Effects of Neo-Colonialism on Education Policy at O-Level Education in Uganda

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ABSTRACT
The study established the effects of Neo-colonialism on the O-level Education policies in Uganda. A descriptive survey research design was used in the study. A total sample population of 316 participated in the study which included 8 officials from National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC), 4 District education officers from Gulu, Mbarara, Jinja and Kampala Capital City Authority, 8 policymakers and administrators from the Ministry of Education and Sports who were purposively selected respectively and 296 secondary teachers who were selected using simple random sampling technique. Data was collected using a self administered questionnaire, interview guide, documentary analysis guide, and observation checklist. The study findings showed that Neo-colonialism had an influence on educational policies at O-level Education in Uganda. It was therefore concluded that educational policies at O-level Education in Uganda does not fully suit the needs of the local people because it is indirectly influenced by Neo-colonialism which makes the indigenous people benefit less compared to the developed countries. It was recommended that Education policies that create dependency on textbooks, western educational experts and priorities from external sources that cannot be translated into locally relevant forms of education should be abandoned. The purpose of this study was to establish the effects of neo-colonialism on the O-level education policies in Uganda.

Keywords: Neo-colonialism, Dependency Theory, Education policies, O-level, Uganda

INTRODUCTION
The country we know as Uganda was created by the British imperialism. Imperialism occurs when a strong nation takes over a weaker nation or region and dominates its economic, political and cultural life (Karugire, 2003). The British occupation of Uganda was accomplished in the last quarter of the 19th century, specifically in 1894 when Captain Fredrick an agent of Imperial British East African Company declared Uganda a British protectorate. This was the period in which European activities in Africa culminated in the partition of the continent between the major powers of Western Europe. To control the source of Nile, It was necessary to control Uganda where the source of the Nile was located. By the time the British and other foreigners came to Uganda, the kingdom of Buganda was the most dynamic, sophisticated, the large and strongest, and also the most prosperous of all Ugandan centralized and non-centralized societies of the period. This is largely why colonial rule, education and other forms of “modern” development began in Buganda and then percolated elsewhere in Ugandan and, in turn, this is why the rest of Uganda, appeared as if it was a footnote to Buganda during the colonial period. This of course; caused resentment in the rest of Uganda, which resentment took a violent form after independence, but more of this later (Karugire, 2003). Although Uganda has been independent since
1962, it remains economically, militarily, culturally, and technologically dependent on the richer states of the world (Nsamba, 2003).

**Historical Overview**

The study was concerned with the influence of western educational policies in non-western countries in Africa, Uganda in particular. A new situation arose in Uganda by 1875 and it was partly responsible for Kabaka Muteesa I’s invitation of European teachers to come to Uganda. The Kabaka wanted them to teach Ugandans new knowledge and skills which would help them and him to cope with the new situation. King Muteesa I also wanted European teachers to connect him with the government of Britain and France so that the king could defend Buganda kingdom more effectively against foreign invasion, especially by the Egyptians. Muteesa I also wanted to use their new knowledge to fight more effectively against his neighbors and thereby control them (Ssekamwa, 2000).

In 1844, the Arabs, Sheik Ahmad bin Ibrahim with a few other Arabs and Swahilis arrived at the court of the father of Kabaka Muteesa I, Kabaka Ssuuna II at Banda near present day Kyambogo in Kampala. These Arabs and Swahilis were traders. Besides their trading activities, they also introduced Islam in Uganda and some people began to follow Islam. Kabaka Ssuuna died in 1856 and his son Muteesa I succeeded him as Kabaka. Muteesa I found the Arabs and Swahilis already teaching Islam and the Kiswahili language to some Baganda at the palace. This new knowledge impressed Muteesa I and wanted his people to learn it so that they could widen their outlook and easily deal with the foreigners who were coming to the kingdom (Ssekamwa, 2000).

When the news appeared in the Dairy Telegraph, at once some British teachers who belonged to Church Missionary Society (CMS) volunteered to come to Uganda. They were Protestants and British people and they arrived in 1877. One of them was a Scottish missionary engineer called Alexander Mackay who was however not an ordained pastor. Mackay become the most known among the first missionary teachers of the CMS. The Baganda pronounced his name as Makaayi a Kiganda name given to Baganda men who belong to the lung-fish. They did this because they could not pronounce British names properly. They also wanted to Ugandanize him by initiating him into the lung-fish clan (Ssekamwa, 2000). Muteesa I sent the first CMS to live in Nateete village near his palace of Kasubi, Nabulagala in present day Kampala. A secondary school was put on the site in Nateete where Mackay and his CMS colleagues first lived. It is known as Mackay Memorial Secondary school, Nateete in memory of this great protestant missionary who contributed greatly to the missionary work of establishing Protestantism and Western Education in Uganda. Soon afterwards the CMS missionaries were followed in 1879 by French Catholic missionaries who belonged to the White Father Society, Muteesa I welcomed them warmly too. Muteesa sent them to live in the village of Rubaga again near his palace of Kasubi, Nabulagala in Kampala (Ssekamwa, 2000).

By 1879, there were three groups of foreigners in Uganda near the palace of Muteesa I. Each group had a new way of worshipping God. These groups were the Arab Muslims who had arrived in 1844, the British Protestants who had come in 1877 and the French Roman Catholics who had followed the Church Missionary Society missionaries in 1879 (Ssekamwa, 2000). Prior to colonialism, Africa like any other society, had its African indigenous education which was relevant to Africans in sharp contrast with what was later introduced by colonialists; the Western Education. Informal and vocational training constitutes the core of indigenous education in Africa. Under this traditional system, each person in the community is practically trained and prepared for one’s role in society. It is a holistic system in which story-telling, proverbs and myths also play an important role (Omolewa, 2007).

