

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Importance of study

With many people in Uganda, especially western Uganda, still limited in their access to formal education, the response of non-government organisations (NGOs) has been to offer non-formal education (NFE) programs. Non-formal education is commonly defined as, “any organised, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children” (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p. 8). These programs tend to target adults without formal education credentials and out-of-school youth. The typical aim of these NGOs in providing NFE is to help people who have or have had limited access to formal education to achieve sustainable self-reliance, that is, independence from externally-provided resources for survival over the long-term (Ife & Tesoriero, 2006). Yet such programs are not critically assessed to determine the impact they are having on the livelihoods of learners (Rose, 2007, p. 19). The implications of this lack of independent assessment and government regulation is that a wealth of time, energy and resources is being invested into activities without the confidence that such an investment is producing the most desirable results for its beneficiaries.

1.2 Aim

The aim of this research project was to contribute to the scholarly discussion on NFE efficacy. A review of the literature revealed that there has been a preoccupation with the human capital outcomes of NFE and factors contributing to the efficient use of resources. This research project is based on the premise that social capital outcomes are a necessary complement to the human capital outcomes of NFE.

1.3 Research questions

The investigation was guided by three central research questions.

1. How is bonding, bridging and linking characterised in the relationships of the learners within the context of the program under investigation?
2. How does non-formal education contribute to the creation, maintenance or otherwise of these relationships?
3. How do these relationships impact upon the wellbeing of learners?

1.4 Background to study

Non-formal education (NFE) has had a long history in Uganda dating back to the traditional education system in place before the arrival of Europeans. These traditional education systems have been described in the literature as non-formal education (Coombs, 1976, p. 283). Education during that time was controlled by tribal elders and was intended to teach young people to be good citizens of their tribe (Ssekamwa, 1997).

In the 1870s the King of Buganda invited European teachers to Uganda to educate a select group of boys within his family with the knowledge and skills necessary to provide a united front in preventing foreign invasion (Ssekamwa, 1997). The first teachers to respond to the invitation were missionaries from the Protestant and Roman Catholic denominations. Their efforts proved popular as indicated by a continual increase in the number of teachers and an expanding population of students beyond the palace (Tourigny, 1979).

The growing popularity of these European schools altered perceptions on the value of the traditional system of education (Ssekamwa, 1997). The early missionaries were of the opinion that there was no education system prior to their arrival and reinforced this opinion through their insistence on their educational model being the only appropriate one. Since that

time, and especially following Uganda's annexing as a British protectorate in 1894, formal education has dominated the educational landscape. As formal education in Uganda became increasingly infused with European notions of modernity and the development of human resources as a precursor to economic development, the traditional NFE system continued to lose status except perhaps for those in remote areas.

Upon gaining its independence in 1962, the newly named Republic of Uganda appointed Castle, a Professor of Education from Hull University, to conduct an investigation into the state of education in the country. His recommendations focused solely on developing the formal education system under the control of the Government of Uganda (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001a, 2001b). There was the potential for educational development to have halted during the civil instability during the 1970s. Yet this potential was not realised with primary and secondary school enrolment rates almost doubling between 1969 and 1979 (Heyneman, 1983, p. 404). There is scant evidence of non-formal education programs operating during this period although one study suggests that they were operating in rural areas for adults with an agricultural focus (Visocchi, 1978).

With the cessation of civil unrest and political instability in the mid 1980s there was renewed action on the part of the Government of Uganda to plan for the country's future. In 1992 the Government White Paper on Education (GWP) was published by the Ministry of Education laying the foundation for the development of the education sector in Uganda up to the present.

The GWP was supportive of NFE's role in the democratisation of Uganda's education system however there has been only minimal action to implement the recommendations (Government of Uganda, 2008, p. 17). The reasons for this will be considered following an elaboration on those parts of the GWP that pertain specifically to NFE.

The GWP stated the following objectives for NFE in Uganda:

- i. Attainment of permanent and developmental functional literacy and numeracy;
- ii. Acquisition of functional skills relevant to life in the community;
- iii. Development of national awareness of individuals; and
- iv. Continued learning while at work and at home (Government of Uganda, 1992, p. 176)

To oversee NFE the Ministry of Education recommended establishing a National Council for Non-formal and Adult Education (NCNAE) whose purpose it was to, “plan, develop and implement programs of non-formal and adult education, including distance education”

(Government of Uganda, 1992, p. 191). The NCNAE was to work with the community to:

- i. coordinate inter-ministerial programs in the areas of adult and NFE;
- ii. formulate curricula for adult and NFE programs;
- iii. carry out evaluation of basic adult education programs;
- iv. mobilise resources for basic adult and NFE;
- v. propose programs and activities in the areas of non-formal and adult education;
- vi. organise training courses in adult education; and
- vii. identify and provide special education opportunities for women (Government of Uganda, 1992, p. 180)

It is worthy of mention that the GWP distinguishes between adult education and NFE, as in some cases the two forms of education are held to be synonymous with each other (Easton, Sidikou, Aoki, & Crouch, 2003). To link adults exclusively with NFE overlooks the potential of NFE to provide for out-of-school youth and even primary-aged children.

To support the work of the NCNAE it was recommended that a Directorate of Non-formal and Adult Education be established within the Ministry of Education and Sports. In reviewing the finances necessary to implement all the recommendations put forth in the GWP, it is

recommended that foreign aid be sought to fund NFE programs (Government of Uganda, 1992, p. 227). While the stance taken by the government in the GWP towards NFE appears supportive, the NCNAE failed to materialise and the responsibility for provision of NFE has been left primarily to private agencies including NGOs (Bananuka & Katahoire, 2008, p. 7).

1.4.1 UN and World Bank influences on non-formal education in Uganda

The purpose of this section is to investigate the reasons why the GWP recommendations failed to materialise. Uganda is signatory to two important international commitments to improving access to education. They are the World Declaration on Education for All (EFA) committed to at the World Forum on Education For All at Jomtien in 1990, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set in Dakar in 2000.

The purpose of the Jomtien Forum was to redefine the relationship between education and development and to lay strategies for achieving universal primary education, eradicating illiteracy and extending education to marginalised groups (UNESCO, 1990, p. 4). While the EFA declaration acknowledges the role that alternative forms of education, including NFE, can play, a preference is shown for formal primary schooling. In the case where a school-aged child lacks access to formal schooling, an alternative program is recommended only where it operates to the same standards of formal schooling. There is greater acceptance of alternative programs for youth and adults with a primary focus on literacy (UNESCO, 1990, p. 10). So even where the Government of Uganda has made an important distinction between adult and non-formal forms of education, their commitment to this declaration and the declaration's lack of support for NFE particularly at the younger years, has not encouraged NFE to be extended far beyond the adult population in Uganda. The goals established at the Jomtien conference informed the MDGs ratified at Dakar in 2000.

Another reason for the Ugandan Government's failure to implement important White Paper recommendations for NFE was the influence of multilateral organisations such as the World Bank on education policy in Uganda, as reflected in successive Poverty Eradication Action Plans (PEAPs). While education has always been a concern of the World Bank, the theoretical framework utilised to shape education policy has remained largely unaltered from its post-World War 2 beginnings (Jones, 2006). This is despite broader changes in understanding the role of education in society. The World Bank's education policies have been largely determined by an application of human capital theory to guiding education change that rests on the assumption that education is essential for increasing personal productivity which hopefully encourages positive national economic growth (Olaniyan & Okemakinde, 2008, p. 160). The PEAP for 2004-2008 states, "Investment in education contributes to the accumulation of human capital, which is essential for higher incomes and sustained economic growth" (Government of Uganda, 2004b, p. 153). The Education Sector Strategic Plan for 2004-2015 attributes Uganda's inability to attain its development goals to a shortage of appropriate human capital (Government of Uganda, 2004a, p. iii).

Applications of human capital theory to solving low levels of human development in developing countries have been problematic, since the economic contexts of developing countries differs from the economic contexts of those countries where the theory was first applied (Alexander, 2001, p. 303). This dissonance between theory and practice has not stopped the World Bank from continuing to adopt human capital theory as its main guide for developing education policy even into its fifth decade of existence (Chang, 2001; World Bank, 2003, p. 74). The preferred form of education according to the human capital theorists is formal education for the credentials it offers and its perceived suitability to a knowledge-based economy. That this theory is still dominating World Bank thinking on education is evidenced through receiving countries' commitment to formal education.

In the World Bank's ninth Poverty Reduction Support Credit to Uganda disbursed in 2012 delivered 10% of its USD100,000,000 budget to education with all of it being allocated to primary education (World Bank, 2012).

With its lack of credentials and its perceived inability to increase individual economic productivity, NFE has received much less attention over time (Jones, 2007). While reports commissioned by the World Bank in the 1960s recognised the potential of NFE to alleviate poverty among the rural poor, since Jomtien in 1990 the focus has returned predominantly to formal education and particularly primary schooling (Alexander, 2001, pp. 293-293).

As countries come together in the search for common problems and as multilateral organizations such as the World Bank continue to wield powerful influence over their receiving countries, Ugandan practice in education cannot avoid being impacted upon. The following sub-section considers the growth of NGOs as the main providers of NFE in Uganda.

1.4.2 NGO provision of non-formal education in Uganda

The growth in NGO provision of NFE has been a consequence of the challenges faced by the Government of Uganda in providing universal access to formal education. Since the Government of Uganda assumed responsibility for education at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels following its independence in 1962, NGOs have turned to alternative forms of educational provision that target adults and youth who lack formal education credentials.

Up to the 1990s, school enrolments in Uganda were significantly lower than at present (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2006, p. 6). This was attributed to the high parent costs and the low level of government expenditure for education (Watkins, 2000). As government capacity to fund educational development improved and the Government of Uganda committed to EFA targets and the MDGs expansive efforts have been made to boost

enrolments primarily in primary institutions with some consideration for post-primary and tertiary institutions.

Despite a dramatic increase in net primary enrolment figures, questions have been raised over the quality of education being offered to this growing student population (Okuni, 2003). One study found that post-2000, the likelihood of a publicly-schooled child successfully completing a standardised reading test was 10% less likely than in the years before (Grogan, 2006, pp. 1,28).

The decline in quality is further evidenced in evaluations conducted on the Universal Primary Education Policy (UPE) introduced in 1997 as the fulfillment of an election promise made by Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni. The objectives of UPE were for the government to cover the primary school tuition fees for four children in each family, improve school infrastructure, provide learning resources and increase the number of teachers being trained (Ministry of Education and Sports, 1999, p. 10). In a space of four years (1995-1999) primary school enrolment almost tripled from 2.3 to 6.5 million (Okou, 2002, p. 23). Primary schools were the main beneficiaries of the average 6% increase in government spending on education (Stasavage, 2005, p. 16). But the necessary increase in trained teachers was not realized, especially in relation to the dramatic increase in student enrolments. As a result, student-teacher ratios increased and while there has been some decline in recent years it has remained above what it was pre-UPE (Appleton, 2001). So while great gains have been made in expanding access to formal (primary) education the goal of making that access universal and of good quality has remained elusive.

An unfortunate side effect of the implementation of UPE was that attention was diverted away from secondary education (Bush, 2008, p. 443). So in 2008 when the net primary enrolment rate stood at 80%, only 15% of the age-appropriate population was attending secondary school (UNDP, 2008). As money was being directed towards primary education, it

was being channeled away from secondary education. So in 2007 the Government of Uganda introduced the Universal Post Primary Education and Training Program (UPPET). The aim of UPPET is to provide, “quality post-primary education and training to all Ugandan students who have successfully completed the primary leaving examination” (Lewin, 2006, p. 10). This includes free tuition for secondary schools and other training institutions and has been most recently supported by a \$150 million loan from the World Bank (Bugembe, 2009).

