urban dwellers in 1966, it was not until seven years later in 1973 that rural populations could enjoy seven years of uninterrupted primary education.

Education policy in both Kenya and Tanzania was accorded a role in developing 'national unity' and consciousness, behaviour and forms of production conducive to national development (Bogonko, 1992; Republic of Kenya 1965). Moreover, the redistributive potential of education was considered a central pillar of its role in promoting unity. In Tanzania the approach was more radical with an explicit political content being given to curricula and an emphasis being placed on local needs and participatory planning.

Uganda had a lukewarm start with the development of primary education although like the other two countries, it experienced unprecedented growth upon attaining political independence in 1962. While it pursued a similar policy of emphasising the expansion of secondary education, it differed from the others in its approach to the expansion of FPE. Uganda also experienced political instability early on during the post-independence period. This further weakened its education expansion efforts. When Museveni assumed the presidency in 1986 he immediately looked to address the problem and in 1997 he implemented UPE. Since then Uganda has been ahead of the other neighbouring countries in its progress towards UPE.

All in all, it appears that competitive politics, high demand and faith in the role of education have been the key factors which have underpinned policies of UPE. Initially the manpower planning approach led to priority being given to secondary and tertiary education but high demand has seen unprecedented growth levels in primary enrolments compared to both secondary and tertiary education.

3. Policy Implementation Strategies and Processes

3.1 Kenya

As we have noted, the first step towards the implementation of UPE in Kenya was the abolition of the racial school system which had existed under the colonial government. The next step was the scrapping the Standard IV examination that made it difficult for Africans to progress beyond four years of schooling during colonial time. The third step was the elimination of school fees in semi-arid areas and their remission for needy cases throughout the country in 1974. This was followed by a policy of the provision of free primary education for the first four years from January 1974 (Bogonko, 1992:25). In 1978, a national policy of seven years free primary education was announced. These changes saw primary education enrolment rise by 23.3 percent from 980,849 pupils in 1964 to 1,209,680 pupils in 1968. 'By 1983, expansion in enrolment had more than quadrupled from 891,553 (or less than 60 per cent of school-age children) in 1963 to about 4.3 million (or nearly 93 percent of primary- age children) in 1983' (Bogonko, 1992:25). But the efficacy of the FPE policy came under question due to a sharp decline in enrolment experienced between 1975 and 1978. Bogonko (1992:26) notes that, 'the charging of fees for Standards. V-VII and non-fee costs levied on parents were responsible for the recession. When free education was provided for Stds. V-VII in 1979, a sharp increase was once again noticed'. After Moi took over as President in 1978 following the death of Kenyatta he declared full FPE and asked that no levies should be charged. This continued as the national policy until 1988 when cost-sharing was introduced. Cost-sharing required parents to contribute to the education of their children, particularly in purchasing books and equipments and constructing school buildings. This was the main reason behind a decline in what had been an impressive primary GER. When FPE was reintroduced in 2003, the NARC Government declared that all levies should be eliminated for the eight years of Kenya's primary education and the policy was implemented at once for all grades nationwide.

King (2005) discusses a number of trade-offs which are emerging between 'basic' and 'post-basic' educational provision in the context of Kenya. These relate to issues of quality, access, and inequality, the provision of other social services, the development of productive employment opportunities, and the evolution of international and donor development policy alongside that of the Kenyan government. He notes that despite a shift in international development thinking towards poverty reduction and UPE in the 1990s, as well as a heavy reliance by Kenya on donor assistance for recurrent education expenditure, Kenya retains its commitment to a broad-based educational strategy which makes reference to links with the labour market, economic growth, wealth creation and the informal employment sector.

From the 1980s, Kenya's support for 'diversified' schools and their work-orientation had been at odds with international thinking which emphasised high returns to primary education and basic education expansion. The poverty perspective has become evident in Kenyan policy particularly since the externally driven PRSP which focuses on the provision of essential social services, which includes primary education, for low income groups. This agenda has encouraged the identification of inequities in the Kenyan education system particularly concerning cost-sharing and measures such as bursaries for the most disadvantaged in the education system have been put in place. However, moves

in the international agenda more recently for education and development towards more comprehensive approaches have brought more coherence between international EFA goals and Kenyan policies. Kenya continues to emphasise wealth creation, the micro and small enterprise sectors, skills and technology. The 2004 and 2005 sector-wide approaches (SWAPs), developed in conjunction with external partners, also make reference to these aspects of a more comprehensive approach and King suggests that the Kenya Education Sector Support Programme (KESSP) may represent a strategic compromise between external and internal development priorities in Kenya (King, 2005).

3.2 Uganda

UPE presented considerable challenges in Uganda in 1999 where around 19 per cent of the population was of primary school age. The existing education system had not undergone fundamental change since independence in 1962 and remained highly selective with respect to progression. War and civil strife, poor facilities and resources, a lack of planning, urban-rural disparities, poor teacher training, high user-costs, over-emphasis of academic examinations, lack of data, inefficiency of management, lack of relevance in curricula and a limited government budget were identified as key difficulties of the existing system (Ministry of Education and Sports, Uganda, 1999).

Since 1962, enrolments had been expanding although the number of schools had not correspondingly increased and both GDP and education spending as a proportion of the national budget declined in the period 1971-1985. Primary education at this time was being accessed by around 50 per cent of Ugandan children in the age group. Financially, the bulk of the burden was met by parents, which indicates a strong demand for education, but also excludes the poor who frequently dropped-out long before the end of the primary cycle (if they enrolled at all). Conditions in schools were poor and often deteriorating. Political change in 1986 under president Museveni began the process which led to the commencement of UPE in 1996, and which committed Uganda to the achievement of UPE by 2003.