In the traditional education system in most societies of Uganda, there existed no schools of the type we have today however in Buganda there was an arrangement of exchanging children by elders and educating children of the chiefs in palaces commonly known as Bisakaate. Nonetheless, people were educated and trained though they didn’t know how to read and write (Ann, 1968). There were no defined institutions of learning, any blackboards or pencils and books, but children could be taught all the same. In all societies, the system of instruction tended to be similar; only the subjects matter or syllabus differed according to the particular needs and social values of the given society (Diang, 2013). The instruction
normally took place around the fireplace after the evening meals or whenever a child committed an offence. Through stories, tales and riddles, the mother or grandmother would alert the children to what society expected of them as they grew up. The father would, through proverbs, stories and direct instruction, teach the young boys their expected roles (Abdi, 2006). Such roles would include hunting, carpentry, iron smelting and back cloth making for males. On the other hand females would be taught by their mother female related roles like cooking, digging, peeling, weaving among others. In nutshell they would learn as they are doing which gave room for employment in the society (Abdi, 2006).

Indigenous Education in pre-colonial Uganda handed down from generation to generation, skills, knowledge and attitudes that inculcated into Africans self-esteem, self-respect, feeling of belonging to that particular society, feelings of togetherness due to; Its close link with social life both in a material and spiritual sense. Its collective nature where by all aspects of life were covered and there was no separation of education and productive activity or any division between manual and intellectual education (Rodney, 2005). However, the whole traditional system of education and training of the younger generation in the Ugandan societies and in many Africa societies was discouraged by colonialism as it was deemed disorganized lacking a formal curriculum arrangement and trained instructors. Thus basing on this it was replaced by what is termed as formal education in a colonial arrangement. Arguably neo-colonialism might be frustrating the reclamations of indigenous voices in the O-level education in Uganda.

Historically, the origins of O-level education are traced in the 1950’s. The de Bunsen Education Committee which Governor Sir Andrew Cohen appointed in 1952 to launch a programme to execute the suggestions of the Binns Study Group, recommended that the candidates sitting for the O-Level Cambridge School Certificate Examinations should gradually increase from 250 in 1955 to 500 in 1960. O-Level education was introduced by the British Educational Reform in the 1950’s alongside the more in-depth and academically rigorous A-level. The general certificate of education was advanced in Wales and Northern Ireland and this qualification is still awarded by the CIE Cambridge International Examinations. As a former colony of Britain, O-level education was introduced by the British in Uganda (Ssekamwa, 2007).

In Uganda, O-Level is a four year of lower secondary, joined just after the completion of seven years of primary education; a system recommended by the Castle Education Commission in 1963. The major characteristics are; learners study thirteen or fourteen subjects in the first two years of the level and then major in at least eight to ten subjects for the remaining two years, a Uganda certificate of education is awarded on successful completion of the level, curriculum reviewed by the National Curriculum Development Centre and some co-curricular activities are included in the planning to improve learner’s skills and talents (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2002).

Colonial education policies have taken on a life of its own that has little to do with the needs of society (Mazrui, 1993, cited in Shizha, 2005). Thus, schools are not places that give children meaningful responsibility in order to produce conscientious, mature adults and citizens. They have been regarded as places where obedient children do what they are told or learn to do what teachers will reward (Shizha, 2005).

In colonial Education, Children were learning to read and write and not given the opportunities to apply those skills in either useful or interesting areas. This means that, children simply become good at doing things which are primarily only useful and rewarded in school its self (Abdi, 2005). It is now evident that the colonizers did not introduce education into Africa but they introduced a new set of formal educational institutions which partly supplemented and partly replaced those which were there before. Surprisingly it crippled the innovative, creative and vocational skills development in Africa’s education system. They did this with the purpose of sustaining and strengthening their exploitation of African natural resources through colonization In addition this colonial educational was geared towards provision of numeracy and literacy skills almost which had nothing to do with the developmental needs of the society.

The imposition of colonial Education policies on Africa altered its history forever. African modes of thought, patterns of cultural development, and ways of life were forever impacted by the change in political structure brought about by colonialism. The aim of colonial Education policies was to exploit the physical, human, and economic resources of an area to benefit the colonizing nation (Takako, 2011).
Colonial education policies in Uganda were introduced by missionaries as part of their evangelistic mission. The aim was to Christianize and civilize the Africans within the context of western civilization. Colonial education started with the training of sons and chiefs in literacy skills. For instance Kings College Buddo Junior was set up to train sons of chiefs in Buganda while on the other hand, Gayaza Junior was set to train daughters of chiefs in probation that they would marry sons of chiefs from Kings Collage Boddo junior. Likewise, these schools were also to provide the government with junior functionaries. By 1905 almost all missionary societies in Uganda were providing education involving the 3Rs that is, reading, re-writing and religion (Verna & Ocheng, 1996).

Europeans imported their forms of education policies to African and the education policies inherited from colonial powers has remained virtually the same since independence. The missionary groups, who established the first European-style schools in Uganda, remain influential in the county’s nationalized education system. Teacher training colleges in Uganda train teachers to employ European methods of instruction (Takako, 2011). In conjunction with the above Mamdani (2007) alludes to the same that many of the schools established follow the western formal school arrangement which has little to do with Ugandan educational needs. Therefore, this education policy created a dependency syndrome where the former colonial masters and industrialized nations designed the education system in their colonies to foster uncritical obedience to authority, or slave-like mentality and neo-colonialism (Kalanzi, 2012). In addition, European colonialism did not introduce education in Africa but instead it brought a new type of education institution and fastened new set of educational policies which were designed to Europeanize and de-Africanize the Africans (Gardener, 1969). This type of education policy would produce a white graduate in black skin rendering it impossible to contribute to the social economic development of Uganda.

