Implications Of Universal Secondary Education Under Public-Private Partnership For Students' Learning Achievements In Central Uganda

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Abstract

This paper examines the level of students' learning achievements in private secondary schools involved in the implementation of Universal Secondary Education (USE) in Central Uganda. The study adopted a cross sectional survey design, using both quantitative and qualitative data using probability and non-probability samples in Mpigi, Wakiso and Mukono Districts. Twenty-one private USE schools and 448 respondents participated in the study. The study established that the schools experience severe financial, manpower and infrastructural challenges, which disrupt the teaching-learning process, leading to low students' learning achievements. The variation in students' academic performance is explained by presence or absence of key infrastructure at the time of joining the partnership. These findings are contrary to the neo-liberalism logic of private sector competitiveness, innovation and efficiency. The study thus, recommends the need for government to enforce quality standards and target funding to improving learning achievements in private USE schools.

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I. INTRODUCTION

When the Government of Uganda (GoU) introduced Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997, primary school enrollment leaped from 3.1 million pupils in 1996 to 7.5 million pupils by 2007 (Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES), 2008). To accommodate the surging numbers of secondary school entrants; GoU introduced USE in 2007. However, the available number of government USE schools could note accommodate the large numbers of UPE graduates. To accommodate the resultant excess demand for secondary education, GoU patterned with private secondary education providers in an arrangement known as Public-Private Partnership (PPP).

In the PPP framework, MoES signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with eligible private schools. Under this MoU, government would finance and monitor the operations of the partner private schools; which would in turn admit and provide Ordinary Level (S.1- S.4) education to students. The overall goal of PPP was to ensure equitable access to and successful completion of the secondary education cycle; regardless of students' gender or social-economic status. However, for over ten years of this partnership, limited empirical studies have been made to examine the degree to which this partnership has enhanced students' learning achievements. This study, thus attempted to address that knowledge gap.

Theoretical underpinning of the study

The Human Capital Theory (Schultz, 1960; Becker, 1964) and the Neo-liberalism theory (Fredrick Hayek & Milton Friedman, 1970) guided this study. The former benchmarked investment in USE and the latter informed the shared roles of GoU and private providers of secondary education in the PPP framework. Human Capital theory stresses that education or training imparts useful knowledge and skills to individuals which in turn increase their productivity and incomes. The theory is premised on the assumption that an educated population is a productive workforce which implies that the more the number of citizens who access education, the more productive the nation's workforce is likely to be. Consequently, this would increase output, income, economic growth and development (Becker, 1964; World Bank, 2004; Fugar et al, 2013). In Uganda, this notion is highlighted in a number of policy documents such as; Government White Paper on Education (1992), National Development Plan 1&2, and Education Sector Strategic Plan (1998-2003; 2007-2015), among others.

As a philosophy that emphasizes free market forces to allocate resources (Stanley, 2009); Neoliberalism lays a foundation for PPP, in which private schools would provide quality secondary education under the oversight of GoU (Dave & Kumar, 2009). The overriding assumption then was that private schools (more so the for-profit schools) would be more responsive to market forces compared to public schools. Specifically, a private USE schools would have more impetus to ensure that students' learning achievements are a priority as a means to attracting higher student enrolment and thus more capitation grant from government.

The Study Context

Uganda was the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to introduce tuition-free secondary education and under PPP program, GoU covers some of the cost of tuition for students choosing to enroll at participating private secondary schools (Kristen, 2011). Government subsidizes PPP schools with capitation grant of 47,000 Uganda Shillings on a per pupil per term basis (MoES, 2007), which every partnering private school are supposed to account for at the end of every school term. By 2016, more than one million students were participating in USE programs. The years immediately following USE's introduction saw steady growth, with total secondary enrollment increasing from around 815,000 in 2006, to nearly 1.2 million in 2009 (MoES). After peaking at just under 1.5 million in 2016, enrollment declined to less than 1.4 in 2017.