Parents in Uganda are thought to value education highly and continued to send children to school in periods of considerable hardship. There is a strong tradition of community support for schools and in 1991 parental contributions made up ninety per cent of recurrent and capital expenditure for primary education. A lack of funds was the principal reason why out of school children were not enrolled (Ssekamwa, 2001; Grogan, 2006). Having said this, in some pastoral communities UPE did not precipitate the high enrollment growth seen elsewhere, owing to a higher perception of opportunity costs (Grogan, 2006). Political will was a key factor in the progress of UPE in Uganda. This was particularly the case in overcoming opposition which had focused on the inability of the educational infrastructure to cope with the burden of such a dramatic rise in numbers. UPE was also enabled by primary education reforms and projects already in progress including the Teacher Development and Management System, Instructional Materials Unit, assessment reform and the Improving Educational Quality research project. These initiatives provided support to UPE in terms of teacher training, school and cluster organisation, teaching materials, community support and a re-orientation towards formative assessment, action research and educational quality. In addition, decentralisation policy begun in 1997 brought the administration and management of schools closer to the point of delivery by strengthening the role of the District

Administration with the aim of increasing accountability and responsiveness. The abolition of fees was announced for four children per household during the first phase of UPE in Uganda and to all children in the second phase. These were implemented nationally. In the first phase, UPE resulted in 'access shock' at the school level as enrolments increased by 58 per cent in the first year of the initiative in the absence of adequate infrastructural expansion and increases in teacher and materials supply. UPE substantially increased schools' reliance on Kampala for funds and much of the necessary funding did not reach the schools immediately (Grogan, 2006).

3.3 Tanzania

The trend of expansion which resulted from Nyerere's caution in 1969 was a logical outcome of three factors. First, following the shift of emphasis to expanding primary education as expressed by the Second Five Year Development Plan the government, in 1971, ordered an end to the expulsion of primary pupils for non-payment of school fees. Second, expansion was concentrated at the upper primary school (Standards V-VIII) so that by 1974 there were enough places for Standard IV leavers at the next level. Third, primary school fees were abolished in 1973 (Bogonko, 1992:27).

Primary enrolment grew steadily at a rate of 6 percent from 1961 to 1976. In 1974 the government announced the 'Musoma declaration' (a plan to achieve UPE by 1977) and dramatic expansion ensued, including a large rise in the number of teachers. Enrolment ratios fell however, in the period from 1979-84 indicating that rapid expansion may have been difficult to sustain and possibly indicates the low degree of relevance of primary education to rural life (Coletta and Sutton, 1989). There was little expansion at the secondary level owing to the government's prioritisation of equity goals once emphasis was shifted to primary education. There was however, substantial expansion in adult basic education and as a result adult literacy rose from 31 percent in 1967 to 85 percent by 1983 (Coletta and Sutton, 1989). The social infrastructure developed by government for the literacy campaigns was used to publicise the UPE drive. This also enabled teacher recruitment to fill the growing demand in the primary sector. Expansion was characterized by low costs to both the government and to users. In 1969 all fees were banned and a free text book policy was introduced (Coletta and Sutton, 1989). Whilst almost all recurrent costs were met by the government, per student expenditure in Tanzania remained low, at a mean annual figure of 34 USD in 1981 as compared to 71.5 USD across East Africa. The role of local communities in school construction and low teacher salaries were key explanations for the low costs.

Tanzania instituted a successful and innovative programme of distance education for in-service teacher training in the late 1970s. The lack of secondary school graduates meant the UPE drive would depend on training primary school graduates for teaching, and over 45000 were enrolled from 1976 to 1979 to a primary correspondence and radio-instruction based scheme. Evaluations found the programme achieved favourable and cost-effective results when compared to traditional teacher training partly due to effective co-ordination of local, district and central government through the national political party machinery (Coletta and Sutton, 1989). Coletta and Sutton identify lessons to be learnt from the successes of community action and involvement in educational expansion in Tanzania. They note that the abolition of fees contributed to growth in enrolments which indicates that costs had previously been a barrier to access. Tanzania's 'education for self-

reliance' is considered a successful example of an integrated approach to rapidly expanding social service provision. The elements identified in Tanzania's successful and sustainable UPE approach include political commitment, increased social demand, meeting capital costs through community participation, increasing recurrent expenditure through intra-sectoral budget shifts, micro-planning for schooling at the local level, provision and motivation of sufficient competent teachers, raising educational quality and relevance through curricular and examination reform, localizing control and accountability and promoting access for girls and marginalised groups (Coletta and Sutton, 1989).

Tanzanian policy included other redistributive measures such as concentration of primary school funding on deprived areas, positive discrimination for secondary school access on a regional basis, broadening of assessment criteria and emphasising non-academic factors (Court and Kinyanjui, 1980). Court and Kinyanjui suggest that Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) had not, at the time of writing displaced the academic role of education in competing for places higher up the system and indeed access to secondary schooling remained determined by examination performance (Court and Kinyanjui, 1980). The policy presented a number of difficulties and dilemmas including problems of defining acceptable non-academic selection criteria, the issue of whether to accept English as a medium of instruction, the reform of administrative structures to reflect self-reliance and local initiative, the reconciliation of national and regional education/development priorities under a decentralised system and the development of structures of opportunity which reinforce rather than undermine educational policy (Court and Kinyanjui, 1980).