After Uganda had gained independence in 1962, a commission under the chairmanship of professor E.B. Castle formerly professor of Education at HLL University, was appointed in 1963 to report on Education in Uganada (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001). When it comes to education policies, neo-colonialism works in both obvious and subtle ways. Neo-colonialism is indirect and diplomatic, but its effects are clear. Neo-colonialism is a period in which a nation is in theory independence and in reality, its economic system and internal policy is directed from outside. By promoting the culture of the colonialists in a country, cultural assimilation was facilitated thus opening the national economy to the multinational corporations of the neocolonial country (Diang, 2013). Most of the tragic events now experienced by third world countries; Uganda in particular, are consequences of international economic order of which the western world is the chief beneficiary since the economic super structure determines the ideological super structure (Mutibwa, 1962).

The attainment of political independence did not mean the end of economic exploitation and domination by imperialists. Although British direct imperialism has been broken, a new form of integration has been developed by the transitional cooperation monopolies in post-colonial states (Mamdan, 1975). Countries like Britain, France and other colonial masters were still interested in their African colonies but were forced to grant independence under nationalistic pressure. They therefore devised means of maintaining their influence in Africa so as to continue exploiting Africa’s cheap raw materials, cheap labour, get market for their finished goods and make fresh investments in Africa. Neo-colonialism is indirect and diplomatic, but its effects are clear. Colonial masters left Africa using the front door but came back using the back door (Reinke, 2004).

The colonial education policies which Uganda inherited serves to alienate youngsters from their traditional culture and often inculcated attitudes and values which do not conform to national interests. The system bred an attitude of contempt for and indifference to traditional cultures such that even during the post-independent period, schools failed to perform cultural functions (Verna & Ocheng, 1996). This suggested that cultural events were considered as evil and satanic in schools. Colonial education policies has been maintained in many African societies up to today because it was and still viewed as one of the pillars through which the African countries could develop and modernize like their counterpart in the west.
The study anchored on Dependency Theory advanced by Raul Prebisch in late 1950s under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic commission for Latin America. The theory states that developing nations are dependent on more developed nations, who use them for their resources. The Theory further assumes that, developing nations hope that by forging a relationship with more developed nations, this would improve their economies and this is rarely the case. This theory is related to this study in the way that, since our economy is poor, O-level c education policy in Uganda must be dependent on the financial support of industrialized countries. For example language of instruction is English for reason being western industrialized countries is the ones funding O-Level Education in Uganda. Uganda’s dependency on industrialized powers influence would imply effectiveness and efficiency of O-level education when the needs of beneficiaries are considered while neglect of industrialized powers influence in due consideration of beneficiaries needs would imply that O-level education policy would fail as the industrialized powers as its primary funders would shun it. This study sought to establish the applicability of the above theory on neo-colonialism and O-level education policies in the lower secondary schools in Uganda.

In the present day the relationship between Neo-colonialism and O-level education polices continues to be a question of critical concern in Uganda. The O-Level education policies are almost as it was during the colonial period. After decolonization in 1962, the emerging Uganda elites continued to follow the European models of education policies at O-level in particular. World pressure for modernization was mounting and the ruling elites believed that the only way to modernize Uganda was to continue with a European formal education (Kruijthof, 1993). Specifically in the areas of policies it is crystal clear that the language of instruction is a reflection of the neo-colonial tendencies since they are influenced by western industrialized world. In that regard, the current O-level education policies in Uganda makes students unable to grow anything; make anything; or repair anything unless they learned to do those things outside of school (Shizha, 2005).

Today decisions at O-level Education are taken by the bilateral or multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank. These cartels of states can impose a particular (western) view of education and development on debt- receiving countries like Uganda and reinforce neo-colonialism by further liming the capacity to qualify for loans, and other forms of economic aid which may be potentially detrimental to their own educational development (Nguyen 2009).

In Uganda, currently there is a problem of unemployment among the youths and the blame of this unemployment is largely put on the irrelevant policies which seem not to prepare young people more especially at O-level to be job creators but instead prepare them to be job seekers. This is evidenced by most of the O-level leavers being non-productive in the society and hence an economic liability to the country (Ssempele, 2013).

Effects of Neo-Colonialism on the Educational Policy at O-Level Education in Uganda

Regarding the relationship between neo-colonialism and O-level Educational policies, Scholars like Punch (2001), Conen and Grant (1999), Stromquist (2002) among others, in their studies have examined the nature of educational policies used by post-colonial education policymakers. Punch (2001) contends that, for analyzing neo-colonialism within educational context, it is based on the ideal of different dimensions of schooling within a country. Neo-colonialism can be placed on a continuum where complete control by foreign powers is at one end of continuum and complete control by independent nations on the other. Likewise, Tabulawa (2003) envisioned that, neo-colonial powers adopt similar strategies of dominance and dictate the educational policies in the so-called developing countries in various ways such as providing money and technical assistance for educational reforms. For example the former colonizers send large number of teachers and teacher trainers to developing countries. They also provide scholarship for students and teachers from the developing countries, who come to the West and learn about Western traditions of curriculum and pedagogy. After returning to their home countries, most of them continue to use these Western pedagogies and maintain strong ties to the countries or institutions that provide scholarship for them. However the true relationship of neo-colonialism on O-level educational policies in Uganda had not been empirically unveiled which this study did.
Further, Richman (1994) noted that modern education rip children both boys and girls away from their parents while still young enough to mold. The goal is to make the creation of submissive soldiers who did not question the status quo. In terms of time spent, this is one of the primary activities that almost every child who is a victim of the modern education system participates in, on a routine basis. This suggests that the policies that governing the neo-colonial O-level education are more in favor of the ideologies of the western colonial masters who inculcate in the learners their values in schools. On the other hand the above study was from the western world hence the move to undertake empirical study to ascertain the true influence of neo colonialism on O-level educational policy in secondary schools in Uganda.

International funding agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank manage to dictate international policies regarding education and literacy program through stipulations placed on loans and grants that emphasize standardization, efficiency and measures of productivity. Mandates placed on loans and grants by these international agencies essentially remove control of education and literacy programs from national governments to agencies themselves and even decrease the likelihoods of improving literacy globally (Conen, 1999).