However, while enrollment figures suggest that PPP expanded overall access, the level of students' learning achievements remains unclear. Quality and educational outcomes also remain poor. In 2017, two out of five secondary school teachers did not possess an undergraduate degree. Student-to-teacher ratios are still high and graduation rates are even more worrying (Rana & Macha, 2020). Besides, the share of total government expenditure has declined from around 25 percent in the early 2000s to just 11 percent in 2018 (World Bank, 2019). In 2019, the National Planning Authority (NPA) decried the government's inadequate spending on education. At the secondary level, funding declines are even more extreme. A growing percentage of the money the government spends on education is being redirected from secondary to elementary education (Rana & Macha, 2020). All these developments have implications on students learning achievements.

For instance, results of the National Standardized Test for Senior 2 students between 2008 and 2013 reveal a declining trend in students' proficiency in Biology, Mathematics and English as detailed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: National Assessment of Progress in Education (NAPE) results for S.2 Students from 2008 - 2013

2013							
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	
Percentage of S.2 students rated proficient in Biology	36.70%	36.30%	30.40%	19.60%	17.70	14.35%	
Percentage of S.2 students rated proficient in Mathematics	69.40%	58.80%	49.70%	38.20%	43.43%	37.33%	
Percentage of S.2 students rated proficient in the English Language	81.90%	76%	67.50%	66.40%	48.30%	44.98%	

Source: Education and Sports Sector Fact Sheet 2008-2013

Table 1.1 shows that students' proficiency in all the three subjects has been consistently declining from 2008-2013, with the worst case scenario reported in Biology which registered the sharpest decline rate. Related findings by the National Development Plan1 (2010/11- 2014/15) indicate that efficiency and quality of secondary education remains very low due to poor management of school resources. Similarly, a study by Barungi et al. (2014) questioned the efficiency of the USE PPP program basing on limited government capitation grant and late release of funds. The situation as it is, seems to challenge the Human capital and Neoliberal logic, since the coveted PPP does not seem to yield the intended students' learning outcomes.

Problem Statement

Despite continued government expenditure and expansion of the PPP framework over the years, the level of learning achievement in private USE schools in Uganda remains unclear. For instance, NAPE results for the period 2008-2013 reveal that S.2 students' proficiency in Biology, Mathematics and English language was on a persistent decline (Education and Sports Fact Sheet, 2008-2013). In addition, available reports highlight a number of structural, infrastructural, capacity and financial challenges in the PPP program. However, the consequences of this state of affairs on students' learning achievements in this partnership remains unclear. Unless this picture is illuminated, government investment in PPP program intended to build a productive workforce, may be a misspent investment in human capital development.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to examine the level of students' learning achievement in schools under PPP program in Central Uganda.

II. Literature Review

The subject of PPP has in recent past been extensively debated and adopted by nations as policy decision particularly in the wake of Education for All initiative. Typical of Neo-liberal thinking, the advocates for PPP (Patrinos, 2006; Gauri and Vawda 2004, Fielden & La Rocque, 2008; Hanushek and Woessmann 2007; Hoxby 2000) claim that the model increases parental choice, competition, brings in efficiency associated with the private sector, improves accountability, reduces costs, improves cost-effectiveness, thereby reducing prices or fees in education. La Rocque's (2008) studies in Côte d'Ivoire; the Philippines; New Zealand; Venezuela and Pakistan all reveal increased learning outcomes as a result of implementing PPP programs although in some countries evidence is controversial and inconclusive. Jimenez et al. (2011) and Baum (2012) confirm La Rocque's findings in the Philippines although Baum (2012) found that the state's approach to offering grants which only cover roughly half of the private school tuition expenses (in the Philippines) has high costs for the poor. Woessmann (2005 in La Rocque, 2008) examines the link between student achievement and education PPPs using student-level data for 35 countries drawn from the OECD's Program for International Student Assessment. He finds evidence suggesting that school systems based on PPPs where the state finances schools but contracts their operation out to the private sector are more effective than either fully privately or publicly financed/delivered systems or systems involving significant private financing but public delivery. This corroborates Patrinos' (2002) findings from the Netherlands. The findings of Woessmann (among OECD countries) and Patrinos (in the Netherlands) came from the developed part of the world but this study was conducted in a typically developing country, Uganda. Further, much as Patrinos' study was on a PPP model (Public funding / private provision) similar to one in Uganda, his dependent variable centers on equity as opposed to students' learning achievement for this study hence the need for replicating their studies in Uganda.