3.4 Summary

From the literature it is evident that Tanzanian did not prioritise free and universal primary education immediately after independence. It was after the issuance of the Arusha Declaration and *Education for Self-Reliance* in 1967 when parliamentarians, and especially the TANU activists, got involved in the affair that a serious debate over this issue was sustained. In June of that year a TANU Study Group suggested the immediate introduction of UPE, outright nationalisation of voluntary agency schools and the abolition of all private schools (Morrison, op cit., in Bogonko 1992:33-34). The government went further in its second period, 1969-1974, to target giving a seven-year basic primary education to every Tanzanian child by 1989. But these projections were overruled by TANU whose National Executive Committee in October 1974 committed the government to achieving UPE in November 1977. This was to be done in three stages. By 1975, 52 per cent of school-age children would be in school, while by 1976 and 1977 the percentages would rise to 82 and 100 per cent respectively (Bogonko 1992:34). Once UPE was prioritised, Tanzania leapt forward and was ahead of both Kenya and Tanzania when it declared success in UPE in 1977. The review of policy actions demonstrates the tensions that existed between planners and politicians. The contradictions seem to have been especially acute in Tanzania: adherence to planners' prescriptions from independence to 1974 (priority for meeting middle-and high-level manpower needs; hence stress on the development of secondary and tertiary levels); followed by a sharp reversal when the politicians asserted their hegemony at Musoma in 1974 (priority to meeting popular demand for access, hence stress on universal primary education coupled with severe restrictions on secondary and tertiary expansion). Despite the claims for UPE

success in 1977, it is unlikely that universal access to the full primary cycle was ever achieved post-Musoma even for a brief period.

Kenyans equally desired universal primary education and the issue preoccupied both the Government and the people of Kenya. While the Government looked at providing universal education as a long-term objective, the people of Kenya wanted it immediately. The ruling party KANU however ensured that from the time of independence until 1979 the provision of universal seven year primary education was repeated in each of its manifestoes. The Kenya Education Commission Report of 1964/65 also supported the objective of giving every child a minimum of seven years free education. The report targeted this to be achieved in 1971 (Republic of Kenya, 1964b:66-67), facilities and finances permitting. These sentiments were equally stressed in all the Five-Year Development Plans between 1966 and 1983. The 1979-83 plan noted that one of the objectives of the government was 'to provide universal primary education of seven years free of charge to all children of school age' (Republic of Kenya, 1979, cited in Bogonko, 1992:34).

Unlike both Kenya and Tanzania, the leadership in Uganda seem to have been reluctant to declare a campaign for free universal primary education. This however did not stop the growth in primary education enrolment after independence in 1962. The Five-Year Development Plans of 1962-66 and 1966-71 respectively aimed at a qualitative and substantial expansion of education in preparation of the introduction of universal primary education in the 1970s (Bogonko, 1992:34-35)

Clearly there are differences and similarities in the way the three countries thought of and worked towards achieving UPE. In all of them a number of policy changes were put in place to re-organise the education system. The move to nationalise the school system by dismantling racial segregation in the provision of education was the first policy step. The creation of an uninterrupted seven years of primary education by scrapping Standard IV examinations in Kenya and Tanzania and by merging the six years primary with the two year junior secondary in Uganda was the second policy step. The gradual abolition of fees in stages both in Kenya and Tanzania was the next step. When Uganda re-introduced FPE under the leadership of Musoveni, implementation was in phases. The first phase involved only four children per household. The next phase covered all the children for the entire seven years of primary education.

4. Policy Institutionalization, Replicability and Financial Sustainability

4.1 Kenya

Following the implementation of FPE policy in 2003 the net enrolment ratio in Kenya grew by a further 22.3 per cent. However, as in the 1970s, the implementation of free primary education was beset with difficulties. Rapid expansion in enrolment exacerbated problems of teaching and learning facilities, increased classroom congestion and raised teacher-pupil ratios. These problems, again as in the 1970s, led to high drop-out rates and adversely affected the inflow of pupils in the second year of implementation. Districts that registered a 20 per cent increase in enrolment in 2003 hardly recorded more than 5 per cent in 2004 (Muthwii, 2004; OWN and Associates, 2004)

While the Kenyan Government raised its education budget in 2003-04 by 17.4 per cent and was strongly supported by donor funding in its free primary education initiative, Muthwii raises questions over the sustainability of the policy. The cost of providing FPE is beyond the scope of the ordinary education budget, economic performance has not been strong and donor finance is often temporary. She concludes that the FPE initiative of 2003, like similar interventions in the past was pursued as a matter of political expediency. It was not adequately planned and resourced and thus had the consequences of increased drop-out and falling educational quality. In view of these challenges, Muthwii considers the attainment of sustained FPE an illusion in the context of Kenya (Muthwii, 2004).

Mukudi (2004) also addresses issues of sustainability with regard to universal primary education in Kenya, including public resource capacity and educational quality in view of what may be considered disappointing economic performance. The study uses secondary data on a variety of economic, educational and demographic factors to explore the costs and other implications of achieving UPE in Kenya based on current per capita spending. Kenya allocates a similar proportion of its national budget to education as developed countries which in 1999-2000 amounted to around US\$82 per student. Expanding access threatens to reduce the per capita figure thereby threatening quality but dilemmas exist in expanding the budget in terms of the available funding for other phases of education and other sectors of social spending. Mukudi calculates that a further US\$94.5 million would be required to fund universal access at the current quality (i.e. per capita funding) level. A further 2917 schools would be needed to maintain school population sizes. If the education budget was reassigned to meet these costs in primary education, only 4.4 per cent of the budget would remain available for post-primary education. The abolition of fees has meant that the US\$3.2 million previously contributed by parents will be needed from government. Mukudi focuses on the importance of economic growth and explains that while poverty levels remain high; asking parents to contribute to education will reduce access and stall the realisation of UPE. Government funding of education is considered central to access, equity and quality and demand for publicly funded education in Kenya may be considered strong in the light of the rapid access increases following the elimination of fees. Yet Kenya's foreign capital based import-substituting economy may not be ideally placed for growth. It is argued that the impediments to growth must be removed and that otherwise the pursuit of UPE may detract from the provision of other services. Without adequate investment however, the synergies between educational access, economic growth and poverty reduction may not be capitalised upon and a

viscous cycle may be observed in which global competitiveness becomes elusive with the absence of investment in knowledge creation (Mukudi, 2004).