Given the perceived pressure to modernize and reform in order to attain high international standards, educational policy makers in non-western countries tend to look to the west. Thus they may ‘borrow’ policies and practices that were originally developed and operated, and which appeared to be effective in a very different cultural context to that of their own societies. In effecting such transfer, detailed consideration of particular aspects of the culture and heritage of originating country is often neglected (Nguyen et al. 2009). This reveals that policies in O-Level education made to a less extent consider the values of the core stakeholders that is to say the parents, students and the community who are the primary beneficiaries. However, the above scholars seem not to show clearly the role of neo-colonialism on educational policy at O-level education in Uganda thus the relevance of this study.

Similarly, Shizha, (2005) explains that, policies that continue to perpetuate cultural imperialism in African Education systems are negating the narratives of the nations that are told and retold in African histories, literature and popular culture. These narratives provide a set of stories, images, historical events, national symbols and rituals which stand for, and represent the shared experiences that give meaning to African societies. Alternatively in the afore mentioned study the policies referred to are not identified, in addition the extent to which these policies are embedded in education and how they specifically influence on O-level education in has not been empirically expounded a concern that this study addressed.

Nonetheless Stromquist, (2002) puts that, education all over the world has been identified as an important tool for nation building. It is high time African nations realize that any nation without good education is on the verge of destruction. Our policies, priorities and emphasis in education must be right and the biggest responsibility in this crusade is for the African intellectuals. African elites must remember that they owe the present and future generations of Africa to a particular duty of liberating the black race from the Yoke of neo-colonialism. Consequently educational policies ought to be mapped on the beneficiaries’ psychological intentions which are slightly far from the will of the colonial masters as their psychology wishes to maintain a dominancy and control culture over Ugandans’. African energies should therefore be directed to the right goal and not to the same ideas that have no bearing to the ground. Thus a gap remained on the true influence of neo-colonialism on O-level education policy in Uganda which this study established.

Mean while Robert (1980) also explained that, there is an ongoing globalization of educational policy and practice that prevails in developing countries. Western paradigms tend to shape and influence education systems elsewhere through the process of globalization. Given the perceived pressure to modernize and reform in order to attain high international standards, education policy makers in non-western countries tend to look to the west. Thus they “borrow” policies and practices that were originally developed and operated in a very different cultural context to that of their own societies. This suggests that the dependency syndrome seem to contribute much towards O-level education policy implying that most of the policies are arguably westernized. However, empirical studies on how neo-colonial policies impact on O-level curriculum are scanty. This study was aimed to fill this gap in the context of Uganda’s lower
secondary schools with specific reference to secondary schools in Jinja, Gulu, Mbarara and Kampala Capital City Authority.

In conjunction with the above, Elliott (2007) noted that, in effecting such transfer, detailed considerations of particular aspects of culture and heritage of the originating country is often neglected. Therefore non-western cultures should seek to reconstruct imported pedagogic practices in accordance with their own world, views and in line with their own norms and values. It is true that international funding agencies such as International Monetary Fund, World Bank managed to dictate international policies regarding education and literary programme through stipulations placed on loans and grants that emphasize standards. However in the role of neo-colonialism in influencing education policies at O-level Education in Uganda is not yet established.

Slightly similar with the above, Kibuuka (2007) asserts that the international community plays different roles in policy making depending on the relative dependence of the African Governments on international aid. Generally educational policies are passed by the parliament, though the African nations have experienced decrees for example during Amin’s regime and the NRM’s Government. All policy matters pertaining to primary education up to university and all general education matters pertaining to curriculum, examinations and training of teachers is the responsibility of government. However, Government policy initiatives’ were directly influenced by western powers who dictate most of the policies on O-level Education policy. This study was meant to establish how the neo-colonial influences impacted on O-Level education policy in secondary schools in Uganda.

The impact of international agencies on policy formulation and implementation is partly exerted and recanted directly by themselves and partly indirectly in their use of a wide range of co-operating ministerial partners. Different agencies like International Monetary Fund, World Bank have used different ministries as their entry points to work in the Education Sector in Africa. This has increased ministerial actors in the education sector (Elliott, 2007). The use of textbooks from a former colonizer in schools of a newly independent country can be an example of obvious educational neo-colonialism. However, it can be subtle when, for example, it includes the use of foreign technical advisors on matters of policy and the continuation of foreign administrative models and curricula patterns for schools. In both ways, educational neo-colonialism severely limits the capacities of a country to set its own educational policies and priorities (Altbach, 1995). This influence is frequently referred to as educational neo-colonialism in the sense that western paradigms tend to shape and influence educational systems and thinking elsewhere through the process of globalization. However the role of neo-colonialism on the education policy at O-level education in Uganda is not yet established which this study established.

Majority of the multinational agencies like the World Bank and the European Economic Community normally work through the Ministry of Finance in order to settle the borrowing conditions for specific projects of which the content has been discussed with the line ministry. In Africa, some of the agencies implement their projects before the policy formulation process is officially completed. For many governments, education is a critical institution for socialization into values and beliefs. Also successful delivery of educational services is central to a regime’s legitimacy and therefore its capacity for effective governance (Thomas, 1983)

Most participants in policy debates have a prior views on the strengths and weaknesses of the education system and how best to improve its performance. Those views are necessarily conditioned by each group’s vested interest and by the particular circumstances of its contact and experience with the system. The result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for exploitation rather than for the development of less developed parts of the world. An investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world. The struggle against neo-colonialism is not aimed at excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less developed countries, it aimed to impoverish the less developed countries (Thomas, 1983). There is no doubt that schools in colonial setting were primarily designed to meet the conception and needs of colonizers rather than the colonized. This reiterates the view that most of the educationists’ in the O-level secondary schools are more of a reflection of the western educationist resources geared towards implementing
ideologies of the former colonial powers. However, in the aforementioned analyses, the role of neo-colonialism on education policy at O-level Education in Uganda is not yet unearthed. Chillisa (2005) asserts that in fact, the agenda of the colonizer was largely characterized by ideological process aimed at understanding the authenticity of others. Hence education was framed, constructed and driven by an ideology aimed at colonizing the mind and alienating the self and creating an individual that did not believe in his/herself. It is true that education was framed, constructed given by an ideology aimed at colonizing the mind and alienating the self and creating an individual that did not believe in her/himself. However in the aforementioned analysis, the effects of neo-colonialism on educational policy at O-level Education in Uganda are not yet established.

