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Universal Primary Education in Nigeria and Uganda: Restore the Teaching Profession,

Restore Democracy

The governments of both Uganda and Nigeria believe in the promise of Universal Primary Education (UPE). Their constitutions proclaim its actualization as the best path to end poverty; their political leaders constantly refer to universal education as a necessary precursor to a strong democracy. And each government has achieved the marvelous feat of increased enrollment: Primary school enrollment in Uganda went from 2.5 million children in 1995 to 6.8 million children currently, 15 million in Nigeria in 1996 to nearly 20 million currently. But there is a problem. These students are being taught by overworked, underpaid, and under-resourced teachers in rooms with 50-80 other students. While both governments have, despite political turmoil and economic weakness, made major progress in increasing enrollment, they have failed to increase infrastructure or bolster the teaching force. Uganda, now in its fourth year of reaching its Universal Primary Education goal, has made some progress at improving and supporting its teaching force, and Nigeria has taken great strides in teacher training. However, taken in whole, both countries are failing. And, as the head of the National Union of Teachers in Nigeria said, "Issues that concern the welfare of teachers and education are treated with levity and recklessness and, yet, the same nation hopes to become equal with developed and developing nations through education. It's like being in hell, but hoping for heaven!" (This Day, Jan 17, 2000).

Both Uganda and Nigeria have the potential to become strong democracies. Further, their ability to achieve cohesive democracies through promoting UPE will be directly related to the future success of similar programs in other Sub-Saharan countries. Together, Nigeria, the "Giant of Africa" and Uganda, the "Pearl of Africa", hold the future of education in Africa in their hands.

If they are unable to provide quality education to go along with the universal access to primary education, their systems of education will fail and larger notions of participation and national responsibility will not develop. This will thus leave both countries susceptible to returned military rule and continued poverty. As each country renews its commitment to UPE, it must also bolster its current teaching force and ensure a strong future teaching force. This must be done through decentralized control, revitalized and expanded teacher training programs, salary increases, added professional development, and new systems of accountability and management through partnerships with outside NGOs. The present paper discusses past and current educational policy in each country and the prospects of reaching universal *quality* primary education given reforms in the institution of teaching. If these countries fail their own teachers, then the entire educational system will fail. The fate of the future of Universal Primary Education in Africa hangs in abeyance.

Uganda and Nigeria: From Colonial and Military Rule to Democracy

Nigeria has three full years of democracy under its belt; Uganda has just under 10. Both countries have experienced significant political and economic turmoil in the past fifty

years since they gained independence from Colonial Rule. Nigeria, having been under British control since 1914, revised its constitution in 1951 and divided its regions into East, West, and North (Tamuno 222); it also formed a Central Bank in 1958. Nigeria formally gained independence on October 1, 1960 (Falola 68). It became the Republic of Nigeria two years later. Over the next 38 years, Nigeria saw three major coups that re-instated Military Rule after short periods of failed democracy; it wasn't until October 1, 1996 that the ban on politics was officially lifted. Fully democracy was adopted two years later. Olusegun Obasanjo, who ruled in the mid 1970's, was re-elected as the President (Washington Post 1). However, due to an incredible debt and years of war and economic failure, the fate of the democracy is uncertain. The same can be said about Uganda.

Uganda gained its independence, like Nigeria, in 1960, after six years of in-fighting and political negotiation lead by Milton Obote (Ofcansky 37). Over the next twenty five years, Uganda saw political upheaval that lead to "social disintegration, a faltering economy, and massive human rights violations"(47). It wasn't until late in 1985 that Yoweri Museveni and his National Resistance Movement (NRM) was able to overthrow the government and put forth the first democratic elections in 1989 (57).

The fate of these democracies is largely uncertain, especially considering the economic situation of each country. Nigeria has an external debt of over \$30 billion and it is currently listed as the 13th poorest country in the world (Falola 16). Uganda's debt, while being slightly less, still precludes the country from a great deal of social or economic advancement. Nigeria's current GDP stands at just over \$110 billion (CIA 1); Uganda's is \$24.2 billion (CIA 2).