Yet even UPPET has its limitations, namely the condition upon which access to post-primary education, secondary school or otherwise, is to be made available to suitably-aged students. The condition included in the aim cited above is successful completion of the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE). One study found that between 2003 and 2005 only half of the students who sat for their Primary Leaving Examination passed at a level acceptable for admission into post-primary schooling options (Forum for African Women Educationalists, 2006, p. 10). This would suggest that there are a large number of adolescents who have no access to the post-primary education offered through UPPET. As this is a recent policy it is too early to know the quality of education being offered through UPPET and whether this would lead to attrition and an increase in the number of out-of-school youth, that is, in addition to those who did not make it into secondary school under UPPET.

It is in this context that NGOs have continued their provision of education. Increasingly, alternatives to formal education offered through primary and secondary institutions have been developed mainly by NGOs who usually have a particular imperative for their work. Based on statistics from 2000 there are estimated to be over 3,500 NGOs registered with the NGO Registration Board in the Ugandan Ministry of Internal Affairs (Barr, Fafchamps, & Owens, 2003, p. 13). In a 2005 survey of 295 NGOs in 15 districts in Uganda, over half self-reported that education and training was a main activity of their operation (Barr, Fafchamps, & Owens, 2005, p. 663). The Education Sector Fact Booklet 2006 issued by the Ugandan

Government's Ministry of Education and Sports suggests there are close to 500 institutions providing NFE, the majority of them by NGOs and private providers (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2006, p. 10). While the same publication indicates that approximately 31,000 people were enrolled in the total number of NFE institutions (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2006) others would argue that such a figure is difficult to accurately gauge (Bananuka & Katahoire, 2008, p. 13). NGOs are therefore significant providers of NFE. Yet if Uganda is indicative of international patterns there are likely to be mixed results on program effectiveness (Cleaver, 2001; Mosse, 2001). With the additional problem of minimal independent assessment, these programs merit attention if learner outcomes are to be improved.

1.5 Definitions

The following terms, presented in alphabetical order, are key to the research project.

1.5.1 Formal education

Formal education is, "the highly institutionalised, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured "education system", spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university" (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p. 8).

1.5.2 Human capital

Human capital is an economic term referring to "human capacities" that impact upon productivity (Todaro & Smith, 2009, p. 375).

1.5.3 Learner

A learner is defined here as a participant in a NFE program. Student is not being used for the disempowering connotations it implies.

1.5.4 Non-formal education

This dissertation uses Coombs and Hamadas' definition for NFE as being "any organised, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children" (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p. 8). The reason behind this choice is that the definition accounts for the range of subgroups NFE can be targeted at, which is the case for the programs that are to be studied.

1.5.5 Non-government organisation

NGOs are first defined by what they are not, that is, they are not government agencies. Secondly, NGOs tend to be staffed predominantly by volunteers and operate on a non-profit basis (Closson, Capacci, & Mavima, 1997, p. 2). NGOs have been quick to respond to an identified need and possess much more freedom to choose their approaches compared to government organizations (Kahler, 2000).

1.5.6 Social capital

Social capital will be discussed extensively as the development of the theoretical framework for this research project is charted in Chapter 3. The definition of social capital that was most useful in the development of a theoretical framework for this research project is from Michael Woolcock. Social capital is, "the information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inhering in one's social networks" (Woolcock, 1998, p. 153).

1.6 Structure of thesis

This thesis is organised into six chapters. The first chapter introduces the study with a consideration of its background and significance. The second chapter reviews over 50 years of literature on NFE. The outcome of the review is the identification of a gap in the literature that this research project seeks to fill. The third chapter presents a framework based

predominantly on the social capital theory of Michael Woolcock. This shapes the research design outlined in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter outlines the findings of the research project. The sixth and final chapter discusses the findings in light of the literature and theoretical framework and concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to critically examine the literature on NFE. The literature reviewed is presented according to organisational, regional and ideological influences on NFE research and practice. Implications from the literature will be articulated and a theoretical framework appropriate to this research project will be identified.

2.1.1 Chapter structure

The literature review is arranged into three sections. The first section considers the organisational influence of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the World Bank on NFE research and practice from the early 1960s to the 1980s. Included in the review is literature produced by UNESCO from 1963 to 1974 regarding efforts to address mass illiteracy through the World Campaign for Universal Literacy (WCUL) and the Experimental World Literacy Program (EWLP). This literature reflects the influence of humanism on UNESCO while under the directorship of Rene Maheu (1962-1974) and the intergovernmental agency's search for universal solutions to problems within its area of concern (Pavone, 2008, pp. 4-5). The World Bank's interest in education first appeared in the late 1960s and the outcome of their research was to propose a new set of aims for NFE as influenced by human capital theory. This first section also covers the reaction of the conflict theorists to the effect of humanism and human capital theory on NFE.

The second section considers the influence of Latin American educationists on NFE research and practice from the 1970s to the 1990s. Their research focused primarily on social groups who were excluded from formal education. Chief among the Latin American educationists was Paulo Freire whose pedagogy for teaching literacy was widely applied on the African continent in the early 1970s. The potential for Freire's pedagogy to assist in the creation of

social capital for learners and empower them to become more active in local decision-making inspired other NFE programs worldwide, especially in Africa.

The third section considers the influence of the lifelong learning ideology on NFE research and practice from the 1990s to the present. Included here is the literature produced by UNESCO and the World Bank following key international agreements on education made between 1990 and 2000 such as the EFA Framework, the Dakar Framework for Action and the MDGs.

Two implications can be deduced from the literature on NFE that will be explored in detail.

Firstly, a large number of studies have been produced or commissioned by inter-governmental organisations such UNESCO and the World Bank, in many cases for the purpose of internal evaluation as a means of justifying future funding. Consequently there is an absence of criticality in the literature on NFE (Rose, 2007, p. 34). Also lacking is depth. For too long there was an over-reliance on a few examples of NFE (Hoppers, 2006, p. 112). The problem was addressed with an increasing number of mapping studies taking place. However still lacking is comprehensive evidence on the effects of individual NFE programs on learners (La Belle, 1987, p. 212). Longitudinal effects are important here in evaluating how sustainable NFE programs are over the long-term (La Belle, 1976, pp. 337-338).

The second implication stems from the fact that there is a preoccupation with education's effects on economic and political development (Bock, 1976, p. 352). There is a bias in the literature towards the models adopted by inter-governmental agencies (La Belle, 1976, p. 345). Humanism and human capital theory have encouraged a fixation on NFE's contribution to the development of human capital and its relationship to national economic development, despite evidence to suggest the tenuousness of the relationship. This has led to oversight of considering NFE's potentiality to create valuable social capital for learners.

2.2 Organisational influences

The two inter-governmental organisations that have had the greatest influence on NFE are UNESCO and the World Bank. They have engaged with the NFE discourse since its beginning in the 1960s and have contributed heavily to the literature. However their actions have not been without criticism. Conflict theorists have argued against the NFE programs implemented by these inter-governmental organisations for their adherence to the principles of human capital theory, questioning the effectiveness of the NFE they provide.

Underdevelopment according to the conflict theorists is a result of the uneven distribution of wealth and resources amongst groups that are in conflict with one another.

Underdevelopment is caused by the process of social stratification where because of a person's status they are either permitted or denied access to the opportunities needed to enhance their potential. Instead of education "ameliorating group conflict within plural societies...education more often tends to reflect the essential group cleavages of the broader society, and may even intensify them" (Bock, 1982, p. 96).

2.2.1 UNESCO

UNESCO was formed in 1945 with the purpose of using education, science and culture to see that human rights were realised with a global respect for justice (UNESCO, 1945). Growing in membership from 20 to 200 nation states over the past five decades, UNESCO operates to fulfil five functions: to be a (i) laboratory of ideas; (ii) standard-setter; (iii) clearing house; (iv) capacity-builder in Member States in UNESCO's fields of competence; and (v) a catalyst for international cooperation (UNESCO, 2008, p. 7). Unlike the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the support UNESCO offers is more technical than financial. UNESCO's first Director-General, Julian Huxley, who held the position from 1946-1948, was an evolutionary biologist who strongly advocated for UNESCO to adopt a

humanistic approach to the development of its policies. Education was not so much a means as an end, the achievement of which was considered a basic human right.

Like Huxley, the sixth Director-General of UNESCO, Rene Maheu (1962-1974) encouraged the influence of humanism to permeate through the intergovernmental organisation's activities. He was a central figure in the redefinition of UNESCO's goals in terms of humanism considering the organisation's conception of development to have been unduly influenced by economics in the time since Huxley. To Maheu, education, "finds its own paths and its own mode of being as an existential development of the individual ... it is co-extensive with the whole of the individual's personality". Under his directorship, Maheu oversaw two significant campaigns to address global mass illiteracy; the WCUL (1963-1965) and the EWLP (1967-1973). While he was keen to admit the independence of UNESCO's member states to determine the direction of their educational policies, the form of humanism to which Maheu subscribed led him to believe in global governance and the possibility of universal solutions to problems within the inter-governmental organisation's area of concern (Maheu, 1973, p. 55).

In 1961, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly asked UNESCO to undertake a study of what would be required to plan, coordinate and oversee programs targeting mass illiteracy (UNESCO, 1964, p. 2). The initiative proposed by UNESCO as a consequence of their study was the WCUL. Its programs were intended to reach 330 million illiterate people across Africa, Asia and Latin America over a ten-year period (Jones, 1988, p. 134). Yet the WCUL was abandoned before it began as UNESCO failed to convince the main financial sponsors (UNDP, World Bank and USAID) of its value (Coombs, 1985, p. 273).

In its place the EWLP (1967-1973) was proposed in an attempt to "clarify the nature of the relationship between literacy and development, assess its importance and study its

significance” (UNESCO, 1968, p. 1). Programs in nine countries from Africa, the Middle East and South America were to be funded by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) with the intention of making one million adults literate. Other experimental programs were integrated into existing development programs sponsored by the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) in Chile, India and Syria. While UNESCO did not define them as such, these programs could be retrospectively classified as examples of NFE because of the presence of features such as the curricula being tailored to the situations of the learning communities; the flexibility in location to maximise the convenience to learners; and experimentation with different media for the teaching of literacy. Early principles of adult education were incorporated into the programs including dialogue and building the “ability of the illiterate person to examine his problems for himself and acquire the knowledge that will help him solve them; it is not merely a matter of imparting information” (UNESCO, 1968, p. 6).

With regards to results, UNESCO stressed the experimental nature of the EWLP. This was in response to their acceptance of a discrepancy between objectives and outcomes (UNESCO, 1970, p. 25). They suggested that their achievements had been in terms of innovation, changes to administrative structures, project evaluations and the preparation and testing of differentiated programs. The disparity between objectives and outcomes is attributed to the following factors: not meeting time targets or beneficiary targets; and not enough experimental work conducted on methods and materials. A 1976 review of the EWLP found that although one million illiterate people had been reached at a cost of \$32 million, less than 125,000 reached the criterion standards of functional literacy (UNESCO, 1976, pp. 174,184).

With only 15% of its target audience becoming functionally literate, UNESCO sought to protect itself from criticism by claiming that, “it (EWLP) cannot be judged on that criterion (making a vast number of illiterate people literate) ... It must never be forgotten that the

ultimate aim of the EWLP is precisely to work out and subsequently develop methods which can be applied on a wider scale and at reasonable cost in national programmes” (UNESCO, 1970, pp. 25-26). They also attributed some blame to the target population arguing that ignorance caused by illiteracy impeded their appreciation of the benefits of the EWLP.