The PPP program in Pakistan's Punjab Education Foundation has been reviewed by many studies (Malik, 2010; Naeem, 2012; Sathya et al, 2014; Amjad and MacLeod, 2012 in Hafeez et al, 2016; Pakistan Coalition for Education, 2015; Patrinos et al., 2009), who agree that the model has been a success in terms of enhancing students' learning achievements. Malik (2010) reports a continuous improvement in the percentage of students in partnering schools scoring more than 90% in the Quality Assurance Tests (QATs), from about 1% in 2006 to over 17% in 2009, and a continuous decrease in the percentage of students scoring under 40% from over 21% in 2006 to just over 4% in 2009. This is an achievement in line with human capital formation for Pakistan and it called for a related study in Central Uganda.

Sathya et al. (2014) found positive education outcomes within the voucher scheme in Pakistan (PEF), Hong Kong (Aided and Direct Subsidy Scheme schools), in India, Gyanshala model and in New Zealand. In three different comparative assessments by independent parties, the Gyanshala model has achieved superior learning outcomes, and as much as 35 per cent improvement in multiple subjects and across multiple grades. The voucher model has equally succeeded in raising student achievements in Colombia (Angrist et al.2002; Angrist, Bettinger, and Kremer 2006; La Roque, 2008; Patrinos, 2005), in NewZealand, USA, Netherlands and Pakistan (La Rocque, 2008), in South Africa (Lewin and Sayed 2005), in Denmark (Andersen, 2005 in Patrinos et al, 2009) and in Sweden (Sandstrom and Himmler, 2007 in Patrinos, et al. 2009). On the other hand, Patrinos (2006) reports mixed study findings about the voucher program in Chile. Some found that the voucher system had positive impacts on test scores and pre-college examinations (Gallegos, 2002; Contreras and Macias 2002; Sapelli and Vial 2002; August and Valenzuela 2003; Sapelli 2003; Gallegos 2004). Yet others found that there was no impact on test scores, repetition rates, or secondary school enrollment rates (Carnoy and McEwan 2000; Hseih and Urquiola, 2003).

Studies on the voucher program in Colombia, New Zealand, USA, Netherlands and Pakistan give a clear insight into the impact of PPP on learner achievements. However, besides being conducted in developed countries, all these studies were conducted about ten years back yet education has since undergone several changes in different countries, including Uganda. Further, USE in Uganda does not follow the voucher model, although education provision and financing are separate in both PPP models. Therefore, a study in Uganda, in current times was necessary to establish the extent to which Private USE schools have promoted students' learning achievements under the PPP framework.

III. Methodology

The study adopted a cross sectional survey design, using both quantitative and qualitative data collection approaches from a purposively and randomly selected sample from three districts of Mpigi, Wakiso and Mukono. The three districts have the highest number of private USE schools in the central region, some of which are urban, peri-urban and rural schools. In each of the 3 districts, 7 private USE schools were randomly selected making a total of 21 private USE schools whose names were disguised as fruits for confidentiality purposes. The study involved 448 participants who included; 21 Head teachers (HTs), 21 Directors of studies (DoSs), 252 teachers and 147 Senior Four students, one official from the Private Schools and Institutions Department (PSID- MoE&S) and 2 officials from the Department of Education from each of the three districts.

Quantitative data was cleaned, coded and entered into the computer for analysis using SPSS. Information was analyzed using frequency counts, percentages and was presented in form of frequency tables and graphs. Data from relevant documents was prepared, categorized and presented in table and graphical form. Qualitative data from recorded interviews, FGDs and open-ended questions were transcribed first, coded into categories or themes basing on common phrases of respondents.