The Promise of Education in Nigeria: 1900-1990

Nigeria has, since its independence, had a strong philosophical commitment to education. Having its foundation in mission schools and eventual government-mission partnerships, Nigeria's independence stood firmly upon British ideals of basic education (Tamuno 222). This commitment, however, was not equal across Nigeria's three regions. In 1951, governments in the East and West were spending roughly 30% of their annual budgets on education (226). In the West, Regional Ministries for Education Chief, S. Oluwole Awokoya, announced that Universal Free Primary Education would be introduced in January 1955; they aimed at 100% enrollment by 1959. The East responded quickly with a parallel announcement in 1953 (226). Meanwhile, the North made very few attempts to catch up. One leader in the West, however, showed a great deal of forethought and he made comments to encourage slow progress: "Even if the provision of trained teachers were not the serious problem it is, UPE could still be approached only gradually because of the large recurrent cost involved in relation to present levels of revenue. Our general remark applies to all the regions: The greater the local responsibility that is assumed for the cost of education, the more will be the local community's interests in the schools" (226). This foreshadowed the problems that Nigeria would experience in the coming years.

From 1954 to 1955, primary school enrollment in the West increased 77%, and there was no infrastructure to handle this amount of children. And, by 1960, even though the Western Regional Government was spending 41% of its budget on UPE, there was still only limited success (Tamuno 226). It was worse in the East. Underestimations of

enrollment increases led to widespread financial shortfalls. This meant that Universal Free Public Education was actually only free for two years--then the fees started coming back. As a result of this, there was "widespread unrest, riots, and public demonstrations" (228) throughout the East. In the North, leaders had no major impetus to follow UPE and thus enrollments only slightly increased. Thus, a specific trend was established: "While the partnership between voluntary agencies and the government was continuing; the educational gap between the North and the South was widening, and the inadequacy of the education provided, both in quantity and quality, was growing worse" (230).

The commitment to UPE did, however, see a new sense of optimism in the early 1960's as independence was solidified. In 1962, the North revised its education law and established Local Governmental Education Authorities (LGEAs); the East followed. As a result, enrollment doubled from 1960 to 1966 (230). And, despite civil war, the then Military Government succeeded in organizing the first National Curriculum Conference in 1969; here the centralized government set out lofty goals for education which included reaching universal enrollment. While these recommendations were held in abeyance until 1973 due to civil unrest, they were eventually re-considered and ultimately manifest themselves in the form of the 1977 National Policy on Education (232).

The National Policy on Education was declared by Col. Ahamdu Ali, the Federal Commissioner of Education, as "the greatest social scheme ever embarked upon by any African Government"(233). This optimism came at the same time of the Oil Boom in Nigeria and, hence, everyone thought UPE a possibility because of the new, plentiful financial resources. The government allocated enough money to meet enrollment expectations, but, as was the case in the 1950's, their expectations were too low.

Enrollment jumped from 5.9 million in 1976 to 8.14 million in 1977 under the leadership of Olesegun Obasanjo (236), and, as one education official stated, "There was a shortage of everything but pupils" (234).

As power shifted hands to the people once again in 1979, the government took full responsibility for the UPE scheme; this was a fatal mistake, especially given the current political unrest, because the government was not capable of administering such a broad program. Teachers were underpaid or not paid at all, facilities were weak, teacher/student ratios were high. President Alhaji Shagari remarked that "tens of thousands of children in primary schools all over the country either carry their own chairs to school every morning or sit on the ground"(Tamuno 242). These conditions were aggravated in 1983 when another coup reshaped government and restored Military Rule. The political upheaval of the next fifteen years left the Nigerian education system in a state of crisis. It wasn't until Obasanjo re-instated the idea of UPE in 1997 that education received the boost it needed.