However, it was UNESCO’s mistaken belief in a universal solution to eradicating mass illiteracy that is cited as a significant contributing factor to the discrepancy between objectives and outcomes (Coombs, 1985, p. 275; UNESCO, 1976, p. 125). This false belief was derived from the humanistic approach taken by the inter-governmental organisation that conceived of a singular objective reality that could be understood through the application of the scientific and technological advances of the modernising world (Pavone, 2008, pp. 4-5). Holding to the paternalistic notion that the reason illiteracy was so widespread was that nation states lacked the knowledge sufficient to address it, UNESCO forged ahead in attempting to design a model that could be universally applied to eradicate illiteracy. What resulted was a program that did not easily translate into specific cultural contexts and which failed to make an impact upon participant’s levels of social and economic development (Limage, 2007, p. 454). The conclusion reached by a UNESCO-commissioned critical assessment of the EWLP was that “to a degree EWLP may even be said to have delayed progress towards mass literacy in these cases” (UNESCO, 1976, p. 125). During this time however, UNESCO, had forged ahead recommending that the number of experiments be increased and that these experiments increase in complexity (UNESCO, 1970, p. 36).

Uganda was represented at the first conference of African National Commissions for UNESCO held in Kampala, Uganda in September 1963, where the importance of literacy programs for nation-building was emphasised (UNESCO, 1964, p. 6). While Uganda was not one of the seventeen countries officially comprising the EWLP, it was a site for a secondary research project into the use of provincial newspapers in supporting the ongoing development

of literacy skills (UNESCO, 1968, p. 8). UNESCO also organised a training course in Uganda in 1962 on the use of radio as a means of delivering mass education (UNESCO, 1964, p. 5). Uganda's omission could be due to its comparative late admission to the United Nations relative to many of the nations included in the EWLP.

In 1972 Edgar Faure, former Prime Minister of France (1952-1955), chaired a commission established by UNESCO to investigate whether existing educational structures worldwide were suitable to meet the "needs and aspirations" of people at the time (Faure et al., 1972, p. 23). The product of their investigation was *Learning to Be: the world of education today and tomorrow* or the Faure Report in reference to its chairman. In line with its humanistic origins, UNESCO's intention in commissioning the investigation was to promote a singular universal solution to the educational crisis that was being observed particularly in developing countries (Coombs, 1985, p. 21). To UNESCO, the source of the educational crisis lay in rigid education systems that replicated the social class divisions that existed in the wider society and that disadvantaged the social and economic mobility of a large number of students (Platt, 1973, p. 2). The Faure Report challenged the traditional notion of education as occurring only in schools (Faure et al., 1972, p. 82). In doing so, the report created the opportunity for UNESCO and its member states to revise their conception of education to include forms other than that which took place in schools, including NFE. It was evident that the formal education system had excluded many, and considering the illiteracy rate of the time, alternative forms of education had to be considered. The report was significant as it emphasised the concept of lifelong learning.

The Faure Report favoured NFE as a viable education option particularly for illiterate adults. The decade following the report saw increasing assistance to NFE from the World Bank, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Coombs, 1985, p. 23).

In 1966, UNESCO's General Conference approved a pilot program for adult education in Uganda but it was not implemented until 1971. The Namutamba Teacher-Training College, in Mityana district, and the fifteen primary schools surrounding it became the site of the pilot program. The aim of the pilot program was to:

improve living conditions in the Namutamba rural area and to assist the children, youths and adults to prepare for an effective and rapid integration into the social, cultural and economic development of Uganda (Ampene, 1981, p. 2)

The program in Namutamba was part of a national strategy to educate trainee teachers and primary school students in agricultural practice and village-level technology. It was known as the Basic Education Integrated in Rural Development (BEIRD) program (Massey, 1987). The approach taken in the program was to relate learning to the immediate environment of students so that they might be able to exploit local resources and teach others to do the same in order to accelerate community development. Graduates of the teacher-training colleges were encouraged to consider how they could put their expertise into practice in offering NFE to adults residing in the district. NFE consisted of training in literacy, handicrafts and agriculture.

Consultations held with the community in the process of preparing an evaluation report revealed a need for further training for NFE instructors, working in a voluntary capacity, on the fundamentals of adult education (Ampene, 1981, p. 5). Ampene recommended that the responsibility for the NFE programs remain with the Ministry of Education and not the Ministry of Culture and Community Development who had seconded some of their staff to assist in the implementation phase. This recommendation appears problematic with the benefit of hindsight considering the Ministry of Education's determined focus on formal education, particularly since becoming a recipient of World Bank loans.

There is little literature attesting to the success or otherwise of BEIRD however the comments from a teacher in one of the teacher-training colleges where the BEIRD program was implemented speak to the “program fatigue” experienced by educational practitioners being consistently imposed upon by government departments and inter-governmental organisations (Meinert, 2008, p. 96).

UNESCO’s involvement in Uganda’s BEIRD program is reflective of its interest at the time in non-formal and informal alternatives to formal education (Coombs, 1976, p. 292). In its infancy, the lifelong learning principle encouraged the positioning of NFE alongside formal education as a viable education option for those who were excluded from formal education. Yet, as will be explored later in the chapter, despite repeated appeals to view learning as a lifelong exercise and not a time-constrained, age-constrained, certified process, NFE’s struggle to be legitimised would be threatened by the global commitment to universal education targets.

2.2.2 The World Bank

The concern shown by the World Bank to understand the economic impacts of education and their application of human capital theory to the development of educational policy represents a different perspective to that of UNESCO. This section considers how the World Bank has supported the use of NFE primarily as a means for reducing the poverty of rural populations in developing countries. Yet their efforts have not avoided criticism, particularly from conflict theorists who considered the World Bank’s conception of development too narrowly focused on economics, to induce lasting holistic change in individuals who participate in NFE.

When the World Bank granted its first educational loan in 1964 to the College of Agriculture of the University of the Philippines, it was interested in forms of education that would

address the human capital needs of its borrowing countries (Psacharopoulos, 2006, p. 330). These early decisions indicate the influence of human capital theory on the World Bank's policy on education.

Human capital is an economic term referring to "human capacities" that impact upon productivity (Todaro & Smith, 2009, p. 375). According to human capital theory, education builds human capital as it contributes to skill acquisition and knowledge accumulation, which in turn increases productivity (Harbison, 1971, p. 8). Human capital theorists advocated an education that accelerated the progress of modernisation (Simkins, 1976, p. 20).

Modernisation represented a move away from traditional societal structures that infrequently changed towards societies that embraced rapid change through the advancements of science and technology. Education was planned with the view of preparing people to function productively in an industrialised, modern state. The advancements of science and technology created certain manpower needs that the World Bank's early educational loans sought to address by promoting an education that aided the efficient acquisition of relevant skills and knowledge (World Bank, 1971, p. 13).

This orientation led the World Bank to focus primarily on secondary education and vocational education (World Bank, 1980, p. 78). Investment in education was considered the most efficient way of improving a nation's human capital endowment. A greater human capital endowment was thought to be positively correlated with a higher rate of economic growth. The poverty experienced by citizens of the World Bank's borrowing countries was seen as a direct result of a underdeveloped human capital endowment (World Bank, 1995, p. 27). Rapid quantitative expansion of the secondary education and vocational education sectors in developing countries was accepted by the World Bank to be the most suitable means of alleviating poverty (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985, p. 24). Vocational education was particularly favoured because the content could be tailored to the human

capital needs of the nation. Rates of enrolment in formal education were used as a measure of the growth in a country's human capital endowment (Hallack, 1990, p. 7).

The literature, however, indicates that by the late 1960s formal education systems were facing a crisis, as they could not meet the demands for their services. Demand for formal education had surged post-World War 2 as the global school-age population increased. In the two decades following, primary school enrolments increased by fifty per cent and secondary school enrolments doubled (Coombs, 1968). There was also an increase in social demand for education, as students and parents perceived the positive impact of education on upward social and economic mobility. Formal education systems, particularly in developing countries, had not been able to absorb the growth in their target population.

Questions were also raised over the quality and relevance of education systems in developing countries, as these were often remnants of the colonial era. It seemed that the people who were most disadvantaged in their access to education were in rural areas (World Bank, 1975, p. 280). They remained untouched by the effects of modernisation that had taken hold in the urban centres but, under universal education targets, still needed to be provided for. This crisis initiated a change in the way that money was lent by the World Bank. A nation's education system had to be clearly understood before a program could be proposed. This contrasts with UNESCO's earlier pursuit of universal solutions to educational problems and is in part a response to the failure of this mindset. Thus the World Bank commissioned research in the early 1970s to better understand the educational systems of its borrowing countries and see what educational solutions might be most suited to poverty alleviation (Ahmed & Coombs, 1975; Coombs & Ahmed, 1974; Simmons, 1974, 1975; World Bank, 1974). NFE emerged as a key strategy.

Chief amongst these studies is *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help* (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974) from which comes the most often cited definition for NFE:

‘Nonformal education...is any organised, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children’ (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p. 8).

From their analysis of 25 programs in as many countries, Coombs and Ahmed argued that NFE could stimulate economic growth in rural areas and permit a more modernised context to develop where poverty could be alleviated. NFE would lead to an increase in household incomes that would create a demand for new goods and services that would in turn create further employment opportunities. Over time, the local economy would become more sophisticated and complex as labour became more specialised and there were advances in the use of technology (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974, p. 14). All the while, the gap that existed between urban and rural areas in terms of prosperity and a modernist outlook would be narrowing. This fitted well with the World Bank’s argument that one of the outcomes of development activities was equalisation, bridging the gap for those who had failed to catch up with the economic, social and ideological changes that had occurred in the Western world (Jones, 2006).

Before the findings of such research, lending to NFE by the World Bank was virtually non-existent. By the end the 1970s, NFE accounted for 21% of the World Bank’s total lending to education. Yet this was to fall back to a low average of 0.5% worldwide and 0.7% in Africa between 1990 and 1995 (Jones, 2007). These fluctuations in funding can be explained by the persistence of human capital theory’s influence over the World Bank’s education policy.

Studies conducted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in the 1970s indicated that NFE might have a greater rate of return to investment than formal education (Blaug, 1974, p. 58). The rate of return can be defined as, “the discount rate that equates the present value of

the economic costs and benefits of an investment” (World Bank, 1988, p. 22). The social rate of return is calculated by comparing the differences in earnings between a person who had completed a particular course of education to one who had not (World Bank, 1995, p. 21). The private rate of return is a measure of the costs and benefits to the individual for completing a particular course of education. To policy-makers, the social rate of return is the more important indicator of the two. If a particular course of education were found to increase earnings, then there would be a joint effect on national economic development and on an individual’s personal level of development.

The ILO’s assertion on the greater rate of return on investment for NFE was understandably tentative considering the difficulty of calculating it accurately. That NFE was cheaper to provide than formal education has not been disputed. Yet its rate of return on investment was brought into question and subsequently led to a shift in focus towards primary schooling. In 1994, the World Bank found that in Sub-Saharan Africa, primary education had a greater social and private rate of return compared to secondary and tertiary education (World Bank, 1995, p. 22). To the World Bank, NFE was only a good investment if there were sufficient opportunities for graduates to exploit their newly-acquired skills for economic gain (World Bank, 1988, p. 31).

Uganda became the 97th member of the World Bank when it was admitted in September 1963. Its first loan was for the development of an electric power system typical of World Bank lending at the time. In 1999, Uganda was the first country to receive a debt relief package to the value of \$US80 million under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Scheme. Its first loan for education was \$US155 million provided in 1998 under the Education Sector Adjustment Credit (ESAC). This loan was to support the Government of Uganda’s efforts to achieve universal primary education and the resource management changes that would need to be made (Stasavage, 2005, p. 27).

A 2001 World Bank evaluation of the ESAC found that resources had been satisfactorily allocated to improve inputs to education, the management of the education sector and planning and budgeting for future educational expansion (Murphy, 2005, p. 141). The timing of the loan meant that Uganda had missed the World Bank's enthusiasm for NFE. As such, subsequent World Bank lending to the education sector in Uganda has targeted formal education.