IV. Results

The Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) results for students in the 21 private USE schools were used as a basis to study students' learning achievements for the period 2012-2017. The data is summarized and presented inform of grades as per Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) grading system. This is summarized in Table 1.2

Table 1.2: UCE results for selected private USE schools for the period 2012-2017

Division	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total per division
1	189	166	206	133	108	201	1003 (8%)
2	422	446	440	387	410	444	2549 (20%)
3	604	572	622	675	684	714	3871 (31%)
4	852	882	749	886	763	778	4910 (39%)
7	13	06	11	03	05	04	42 (0.5%)
9	42	35	35	27	50	18	207 (1.5%)
Total	2122	2107	2063	2111	2020	2159	12,582
candidates							

Table 1.2 shows that between 2012 and 2017, 12,582 S4 candidates sat for UCE exams in the 21 private USE schools under study. Twenty eight percent of the candidates were in divisions one and two; while 31% were in third division. In 2014 and 2017, 206 and 201 candidates respectively, passed in Division one. There were fewer candidates in Division four yet with more numbers in Division two and three, compared to the rest of the years. This implies that students' learning achievements were low contrary to the efficiency assumptions of the Neo-liberal theory expected of the PPP program. This in turn undermines the human capital expectations of PPP. Since Table 1.2 gives a general picture of academic performance for a period of six years, the researcher went examined students' scores for UCE in 2016 summarized in Table 1.3

Table 1.3: UCE results for 2016 for selected private USE schools

DISTRICTS / SCHOOLS	DIVISION						
	1	2	3	4	7	9	Total per school
MUKONO DISTRICT							
Gooseberry View College	09	30	36	33	-	03	111
Avocado Trust College	06	21	36	28	-	-	91
Banana High School	01	17	37	39	-	02	96
Blackberry High School	03	20	34	41	02	01	101
Cherry Secondary School	-	11	36	42	-	04	93
Coconut Academy	07	34	31	38	-	-	110
Cucumber High School	11	28	29	37	-	03	108
WAKISO DISTRICT							
Apple College School	01	12	36	43	-	03	95
Orange standard Academy	03	18	32	34	02	-	89
Grape Memorial High School	09	24	32	27	-	-	92
Jackfruit Secondary School	-	06	19	49	-	09	83
Guava Memorial College	13	41	32	26	-	-	112
Lemon Vocational S.S	02	06	39	49	-	06	102
Tamarind High School	06	11	30	44	01	04	96
MPIGI DISTRICT							
Strawberry College School	05	19	26	37	-	-	87
Pineapple High School	03	24	31	33	-	-	91
Nectarine Standard H/S	07	16	41	26	-	02	92
Mango High School	07	21	30	29	-	-	87
Melon Progressive Academy	11	29	34	27	-	-	101
Tangerine Secondary school	04	13	26	41		09	93
Passionfruit High School	-	09	37	40	-	04	90
Total number of students	108	410	684	763	05	50	2020
Percentage per division	5%	20%	34%	38%	0.2%	2.4%	

Source: Primary Data

Table 1.3 shows that 25% of the candidates scored divisions one and two while more candidates scored division three (34%) and division four (38%). Further analysis of the results reveals a variation in performance among schools. Among the best schools, Guava Memorial College in that had 112 candidates, 13 scored division one while 41 were in division two. None of the candidates scored division seven or nine. Students in Melon Progressive Academy and Mango High School, Grape Memorial High School, and Coconut Academy registered average performance. To fully understand factors behind the academic performance of students in respective schools, the responses of teachers, head teachers, directors of studies and students themselves were analyzed and areas of agreement and disagreement in the views of these respondents were noticed. The responses of teachers are summarized in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4: Teachers' rating of factors that influence students' learning achievements in the selected private USE schools

	Disagree	Somehow disagree	Not very sure	Somehow agree	Agree
The student-teacher ratio in my class favors the teaching-learning process	87(41.4%)	78(37.1%)	8(3.8%)	27(12.9%)	10(4.8%)
I find instructional materials adequate for meaningful teaching-learning activities	87(41.4%)	73(34.8%)	9(4.3%)	31(14.8%)	10(4.85%)
I feel the school timetable allows students opportunity for self-study	48(23%)	29(14%)	8(4%)	39(19%)	86(41%)
The patterns & frequency of student assessment enhance their grades in final assessment	23(11%)	23(11%)	5(2.4%)	54(25.7%)	105(50%)
Classroom setup in my school is always favorable for the teaching-learning process	59(28.1%)	64(30.5%)	7(3.3%)	52(24.8%)	28(13.3%)
The level of staff welfare encourages me to do my best within and out of class.	81(38.6%)	76(36.2%)	3(1.4%)	34(16%)	16(8%)
Science labs have the necessary equipment to foster teaching & learning	76(36%)	75(36%)	1(0.5%)	46(22%)	12(6%)