Primary Education in Uganda: A Legacy of Inefficiency and Instability

Ugandans have always held education in high regard. Missionary schools founded in the 19th century provided education for all classes of society and, like in Nigeria, laid the foundations for the a modern education system (DID 1). Ugandan government officials, after being granted national independence, also aimed at Universal Primary Education (UPE), but their aims were more realistic: They wanted to reach UPE by 1980.

They, however, had fewer monetary and human resources than Nigeria and just as much political upheaval. As a result, UPE was pushed off. Education spending even decreased from 21% in 1983 to 11% in 1987 (Hansen 323). After Muserveni came to power in 1987, the education system had already collapsed and the country had become among the poorest in the world and education's share of the GDP fell from 3.4 to 1.4% (16). This translated into a full-fledged crisis as teachers were being paid marginalized salaries (if any salary at all) and schools had difficulty managing the day-to-day operations of teaching and administering teaching (Gibbon 336). Thus he ordered a new evaluation of the country's education system. As a result of his evaluation and new commitment to UPE, enrollment doubled in two years (Hansen 324), yet there were teacher and material shortages across the country. This, combined with political instability, led to unsure times for education in Uganda.

"Schools closed, teachers were killed or drafted into the army or rebel groups, and pupils stayed away or fought as child soldiers." The education system was feeling the harmful effects of the political fallout. "The system continued to function, however, with an administrative structure based on regional offices, a national school inspectorate, and centralized, nationwide school examinations." Thus, enrollments and expenditures increased steadily during this time, but the physical infrastructure necessary for education was lacking, and the quality of education declined (DID 2).

As a result of the 1987 evaluation, the government released a white paper in 1992 on education that identified the need to expand access to primary education.

1997-1999: New commitment, same problems.

Museveni re-launched UPE in 1997; Obasanjo in 1999. Prior to these dates, the education systems were nearly in shambles. However, both leaders saw the opportunity to approach UPE with full force and take advantage of new political solidarity. This also came at a time when foreign aid packages were plentiful and NGO partnerships were developing.

Museveni made the re-launch of UPE the main issue in his bid for re-election in 1996. At the time, Uganda had been experiencing real GDP growth of on average 6.5% a year since 1987. This enabled overall expenditure on primary education to increase 40% in 1996 as Museveni took office (UNESCO Courier, March 2000). The Ugandan leader presented UPE with the idea that, "Education will be the main tool to abolish illiteracy and poverty and enable Ugandans to utilize the natural laws of science. In order to develop the skilled labor force that will help us improve productivity, our main channel is the new education policy which seeks to make primary education universal...my government will use a combined policy of public and private funding to expand the infrastructure" for UPE (Museveni 1). He was convinced that it would take universal education to "wake Ugandan society from its slumber" (Xinhua News Agency, Jan. 13, 2000). And while he knew that the policy had failed in the past, he was committed to trying again.

Similar rhetoric and action was going on in Nigeria at the time, although the political and economic situation was much different. Nigeria saw complete political chaos up until late 1998 when Obasanjo officially re-entered the role of chief officer. Obasanjo

wanted to relaunch UPE under its new name of Universal Basic Education (UBE). He said that the new scheme would help "restore interest and dignity in learning and scholarship after years of decline in primary school enrollment" (Xinhua News Agency, Oct. 1, 1999). He also said that the old scheme of UPE in 1976 was "unsustainable by subsequent governments because of an explosion in the number of school age children, a lack of funding, a dearth of teachers, and decay in infrastructure"(Xinhua). Other leaders in Nigeria echoed Obasanjo's sentiments. Dr. Adekunle Ogunmola noted that the UBE scheme is capable of, "Repositioning Nigeria and establishing her relevance among committee of nations if properly pursued and implemented by all stakeholders"(Africa News Service, Oct. 18, 2000).