Structural adjustment programs (SAPs) had been introduced in Uganda by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) after the change in government in 1986 but there were concerns about whether they were reducing rates of poverty country-wide (Lister, Baryabanoha, Steffenson, & Williamson, 2006, p. 19). With regards to the education sector, the SAPs were concerned with decentralising the management of education as a way of reducing the national government's budget deficit. The money that was taken away from the education budget because of the structural reform was intended to be recovered by charging parents a user-fee for their children to access primary education (Alexander, 2001, p. 290). But without an increase in household income, families were not able to afford to send their children to school.

An evaluation of SAPs in Uganda from 1986-1995 found that while the number of people living in poverty had decreased, decreases in income inequalities were not consistent among districts (Makokha, 2001, p. 30). These income inequalities would be expected to correlate with school enrolment patterns. To address this problem the World Bank introduced the Program for the Alleviation of Poverty and the Social Costs of Adjustment Project (PAPSCA) costing \$US28 million. Thirty-eight per cent of the funds for the program were directed towards education primarily for the construction of primary schools in 12 of Uganda's poorest districts (World Bank, 2001). Yet it was reported that the PAPSCA Project

failed to meet its objectives with construction projects abandoned and insufficient community support received (Ablo & Reinikka, 1998, p. 9).

Uganda produced its first PEAP in 1997 with the goal of distributing aid more strategically. Over time it was developed into a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). This development made Uganda eligible for a Poverty Reduction Credit. PRSPs “describe a country's macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programs to promote growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs” (World Bank, 2010). PRSPs are based on the premise that for poverty to be alleviated, a sector-wide approach must be taken. This means that all public sectors are united around a single policy framework (Eilor, 2004, p. 8).

The Ugandan PEAP/PRSP (2004-2008) describes the document as “a central document for guiding recipient-donor relations” (Government of Uganda, 2004b, p. 10). Since their beginning, Uganda’s PEAP/PRSPs have stated strong support for education (UNESCO, 2007, p. 100). Yet since the PEAPs have been brought under the supervision of the World Bank and IMF they have been influenced by their preference for human capital theory directing the development of education policy. This is evidenced in the Ugandan PEAP/PRSP (2004-2008) which states, “Investment in education contributes to the accumulation of human capital, which is essential for higher incomes and sustained economic growth” (Government of Uganda, 2004b). The Education Sector Strategic Plan for 2004-2015 attributes Uganda’s inability to attain its development goals to a shortage of appropriate human capital (Government of Uganda, 2004a).

As countries come together in the search for feasible solutions to common problems, and as inter-governmental organisations such as the World Bank continue to wield powerful influence over their receiving countries, Ugandan practice in education cannot avoid being

impacted upon. NFE's position in the education sector of Uganda has been complicated by the PEAP/PRSPs. While reports commissioned by the World Bank in the 1960s recognised the potential of NFE to alleviate poverty among the rural poor, since 1990 the focus has returned predominantly to formal education and particularly primary schooling (Alexander, 2001).

The most recent Education Expenditure Project report for Uganda indicates that formal education accounts for 100% of expenditure with 66% directed towards primary schooling (World Bank, 2009a). The 2002 PEAP/PRSP made no mention of NFE for out-of-school youth (Caillods & Hallak, 2004, p. 60). A 2006 Education Bill tabled in the Government of Uganda placed responsibility for NFE solely with private institutions, including local and international organisations (Bananuka & Katahoire, 2008, p. 6). This is despite the fact that under the current plans, Uganda is unlikely to reach its targets for universal literacy and universal education by 2015 (UNESCO, 2007, p. 182).

2.2.3 Reaction to the organisational influences

It has been argued that the ability of education to eradicate poverty and fuel economic and social development has been overestimated (Torres, 1990, p. 13). While it is generally agreed that education has a significant contributory role to play in development, its full capabilities cannot be recognised until there are corresponding changes in society at large (La Belle, 1984, p. 88). An added pressure has been put on education in nations where there is disparity between ethnic minorities, rural and urban populations and economic classes. In these contexts the hope for education is that it will unify a population around a single ideology (Bock, 1982). The unfortunate fact about such a hope is that the preferred ideology is often that of the dominant group within a society and is decided upon single-mindedly by this group. Education in this context adopts an acculturating role, minimising cultural diversity

and the difference of opinion. It would seem highly probable that such an approach could lead to further conflict as social and economic groups resisted surrendering their own ideologies for that of the dominant group. There is also an increased likelihood of conflict between groups as they press for a greater share of national resources and a more equitable stake in decision-making.

Uganda was a British protectorate from 1894 to 1962. Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries preceded the British, establishing schools from the 1870s (Ssekamwa, 1997, p. 27). The Phelps-Stokes Commission established by the British Government in 1924 called for greater collaboration between the government and missionary societies in the provision and oversight of education. The responsibility for education still lay largely with the missionary societies but with financial support from the Protectorate Government. The missionary societies were satisfied that they were able to continue operating much as they had done and with the financial support that they needed. The Protectorate Government was satisfied that it was able to maintain its low responsibility for educational provision as its interests lay elsewhere (Whitehead, 1981).

In 1925, the Protectorate Government established a Department of Education and appointed Eric Hussey as the first Director of Education. The Department was responsible for developing the infrastructure for schooling. An education ordinance enacted in 1927 saw education come under the complete control of the Uganda Protectorate Government, even while missionaries continued to dominate the sector (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001a, p. 5). What their actions overlooked was the indigenous education system that was operational prior to British occupation. The educational system in place at the time of British occupation took place within tribal groups and involved imparting knowledge of tribal customs and laws, socially appropriate behaviours and training in skills that made a person a productive member of their community (Ssekamwa, 1997, p. 14).

The first formal schools in Uganda had been established at the request of the King of Buganda for a select group of boys within the royal family. So from its origins, formal education in Uganda was established to cater for the elite and not made universally accessible. There was an increased demand for formal education following the arrival of the British, as parents perceived a connection between formal education and upward social and economic mobility. But the British had different expectations for an expanded education system, mainly the development of human resources for agriculture and other technical trades. Accordingly they established central schools that were post-elementary and semi-vocational. However, central schools did not last long as Ugandan elders and parents aspired to their children achieving positions of leadership in the Protectorate Government (Ssekamwa & Lugumba, 2001b, pp. 51-52). As education became increasingly infused with European notions of modernity and the development of human capital as a precursor to economic development, the indigenous education system fell further into the background.

This case exemplifies the point made above that the education system adopted reflects the expectations of the dominant group within a society and is decided upon single-mindedly by them. The British brought to Uganda expectations of developing a human capital endowment that would enable them to exploit the land for their benefit. The expectation held by the Ugandans at the time was that they might be able to benefit from education in the same way that the British had. That many Ugandans failed to benefit occupationally from formal education under the British Protectorate Government was evidenced post-independence. Uganda was left with large human resource needs in the health and administrative sectors caused by the vacancies left by the mostly British men and women who had formerly filled the positions (Ssekamwa, 1997, p. 164).

Conflict theorists are also critical of the socialising role of education. They see society as consisting of status groups that are in constant conflict for power and other social rewards

(Collins, 1977, p. 127). They argue that conflict is institutionalised within schools, for example, teaching students how to behave in accordance with their status group. Far from being sites where occupational skills are acquired, schools become places where people are socialised into status groups which in turn effect their occupational attainment (Reimer, 1971, p. 86). Employers use education as a selection tool, recognising those students who have successfully completed formal education as having been socialised into the dominant status group (Collins, 1977, p. 127). Education then can be seen to aggravate instead of ameliorate conflict between status groups (Bock, 1982, p. 96).

Bock considers the institutionalisation of NFE as problematic. While NFE programs serve the state in providing a low-cost means of expanding access to education, they are generally unable to provide the desired outcome of the participants – a certified education that admits entry into socially desirable occupational roles and status groups (Bock, 1982). In a society marked by conflict, NFE may serve to control conflict by keeping formal education for the benefit of the elites. NFE programs recruit from within a group of people who currently lack or in the past have lacked access to formal education. For these people, it is unlikely that the NFE they receive will be sufficient to advance their occupational potential by much. For those who aspire to a high occupational status, NFE could function to depress these aspirations. Bock and Pappagiannis see this as being dependent on two factors: students' perceptions of the program's ability to project them on a path to a higher occupational status; and the program's linkages with job opportunities (Bock & Papagiannis, 1976, p. 27). The degree to which a NFE program is institutionalised is also considered significant. In their study of NFE programs in Zambia, the more embedded within an institutional structure a program was, the more closely it resembled formal education, and was thus anticipated to perform the same function of "cooling out" a person's occupational aspirations (Dall, Klees,

& Papagiannis, 1983, p. 91). Also “cooled out” are tensions between social groups, since recipients of NFE are socialised into a role of compliance.

From the literature reviewed above it would appear that NFE is not secure in the hands of inter-governmental organisations. It is subject to the achievements and failures of the formal education system. When the formal education system is successful then NFE is not necessary. When the formal education system fails, NFE is called to provide support to those who are excluded but does not escape criticism for performing the same function as schools.

2.3 Regional influences

While UNESCO and the World Bank have far-reaching influences over many countries of the world, nation states and certain global regions have become sites of concentrated NFE activity. They have made their own plans for NFE and the role it might play in bringing about change for its citizens. Latin America is one such region where the development of NFE has been at the forefront of educational thought. This section considers the research in NFE in Latin America and its enduring effect on NFE in Africa.

2.3.1 Latin America

The conflict theorists pose a valid argument against using humanist and human capital approaches to shape NFE. Educationists in Latin America have shared conflict theorists’ concern for formal education’s effects on functional and social stratification, and embarked on their own search for alternatives. Unlike UNESCO and the World Bank, whose main consideration was how NFE could be used to build human resource capital, educationists in Latin America have been concerned with how NFE could be used to build social capital. Social capital “exists as a set of lasting social relations, networks and contacts” (O’Brien & Fathaigh, 2004, p. 8). It enables individuals or groups to perform actions that would otherwise be impossible (Coleman, 1988, p. 98). It was still anticipated that economic

development would occur as a result of NFE but through the creation of social capital instead of by the objectification of learners as elements of a national human capital endowment.

Participation, dialogue and critical reflection were key elements used in Latin American NFE during this time to create social capital amongst learners.

To those in Latin America, NFE was a western product that encouraged the continued dependence of newly independent nations upon their former colonial powers. As such, they preferred to call their NFE programs 'popular education'. Popular education programs "attempt to transform rather than to complement basic institutions in society by developing alternative forms of economic and political ventures that affect particular locales or sectors" (La Belle, 1987, p. 206). This definition contrasts with the World Bank's literature reviewed above where NFE was proposed as a catalyst for initiating the modernisation of rural areas and their integration into an industrialised national economy.

Paulo Freire was critical of formal education as delimiting human creativity and initiative. He likened the educational process typified in formal education to a bank. The teacher would make deposits of knowledge into the empty minds of students. The efficiency of the system could be measured by testing students' recall of the knowledge that had been deposited. If knowledge is equated with power then the teachers had it all and the students had none. The effects of this education were a denial of individual creativity and a discouragement of critical thought (Elias, 1976, p. 112).

Freire argued that the dominant social groups could use the education system to transmit their expectations for society, leaving students powerless to accept an alternate social order. The most disempowered were those who had no formal education at all for they lacked the knowledge necessary to access society at large. Freire viewed this exclusion as a form of oppression.

In place of 'banking education', Freire devised a problem-posing method geared at consciousness-raising. Dialogue was used to establish a mutual learning process that called for learners to reflect on their construction of reality (Freire, 1972, p. 25). Taking into consideration the ways in which their reality is a product of the dominant social group's manipulation of them, they had to work collaboratively for the transformation of the existing order to one in which they were liberated from their oppression (Araujo Freire & Macedo, 1998, p. 77; Freire, 1974, p. 16). Freire named this process 'conscientisation'. This method was trialled by Freire and others in popular education programs targeting illiterate adults in rural Brazil.