Source: primary data

According to Table 1.4, 78% of teachers revealed a high student-teacher ratio, a figure that depicts dislocated teaching-learning processes in their respective schools. This issue was prevalent at Cherry Secondary School in Mukono District, Passion fruit High School in Mpigi District and Lemon Vocational Secondary School in Wakiso District where student enrollment is high. At Passionfruit High School, the director of studies who also doubles as a S1 English teacher commented that;

I teach a class of 93 students in S1 but you realize that there is a challenge of numbers. We don't have enough space and furniture and the entire room is congested. It is really hard to maintain classroom control.............. (Director of studies / teacher, July 2018).

The study found that in some schools, the challenge of overcrowded classrooms has persisted mostly in lower classes due to limited infrastructure / classroom blocks to allow streaming of students into manageable numbers. This was mostly found among schools that did not possess adequate infrastructure at the commencement of PPP hence prompting them to divert capitation grant to put up classroom blocks so as to accommodate more students. Moreover, the MoU requires schools seeking to partner with the government to possess infrastructure that meets basic requirements and minimum standards for education institutions.

While Melon Progressive Academy in Mpigi District and Coconut Academy in Mukono District among others had ample classroom blocks, was costly as it requires employment of extra manpower to handle students in the different streams. As a remedy, schools employ unqualified but cheap manpower as a cast-cutting measure. This goes against the MoU that requires school proprietors to employ qualified teaching staff. Cases in point were noticed at schools like; Blackberry High School, Banana High School, Lemon Vocational Secondary school and Tangerine Secondary School with reported shortage of science teachers. Thus, the issues of teaching-learning space and appropriate manpower are partly responsible for the established low students' learning environment in selected schools.

The study further established a close link between overcrowded classes, infrastructural issue and the level of government funding. Twenty-one head teachers admitted that government capitation grant of 47,000 per head per term was inadequate in relation to the unit cost per student. Although the interval of releasing funds to schools had greatly improved from 2015, head teachers feel the need to double the capitation grant if PPP policy was to realize its goals. This suggests that the inability by most schools to possess a supportive teaching-learning environment is attributed to the highlighted persistent financial constraints. For instance, 72% of teachers believe that the nature of science laboratories in their schools does not support the learning of science subjects. At Passion Fruit High School in Mpigi District one teacher asked; "how are we expected to teach

Chemistry without chemicals"? Considering that science subjects are compulsory at ordinary level, and majority schools are ill-equipped to take students through practical lessons, the chances of students performing well in science subjects are limited. An official from the PSID noted during an interview;

We have cases of schools that divert capitation grant for non-school activities but we always demand for accountability, short of which the school does not benefit from the next disbursement....... (Official from the PSID, September, 2018).

Similarly, 76% of teachers reported that they are not provided with adequate instructional materials for their teaching activities. Considering the critical role of instructional materials in teaching, failure to provide the same is tantamount to failure to support students' learning achievements. A closely related scenario was reported by students during FGDs, referring to shortage of textbooks for their private reading as well as bureaucracy in accessing existing reading materials from the book stores. These related issues which eventually lower student grades were summarized by one head teacher of Cucumber High School that;

Everything we do directly depends on finances, whether construction, facilitation, salaries or utilities, so when government makes us operate on meagre finances, nothing much can move (Head teacher, August, 2018).

On the other hand, a few schools that possessed adequate classroom blocks at the point of joining the partnership had better operations and performed better than their counterparts. Typically, Guava Memorial College, Melon Progressive Academy, Nectarine Standard High School, Cucumber High School, Grape Memorial High School, possess subsidized boarding facilities, an arrangement which head teachers praised for favoring students' learning activities. The advantages associated with boarding facilities have reportedly translated into improved students' learning achievements in respective schools.