Both countries, during this time, were receiving some degree of foundational monetary support from World Bank, IMF, or some other NGO. These organizations moved to support the UPE and UBE schemes for a variety of reasons. USAID, for example, as an arm of the Education for Development and Democracy Initiative (EDDI), aimed at "preparing Africa for the next century"(Atwood 1). This movement was ground in a basic belief that "broadly shared basic education provides a powerful source of support to democracy by helping ensure fundamental social values are widely shared among the nation's populace"(Atwood 2). Further, organizations such as USAID were convinced that the use of funds to promote basic, broad-based education further accelerates the progress in reducing poverty (1). World Bank said that investment in education is the most important thing they can do for developing countries. They noted a 1999 study by Barro that found that increase in average number of years of primary schooling is linked to strong and significant reduction in income inequality (1).

USAID, however, addressed one of the major issues the Ugandan and Nigerian governments had not: "Equitable access to primary schooling is vital, but it is not sufficient in itself: the object is to achieve learning for all" (USAID 17). USAID believed that the governments needed to focus on teacher training, teacher recruitment, and improved linkages between government offices and schools (14).

Dr. Ogunmola agreed and went further. He, fearing a replication of 1976 failed UPE, said that the government must, "muster the political will to ensure the successful implementation of the program while not neglecting other aspects of governance or policies of the Ministry of Education. Further, UBE operators need to appreciate the convergence of forces in terms of harmonious linkages with various agencies of education like the National Primary Commission, the National Institute for Educational Planning and Administration, as well as the Commission for Mass Literacy and Adult Education"(African News Service, Oct 18, 2000). He said they must first, however, improve teaching.

However, many of the same problems emerged. In Uganda, net enrollment increased 91% from 1996 to 1997. This has been called the "UPE bulge." "There were serious weaknesses in teacher training and secondary education was unprepared to absorb the expected increase in enrollment"(DID 4). In Uganda, the bulge killed the quality of education. "The available facilities were stretched to the limit. The average number of pupils per school jumped from 363 to 616 between 1996 and 1997"(UNESCO, March 2000) This increase elevated pupil to teacher ratios to an average of 1:60 and 1:100 in some schools. Thus, Uganda had and continues to have a great problem as, according to Yusuf Nsubuga, Commissioner for Secondary Education said that a "failure to absorb the

growing number of primary school leaves will undermine UPE and broader national goals like the elimination of poverty." The 2000 Education for All evaluation report prepared for Uganda calculated that Uganda would need 41,000 new classrooms (EFA 2000, Uganda) and 30-40,000 new teachers to meet effective UPE. There were similar calculations for Nigeria.

The case for more, better-trained, better-paid teachers in Uganda and Nigeria

Numerous reports have shown the direct relationship between improvement in learning achievement and the quality of education in the primary schools as being a function of the quality of teachers therein (EFA, U, 4). But it is difficult to accept that the Ugandan and Nigerian governments fully endorse this idea given their current levels of support for the teaching profession. In Uganda in 1990, the teacher to pupil ratio was 1:34; presently, it is 1:82 (5). Beyond this, in 1990, there were, on average, only 10 teachers per school; this number, in 1999, is the same despite a nearly 300% increase in enrollment (4). Thus, even though the percentage of qualified teachers jumped from 52% in 1990 to 75% in 1998, quality will always be sacrificed when there are, on average, 82 kids in a classroom. The same can be said about Nigeria. In the late 1980's, 60% of teachers were not qualified to teach (Tamuno 240), and teacher training programs never got off the ground (Falola 85).

In Nigeria, teachers often cited the following reasons for their own discouragement: No public respect for teachers, poor condition of service, irregular payment of salaries, poor salaries, and no teaching facilities (EFA, U, 2.2). Teachers in Uganda expressed and

continue to express many of the same sentiments as frustration increases with overcrowding (16). In Nigeria, the National Union of Teachers (NUT) president said that while, "Teachers are interested in the success of the UBE programme, it cannot succeed if teachers are not encouraged to stay in the classroom. We are highly trained professionals who are ready and prepared to do our best in the nation's education systems, but we cannot do that when we are under constant threat to hunger, frustration, uncertainty, dehumanization, disgrace, and neglect"(This Day, Jan. 17, 2001). The general dissatisfaction with the profession has led to steadily declining enrollments in teacher education programs.