In Brazil in the late 1960s, there was a growing interest in pursuing democracy but the educational system with its disconnection from reality, the passivity enforced on the learner, and the over-reliance on rote learning made it an institution opposed to democracy. Freire saw education as "an act of love, and thus an act of courage. It cannot fear the analysis of reality or, under pain of revealing itself as a farce, avoid creative discussion" (Freire, 1974, p. 38). The pedagogy Freire developed was assumed to prepare people for the democratisation of their society with its emphasis on enabling increased social and political participation. It was built on Freire's conviction that "the role of man was not only to be in the world, but to engage in relations with the world – that through acts of creation and re-creation, man makes cultural reality and thereby adds to the natural world, which he did not make" (Freire, 1974, p. 43).

There are two stages to Freire's pedagogy:

1. The status of learner's oppression is revealed and they make a commitment to transformation;

2. The pedagogy is adopted by all people such that permanent liberation might be achieved.

Such education teaches what the students decide they need to know. In planning for learning, it is necessary to understand the context of the learners and the learners' awareness of their contexts. This understanding occurs through dialogue which Freire defines as, "the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world" (Freire, 1972, p. 61).

Through the dialogue, roadblocks to liberation are acknowledged, and through cooperation between all stakeholders in the learning process, cease to be limiting situations. Instead they become challenges to be struggled against and overcome. All the while, there is a shared responsibility for learning between the teacher and the learner. As such, the traditional understanding of the teacher-learner relationships is challenged since the teacher and learners become 'critical co investigators'. The problems that are presented are relevant to the world of the learners. The world is no longer static but a process requiring action if it is to be transformed.

Freire's pedagogy and the popular education programs he inspired were refreshingly bottom-up in their approach. While an external party may have conceived the initiative, program success was dependent upon the active participation of learners from the outset. Learners in humanistic and human capital approaches to NFE were required to be passive learners at best. Their attendance was sometimes the most that was expected of them, with implementing organisations taking care of the rest. The alternative, as conceived by Freire, was that NFE needed to be delivered with learners' participation in the articulation of needs, goal-setting, program design, through to implementation and evaluation for genuine change to occur. This extends the theory of NFE further than the conflict theorists achieved.

Yet there are weaknesses in Freire's pedagogy that the literature attests to. Thomas La Belle's literature reflects an interest in analysing inefficiencies in popular education in Latin America and providing a new perspective from which to consider NFE. La Belle found that while people enrol in NFE with the hope of improving their social and economic mobility, there is little evidence to suggest that this can be achieved through NFE (La Belle, 1982, 1987; La Belle & Sylvester, 1990; La Belle & Verhine, 1975). Such an education may create in learners a heightened consciousness about their oppressed reality but fail to provide a suitable path for action, particularly at an institutional level. To achieve genuine participation from the target community, much practice in participation is required, and top-down approaches must be avoided. While the popular education programs investigated by La Belle have succeeded in building relationships between people within a social class, they have been less effective in building relationships between people of different social classes (La Belle, 1987). As a result, class divisions tend to be maintained instead of transformed, and power remains unequally distributed.

The transformation of a social group's oppression through education could not happen in the absence of structural change in society at large (La Belle, 1984, p. 88). In the cases where consciousness raising did not lead to social change, there was the concern that students would become discontented and lose enthusiasm for the cause of transformation (La Belle, 1987). There remained the strong likelihood that NFE would track people into low-status and low-income positions, much as the conflict theorists had been arguing. La Belle conceived that the challenge for NFE was designing programs that simultaneously affected economic and social outcomes while minimising the possibility of conflict (La Belle, 2000, p. 33). In doing so, it was not so much the strategies adopted but the understanding shown for 'the history and experiences of a community, nation, and region, on the problems and issues to be resolved,

and on the kind of future that individuals wish to create' that would affect program outcomes (La Belle & Sylvester, 1990, p. 157).

La Belle's studies led him to conclude that NFE is most effective when it is considered part of a system of education incorporating it with formal and informal education. His interpretation of effectiveness relates to NFE's ability to increase occupational attainment. In a study on Venezuelan workers he found that graduates of formal education attained a higher level of employment than graduates of NFE (La Belle & Verhine, 1975). The differential income outcomes of the workers are explained as a result of employers' preference for the conventional education offered through formal systems, and their under-appreciation of the innovativeness of some NFE. La Belle argued that NFE was helpful to those who already possessed a formal education qualification and were looking for further occupational opportunity, but less helpful for those who lacked such a qualification and were seeking entry into the opportunity structure altogether (La Belle, 1982, p. 173). Yet with so many people still excluded from formal education despite increased public expenditure and the support of inter-governmental organisations, educational alternatives were still needed.

2.3.2 The Latin American influence on Non-Formal Education in Africa

Other educationists across the world adopted the participatory aspect of Freire's model for education. In the late 1970s, Robert Chambers pioneered the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach aimed at helping local people "express, enhance, share and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act" (Chambers, 1994, p. 1253). The *Journal of the International Council for Adult Education*, ran three special issues on participatory research (1975 Volume 8 Issue 2, 1981 Volume 14 Issue 3, and 1988 Volume 21 Issues 2 & 3) and published several other related articles between 1975 and 1990.

The term 'approach' is appropriate since it does not define a singular method but rather a collection of methods used to evaluate predominantly non-formal rural development programs that had an adult education component (Chambers, 1983). The effects of participatory research and evaluation approaches were the empowerment of local people to be the teachers and not the learners; the gathering of a diversity of opinions, and the commitment to redress biases that have prevailed in other studies (Mukherjee & Chambers, 2004, pp. 13-14).

Regionally, Freire came to influence the educational policies of newly-independent African states in the 1960s and 1970s. Freire had been a close observer of the liberation struggles in Africa before he came to work there. He felt an affinity particularly with those African nations that had been colonised by the Portuguese, for example, Guinea-Bissau (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 94). Following his exile from Brazil in 1964, Freire moved to Chile and then Geneva where he worked at the World Council of Churches and established the Institute for Cultural Action (IDAC). The IDAC received many requests for technical support from around the world including the administration of the newly independent Guinea-Bissau.

From 1975-1977 Freire was involved in literacy activities administered by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) who had overthrown the Portuguese administration a year earlier (Bhattacharya, 2008, p. 112). Re-Africanisation was a significant goal of the new administration, and literacy education was seen as a suitable tool for helping people to reappropriate their culture (Freire, 1985, p. 183). In reflecting back on the experience, Freire wrote,

It was imperative to reformulate the programs of geography, history and the Portuguese language, changing all the reading texts that were so heavily impregnated with the colonialist ideology ... It was urgent that they study their history, the history of the resistance of their people to the invader and the struggle for their liberation which gave

them back the right to make their own history, and not the history of the kings of Portugal and the intrigues of the court. It was necessary that Guinean students be called to participate in the efforts towards national reconstruction. (Freire, 1978, p. 20)

Education used to meet these ends was closely tied to politics and people's continuing struggle for liberation from colonial oppression. Freire described himself as a militant, collaborating with the revolutionary government, to assess the educational needs of the Guineans and propose solutions (Gaddotti, 1994, p. 46). Through this collaboration, Freire and his colleagues from the IDAC developed reading primers that reflected the struggle for liberation that was being experienced by learners.

Four years after the program was established, literacy rates amongst students enrolled in schools had improved (Gerhardt, 2000, p. 447). Yet an even greater measure of success for Freire was the raising of a critical consciousness in learners. He cites the following response of a Guinean farmer during an evaluation exercise: "Before we did not know that we knew. Now we know that we knew. Because we today know that we knew, we can know even more" (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 114).

The significant problem with this measure is that it is not easily subject to quantitative analysis as preferred by governments and inter-governmental organisations. Yet Freire's work in Guinea-Bissau earned him invitations to visit Tanzania and Angola amongst other African countries where he exercised similar influence over the development of policies for literacy education (Gaddotti, 1994, p. 48).

Beyond literacy education, Paulo Freire's work has influenced development activities in countries across Africa. Freire's concept of conscientisation has been particularly drawn upon by theatre-for-development practitioners (Thomas, 1994, p. 25). Theatre-for-development involves participants in the development of theatre that is entertaining, accessible to illiterate

people because of the oral transmission of knowledge, and presents an image of reality that can be analysed by participants, and encourages co-operation (Kidd & Byram, 1979, p. 8). For these reasons, theatre-for-development has become an important element of NFE programs where the learning community is large and educational attainment is low.

Freire was not involved in the development of the *animation rurale* program in Francophone African countries in the 1960s but the program had many elements in common with his early work in Brazil. *Animation rurale* demonstrated an attempt by the government to connect with communities that were disenfranchised from the national system (Uwes, 1997). Key to the program's success were *animateurs*, locally-selected volunteers who initiated dialogue with their communities around local needs in the hope that it might empower them to become more active in community development (La Belle, 1984, p. 86). It was an unlikely program to be run by the government considering the potential for opposition that could come from its citizens. Unsurprisingly then, *animation rurale* was replaced in the 1970s by new strategies for community development (MacHethe, 1995). What this case demonstrates is the incompatibility of Freire's pedagogy with a top-down approach to planning, implementation and evaluation.

Beyond having a large influence on education on his home continent, Freire contributed to the development of educational programs in newly independent African states. These programs drew on his concept of conscientisation and integrated learner participation in the planning, implementation and evaluation phases. The participatory nature of his pedagogy has been replicated in current educational programs in Africa.

2.4 Ideological influences

In the last decade of the twentieth century, there was renewed interest in NFE. This interest was encouraged with the ratification of international goals to achieve universal education in

the early years of the twenty-first century. The lifelong learning ideology had a strong influence on the development of these goals. This section considers the influence of this ideology on NFE over the past twenty years.

2.4.1 Lifelong education

A growing body of literature critical of NFE led to a decline in its usage during the 1980s. The World Bank was reluctant to support some basic education programs as they perceived them to be too politicised (Lauglo, 2001, p. 21). It was likely that basic education programs inspired by Freire's pedagogy were included there. As such, it appeared that conceptualising NFE as an alternative to formal education was problematic. Yet there was to be a new incarnation of NFE in 1990s with the ratification of international agreements setting universal education targets. In this period NFE, would be conceptualised as a complement to formal education and an integrated part of lifelong learning.

The 1990 World Conference on EFA in Jomtien, Thailand represented the coming together of over 150 countries and the same number of organisations with the goal of eradicating illiteracy and improving access to education. The World Bank and UNESCO were two of the four convening agencies. The background paper suggested that by the end of the 1980s there were an estimated 912 million people aged over 15 years who were illiterate (Haddad, Colletta, Fisher, Lakin, & Sutton, 1990, p. 5). The educational future of those under 15-years was no more secure, with around 100 million unable to access formal education (UNESCO, 1990, p. 1). In recognising the insufficiency of formal schools to solely address this problem, the World Declaration on EFA looked to "serve the basic learning needs of all" through an "expanded vision that surpasses present resource levels, institutional structures, curricula, and conventional delivery systems" (UNESCO, 1990, p. 5). While this "expanded vision" accommodated alternative forms of education, including NFE, improving access to primary

schooling was identified as the first priority. Alternative forms of education were recommended for youth and adults with a primary focus on literacy (UNESCO, 1990, p. 6).

This declaration indicates the place NFE has come to occupy in the field of educational opportunities. Instead of conceiving of formal, non-formal and informal education as three distinct systems, the three became integrated as part of the lifelong learning concept.

According to this concept, it is expected that a person learns for the entirety of their lifetime and not just the periods when they are enrolled in formal, institutional education such as primary and secondary school (Field, 2006, p. 9).