In addition, Kasozi (1992) contends that, although internal actors may have good ideas of how to develop the state, their ideas need external inputs to become real. Thus in many of these countries, policy development are a joint enterprise of both the local and external forces. Policy packages that are eventually implemented are the result of interaction between internal and external forces. Ideally, the stump of the internal forces, who are the consumers of developed policies, should be more prominent than those of external prayers. But this is rarely the case due to the weaknesses of undeveloped states structures. In countries with low political and economic development, internal and external forces operate in the process of policy formation. Ideally external forces should supplement internal initiative in both ideas and funding. But due to the weak political, economic and social basis of southern countries, the reverse is often the case. External forces influence the process of higher education formation as well as the final product for implementation. The internal actors must fulfill all their commitments or help will not be forth coming. However in aforementioned explanation, the role of neo-colonialism in influencing education policies at O-level Education in Uganda is not yet established which the study intends to investigate.

More still, Muyingo (2012) points out that, there is a need to embrace businesses and vocational education as a tool for personal and national development as a cure to rampant joblessness. There is a growing and perturbing dislike for vocational and business education at diploma and certificate levels. In the past, parents appreciated the value of vocational education. To a parent of the 1970s and 1980s, a child would finish Senior Six and either enrolls in a university or join a vocational institute. In their conservations, you would hear parents update each other about their children’s studies. Today, there is a craving for most university education propelled; partly by pride, the changing status of families in society, ego for the learners and the way graduates are pampered when they complete their various courses. Such is rarely extended to diploma or certificate holders. The above allusions were divergent from the case of neo-colonialism and O-level secondary schools curriculum which this stud did.

In more less the same way, Conan (2012) notes that, development partners and international financial institutions are shifting attention to vocational education in the country. Decades ago, attention of most donors was on primary and secondary education, especially with a start of free primary education. It was later followed by free secondary education. But with a growing rate of unemployment in most developing countries and economic recession, statistics show that they are gradually shifting their attention on vocational education. In its plan of action for the second decade of education (2006 – 2015), the African Union recognizes the importance of technical and vocational education and training as a means of empowering people. It also recommends the integration of vocational training. The African Union (AU) also recognizes that young people are outside the formal school system. The union recommends the integration of non-formal learning methodologies and literacy programmes. However in most secondary schools at O-level Education is less prioritized thus this study established the true link between neo colonialism and O-level educational Policies.

A recent survey conducted by the African Union on the state of technical and vocational education in 18 countries points to a number of priority areas. The recommendation includes the development of appropriate competency-based curriculum in these areas and compulsory implementation of TVET programmes for students in fields such as entrepreneurship, agriculture and building construction. The promotion of handicrafts and other indigenous technologies was also rated as important for Africa’s development (Conan 2012). It is true that vocational education is the best way forward for Africa.
However in aforementioned analyses the effects of neo-colonialism on the educational policy at O-level education in Uganda are not yet unearthed which this study did. Contextually neo-colonialism and O-level education policy have been referred to by Kajjubi (1989) who contends that, soon after Uganda gained independence in 1962, the Government appointed a commission under the chairmanship of E. B. Castle who advised it on the changes needed in the education system to meet the needs and aspirations of a free Uganda. For the next twenty-five years, these recommendations continued to guide the development of education in Uganda with minor changes in the policies. As part of Uganda’s overall development planning, education have been drawn at all levels since independence in educational development during the first year development plan which was largely based on the recommendations of the World Bank survey mission and the castle commission and this was aimed at producing high level manpower for civil administration Education all over the world has been identified as an important tool for nation building.

Yet Joel (2006) noted that, European colonizers imposed different education policies on African countries. For instance the British utilized missionaries to spread the word of Christianity and the values of the English language and Anglo-Saxon culture which colonial authorities confiscated prime agricultural land and turned it over to settlers from England. Many Africans in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Kenya, Rhodesia and Tanganyika attended missionary schools to get jobs in the administration of the colonial government. The result was to make English the language of government and commerce. The most converted in political system was only available to holders of English - language credit card. English was the official vehicle and magic formula to colonial elitism. Cameroon experienced German, French and British colonialists and after independence French and English continues as official languages as medium of instruction in schools. However, a gap existed between language policy utilized at O-level education in the way that there was no empirical study that had been carried out to show the influence of culture specifically language on O-Level education in Uganda which gap this study filled.

Cheghorn and Rollnick, (2002), cited in Shizha, (2005), points out that, children always have to translate what is taught in a foreign language to their mother languages and re-translate it to the same foreign language in order to commutate ideas to their teachers. However, it has been noted that learning in English doesn’t only violate the freedom of African language that is familiar and meaningful to them but also violates the indigenous norms, values and beliefs. Shizha, 2005 noted that, the curricula presented in a foreign language supports acculturation, if not assimilation into another set of societal norms which are not compatible with the African ways of living. The effect of this acculturation is a disjuncture between the culture of the home and culture and language of the school. This therefore shows that the language of instruction as per the language policy is English with little consideration of native languages. This study therefore was meant to ascertain the influence of neo-colonialism on educational policy in general not on language education policy as the previous studies had it.