Most recently, in Nigeria, leaders have stated that the "shortage of teachers in these core subjects was responsible for the poor performance of the students...a single teacher being responsible for eight or nine classes in a school does not give for effective teaching or learning," said Cross River State Commissioner of Education, Mr. Mike Aniah (Vanguard, Mar. 29, 2001). He went on to say that there is little reason for these teachers to stay because there is a shortage of supplies and accommodation, a general insecurity for school property, and insufficient support councils to provide additional work.

Recently, the issue of salary has become hotly debated. According to an article of January 17, 2001, "the problem has assumed endemic proportion"(This Day, Jan. 17, 2001). Primary teachers embarked on a nationwide strike last September because despite the national raising of the minimum wage to \$48 a month, many teachers were still earning below that (Agence France Presse, Sept. 4, 2000). As Dr. Lai Olurude, lecturer at Ibadan University recently said, "Government is not ready to give education the respect it deserves" (AllAfrica.com, Apr. 17, 2001).

Uganda, while experiencing many of the same problems with teacher shortages and salary disputes, has made a substantial amount of progress in the past four years. Nigeria may be able to replicate some of Uganda's successes.

Success in Uganda

Shortly after the first successful year of UPE, when net enrollment jumped 91% in Uganda, Museveni recognized that "there were serious weaknesses in teacher training and recruitment" that must be ameliorated (DID 2). As a result, in 1997, the government launched a \$710 million Education Strategic Investment Plan (ESIP) to enable infrastructure and capacity to catch up to enrollment (ESIP). Teacher training was at the core of this program. However, despite a great deal of monetary support, ESIP failed as most Ugandans viewed it as "just another project" (DID 7). This project, however, laid the foundation for the Teacher Development Management System (TDMS) which emerged in 1998. This project was a "comprehensive and integrated delivery program for primary reform services aimed at bolstering primary education" (Uganda TDMS 1). It was developed because nearly half of the nation's teachers were untrained and, further, certified teachers were, at the time, being paid around \$8 monthly (1).

TDMS had a few major goals. First, it wanted to revitalize education management for both school administrators and local school association heads. Second, TDMS aimed at reforming the institutions of teacher education and reforming the credentialing. Third, the program wanted to provide continued in-service training to both untrained and trained teachers. Lastly, it aimed at establishing education coordinating centers around the country

to provide constant, year-long training and resource support (Uganda TDMS 2). TDMS reached a number of its goals in its first two years. It successfully revised and improved the basic Primary Teacher Education (PTE) scheme and bolstered requirements for the Diploma in Teacher Education (DTE) (2). It established a strong network of 18 Primary Teachers Colleges (PTCs) across the country and built or established 539 coordinating centers that linked the PTCs to individual communities. Further, nearly 5,000 teachers have been through the in-service program and 1,399 teachers have been upgraded or promoted (EFA, U 9). The success of this program sparked the Mubende Integrated Teacher Education Project and the Northern Uganda Integrated Teacher Education Project which set up distance learning capabilities for un-trained and prospective teachers (2). As a result of this success, leaders in Uganda believe that TDMS, which currently is only in full operation in 18 of the 45 districts, has the potential of going to a larger scale (7). Uganda has also been fortunate enough to receive continued outside financial support from World Bank, ADB and the Education Funding Agencies Group (EFAG). Malcom Seath of EFAG said that while they have been incredibly frustrated with Uganda's lack of feedback, they agree that priority actions are now on "improved teacher-recruitment, deployment, retention, and quality of teaching" (New Vision, Apr. 19, 2001).