Vos et al., (2004) argue that given the financial constraints Kenya faces, meeting EFA targets will require a more efficient resource allocation within the education sector. They examine a number of options. Rapid expansion in access to primary education in Kenya has been beset by problems of resourcing and overcrowding which threaten educational quality. Despite the abolition of school fees there remain other obstacles to enrolment especially among the poor including the need for children to be employed and poor perceptions of the quality and utility of the education on offer. The authors examine intra-sectoral efficiency issues of public spending on primary education in Kenya through a results-based planning approach which compares a number of policy options. Using Bedi et al's (2002) study of demand for education, Vos et al find that the availability of qualified teachers and the direct costs of education are the most significant determinants of demand and they calculate elasticities which describe the responsiveness of primary enrolment to changes in costs and levels of qualified teachers by household income quintile. They then use educational costs data for Kenya to estimate the costs of reaching an enrolment rate of 85 per cent by 2005/6 with 2002/3 as the base year. For example, they calculate that to increase enrolment by 1 per cent by increasing the share of qualified teachers, a 2.6 per cent increase in qualified teachers would be required at a cost of 588 shillings (roughly U\$8.6) per (additional) pupil per month. Eight budget simulations are constructed assuming a constant teacher-pupil ration of 1 to 33, the starting budget as that of 2002-3, the rate of budget growth of that year and that there is sufficient institutional capacity for expansion. The simulations involve increasing the share of qualified teachers to the level required for the intermediate target of 85 per cent net enrolment, increasing the supply of text books, subsidising the direct costs of education and a combination of these policy initiatives to achieve the 85 per cent goal. They also consider scenarios whereby 100 per cent net enrollment is targeted for the bottom two quintiles and where the government meets all the costs to households of education (Vos et al., 2004).

Vos et al find that given the population growth, an additional nominal 27 per cent increase in the budget will be required to maintain the pupil-teacher ratio between 2002/3 and 2005/6 which, if growth forecasts proved correct would reduce education spending from 3 per cent of GDP to 2.9 per cent. The NER would be projected to reach 79 to 80 per cent on this basis. This is the baseline scenario. To reach a NER of 85 per cent through improving the number of qualified teachers, they find a ten percentage point annual increase in the number of such teachers would be required which would increase the budget by 41 per cent. To reach the target through an increase in the volume of textbooks would be expected to require a 45 per cent budget increase. Both these scenarios would leave the bottom income quintiles with NERs below the target. A policy mix of more teachers, textbooks and direct subsidy is shown to require a 41 per cent increase in the budget but with greater benefit to the bottom quintiles. These scenarios require increases in the budget, which amount to somewhere around 0.1 to 0.2 per cent of GDP and are considered affordable by Vos et al in the Kenyan context (although beyond current fiscal constraints). When aimed at 100 per cent enrollment for the bottom two quintiles it was estimated to require a further 0.5 per cent of GDP. They (Vos et al., 2004) show that the cost of the government bearing all household education costs would require a 91 per cent budget increase or 0.8 per cent of GDP and result in an NER of 94 per cent

Vos et al (2004) conclude that within a tight budget, cost effectiveness considerations make a considerable difference. The education targets of 2005 could be reached with an additional 0.1-0.2 per cent of GDP being spent and the target of 100 per cent enrollment could be approached with an additional investment of 0.8 per cent of GDP. If returns to education are high enough, they could justify borrowing to finance this investment.

King (2005) notes that despite targeting the achievement of UPE by 2005, as many as 1.5 million Kenyan children remain out of school, in the formal sense at least. Considerable challenges exist in schooling these out-of-school children who may prove the most expensive to reach. Difficulties also arise in monitoring what has happened with respect to the achievement of UPE as although it is claimed that millions of new children have enrolled, little data is available. There are also a number of unintended consequences of providing free primary education in Kenya. King that whilst cost-sharing was excluding the poor, the advent of free education has meant that parents may now take it that they need make no financial contribution, and many have moved children from low-cost informal provision to the state sector. A further corollary of rising numbers and falling quality in the state system may be that wealthier parents prefer the fee-paying private sector. Further issues of declining teacher morale and quality may exacerbate these problems and ultimately make it more difficult for bright children from poor families to succeed. The author reference needed points out that if primary education is to bring development benefits, children must actually master the intended curriculum and notes that there is much evidence to suggest this may not happen (King, 2005).

King (2005) further discusses the importance of inter-sectoral factors in the success of educational investment programmes such as KESSP. The need for teachers to find second incomes, the increasing importance of non-meritocratic criteria for employment selection and issues of state capacity, good governance and corruption are important determinants of the results of educational investment whilst being outside the control of the sector. Issues of educational access, equity, quality, efficiency, financial sustainability, governance and management are thus inter-sectoral issues. King suggests that recent policy thinking by the Commission for Africa, the World Bank and United Nations Millennium Project recognises the synergies between these inter-sectoral factors and the MDGs. He concludes that the UPE goals will require a holistic approach, not only a focus on primary education, and indeed educational investment alone will not be enough. He emphasizes the importance of other sectors including agriculture, energy, transport and trade along with the need for strong national vision, good governance and government capacity-building. The minimalist approach to development discernible in the MDGs needs to be broadened and King sees some signs that this is already taking place. In this environment, Kenya's own approach may not be seen as so ambitious and wide-ranging, as the MDGs become just one entry point into a wider perspective on investment and organisational and institutional change (King, 2005).