Lifelong learning becomes expedient in a knowledge-based economy experiencing rapid technological change. Under these conditions, it is unreasonable to expect formal education to provide all the skills and knowledge a person would need to continue to be economically and socially productive. Within lifelong learning, formal education is still expected to perform its traditional duties, with growth in the areas of non-formal and informal education to provide ongoing learning opportunities. How NFE will be operationalised is dependent on the economic context in which it is to be implemented.

In countries with low gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, low primary school enrolment rates and high adult illiteracy, NFE is conceived of having an important role to play in helping those with minimal formal qualifications acquire skills that enable them to participate more productively (Hallack, 1990, p. 63; World Bank, 2003, p. 71). In highly industrialised countries, NFE could be used to refer to on-the-job training aimed at upskilling employees.

The rationalisation of lifelong learning according to market economics suggests a return to the human capital approaches to education. A post-Jomtien report maintains that

It is clear there is a close connection between the development of human resources and economic and social development. There may still be unanswered questions about the precise nature of this connection, and about what makes school leavers more productive, better decision-makers and more desirable employees. No doubt the more successful workers in the future will be those who have a balanced personal development and who are open to new ideas and new opportunities. Quality education for lifelong learning is needed to produce such people ... Education, more than ever before, is the key to unlocking the door to economic and social development (Haggis, 1991, pp. 50-51).

The evidence cited in the report supports the expansion of primary and secondary education over other forms of education. UNESCO documents published following the Jomtien conference include NFE as a component of basic education that also includes early childhood education, primary education and informal education through the media. Their literature indicates that of all the types of education covered by basic education, primary education remains the recipient of the majority of funds and attention (UNESCO, 1993, p. 35).

This was certainly the case in Uganda with the implementation of its UPE policy. In a space of four years from 1997, primary school enrolments almost tripled to 4,200,000 (Okou, 2002). Primary schools were the main beneficiaries of the average 6% increase in government spending on education (Stasavage, 2005). But the necessary increase in trained teachers was not realized especially in relation to the dramatic increase in student enrolments. As a result, student-teacher ratios increased, and while there has been some decline in recent years these have remained above pre-UPE levels (Appleton, 2001). So while great gains have been made in expanding access to formal (primary) education, the goal of making that access universal has remained elusive.

An unfortunate side effect of the implementation of UPE in Uganda was that attention was diverted away from secondary education (Bush, 2008). So whereas the net primary enrolment

rate stood at 80%, only 15% of the age-appropriate population was attending secondary school (UNDP, 2008).

In 2007 the Uganda Government introduced the Universal Post Primary Education and Training Program (UPPET). The aim of UPPET is to provide, “quality post-primary education and training to all Ugandan students who have successfully completed the primary leaving examination” (Lewin, 2006, p. 10). This includes free tuition for secondary schools and other training institutions and has been most recently supported by a \$150 million loan from the World Bank (World Bank, 2009b).

Yet even UPPET has its limitations namely the condition upon which access to post-primary education, secondary school or otherwise, is to be made available to suitably-aged students. The condition included in the aim cited above is successful completion of the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE). One study found that between 2003 and 2005 only half of the students who sat for their PLE passed at a level acceptable for admission into post-secondary schooling options (Forum for African Women Educationalists, 2006). This would suggest that there are a large number of adolescents who have no access to the post-primary education offered through UPPET.

It is still early to know the quality of education being offered through UPPET and whether this would lead to attrition and an increase in the number of out-of-school youth, that is, in addition to those who did not make it into secondary school under UPPET. What the UPE and UPPET policies do indicate is that a strong preference is being given in Uganda to formal education to the detriment of NFE, and the large number of people who are excluded from the formal education system.

The 2000 World Education Forum held in Dakar, Senegal once again brought together nation states and intergovernmental agencies to discuss education in the 21st century. The outcome

was the Dakar Framework for Action entitled Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Commitments. Reaffirming the World Declaration on EFA (1990) they set six goals to be achieved by 2015. Ascribing to the lifelong education ideology, the declaration stated that:

Starting from early childhood and extending throughout life, the learners of the twenty-first century will require access to high quality educational opportunities that are responsive to their needs, equitable and gender-sensitive. These opportunities must neither exclude nor discriminate. Since the pace, style, language and circumstances of learning will never be uniform for all, there should be room for diverse formal or less formal approaches, as long as they ensure sound learning and confer equivalent status (UNESCO, 2000).

Possibly recognising the inadequacy of formal education to achieve universal education, this declaration appears to give greater support to NFE and its contribution to EFA. The creation of a lifelong learning system through the integration of formal education and NFE is a much stronger theme in the Dakar Framework for Action than it was in the World Declaration on EFA.

Within Sub-Saharan Africa NFE is promoted as a suitable alternative for “disadvantaged children, youth and adults, and others such as refugees and internally displaced people” who generally struggle to access formal education (UNESCO, 1999). While the number of NFE programs had grown since 1990 the Dakar Framework for Action conceived of NFE playing a greater role in reaching the large number of people still excluded from formal education in 2000.

Later in 2000, the UN held its Millennium Assembly and committed to the MDGs. The second MDG is to achieve universal primary education by 2015 as indicated by net enrolment ratios, school completion rates and literacy rates of 15-24 year olds (UNDP). The concentration on primary education conflicted with the Dakar Framework for Action’s emphasis on establishing a system of lifelong learning. Indications that many countries will

fail to achieve universal primary education by the MDGs end-date of 2015 suggests that such a narrow focus within education is insufficient for meeting the world's educational needs.

Despite the narrow focus of the MDGs, there has been a renewal of interest in NFE since 2000. UNESCO has overcome its reluctance to use the term NFE and has demonstrated an interest in promoting NFE in its member states. UNESCO has produced a Handbook for Non-formal Education Facilitators in Africa (UNESCO, 2006). It addresses the need for community mobilisation prior to program implementation, strategies for the identification of learning needs and background on the practicalities of implementing a NFE program.

In 2004, UNESCO offered technical assistance to a NFE program running in two districts in Uganda. The program targeted marginalised youth and sought to connect them with local artisans who could impart a skill that could be quickly acquired, such as hairdressing. The majority of youth selected had completed either primary school or the lower levels of secondary school but had had to drop-out due to a lack of funds (Uganda Youth Development Link, 2006, p. 13). This level of education is insufficient to enter the formal labour force, so the apprenticeship has the potential to produce employment opportunities that previously did not exist. However this level of education is still more than many other youth have attained, particularly in the rural areas. The challenge for NFE in Uganda in the twenty-first century is for it to reach beyond central districts to more remote regions where more people are excluded from formal education.

Even the World Bank has turned from its earlier pessimism about NFE to make a strong case for increased support to Adult Basic Education (ABE) in Sub-Saharan Africa (Lauglo, 2001). ABE offers a "foundation of skills, with literacy as its core, to those whom primary school provisions have failed to reach" (Lauglo, 2001, p. 7). Another recent World Bank publication ascribes the term NFE to apprenticeship training programs and on-the-job training (World

Bank, 2003, p. 3). The World Bank's earlier abandonment of NFE as a viable educational option is attributed to research that suggested high attrition rates, problematic implementation experiences and the perceived use of NFE by political movements as a means of garnering support for their regime (Lauglo, 2001, p. 12). Citing new evidence that suggests ABE's usefulness as a tool for poverty reduction, the report recommends greater advocacy and financial support for this form of NFE in Sub-Saharan Africa. As yet however, this enthusiasm has not manifested itself in either greater advocacy or financial support for NFE in Uganda.

Since its inception NFE has been subjected to justifying its existence in relation to formal modes of education and in light of national priorities for development (Ahmed, 2008, p. 126). This is unlikely to change as the end-date for the MDGs grows closer and the strengthening of the global knowledge economy places more demands on formal education. The lifelong learning ideology as expressed through international agreements such as the World Declaration on EFA and the Dakar Framework for Action offers the greatest hope for some time that NFE might continue to exist as a viable educational option for those that are excluded from formal education. However the challenge remains to ensure that advocacy for an expansion of NFE programs is borne out in action.

2.5 Implications

There are two significant implications that can be deduced from the literature and are reviewed below.

2.5.1 Implication 1: Over-representation of literature produced or commissioned by inter-governmental organisations

When reviewing the literature on NFE, it is difficult to overlook the influence of inter-governmental organisations such as UNESCO and the World Bank. With both agencies

having established formal ties with at least 200 member states, their knowledge of and power to assert influence over national education policies is unrivalled. Their position is further secured by annual operating budgets in the billions and staff numbers reaching into the tens of thousands. The longevity of both organisations means that they have been interacting with the NFE discourse since the beginning.

NGOs are another stakeholder in NFE who could produce literature on the success or otherwise of the programs they implement. As UNESCO and the World Bank's enthusiasm for NFE waned in the 1980s, and governments looked to increase public expenditure for formal education, NGOs stepped up to become significant providers of social services including NFE (Archer, 1994, p. 223). With decentralisation a cornerstone of SAPs, further responsibility for public service provision moved away from the government and into the hands of NGOs (Eilor, 2004, p. 59).

In Uganda, a 2003 review of sector wide approaches to the provision of basic education found that NGOs were limited in the contributions they could make to the development of such a plan (Freeman & Faure, 2003, p. 30). One contribution that NGOs have been able to make is to advocate on behalf of the people they claim to serve. In the process of developing Uganda's PEAP/PRSPs, NGOs have articulated the potential detrimental effects of policies upon the poor (Nyamugasira & Rowden, 2002).

But NGOs in Uganda could be criticised for investing too much effort in talking, both to the government and their beneficiaries, and not enough in implementing and evaluating NFE programs. This could well be attributable to the limited funds with which many operate (Barr et al., 2003, p. 22). In their survey of 300 NGOs in Uganda, Barr, Fafchamps and Owens found that three NGOs accounted for half of the total annual revenue for the sample (Barr et al., 2005, p. 665). With NGO budgets as constrained as they are, it is not surprising that they

have been unable to produce research to the degree that inter-governmental organisations have.

Considering that the research NGOs do conduct in their programs is often for the purpose of justifying future funding, there is an absence of criticality in the literature on NFE (Rose, 2007, p. 34). There is also a tendency to focus too narrowly on a few examples of NFE programs that have been successful or otherwise and attempt to continually generalise the outcomes of these programs to all other NFE programs operating with a country (Hoppers, 2006, p. 112). The consequence of this observation has been to conduct mapping studies that attempt to understand the quantity and quality of NFE in a given region. Such studies have brought attention to the NFE programs that are being implemented without the support of inter-governmental organisations or a government department.

Of the eighty-three NFE schools and centres Thompson identified in three districts of Kenya, seventy-six were owned by community and faith-based organisations (Thompson, 2001, p. 12). In a mapping exercise in Uganda, Bananuka and Katahoire acknowledge the role NGOs have played in providing NFE for those who have been excluded from formal education, yet focus predominantly on programs that have been administered by the government (Bananuka & Katahoire, 2008).

A comprehensive mapping exercise of NFE programs in any country would be difficult to achieve. In 2000, Barr, Fafchamps and Owens found 3,500 NGOs registered with the NGO Registry Board in the Ugandan Ministry of Internal Affairs. In their survey of 300 of them, almost 60% listed education as one of their main activities (Barr et al., 2005, p. 663). If this sample is representative of the total number of registered NGOs that would amount to at least 2,000 NGOs involved in the provision of education.

2.5.2 Implication 2: Ignoring how non-formal education can contribute to the creation of social capital

As already asserted the financial budgets of NGOs are limited to the point that their activities are constrained, and it is unlikely they will have the money or human resource capacity to conduct research into the effectiveness or otherwise of their programs. Inter-governmental organisations have attempted to fill this gap by commissioning and conducting research into NFE worldwide. While that does create a sizeable body of literature on NFE, it is important to remember their commitment to human capital theory and its application to NFE. As human capital theory is primarily concerned with developing human capital to accelerate economic development, their analyses of NFE focus more on its contribution to economic development than other aspects comprising a holistic notion of human development.