Another recent program has shown great signs of promise. Makerere University has, for the past eight years, been in a direct partnership with the University of Florida under the title of: "The enhancement of human rights and democracy in Uganda" (USDLP 1). The project, which facilitates faculty and student exchanges, is aimed at building a human rights curriculum and preparing teachers to become leaders in the realm of education (1). This program was recently halted, however, due to funding constraints.

Signs of Reform in Nigeria

While Nigeria is much further behind Uganda in terms of reforming the institution of teaching, it has made some progress. The National Teachers Institute has established satellite programs in a few areas of the nation to attract potential teachers and train untrained teachers. Leaders of NTI noted that, "Given the large proportion of untrained teachers in the primary education system, the onus of upgrading teachers nationwide without withdrawing them from the classroom became a major priority"(NTI 1). The program, which is run through Nigeria's 58 colleges of education and their satellite schools, trained 38,486 graduates from 1993 to 1997(EFA, Nigeria 3). Uganda has also received generous aid packages from USAID through the Education for Development and Democracy Initiative (EDDI). This program targeted \$19.9 million to reform programs in July 2000. The money is currently being used to develop local training centers and support distance education programs; in addition, EDDI established a number of teaching exchanges between Nigeria and the US (2). Most recently, the Nigerian government has committed \$850 million to UBE over the next 10 years, with \$10.94 million earmarked for the training of 7,760 workers of the local education authorities, \$91 million for the construction of 28,000 new classrooms, and just over \$12 million for the recruitment and training of 30,000 new teachers"(1).

Beyond this, two state governments have recently made significant progress in renewing relations with their teaching forces. On March 19, 2001, Governor Lucky Igbinedion of Edo State said, "teachers should be adequately motivated in order for the government education policies to succeed. To this end, 7,092 teaching and non-teaching staff have been promoted"(This Day, Mar. 19, 2001). He went on to say that all back salaries have been paid to the end of creating a more, "child-friendly environment to ensure effective teaching and learning in public schools"(This Day). He said that teachers are the major part of making the UBE scheme work: "Education is our foremost industry and primary education the foundation, and we must, therefore, give it adequate attention. We are fully committed to the UBE scheme and its actualization" (This Day). The LGEA chairman of Lagos State announced on April 2, 2001 that 1,919 new teachers had been hired and current teachers had finally been paid the salaries due to them (Newswatch, Apr. 2, 2001). He also announced the construction of a teacher-resource center. One teacher commented that, "Primary school teachers in Lagos State are now in an up-beat mood...Previously, those of us who were already engaged in teaching were always on the look-out for other more lucrative jobs. But, right now, people who would normally seek a bank job are looking for teaching jobs" (Newswatch). But these two state governments also have plentiful financial and human resources; they are the minority in Nigeria.

Further, Nigeria is seeking to help its own ability to make these changes by requesting debt forgiveness or rescheduling from the US. A lobbyist for Nigeria recently told Congress that "if Nigeria is ever to be able to reap any democracy dividend, it is mathematically imperative that Nigeria be granted a mixture of three things: immediate stoppage of interest payments, outright cancellation of a substantial portion of that debt,

and an institutional redirection of some of the portion of the debt to benefit education (Nigeria in Transition, 4).

Trouble shooting and continued reform in Uganda and Nigeria

Both countries are at a pivotal moment in deciding the future fate of their democracies. If UPE and UBE succeed, democracies will be bolstered, economies will eventually be improved, and human capacity will be built; beyond this, a spirit of nationalism will likely develop. However, unless they are able to reform the institution of education, these two initiatives will fail. To this end, they need to ensure that: 1) existing teachers are adequately paid, 2) existing teachers are adequately trained, 3) there are effective teacher recruitment programs in place and that the teaching profession is appealing to prospective candidates, and 4) there is a unity of reform and partnership with NGOs and multilaterals. For these four things to occur, there must be continued support for present reforms and a substantial new commitment to reaching these goals at both the federal, state, and local levels. Let us first turn to the issue of teacher salary.