4.2 Uganda

The costs of UPE to the government have been high. Primary education accounted for 30 per cent of the education budget in 1989/90 and 66 per cent by 1999/00. The education budget rose as a percentage of all government expenditure from around 15 per cent in 1989 to 25 per cent in 1999. At constant prices, Uganda spent 8 USD per pupil in the

early 1980s on primary education and 32.5 USD in 1997/8. The coming of political stability in 1987 brought economic growth which has continued at around 6.5 per cent. Along with the cancellation of foreign debt this has helped Uganda finance UPE. International and multinational agencies have also played an important role and in 1998/9 contributed around the same amount to primary education development as the Ugandan government (Ministry of Education and Sports, 1999).

Bategeka (2005), in a policy case study, outlines Uganda's policy for UPE and its implementation which began in 1997. The author examines evidence of the impact of the UPE programme in terms of its results in improving access, equity and educational quality. Bategeka finds that whilst UPE improved access indicators substantially, quality indicators worsened following the introduction of UPE and have yet to recover to pre-UPE levels. Whilst gender equity improved markedly, inequities in financing education remain a key challenge.

Access in terms of the GER rose by 73 per cent in the first year of UPE and by 2003 was 149 per cent of the pre-UPE level. In response to increased demand (as fees were eliminated), the government, private sector and NGOs built a large number of schools and the number of primary school teachers in service doubled. The profile of the school population shifted such that by 2003, 25 per cent of all pupils were enrolled in grade one. There is evidence of significant drop out during the primary cycle which appears to be relatively gender-neutral. Stated reasons for drop out included lack of interest, family responsibilities, sickness and employment (Bategeka, 2005). Following debt-relief and the redirection of debt-servicing funds, the Ugandan government spent 17 per cent of its national budget on education in 2003, 65 per cent of which was allocated to the primary stage (Bategeka, 2005).

Quality indicators suffered terribly in 1997, but have been improving steadily since. The pupil-teacher ratio for example has fallen from 65 to 1 in 2000 to 54 to 1 in 2003. In 2003, 37 per cent of teachers had received no training as teachers (most of these were deployed in schools in rural areas). A large number of resources were devoted under the School Facilities Grant to procuring textbooks, building schools, purchasing furniture and so on. Although the pupil-textbook ratio has improved, Bategeka (2005) notes that this has not led to improved pupil performance. Indeed, the results of the National Assessment of Primary Education (NAPE) between 1996 and 2000 suggest that performance has deteriorated following the introduction of UPE.

The gender gap has closed considerably and in 2003 girls accounted for 49 per cent of enrolments at the primary level. The initial UPE policy had given priority to girls and to disabled children. Rural populations have also benefited from UPE and the GER in rural areas reached 140 per cent in 2003. Threats to the gains achieved through UPE include high drop-out rates, inequalities in performance between public/private and urban/rural schools. Success has been due to government commitment and funding (Table 1) along with donor support including debt relief. Parents' willingness to send their children to school also contributed (Bategeka, 2005).

Table 1: Trends in education sector budget as % of the government budget 1992-2002

Financial Year	% of government budget
1992/93	12
1993/94	16
1994/95	17
1995/96	21
1996/97	22
1997/98	23
1998/99	25
1999/2000	26.3
2000/01	24.9
2001/02	24.1

(Source: MoFPED, 2002, cited in Eilor, 2004:67)

Lessons from the experience of the UPE programme include an indication that fees did present a serious obstacle to enrolment in Uganda, judging by the massive increase in enrolment post-UPE. Other impediments include institutional constraints which may impact on quality although the government is concentrating on improving efficiency and on increasing inputs including teachers, classrooms and textbooks. Corruption has also constrained the success of UPE implementation, in 1997 one study found that only 35 per cent of allocated funds were reaching their intended beneficiaries, although this is said to have improved to more than 80 per cent owing to greater transparency and accountability (Bategeka, 2005) Liberalisation in the education sector has allowed parents to opt for private education thereby reducing the burden on the state but opportunities for targeting the poor have not in the view of the author been fully utilized. It is suggested (Bategeka, 2005) that UPE should be focused more squarely on the poor to reduce inequality in access and in quality of education. Bategeka (2005) concludes that the Ugandan experience shows that a poor country with a committed government, can fight poverty by providing universal access to education, although the financial limitations faced by the state mean such a programme requires external support.

4.3 Tanzania

Coletta and Sutton (1989) identify lessons to be learned from the successes of community action and involvement in education expansion in Kenya and Tanzania. They note that the abolition of fees contributed to growth in enrolment indicating that costs had previously been a barrier to access. Tanzania's 'education for self-reliance' is considered a successful example of an integrated approach to rapidly expanding social service provision. The elements which helped Kenya and Tanzania move towards UPE included, political commitment, increased social demand, meeting capital costs through community participation, increasing recurrent expenditure through intra-sectoral budget shifts, micro-planning for schooling at the local level, the provision and motivation of sufficient competent teachers, raising educational quality and relevance through curricular and exam reform, localising control and accountability and promoting access for girls and marginalised groups (Coletta and Sutton, 1989)..

Galabawa (2001) argues that Tanzania's recent UPE drive has been implemented without careful planning or financial strategy. His main concern being that the process of financial

and management decentralisation as part of UPE implementation was not followed through, as the process maintained a top down approach. He (Galabawa, 2001:9) notes that a 'key strategy in implementing UPE is to empower and to commit communities in the development of primary education,' much the same way as had been the case prior and following Arusha Declaration of 1967.