Similarly, LaDousa (2005) asserted that, the language scenario and the problem associated with it is as complex and controversial in multicultural and linguistically diverse country like India since language is the medium through which educational transactions take place; the vicissitudes of outcomes of her educational endeavor. Yet Philip and Altbach (1971) noted that the language of the former colonial power remains the medium of instruction in some developing countries and this is important for the nature of the educational system, the values inculcated and the availability of education to wide sections of the population. Truly, that the language of the former colonial power remains the medium of instruction in some developing countries. However, the previous studies fall short in explaining the role of Neo-colonialism in influencing the O-level Education policy in Uganda which the study investigated.

In addition, Ogunmodede, (2006) asserts that, it is high time African Nations realize that any nation without good education is on the verge of destruction. For this, our policies, priorities, and emphasis in education must be in line with our context. African intellectuals must remember that they own the present and future generation of Africa and have the particular duty of liberating the black race from the yoke of neo-imperialism. Energies should therefore be directed to the right goal not to the same ideas that have no bearing to the reality on the ground. However this argument was a commentary and not empirically
carried out on the role of neo-colonialism in the education policy at O-level Education in Uganda. This study was hence meant to establish the same in Uganda’s context.
Alternatively, David (2001) noted that, since independence the role of African education has been inextricably interwoven with the quest for national development and modernization. The inherited colonial systems were expanded and modified to serve new economic and social needs identified by Africa. For most educational policy decisions and implementations remain highly centralized and reflected the will of ruling elites. In many centuries, results have been not matched expectations and educational systems have, in some cases caused new problems for nation-building (David, 2001). However the above studies show that western colonial masters are the main beneficiaries from the O-level educational policies. On the other hand the aforementioned studies did not show the exact influence of neo-colonialism on O-Level education policy which this study empirically did.

METHODOLOGY
The study was anchored on the interpretivism philosophy particularly zeroing on the ethno methodology school of thought of Harold Garfinkel (1917-2011). Ontologically the philosophy holds that reality is indirectly constructed basing on individual interpretation of events occurring because reality is multiple and relative. Reality cannot be objectively observed from outside but subjectively from within through direct experience of the observer. Therefore, reality is understood and explained through the eyes of different participants. Garfinkel created the term “ethno methodology” to describe how people use different methods in order to understand the society they live in. This implies that the person’s attitude towards anything is determined by the nature of the context in which one is positioned. Therefore one’s conduct should be understood in relation to the existing context. This philosophy was used because neo-colonialism has been one of the events occurring that seem to have influenced on O-level educational policy in Uganda and that people seem to interpret it basing on individual subjective interpretations. Thus it requires knowledge of a social scientist to make subjective interpretations using methods that are subjective in nature. The study also hinged on the linguistic ethno methodology which owes much on the cultural influences that determine interpretation of events. In this way, the neo-colonial cultural influences seem to have a deep relationship with O-level educational policy in Uganda.

The study applied a descriptive survey design because this design satisfied the characteristics of the study. Mixed methods were because they provided a better understanding of the research problem than either type by its self. However, majorly the study was qualitative in nature.

The purposive sampling technique was used to select, District education officers, officials from the Ministry of Education and Sports and officials from Uganda National Curriculum Development Centre in order to get depth information about the problem under the study. Seven, secondary schools were selected in each region using simple random sampling. Also in each school, 10 teachers were selected using simple random sampling method. Table 3.1 shows sample size determination.

**Table 1** Sample Size Determination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>Sampling strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Sports</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials from NCDC</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEO,S</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>Simple random sampling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1369</td>
<td>316</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of data gathered from open ended questions in the questionnaires, interviews and document reviews were coded, categorized, interpreted and analyzed descriptively to get meaning out of it, and incorporate the developed meaning into themes that corresponds to the context of the study. Thus, data analysis in this perspective was thematic in nature depending on how it related with aspects the study
variables as in the conceptual frame work. Data from document reviews was arranged according to the themes of the study and was critically analyzed basing on how it related with the study objectives and conceptual framework. The results of data collected from questionnaires was coded, edited, categorized and entered into Statistical Package for Social Science program (SPSS Version 20). The data was computed in frequencies, and then analyzed using percentages. Conclusively quantitative data was descriptively analyzed.

**Effects of Neo-Colonialism on O-Level Educational Policy in Uganda**

To address this objective of study, close and open-ended questions were held with teachers and interviews with the District education officers, curriculum designers from National Curriculum Development Centre and policy makers from the Ministry of Education and Sports on Neo-colonialism and educational policy. In addition findings from observation and documentary analysis supplemented the findings from interviews and questionnaire.

The findings from interview responses on the first item of the second research question, what should be done to solve the problem of international fund agencies in influencing our educational policies, one education policy official asserted;

> There is dearth of educational resources in O-level in secondary schools. Hence, the government should mobilize local resources which can help the country to minimize dependency syndrome through which neo-colonialism is manifested and empowering local manpower in order to liberate its self from the chains of educational neo-colonialism.

Another educational policy maker noted;

> Most of the policies guiding O-Level education like the language policy, universal secondary education are neo-colonial, thus there needs to be a serious review of the neo-colonial policies guiding O-level educational like universal secondary education, language policy among others to only pick what fits the needs of Ugandans’. In addition, it would also be important to organize a stakeholder’s conference to review educational policies in place. Through this scrutiny, only policies that fit Ugandans’ educational needs would be developed.

This suggests that, the Ugandans who are the owners of O-level education would have to be empowered on all educational policy related decisions since they are the primary beneficiaries. However this needs money which the Government must mobilize from local resources to put up proper educational policies not to depend on western funds which have strings attached that make a mismatch of what is needed on the ground.

However, when respondents were asked whether Uganda’s O-level educational policies reflect western education, one education policy maker said;

> Yes, if you look at the educational structure how it is organized and the educational funding for example how the government is withdrawing from financing high education in support of primary education because it contributes to social development than higher education. All these are global indicators which reflect neo-colonialism in Uganda’s education system.