The conflict theorists and Latin American educationists have been concerned with how NFE could be used to create social capital. Yet the capacity of programs to create social capital has been curtailed by efforts to promote economic development. An evaluation of the impact of SAPs in Uganda between 1986-1995 suggests that while overall economic conditions might have improved there was a detrimental effect on social networks and an erosion of the poor's social capital (Makokha, 2001, p. 32).

The lifelong learning ideology that has been increasingly supported in recent years would appear to give greater support to a Freirean understanding of how education can be used to instigate social transformation and in turn economic development. That lifelong learning has been co-opted by governments and inter-governmental agencies has diminished this possibility (Rogers, 2006, p. 131).

Current funding systems for Ugandan NGOs diminish this further by emphasising the relationship between an NGO and its donors (often outside of the country) as more significant

than the relationship between other NGOs operating in the same area between which there might be opportunities to strengthen service delivery (DENIVA, 2006, p. 34).

Governments and inter-governmental agencies continue to be preoccupied with primary school as the means to achieving their universal education targets and may be ignoring the alternatives (Freeman & Faure, 2003, p. 43). This demonstrates their commitment to the premise that formal education offers the greatest opportunity for economic development. Beyond their unwillingness, Mansuri and Rao question whether inter-governmental organisations are capable of facilitating participatory approaches, considering their insistence on maintaining control over program implementation (Mansuri & Rao, 2003, p. 13).

The research reviewed so far has suggested that NFE does not consistently promote economic growth in individuals or the states in which they live. Non-formal education programs' lack of certification and employers' ignorance of program content delegitimize NFE and inhibit individuals' occupational attainment. In spite of this NFE is still being advocated by governments, NGOs and increasingly inter-governmental organisations. If it is not consistently effective for the creation of human capital, then it is worth considering what else it might be effective in creating.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature on NFE that spans close to fifty years. Over this time NFE has fallen in and out of favour as it has been found to have either promoted or limited human development, depending on the research at the time. The economic effects of NFE have been given some consideration in the literature; no doubt a product of the influence of inter-governmental agencies who have shown a strong preference for using education to promote economic development. A little more in the background has been the research and action of educationists such as Paulo Freire who were interested to use education, particularly

NFE, to create social capital as a precursor to social transformation. This work lays a foundation for the next chapter in which the concept of social capital is investigated alongside how NFE can be used to create it.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a theoretical framework through which the potential impacts of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners can be investigated. The literature review in the previous chapter demonstrates an important distinction between efficiency (use of resources) and efficacy (outcomes) in NFE. As the demand for the development dollar has increased, programs have had to more succinctly justify their need for funding and demonstrate their ability to manage resources efficiently. This emphasis on efficiency as opposed to efficacy is further attested to in the literature surrounding global education targets such as the MDGs. Such targets are related to enrolment rates (efficiency) rather than improvements in educational quality (efficacy).

When the literature says anything on the efficacy of NFE programs, it is with regards to human capital outcomes and not other outcomes such as social capital. As defined in the literature, human capital refers to “human capacities” that impact upon productivity. But it is argued that, “the latest equipment and most innovative ideas in the hands or mind of the brightest, fittest person,” that is, high stocks of human capital, “will amount to little unless that person also has access to others to inform, correct, assist with, and disseminate their work,” that is, social capital (Woolcock, 1998, p. 154). This chapter draws on the work of four social capital theorists to develop a theoretical framework through which the potential impacts of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners can be investigated.

3.1.1 Chapter structure

The following discussion describes the journey of arriving at the theoretical framework for this thesis with a consideration of the work of four individuals influential in the development of social capital theory. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section considers

four theories of social capital as articulated by Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam, James Coleman and Michael Woolcock, respectively. The works of the first three individuals are most often included in discussions of social capital. Michael Woolcock constructs a framework that synthesises the work of Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman in a manner that is relevant to this research project. The second section explores the literature on the nature of social capital outcomes of education and the structural features and instructional modes that contribute to their production. The third section illustrates how the social capital theories considered can be synthesised to create a framework from which this research project can proceed.

3.2 Defining social capital

The term ‘capital’ has its origins in economics where it originally meant that part of an individual’s ‘stock of goods’, surplus to what is needed to meet the basic necessities of living that could be directed towards increasing income (Smith, 1999, pp. 371,373). More than simply associating capital with paper money, its applications have been associated with culture, productive potential, social interaction and intellectual capacity.

Social capital represents a relatively new use of the term capital, and, as with many sociological concepts it has been difficult to define. One reason for this difficulty is the diversity of academic fields from which social capital has been studied. Another is that the nature of social capital as either a concrete entity or an abstract concept is still contested (Castiglione, 2008, p. 15).

With the purpose of this research being to investigate the impact of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners, it is important to adopt a theoretical framework that allows the potential impacts to be conceptualised. There are myriad definitions of social capital, not all of which can be included in this discussion. The works of four social capital theorists have been chosen

for consideration. These theorists have either sought to apply their work on social capital to the educational field or have had their work used by others seeking to do the same. Their definitions of social capital are outlined below and will be considered in greater depth in the following section.

Pierre Bourdieu

(Social capital is) the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition ... which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital...which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248)

James Coleman

Social capital is...a variety of entities with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors whether persons or corporate actors within the structure (Coleman, 1990, p. 302)

Robert Putnam

(Social capital is the) features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordination of actions (Putnam, 1993a, p. 167)

Michael Woolcock

(Social capital is) a broad term encompassing the norms and networks facilitating collective action for mutual benefit (Woolcock, 1998, p. 6)

These four theorists represent the two dominant strands of thought that exist for the sociological conceptualisation of social capital; that social capital is either the property of individuals or networks. Bourdieu's work represented the former, Putnam subscribed to the latter, and Coleman was positioned in between. Woolcock amalgamated the theories of Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman to define social capital in such a way as can be applied to both conceptualisations. Bourdieu was concerned with the individual effects of social capital,

particularly how social capital interacts with other forms of capital to reproduce class distinctions and impact upon social mobility. Putnam, on the other hand, was concerned with how social capital promotes civic wellbeing as a precondition for participative democracy. Coleman believed that the social capital inherent in networks of which an individual is a member, particularly the family, enabled the individual to pursue his/her goals, with a particular focus on educational attainment. Relational social capital and system social capital are suitable labels for these two strands of thought and they are discussed in more detail below.

3.2.1 Relational social capital

An individual's measure of relational social capital is equivalent to:

the sum of all resources and benefits on which an individual actor can draw as a result of direct or indirect relations with other individual actors (Esser, 2008, p. 26).

As such, relational social capital is concerned with the resources and benefits available to individual actors within a social system. As its name suggests, it inheres in the relationships an individual has with others. In his theory of maximising the utility of social relationships, Becker delineated between two types of relationships: those that require no effort to establish and maintain and those that do (Becker, 1974, p. 1067). The former are those relationships that constitute an individual's 'social environment'.

In the case of this research project, the social environment of the learners in NFE programs constitutes familial and tribal relationships. These are relationships that have survived generations and have an existing system of norms governing appropriate behaviour and sanctions for inappropriate behaviour. While the latter type of relationships require an investment on the part of individuals to establish and maintain they provide greater access to new forms of information that may be beneficial to individuals who are trying to improve

their stocks of capital, whether they are in economic, human or social form. In the case of this research project, the latter type of relationships include those that have formed between learners and their instructors, local organisations and representatives of local government as a result of learners' participation in a NFE program.

Esser cautioned against the haphazard development of these types of relationship considering the cost of establishing and maintaining them. In order to minimise the cost, he proposed three components to their optimal development.

The first is a strategic occupation of 'structural holes' or gaps between networks and a minimisation of redundant relationships that Esser called 'positional capital'. An individual should seek to optimise the distribution of their contacts so that more relationships can be established with a greater number of networks. Yet in order to establish these relationships with people who belong to different networks, there needs to be trust that develops a sense of obligation. As such it is important to develop 'trust capital' and 'obligation capital', the second and third components of Esser's approach. Esser defined trust capital as the reputation a person develops for being trustworthy and an 'expectation' that their trust in another individual will not be abused (Esser, 2008, p. 34).

Trustworthiness, as an attribute, is important as an individual can exploit their reputation to gain greater access to resources. Trust in other people is also important as it reduces the cost of having to evaluate a person's reputation for being trustworthy. This reduction in transaction costs means that an individual can spend more time pursuing their goals from the relationship (Uslaner, 1999, p. 102). Obligation capital is the sum total of obligations owed to an individual and the value of what can be achieved from those obligations (Esser, 2008, p. 35).

3.2.2 System social capital

System social capital is:

An emergent characteristic of an entire network such as functioning social control, system trust, and a comprehensive system morality, between individuals or within a group, organisation, community, region or society (Esser, 2008, p. 25).

System social capital is concerned with resources and benefits available to collectives. Esser outlined three factors contributing to the efficacy of system social capital, namely: system control, system trust and system morality. The system must have control mechanisms to reduce the risk of deviant behaviours. Density and closure of relationships are features of a network with a high degree of system control (Esser, 2008, p. 38). But it is not enough to have system control alone because people must have trust that the system will function across the entire network. This means that where deviant behaviour occurs it will not go unnoticed. Referring back to relational social capital, Esser suggested that once both trust capital and obligation capital have been supported over time, they develop into a system of morality that helps the network achieve stability in relations and reciprocity. Although system social capital might not deliver benefits to all individual members, it promotes the efficient functioning of a network, whether it is a society, community or organisation, such that their individual members might develop their social capital stocks.

3.3 Social capital theories

While Lyda Judson Hanifan is credited with first using the phrase social capital in 1916, three individuals are most often cited in academic discussions on social capital, namely Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam. Pierre Bourdieu was the first of the three to use the term 'social capital' yet his discussions of the concept often came secondary to his interest in cultural capital. In the American literature particularly, Coleman and Putnam are more prominent. Whereas Bourdieu emphasised the relational form of social capital, Putnam

focused almost exclusively on the system form of social capital. Coleman represents the middle ground, distinguishing between resources inherent in relationships that are useful to individuals in achieving their goals, and structural factors that control for system function and enable social capital to develop.

In addition to the work of Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman, the work of Michael Woolcock will be considered in this analysis in order to investigate the functional dimension of social capital portrayed in each theory. Like Coleman, Woolcock acknowledged the micro-level and macro-level dimensions of social capital, and the different development outcomes that can be derived from their various combinations. He added clarity to the definitional debate by distinguishing between the sources of social capital and its consequences. This is significant since social capital can appear amorphous and unclassifiable. If the social capital outcomes of learners in NFE programs are to be investigated then it is necessary to be able to operationalise the concept.

In this chapter, Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman are included for their contribution to describing the morphology of social capital, and Woolcock is included for his contribution to the classification of different sources of social capital and the distinction between sources and consequences.

3.3.1 Pierre Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social capital emerged from his research into the reproduction of social inequality through institutions such as the education system. Bourdieu conceptualised the education system as a market. Educational achievement represented the profit that could be obtained from investing in the market. Considering that not everyone is endowed with the same amount of resources to invest in the education system, individuals operating within the education system would experience differing degrees of access, mobility and achievement.

Bourdieu challenged traditional economic theory that attributed natural aptitude to educational achievement. In place of the economic explanation he proposed that educational achievement was a product of an individual's access to a combination of four forms of capital: economic, cultural, social and symbolic.

As a precursor to a discussion of these forms, Bourdieu conceived of individuals possessing a set of dispositions about the world, otherwise known as *habitus* that directed their actions. These dispositions were shaped by the direct experiences of individuals and their knowledge of the experiences of their forebears, in fields, an example of which is the education system. The experience of individuals in any field was produced by the possession or otherwise of four forms of capital (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) as they influenced an individual's position and the opportunities available to them.