5. Policy impact and implication on poorest groups

Deninger (2003) uses a range of data including nationally representative survey data and Ministry of Education figures to examine the re-orientation of public spending in Uganda towards basic education in terms of its impact on enrolment and quality of outcomes for the poor. The study finds that there is good evidence that the direct and indirect costs of schooling constituted a significant obstacle to enrolment for the poor and especially for girls prior to Uganda's UPE programme of 1997. Reducing educational costs may thus play a role in improving equity of access to education in the Ugandan context. As well as abolishing fees, the Ugandan UPE programme involved a substantial publicity campaign and a greater degree of cost recovery at post-primary. However, the policy has led to some of the highest teacher-pupil ratios in the world and to high rates of examination failure at the end of the primary education phase. These issues of quality are key to the sustainability of UPE. There have been considerable schooling infrastructure improvements since 1997 often as a result of community involvement suggesting that the UPE programme may have succeeded in increasing local incentives to education (Deninger, 2003).

Deninger (2003) seeks to address the questions of the extent to which lowering costs can contribute towards human capital acquisition, whether restructuring spending can provide for a refocusing of the incidence of educational spending in the African context and what the evidence reveals about the relative balance between increasing access and increasing quality in the sequencing of educational reforms. He argues that credit market imperfections can preclude profitable human capital investments leading to socially undesirable and economically inefficient intergenerational persistence of inequalities. In such cases, public funding of basic education can lead to greater equity and higher growth. Deninger suggests that the figures show that the programme resulted in a shift of the burden of education finance away from households and towards the public sector. The programme reduced the wealth bias that characterised access to primary education in 1992 and helped to establish greater equity by increasing girls' access and reducing the incidence of cost-related drop-out. A significant increase in delayed enrolments of over-age pupils was also observed, further emphasising the importance of cost for educational access. Primary school enrolments by the poor increased markedly when differences in enrolment by household income quintiles were considered. Gender bias in enrolment figures practically disappeared following the introduction of the UPE programme. Deninger (2003) establishes that a large and discontinuous rise in enrollments took place in 1997. As a result, the urban bias in access to primary education detectable in 1992 was considerably reduced. Significant shifts took place in the reasons for non-attendance for the much smaller group who did not attend following the UPE programme. Cost fell from being the main reason in 71 per cent to 37 per cent of cases. Lack of interest became a key factor especially in the north, perhaps because of the lack of economic opportunities. Also, a "calamity in the family" became an important reason which may be related to the spread of HIV/AIDS (Deninger, 2003).

Evidence for the very much weaker reduction in impact of parental income on secondary schooling is cited in further support for the role of the abolition of primary fees in increasing enrollment. The lack of a commensurate rise in qualified teachers and increase in school numbers soon after the implementation of FPE in 1997 has meant an increase in teacher-pupil ratios and a dramatic increase in the number of pupils per school especially

in rural areas (Deninger, 2003). There is some evidence for a decline in educational quality following the introduction of the UPE programme. Deninger (2003) notes that despite a fall in costs, the hypothesis that in quality-adjusted terms there was little real change in the cost of primary education, cannot be rejected. He further suggests that the programme may be considered an example of the effectiveness of a results-oriented approach to development assistance since much of the financing was obtained through budgetary support in the form of debt relief (see Table 2) (Deninger, 2003).

Table 2: Summary of government and donor support to the education sector in US\$ million, 1998/1999-2003/2004

Source		1998/ 1999	1999/ 2000	2000/ 2001	2001/ 2002	2002/ 2003	2003/ 2004
Government	Recurrent	70.38	105.61	95.98	90.22	90.00	n.a.
	Development	43.00	37.27	37.68	28.08	43.50	n.a.
Subtotal		113.38	142.88	133.66	118.30	113.50	n.a.
Donors	Budget Support	117.30	102.90	124.10	129.50	138.80	124.10
	Project Support	n.a.	n.a.	8.69	8.81	21.66	14.24

(Source: Eilor, 2004:76).

Based on household DHS (education supplement) survey data from 1995, Grogan (2006) illustrates the education situation pre-UPE alongside data from a similar survey conducted in 2000-01 to test the effects of the abolition of school fees. Prior to UPE in Uganda, parents were meeting up to 90 per cent of recurrent schooling costs. In 1995, 70 per cent of boys and 67 per cent of girls were enrolled in primary school and 11 per cent and 9 per cent secondary. Only 32 per cent were in the correct grade for their ages. Grogan's study found that those who did not attend school came from poor households, there had been historically large gender gaps in enrolment, starting school late was associated with a lower probability of completion and that improvements in enrollment before the age of 8 were already occurring prior to UPE, as a result of other education initiatives. A group of private school pupils was used as a control in the study of the quality of public school education over the period. Four issues are considered by Grogan (2006) in relation to the effects of the elimination of school fees in Uganda: the differences in the effects on the optimal level of education of population sub-groups; potential feedback effects of the policy on the opportunity costs of schooling and the returns to schooling; changes to the ability levels of those in schooling; and changes in the quality of schooling. The study finds that the reduction in schooling costs impact differently on different socio-economic groups such as urban/rural and that opportunity costs may rise as large numbers move out of the labour market and into school thereby reducing supply in the labour market and raising wages for child labour. Returns to education may fall as the supply of labour having a certain level of education rises (this in turn may exert feedback effects on the demand for education and optimal levels of schooling). The mean ability level of pupils may decline as costs decline thereby reducing levels of attainment, and educational quality may decline if the resources available per pupil are reduced (Grogan 2006). Grogan (2006) finds that the causal effect of the introduction of UPE raises the probability of attending school before the age of 8 by 8 to 10 percent both for boys and girls. She finds some evidence that the new entrants are more likely to have come from poorer backgrounds and that there has been a reduction in

the drop out rate, especially in later years, particularly for boys from poor, rural households. She finds some evidence of rising drop outs in private schools and of a reduction (by 11 percent) in the probability that an individual can pass a standardised reading test if they had begun education in a government school after the introduction of UPE. Controls indicate this is not a result of falling ability and so might be attributed to falling quality.