According to Table 1.4, 75% of teachers reported low levels of welfare provided by their respective schools. The issue of inadequate pay and delay in salary payment were among the challenges teachers face in their respective schools. A case in point is a teacher from Strawberry College School in Mpigi District who is paid a monthly salary of 150,000 Uganda shillings. Another teacher from Cucumber High School described his monthly salary as "pocket change", claiming that he simply works for the sake of surviving. On the other hand, head teachers pointed out that the wage bill for teachers takes a lion's share of the school's revenues yet over time, government capitation grant had remained constant and in some cases it had been lowered by government. Study findings revealed that efforts by schools to introduce extra fees to supplement government capitation grant only serve to bring schools into conflict with government. This therefore suggests that teachers in the selected schools are not satisfied with their welfare levels and this has an impact on their level of commitment to their day-to-day work. Therefore, low students' learning achievements registered by schools in the 2016 UCE exams cannot be detached from low levels of teacher welfare in selected schools.

V. Discussion Of Results

Study findings in Central Uganda disagree with most study findings in different parts of the world where PPPs have been found to positively impact on students' learning achievements. A case in point is La Roque's (2008) studies in Côte d'Ivoire; the Philippines; New Zealand; Venezuela and Pakistan all of which reveal increased learning outcomes as a result of the state subsidizing private schools to enroll secondary school students. In Pakistan's Punjab Education Foundation (PEF), Malik's (2010) study established a continuous improvement in the percentage of students in partnering schools scoring more than 90% in the Quality Assurance Tests (QATs), from about 1% in 2006 to over 17% in 2009, and a continuous decrease in the percentage of students scoring under 40% from over 21% in 2006 to just over 4% in 2009. The study findings of Naeem (2012); Sathya et al (2014); Amjad and MacLeod 2012 in Hafeez et al (2016); Pakistan Coalition for Education, (2015) and Patrinos et al, 2009) all agree with those of Malik (2010) from Pakistan.

These PPP success stories presented above provide interesting lessons for Uganda's PPP where the learning achievements were found wanting. This difference in performance can be attributed to factors like PPP policy design, innovation, governance, management and supervision and perhaps difference in financing levels between Uganda and other case studies presented above. For instance, Malik's (2010) research in Pakistan revealed that there is an initiative to promote better private school management by training principals and vice principals in new teaching methods which PPP in Uganda does not consider. Malik's (2010) study also reveals that the Teaching in Clusters by Subject Specialists (TICSS) program hires subject specialists at market salaries and then assigns them to low-tuition private schools, where they mentor the teachers and give students high-quality instruction in mathematics, English, biology, chemistry, and physics. Hence, the difference in learning achievements between Uganda's PPP and Pakistan is among other things dictated by education financing,

teacher quality and motivation. The findings of the World Bank (2019) and Rana & Macha (2020) about declining government expenditure and low teacher qualifications and quality attest to this.

As a result, the mean average rating of students at these schools increased from 33% to 55% in only 3 years. Similar to Malik's study is research by Naeem (2020); Sathya et al(2014); Patrinos et al (2009); Romero et al (2017) in Liberia and Central Square Foundation (2014) in India's PPP schools. Therefore, with some schools in the current study employing unqualified science teachers to cut the wage bill, the difference in learning outcomes becomes inevitable. However, study findings in Central Uganda agree with research results by Carnoy and McEwan (2000) and Hseih and Urquiola (2003) all cited in Patrinos et.al (2009) who found that the voucher system in Chile had no impact on student test scores. Similarly, Verspoor (2008); Carnoy and McEwan (2000); Hseih and Urquiola (2003) found that PPP implementation in other countries had recorded significant increase in enrolment but quality issues were still unaddressed. This trend as it was established in Uganda's PPP is detrimental to the countries efforts to attain the expected human capital formation.

VI. Conclusion

The low learning achievements established are largely attributed to inadequate government funding amidst rising cost per enrolled in the country. This is reflected in poor facilitation of the teaching-learning process in majority schools and low levels of teacher motivation, prompted by poor remuneration for teachers in respective private USE schools. Low learning achievements gradually water down government efforts towards human capital formation.

VII. Recommendations

In order to improve students' learning achievements, there is need for government to enforce quality assurance standards and link funding to fulfilment of these standards by private USE schools. In addition, government should pay salaries to science and mathematics teachers in PPP schools. Relatedly, government should consider terminating the partnership with private schools that consistently fail to meet these academic standards.

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