I. Improving Teacher Salaries

Teacher salary is one of the most important aspects of ensuring a strong teaching profession. Not only does it provide effective incentives for individuals to enter teaching, but it also provides incentive for current teachers to stay in the profession. Further, as career status is often measured by salary, society's respect for teaching is largely contingent upon them being paid an adequate and appropriate salary. Teachers in both

Nigeria and Uganda pointed out that salaries must be raised; if they are not, the countries will, as one Nigerian teacher said, be, "Killing the goose that lays the golden egg"(This Day, Jan. 17, 2001).

In Uganda, just five years ago, teachers were being paid \$8 monthly. TDMS increased this figure significantly, but teachers are still underpaid. The hike in the Nigerian minimum wage to \$48 monthly, while seemingly providing a boost to teachers, actually left teachers well below this minimum wage; this is what led to teacher strikes at the end of 2000 and beginning of this year. While the federal governments of both countries have made small financial commitments to increasing teacher salaries, they have not done enough. Nigeria has set aside \$850 million for UBE; its government needs to use a substantial portion of this money to help state governments bolster teacher salaries and ensure a graduated salary schedule. Uganda recently received a \$28.69 million dollar loan from ADB to bolster teaching; a significant portion of this could be used to bolster teacher salaries. Both countries, however, would need to ensure that any money from the federal level is supplemented with state and local money.

II. Adequately Trained Teachers

Both countries have made significant progress in this arena. In Uganda, TDMS enabled over 5,000 un-trained teachers to enter in-service programs. Results have shown that the distance learning approach that TDMS enabled through a new network of Primary Teacher Colleges and Coordinating Centers has been largely effective and can be taken to scale. It is in the government's best interest to continue funding TDMS and similar programs. In Nigeria, the National Teachers' Institute has also made significant progress in

training untrained teachers. However, a larger percentage of teachers (both engaged and new) is still untrained.

The federal governments of each nation need to ensure that these two programs continue and that the arms of the distance learning centers and institutions have the capacity to reach all areas of the nation. Both countries should consider installing "master teachers" in schools to provide on-site training. As it currently stands, all teachers need to leave the school building to receive training. The presence of a training expert within the school would not only be able to train un-trained teachers and provide professional development, but it would generally bolster the strength of the school and its human resources. Further, each nation should explore the possibility of conducting teacher training programs through the Internet or video-conferencing. Most school districts in both countries presently have Internet capability. Outside funding could likely be secured for a project such as this.

Uganda will need to, on occasion, review the strength and effectiveness of its Diploma in Teacher Education (DTE) as it is connected with the scheme of Primary Teacher Education. Because this credential is new, there may be a period in which the government will need to evaluate its validity as a measure of teacher preparedness. Similarly, Nigeria will need to review its new National Certificate of Education (NCE). This is a process that must involve all education stakeholders.

III. Effective Recruitment Programs and Attractive Profession.

If teaching is not an attractive profession to young college students, they will not enter it. In Nigeria, for instance, recent strikes and low salaries have served to effectively

lower enrollment rates in education programs by 11% (This Day). The same has occurred in Uganda. Thus, both countries must make significant strides to make the teaching profession attractive to some of the brightest college students. Increasing salaries is the first thing that should be done as this provides a consistent incentive for individuals to enter the profession. Beyond this, as infrastructures become built-up with new funding packages, the attraction of new facilities and resources will attract new teachers.

Governments should also explore the possibility of offering sign-on bonuses or recruitment bonuses to new teachers.

One of the most effective things that could be done in both countries is to subsidize teacher education programs in exchange for a commitment to work in the public primary schools for a set number of years. Uganda, up until 2001, offered a number of cost-sharing programs at its network of teacher's colleges (New Vision, Apr. 3, 2001). Programs such as this should be re-considered. Conditional subsidization of teacher education programs in Uganda and Nigeria would also serve to represent a stronger commitment by the government to education and UPE and UBE. While both governments have made a strong commitment to enrollment and infrastructure, a move to partially or fully subsidize teacher education would have a profound effect on the public support of and participation in the respective schemes.