A number of effects of UPE policy implementation are identified and it is suggested by Grogan (2006) that UPE requires a paradigm change towards planning education for all through inclusive approaches, including specifically the marginalised and those with special needs. This may require a range of innovative approaches such as complementary and alternative non-formal education like that provided by Uganda's evening classes and mobile schools. The inadequacy of buildings and resources, the impact of HIV/AIDS, the use of local languages and other curricular reforms will need to be addressed (Grogan, 2006). Grogan suggests that UPE successes so far have been achieved as a result of top level leadership support, cabinet level consensus, ministerial support and stakeholder involvement. Institutions will need to be strong but flexible and capacity will need further development, if UPE progress is to be sustainable (Grogan, 2006).

6. Policies on Secondary Education Access (CREATE Zone 4)

Knight and Sabot (1986; 1990) conducted extensive surveys in workplaces in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam to obtain evidence on ability, schooling, cognitive skills and earnings for use in comparing the impact of secondary education policy in Kenya and Tanzania. Both countries had stated an intention to address issues of inequality through educational policy although their approaches differed substantially. Tanzania restricted expansion in secondary education over the period in question whilst provision in Kenya increased rapidly. This key policy difference in two countries with much in common created a natural experiment used in the study. The authors examined the justification for expanding secondary education in the two countries on the basis of their findings in relation to the returns to secondary education, its role in equalising incomes and its potential for reducing the transmission of intergenerational inequality. Their inclusion of variables for ability and cognitive skill was intended to allow an assessment of alternative explanations of human capital relationships such as screening and signaling. At the theoretical level, they identify two distributive effects of increasing access to education which are closely linked to Kuznets' theory (Kuznets, 1955). Kuznets describes a composition effect whereby the increased relative size of the educated and more highly paid group increases income inequalities and a compression effect whereby the increased supply of educated labour reduces the wage premium for education thereby decreasing income inequality. Knight and Sabot (1990) suggest that if educational access expands more rapidly than labour market opportunity, the compression effect may be likely to outweigh the composition effect.

The Tanzanian policy of 'education for self-reliance' emphasised the expansion of basic education and restricted growth in private provision at the secondary level for reasons of social equity and manpower planning. Consequently, in 1980 only 4% of the relevant age cohort was enrolled in secondary schooling in Tanzania. Kenyan provision had expanded rapidly, particularly due to the growth in harambee (self-help) community schools, which accommodated 25% of the age cohort by 1980. Demand exceeded supply in both countries but restrictions in Tanzania made competition for places much more intense. The extent of government subsidies to secondary schooling in Tanzania was also greater than in Kenya, placing significant budgetary constraints on expansion. The Tanzanian policy of 'education for self-reliance' had also brought significant curriculum changes, emphasising a diversified curriculum and the use of Kiswahili, while Kenya's approach largely maintained continuity with the past by maintaining English as the medium of instruction in schools. Access to tertiary education remained low in both countries.

Knight and Sabot (1990) find that measures of cognitive skill are closely associated with incomes and also with the income benefits of experience and years of schooling. This appears to indicate support for a human capital interpretation of the schooling-earnings relationship. They found that Kenyan workers had higher levels of cognitive skill and of productivity than their counterparts in Tanzania and noted that the productivity gap between the two countries widened between the 1960s and 1980 to a difference of 50%. They argue that the quality of secondary education was generally higher in Kenya than in Tanzania and that the system was more cost-effective. Because of wider access to secondary education there was a higher level of absolute intergenerational mobility in Kenya than in Tanzania. They also found that the expansion of the Kenyan secondary system had given rise to selection by family background in the Kenyan labour market, not

detected in Tanzania, perhaps because of the scarcity of secondary education graduates. They found that family background in Kenya had an effect on the type of school attended and the results achieved. Less privileged students were more likely to attend the poorer quality harambee schools which also received less government subsidy thereby worsening inequalities. Knight and Sabot's study (reference) also found that the marginal benefit of primary education in income terms had declined in Kenya relative to the average benefit, probably because of the greater availability of secondary education. In a comparative cost-benefit analysis of harambee and government secondary schools, they found returns higher and user costs lower in government schools.

Knight and Sabot (1990) suggest that Tanzania's ESR approach of limiting secondary education expansion and refocusing the curriculum, has been counter-productive (relative to Kenya) in terms of equity and improvements to cognitive skill and productivity levels. Competition for and rationing of secondary education appears to have served to select secondary school entrants by family background in Tanzania more than the more inclusive approach of Kenya despite its higher fees. Filtering down as education has expanded in Kenya has, reduced the returns to secondary education compared to Tanzania thereby increasing income equality although the 'manpower planning' approach may regard it as wasteful of resources. Given Tanzania's small secondary school population its progression rate to higher education was much higher than in Kenya and Knight and Sabot (1990) found that at this stage selection by family background was more prevalent in Kenya than in Tanzania, which suggests that Kenya's expansion of secondary schooling may have postponed this form of selection.

It is two decades since Knight and Sabot (1990) comprehensive study comparing secondary education policies in Kenya and Tanzania and their impact on access. Kenya's National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) Government acknowledges that growth in secondary education is constrained and is likely to remain so due to lack of adequate secondary schools to match primary enrollment rates. For example, in 2003 there were 3,661 public secondary schools and 641 registered private schools against 18,081 public primary schools. This problem is not new as it is a situation that the Kenyan society has been experiencing since the 1960s. The situation arose due to the rapid growth in Kenya's primary school enrollment and was expected to worsen following implementation of FPE in 2003 (this is the case especially for urban slum dwellers where 60 per cent of Kenya's urban population resides). As we have noted, previous responses included the introduction of harambee schools, especially in rural areas. It is not clear whether the current policies outlined by the government and which are presented below will adequately respond to urban demand for secondary education in a similar fashion as the *harambee* schools did for the rural communities in the 1970s. Moreover, secondary GERs declined from 29.4 percent in 1990 to 22.2 per cent in 2000 and the Government is already concerned that a further decline will undermine any efforts towards EFA targets (Republic of Kenya, 2005). In an effort to deal with the race for the demand for secondary education following the success of FPE, the following policies are outlined by the government in the 2005 Sessional Paper No. 1 on education (Republic of Kenya, 2005:45-46):

- Working towards integrating secondary education as part of basic education in the long-term.
- Promoting the development of day schools as a means of expanding access and reducing costs to parents.