Yet another educational policy maker stated that;

> O-level educational policies do reflect colonial policies of education. The allocation of funds policy on the different units of O-level education in Uganda follows the colonial funds utilization policy. This suggests that schools cannot allocate funds on useful areas as per school educational needs.

This suggests that the Government should independently decide on what disciplines to take, level of education to finance away from colonial influence. A general finding was arrived at from the above that neo-colonialism has a strong bearing on O-level educational policies. This was reflected in most of the views gathered in the way that most policies like Universal secondary education and language policy are all based on the neo-colonial education policies. Less was captured from the social cultural and environmental setting of Ugandans.

On the school policies, using the observation guide students were observed on a number of aspects. First students were observed arriving at school at 8.00 am. Still they were observed leaving school at 4.30pm
while in classes they were observed actively taking notes in most of the subjects with little practical work in subjects like chemistry, physics, Agriculture, home economics, computer studies, wood work and metal works. Mean while time was also observed from schools notice boards to clearly bring how time is allocated and utilized in schools and all these are captured from western colonial education. Further, these long school hours would neglect students to learn informal knowledge from home like peeling, washing, weaving, cooking among others on the side of girls while on the side of boys hunting, carpentry, iron smelting among others were almost sacrificed in schools. This suggested that the nature of educational policies at O-level education in secondary schools in Uganda emphasize and promote more of theoretical education at the expense of offering practical skills that would enable creation of job makers than job seekers.

Students were observed using bibles in CRE with pictures painted in white as a symbol of white superiority yet others had symbols showing formulas and geographical places from the far west. The above findings reflected that educational neo-colonialism was central at O-level secondary schools as students would be indoctrinated with neo-colonial ideologies negating valuable content applying to them from the local environment.

Qualitative findings given by DEOs on neo-colonialism and educational policy at O-level secondary schools particularly on the question, do Uganda’s O-level education policies reflect western education? Revealed that to a great extent most of the policies governing O-level secondary schools in Uganda are derived from the former colonial masters for example the language policy which emphasis English as a medium of instruction among others. One of the DEOs from the Eastern Uganda revealed that:

The O-level education policies are more based on what the colonial powers suggested for example the language policy. Today English is used as a medium of instruction at O-level education and some other local languages are taken as subjects and in addition to that they not compulsory meaning that they are not give priority.

Another DEO from western Uganda said that:

Most of the policies at O-level secondary education are imported from the west. A case in point is the Universal secondary education policy in which other colonial policies are implied for example language policy.

Yet on question what should done to solve problems of international funding agencies on influencing education policies at O-Level in Uganda? The DEO from the central region noted that:

Most of the policies at O-level education must be changed to help many Ugandans be able to enjoy their education system. For instance the language policy of O-level education should be changed to allow instruction be carried out in local native languages to enable students understand concepts fully in their native languages.

Findings from the document reviews had policy suggestions which would improve on O-level education in Uganda. Reviewed documents in this category involved Kajubi EPRC Report (1989) which turned out into Government White Paper 1992 that had the following policy recommendation which had neo-colonial ambitions that influence more on O-level Education. Such policies included the affirmative Action policy, Equitable access policy, policies on education as a human right, Education for all policy, policy of vocationalisation of education as a major tool of advancing education.

All these neo-colonial educational policies had a strong impact on O-Level education in the way that the policy of universal secondary education summarized almost all these policies by giving chance to different categories of Uganda O-Level students have access to secondary education irrespective of gender, religion, tribe and age. However, enrollments shoot up amidst meager education resources like text books, teachers, physical resources in O-level secondary schools. In line with these policies, the issue of automatic promotion in schools was introduced as a mechanism to prevent resource wastages. However, this has shown negative impacts on the quality of O-level education offered to learners consuming inferior quality education that is theoretical in nature.
Further the White Paper 1992 has the education language policy. For instance English was shown to be the medium of instruction in lower secondary schools. This was a neo-colonial policy to the extent that since the colonial times English was the medium of instruction in schools at the neglect of local languages that would promote effective teaching and learning in O-level secondary Schools.

Attention now turns on the responses from O-level educational policy as presented in Table 4.4 below:

**Table 2: Teacher’s responses on neo-colonialism and O-level educational policy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O-level Educational policy</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The policy of using English language as a medium of instruction at O-level promotes our cultures in Uganda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>51.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>36.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International agencies have no impact in influencing educational policies at O-level education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>49.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>35.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USE policy was made to promote western interests in Uganda O-level education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>46.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>38.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-level education in Uganda is long for a good reason</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>31.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>56.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 4.4 respondents rated high on agree with the policy of using English language as a medium of instruction at O-level promotes our cultures in Uganda 51.90% and rated low on undecided choice with 11.20% as the lowest score. This implies that the education language policy does not fully fulfill the needs of the state. However 36.90% said that Uganda’s O-level language education policy should be in English as a medium of instruction in Uganda. Majority of the respondents 49.10% disagreed that international agencies have no impact in influencing 15.4 were neutral. The implication of this is that international agencies greatly influence on O-Level education curriculum in Uganda.

In addition respondents showed that Universal Secondary Education Policy was not made to promote western interests in Uganda O-Level education 46.40% compared to 38.30% who agreed. This meant that O-level education policies in Uganda are more of a reflection of the colonial master’s interests than the local interests in Uganda. Finally most of the respondents 56.50% agreed that O-level education in Uganda is wrong for a good reason compared to 31.60% who disagreed while 11.90% were neutral.

**DISCUSSION**

**Influence of neo-colonialism on the educational policy at O-level Education in Uganda**

The finding revealed that, neo-colonialism affects educational policy at O-level in Uganda as this may imply that most of the educational decisions made have much in resemblance with the neo-colonial tendencies. This is clearly reflected in Chapter Four by statistical details, contained in Table 4.