Further, Nigeria must make substantial steps in its systems of education management so that there are no questions as to who controls what and what is controlled by whom. For example, primary teachers in August of 2000 led a major walk-out because they felt that the local councils were trying to exhibit too much control over the supervising and screening of teachers (Vanguard, February 2001). Comrade Victor

Uchuno, National Union of Teachers head in Delta State, said earlier this year that, "The attention of the delta state wing of the NUT has been drawn to the fast-spreading pre-occupation of local government councils to encroach on the management of primary education"(Vanguard). Further, a study done by the Nigerian government in 1999 showed that 60-70% of Local Government Education Authority (LGEA) workers would only come at the end of the month to collect their salaries; this "ghost-worker" phenomenon is a problem all over Nigeria. And, for the profession to become attractive, this type of corruption must cease.

IV. Unity of reform programs and NGO partnership:

Both countries must make a concerted effort to unify their various reform packages for the teaching profession and educational infrastructure. If these reforms are taken independently and their success is not viewed as dependent upon the success of the other, then the overall effect of these reforms will be fragmented. Nigeria, in its most recent five-year plan, has done a good job of integrating its various enrollment and infrastructure targets; they have, however, left out strong targets for both quantity and quality with respect to teaching. This must be incorporated. In Uganda, because of the TDMS program and the remaining efforts of the ESIP, a strong structure exists through which these various reform packages can be integrated under the direction of the Ministry of Sports and Education. In Nigeria, current efforts are either being overseen by the LGEAs or one of the many education oversight councils at the national level; there must be an intermediary.

Beyond this, both countries are now in the position to aim at unity with the financial and capacity support from various NGOs such as World Bank and USAID.

Nigeria, for instance, is in its first year of a very strong partnership with USAID that offers nearly \$20 million in new funding and various points of institutional capacity support for LGEAs. In Uganda, continued money pours in from EFAG and ABD. In both cases, each country must be sure to allow these NGOs to provide institutional support, but not control. EFAG has mandated that Uganda plan and implement an Education Standards Agency (ESA) by the end of the year (New Vision, April 19, 2001). While the formation of organizations such as this are critical to the effective management of a national system of education, the formation and implementation of such an organization must also have support from within the country. If Uganda, for instance, only forms this agency in order to receive continued funding, then the agency will most likely be ineffective and ultimately fail.

Currently, there is a growing commitment to accountability on the side of the NGOs. Most NGOs are now actually attempting to reform the aid itself to provide for a greater coordination and lower transaction costs (Van De Walle 68) Despite very high levels of aid in the 1990's, Africa's development performance has been largely disappointing (1). Thus, as lenders and grant-giving-NGOs tighten their need for accountability, both countries are going to need to be able to offer the information and systems of accountability desired.

Conclusion

The fate of the democracy in Uganda and Nigeria and, in many ways, the whole of sub-saharan Africa, is dependent upon the success of the UPE initiatives. While each country has been marred by political upheaval and economic weakness, both are in the

unique position, given current democratic rule and slow economic recovery, to realize the goal of UPE. Further, they are in the position to translate access to education to access to *quality* education. For this to occur, however, each nation must first ensure that it has a strong, productive current teacher work force and guidance for a strong, future work force. Currently, teachers are underpaid, under-respected, and under-supported; they are working in unproductive environments and have little motivation to stay in their present profession.

Thus, both countries need to focus on improving the teaching profession in the following ways by ensuring that 1) existing teachers are adequately paid, 2) existing teachers are adequately trained, 3) there are effective teacher recruitment programs in place and that the teaching profession is appealing to prospective candidates, and 4) there is a unity of reform programs and NGO partnership. These four items, taken into the entire package of reform along with bolstering educational infrastructure, will ensure a brighter future for UPE, Uganda and Nigeria, and democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa.

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