- Provide targeted instructional materials to needy public secondary schools while encouraging parents and communities to provide infrastructure and operational costs.

The Government outlines the following strategies for implementing these (Republic of Kenya, 2005:42-43):

- Providing support to poor and disadvantaged students through secondary school bursaries.
- Providing targeted support for the development of infrastructure in areas where parents are not able to provide such support.
- Providing support to targeted boarding schools in ASAL, and other deserving areas especially for girls
- Working in partnership with parents, communities, private sector and other stakeholders in providing secondary education.
- Support the implementation of affirmative action in secondary education to address the needs of the marginalized and/or those in difficult circumstances
- Promote private sector participation in the development of secondary schools by giving them incentives
- Increase the provision of bursaries and devise better methods of targeting and disbursing funds to the needy
- Mobilise additional resources to finance the construction of schools and provide equipment to deserving areas, especially ASAL and urban slums.
- Ensuring that schools have a minimum of three streams
- Promoting day schools in high population density areas.
- Ensuring re-entry by girls who drop out due to pregnancy and early/forced marriage

It appears the government is banking on community partnership which led to the establishment of *harambee* secondary schools in the 1970s but whether that will work today given the different labour market circumstances is not clear. It is likely that the poor will find it difficult to access secondary education even after completing primary education. This will limit the impact of education on poverty reduction and in meeting the MDGs. Further work may be needed to establish the shift in the factors that might encourage or hinder strong community involvement in the development of secondary education and whether the policies outlined by the Government are likely to have any impact. For instance, do these policies address causes of exclusion in lower secondary among the poor? Is it a lack of adequate facilities (supply-side factor) that is causing low enrollment in semi arid areas or is it a lack of interest (demand-side factor) in further education? Or which other factors are inhibiting access to further education? Will FPE work for the poor in terms of helping them advance to some form of secondary education?

7. Conclusion and Recommendations for Further Policy Research

Countries which have been successful in increasing enrolments face two particular problems, enrolling the remaining 10 to 20 per cent of the relevant school age population at the primary level who tend to be the poorest children, and ensuring that those in school benefit from learning. Further, even where fees are not a factor in preventing access they may still have a regressive impact. The greater the level of household income inequality the harder it is for the poor to pay fees (Raja and Burnett, 2004).

The experience of Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya shows that the elimination of fees at the primary level can have dramatic results. However, increased enrolment has resulted in concerns for deteriorating quality and increased demand for secondary education (Raja and Burnett, 2004).

More generally, low enrolment may reflect a lack of supply of schooling, the opportunity costs of attending school, the perceived low returns from schooling in the labour market or other factors such as the distance to school and for girls the existence of female teachers and separate toilets. Major determinants of enrolment include household income, schooling cost, presence of schools, community involvement, transportation, education quality and relevance (Raja and Burnett, 2004).

Price elasticities of demand for education are often higher for the poor and for girls. There is some evidence and good intuitive reasoning for the idea that enrolments will be lower for the poor and for girls as the household cost of education rises and as a result, reductions in the costs of schooling for these groups will promote equity. The impact of fees on learning and educational quality is more difficult to discern. Demand for education is sensitive to quality as well as price so it may be that in some circumstances at least, a trade-off between price and quality exists (Raja and Burnett, 2004).

Prior to UPE in Uganda, private costs to education were too high for most Ugandans to support, as they amounted to up to sixty percent of direct costs. In 1995, up to sixty per cent of children were out of school. The introduction of UPE in 1997 led to a rapid increase in enrolment of more than seventy per cent. This produced an education 'emergency' which may be associated with a decline in quality and a subsequent unintended reduction in participation by the poor. The Ugandan government along with donor assistance has increased funding for primary education and shifted resources away from subsidies at the tertiary level. The policy on textbooks has been liberalised and teacher education programmes extended. Attempts have also been made to strengthen management capacity and increase transparency at school level. Raja and Burnett (2004) conclude that implementation in Uganda has stayed mainly on track thanks to massive political commitment and sustained budget support. Education was the principal electoral commitment of Museveni in 1996, and the share of education in the national budget rose from 22 per cent in 1995 to 31 per cent in 1999. The number of teachers, however, remains insufficient and learning outcomes and completion rates are often low (Raja and Burnett, 2004).

Further research is necessary to establish in Uganda and/or Kenya whether FPE has improved the chances for access to secondary education by those who would otherwise be excluded and whether policies and strategies outlined by the government can adequately

address issues that lead to exclusion. This would require empirical work on the factors that had most influenced household decision-making to send children to secondary school. Uganda has had success with FPE for a considerable period now and might therefore be a good case to look at in terms of who has been excluded from secondary school once the FPE cycle completed. It may also be interesting to look at whether FPE has influenced patterns of access in ways favourable to previously excluded groups. This may lead to further research on the evidence of impact of free primary education on intergenerational mobility and inequality.

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Report summary:

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have commitments to universal education going back to the 1960s. Each has made considerable progress, most notably in more recent years, and the goal of EFA at the primary level is probably within closer reach than at any point in history. This paper reviews the three countries' education policies since the 1960s and considers the extent of their success in expanding access for excluded groups. Following rapid expansion at the primary level, public and policy attention is turning to access at the secondary stage, which perhaps presents the most significant challenge for the next phase of educational development.

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