The finding was in agreement with Muyingo (2012) who note that, the Uganda education system has been influenced by neo-colonial practices that have significantly contributed to the silencing the voice of Uganda. This silencing has led to production of foreign curriculum policies and management that are irrelevant to the Ugandan students for whom they are written. Students who join vocational training are believed to have jobs waiting for them as opposed to a number of degree holders who walk the streets.
without jobs. Uganda, like the rest of Africa is experiencing a period of steady economic growth, sustaining this will require a flexible and technologically literate labour force at all levels. There is much evidence that existing policies are believed not to address these needs adequately and the researcher attributes this to neo-colonialism.

The finding was congruent with LaDousa (2005) who assert that, the language scenario and the problem associated with it is as complex and controversial in multicultural and linguistically diverse country like India since language is the medium through which educational transactions take place; the vicissitudes of outcomes of her educational endeavor. Philip and Altbach (1971) note that, the language of the former colonial power remains the medium of instruction in some developing countries and this is important for the nature of the educational system, the values inculcated and the availability of education to wide sections of the population.

The finding concurred with Punch’s (2001) that, international funding agencies such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank dictate international policies regarding education and literacy program through stipulations placed on loans and grants that emphasize standardization efficiency of productivity. The results of the current study are also supported by Cohen and Grant (1999) who contended that, mandates placed on loans and grants by these international agencies essentially remove control of education and literacy programs themselves and even decrease the livelihood of improving literacy globally. This means that the government should mobilize local resources and get money to fund its education system in order to wipe out neo-colonialism tendencies which affects the society.

The finding was congruent with Nguyen et al (2009) study who maintained that, given the perceived pressure to modernize and reform in order to attain high international standards, education policy makers in non-western countries tend to look to the west. Thus they make “borrow” policies and practices that were originally developed and operated which appeared to be effective in a very different cultural context to that of their own societies. In effecting such transfer, detailed considerations of particular aspects of culture and heritage of the originating country is often neglected. Therefore non-western cultures should seek to reconstruct imported pedagogic practices in accordance with their own world views and in line with their own norms and values.

Similarly the finding agreed with Watson’s (1999) study who maintained that, colonial education system destroyed existing indigenous education system which in many cases was linked strongly to cultural norms and work preparations. Their structures of school system, textbooks and curriculum content, assessment system and pedagogical practices were all created in colonial system in the image of colonial powers and this typically ignored or sought to replace local cultures and discourses. This was supported by Chilisa’s (2005) study who contended that, in fact, the agenda of the colonizer was largely characterized by ideological process aimed at understanding the authenticity of others. Hence education was framed, constructed and driven by an ideology aimed at colonizing the mind and alienating the self and creating an individual that did not believe in her/ him. The finding was also congruent with Bray’s (1993) study who maintained that, schools in colonial setting were primarily designed to meet the conception and the needs of the colonialists rather than the colonized and this influenced the amount, types and availability of education.

Similarly the finding agreed Robert’s (1977) who maintained that, education all over the world has been identified as an important tool for nation building. African countries must draw out good educational policies where none is existing and work for proper implementation where they already exist. It is high time African nations realize that any nation with good education is on the verge of destruction. Our policies, priorities and emphasis in education must be right and the biggest responsibility in this crusade is for the African intellectuals. They must remember that they owe the present and future generations of Africa to a particular duty of liberating the black race from the Yoke of neo-colonialism. Their energies should therefore be directed to the right goal and not to the same ideas that have no bearing to the ground.

Historically the present education systems in many of the countries of Africa are products of past colonial penetration. Most of the former colonies have drastically expanded their education systems by involving substantial amounts of external technical assistance for example money, equipment and personnel. Africans have sent tens of thousands of their university–level students and faculty abroad to the
metropolitan centers of Europe, North America and Japan to received advanced training. These new forms of interaction are considered to be manifestations of continuing cultural dependency or neo-colonialism.

The study findings showed that students are still taught in English a neo-colonial language denying students an opportunity to think widely. On many occasions students showed that the have to first interpret what they learn in their local languages. These findings are in agreement with in Shizha, (2005) who pointed out that, children always have to translate what is taught in a foreign language to their mother languages and re-translate it to the same foreign language in order to commutate ideas to their teachers. This is a tedious activity which makes students waste adequate time to translate the same.

The study findings showed that neo-colonialism still impacts on education policies like that of automatic promotion in the USE policy, funds allocation among others. This was in support with Joel (2006) who noted that, European colonizers imposed different education policies on African countries. For instance the British utilized missionaries to spread the word of Christianity and the values of the English language and Anglo-Saxon culture which colonial authorities confiscated prime agricultural land and turned it over to settlers from England. Many Africans in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Kenya, Rhodesia and Tanganyika attended missionary schools to get jobs in the administration of the colonial government. The result was to make English the language of government and commerce. The most converted in political system was only available to holders of English - language credit card. English was the official vehicle and magic formula to colonial elitism.

The study findings were in agreement with Kibuuka (2007) who asserts that the international community plays different roles in policy making depending on the relative dependence of the African Governments on international aid. Generally educational policies are passed by the parliament, though the African nations have experienced decrees for example during Amin’s regime and the NRM’s Government. All policy matters pertaining to O-level education up to university and all general education matters pertaining to curriculum, examinations and training of teachers are the responsibility of both government and private sector. This shows that there is a strong bearing on neo-colonial influences when designing O-level education policies.

CONCLUSION
From the study results, it was concluded that the educational policies at O- Level in Uganda does not fully suit the needs of local people because it is influenced by neo-colonialism which makes the indigenous people to benefit less compared to the western world.

RECOMMENDATIONS
It was recommended that, the ministry of Education and sports should put up local committees at village level to study and tender advice to the educational policy makers if the local needs of Ugandans are to be catered for. Educational policies that create dependency on textbooks, western educational experts and priorities from external sources that cannot be translated into locally relevant forms of education should be abandoned. For instance the language education policy, automatic promotion policy at O-Level among others should be revised and fitted into local needs of Ugandans.

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