Bourdieu suggested that cultural, social and symbolic capitals are all derived from economic capital, as there was an economic cost to the development of each. Yet these forms of capital were mutually reinforcing since they helped an individual make more use of their economic capital, particularly where there was a 'secondary cost' involved in accessing some goods and services where social relationships, status or knowledge might have been a suitable currency (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 252). The inclusion of these other forms of capital added complexity to the explanation for the reproduction of social inequality and avoided the reductionism of the economists (that Bourdieu is cautious of) that inequality was based solely on differing levels of economic capital accumulation.

It is important to address briefly what Bourdieu said about these alternative forms of capital. He gave least attention to symbolic capital which he defined as, "a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 291). Of the remaining two forms, cultural capital and social capital, Bourdieu paid greatest attention to the first

(Field, 2004, p. 15). Cultural capital was those aspects of the culture of the social group adopted by members of the group to demonstrate their relative advantage over other individuals. Cultural capital existed in three states: embodied, objectified and institutionalised. They are similar in that they each give an indication of an individual's social status that they can capitalise on in their social life. In the embodied state, cultural capital is generated through a process of socialisation into a family's cultures and traditions. The objectified and institutionalised states of cultural capital were influenced by their predecessor, the embodied state, a process begun in early childhood. In the objectified state, cultural capital refers to objects, the possession of which is indicative of the economic status of the possessor. Academic qualifications represent the institutionalised state of cultural capital, whereby the possession of a qualification confers status on the individual and opens them up to opportunities and positions of power. The reason that cultural capital is emphasised above the other forms is that Bourdieu was particularly concerned with the familial role in social reproduction, and cultural capital was largely transmitted through familial relationships from an early age through a process of socialisation. Bourdieu assigned it greater importance because unlike social and symbolic capital, it is relatively free from the control of outside forces (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 246).

Social capital is a more emergent process whereby individuals exploit their membership in networks to gain advantage over others in their social context and maximise their opportunities for upward social mobility. Social capital, Bourdieu argued, had its greatest utility when it presented the least costly strategy for capital accumulation. Social capital was a means to acquiring cultural or economic capital and not as an end in itself (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 253). The danger in this assertion is that social interactions are presented in a cold and calculating manner, with relationships being established on the basis of potential profit. One solution is to distinguish between different types of relationships that each represents a form

of social capital. This differentiation does not do away with relationships that are pursued for the purpose of personal advancement, but rather include relationships that deliver mutual benefit in the form of support and encouragement, that is to say, friendship being pursued for friendships sake.

Bourdieu considered power to be relative to the amount of social capital stock possessed by an individual (Field, 2005, p. 23). This association of power with capital is rarely covered in other conceptualisations of social capital. His research revealed that stocks of capital in the four forms were positively correlated with social mobility. The possession of capital by individuals from the upper class was a source of power that could be capitalised upon to maintain their position and maximise their access to opportunities. The lack of capital amongst individuals from the lower classes kept them ignorant of information and opportunity that might encourage upward social mobility. This line of argument from Bourdieu's theory of social capital will be drawn upon to articulate the theoretical framework for this research project. It could provide an explanation for why the target population for this research project experiences low levels of wellbeing. If that is the case then NFE, where it is targeted to build capital in learners could be one solution for improving social mobility and wellbeing.

3.3.2 Robert Putnam

While there are many differences between Putnam, Bourdieu and Coleman, the first is the focus of the research they conducted in the process of generating their theories of social capital. Whereas Bourdieu and Coleman both began by considering the factors affecting individual educational achievement and attainment, Putnam's theory emerged from large-scale studies on civic participation and wellbeing that he undertook in Italy and America (Putnam, 1993a, 2000). Informing his work was a belief that civic participation was on the

decline partly due to, but also as a result of, a loss of social capital. He therefore considered social capital as something to be invested in for the sake of improving the functioning of democratic institutions with the expectation of bringing communal benefits (Putnam, 1993a, p. 170).

As a consequence of his concern with finding macro solutions, Putnam is popular with government agencies and inter-governmental organisations looking for a suitable framework to present their policies for improved civic participation and wellbeing. One reason for their choice of Putnam's theory is his attempts at operationalising social capital. Operationalising social capital has proven difficult particularly when it is perceived as being an abstract concept instead of a concrete entity.

In *Bowling Alone* (2000) Putnam identified six elements of social capital: political participation, civic participation, religious participation, workplace connections, informal connections and volunteering, and provides indicators of each.

Central to Putnam's theory was the concept of trust. Putnam believed that people who trust are more likely to be civically engaged and that that civic engagement will help build more trust. Uslaner distinguished trust between people who are similar (particularised trust) from trust between people who are unfamiliar and unlike one another (generalised trust). It is the latter that Putnam indicated is the only type of trust that can produce social capital leading to a more prosperous community (Uslaner, 1999, p. 125). Putnam believed that people with generalised trust will be more civically engaged and that that civic engagement will help build more generalised trust. Yet Uslaner was critical of Putnam's thesis citing studies showing a positive correlation between civic engagement and particularised trust, not generalised trust which was more prevalent in people who show less inclination to be civically engaged (Uslaner, 2008, p. 107).

In addition, Putnam has been criticised for regarding social capital in largely positive terms. Social capital is presented as a solution to “dilemmas of collective action” (Putnam, 1993a, p. 169). Once these dilemmas have been resolved, “the more horizontally structured an organisation, the more it should foster institutional success in the broader community” (Putnam, 1993a, p. 175). Yet his more recent studies in America demonstrated that he is willing to consider the negative consequences of social capital. In doing so, he equated social capital with fraternity as it emerged as part of the triad of ideals from the French Revolution. The question he framed to explore potential adverse effects of social capital is whether the three ideals, liberty, equality and fraternity, can be simultaneously sought and achieved to an equal degree? In answering this question, he differentiated between two sources of social capital, bridging and bonding relationships. Bonding relationships are, “inward looking and tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups” and are characterised by reciprocity and solidarity; while bridging relationships are, “outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages” and are useful for accessing “external assets” and new information (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). Too much bonding capital creates closed networks that discourage bridging relationships with individuals from other networks. While Putnam acknowledged the importance of bonding capital in providing psychosocial support, it is bridging capital that Putnam saw as having the most direct effect on collective problems (Putnam, 2000, p. 363).

3.3.3 James Coleman

Whereas Bourdieu and Putnam focused almost exclusively on the relational and system forms of social capital respectively, Coleman attempted to define how the two forms interact. His conceptualisation of social capital was well informed by his theory of social action. At the time of writing, Coleman’s approach was novel considering the more common understanding

that social action was extrinsically motivated, determined by an individual's social environment. Coleman's theory of social action proposed that individuals had greater power over their own behaviour than other social theorists would give them credit for, but that there were still system constraints to be taken into consideration. In doing so, the resultant theory combined two explanations for social action. The first explanation (Coleman called this 'the economic explanation') is based on rational choice theory that is predicated on methodological individualism. Methodological individualism takes an individualistic approach to understanding social action. In rational choice theory, self-promotion is an important determination of individual action. To Coleman the social system was a, "system of purposive actions, in which the outcomes of events results from motivated action by the actors" (Coleman, 1986a, p. 85). Rational choice theory proposed that individual action is oriented towards outcomes that have the greatest personal utility (Goldthorpe, 1998, p. 169). Yet rather than base his theory on only one framework, Coleman was interested to consider how the intrinsic motivations of a rational actor and the extrinsic motivations of a social environment might interact to bring about a functioning social system (Coleman, 1986b, p. 1312). The second explanation (Coleman calls this the sociological explanation) asserts that there are contextual constraints on these "purposive actions" (Coleman, 1988, p. 95). Social capital emerged as the concept used to meld the two explanations together.

Like Bourdieu, Coleman's theory derived from his research in the field of education. One of the findings from his research in the 1960s, was that family and community characteristics were a more significant determinant of educational achievement than school characteristics (Field, 2004). In light of the preceding discussion, this meant that while an individual might be aiming for a high level of educational attainment, there were characteristics of their familial and community networks that influenced the realisation of this goal. So where Bourdieu was concerned with explaining social capital's influence on social order, Coleman

was more concerned with explaining social capital's influence on social control (Dika & Singh, 2001, p. 34).

Like Bourdieu, Coleman centred much of his work on the familial network. Coleman has considered social capital in extra-familial relationships but they are still tied to parents, namely parents' relationship with other parents and their relationship with community institutions. This was due to his research into the factors underlying educational attainment and achievement. Of all individuals involved in a child's education, parents were found to have the most significant effect. Traditionally, it was the parent's own educational attainment and achievement, their human capital that determined the same in their offspring (Coleman, 1988, p. 110). But Coleman found cases where a parent's human capital was low yet their children advanced to high levels of educational attainment and achievement. He identified social capital, the "relations between children and parents" and also a parents relationship with others, as crucial to the creation of human capital in children (Coleman, 1988, p. 110). So in the case just mentioned, a parent with low levels of human capital could cultivate a relationship with their children that might be conducive to a higher level of educational attainment and achievement in the child. Alternatively, a parent might have high levels of human capital but in the absence of strong relationships with their children, the human capital is irrelevant to the child's educational attainment and achievement. It is through the parent-child relationship, social capital, that the human capital of a parent might be put to use in some way to be relevant to a child's educational experience.

The focus of Coleman's research differed from that of this research project in several ways. Firstly, whereas Coleman's research focused on adolescents and young adults completing formal education in recognised education institutions and the relationship of most interest to him was that between the adolescent and their parents, the learners in this research project are mostly above eighteen with many being parents themselves, and therefore this relationship

may be less relevant. Secondly, different relationships need to be identified through which the social capital outcomes of education can be investigated.

Coleman described his own definition of social capital as functional; focusing on what it does as opposed to what it is. The framework for Coleman’s definition of social capital distinguishing between forms of social capital and factors that influence its creation, maintenance or otherwise, is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Coleman's forms and influences of social capital

Forms of social capital	Factors that influence the creation, maintenance or destruction of social capital
Obligations and expectations	Closure
Information potential	Stability
Norms and effective sanctions	Ideology
Authority relations	Anything that disrupts interdependence, e.g.
Appropriable social organisation	affluence, government aid
Intentional organisation	

(Coleman, 1986b, 1988)

A significant issue in the difficulty of defining social capital is that unlike economic capital, it is difficult to quantify. One solution that has arisen is to distinguish between the sources and benefits or consequences of social capital. This has proven more helpful in developing a framework for social capital that can be used to determine indicators for use in research. But the distinction between the sources of social capital and their consequences is not made clear in Coleman’s theory (Portes, 1998, p. 6). This conceptual clarification will be discussed further when considering Woolcock’s contribution to social capital theory.

3.3.4 Michael Woolcock

Woolcock’s conceptualisation of social capital was borne out of his experience with communities whose attempts at improving socioeconomic development have been impaired. The introduction to his article that most clearly articulates his framework for social capital is an 850-word description of his experiences with development initiatives in India (Woolcock,

1998). Immediately there is a resonance between Woolcock's work and this research project that has been initiated out of the author's experience with similar communities facing similar problems. Based upon answers to the question, "What needs to be done to improve things?" Woolcock began with the assumption that this impairment is due to an absence of social capital. He offered a general definition of social capital which he described as a summary of the definitions put forward by Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam and others (Woolcock, 1998, p. 189). Social capital is, "the information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inhering in one's social networks" (Woolcock, 1998, p. 153). The generality of this definition belies the complexity of the framework he proceeds to develop. On its own, it does not appear to address his concerns with previous definitions namely confusion between the sources and benefits of social capital. A closer reading of Woolcock's work is required to understand more clearly the true nature of his conceptualisation. Woolcock argued against a static definition of social capital on the grounds that it was not able to cover the complexity of the concept; that it confused the distinction between sources and consequences of social capital; and that it portrayed social capital as exclusively positive with more social capital necessarily leading to more benefits (Woolcock, 1998, pp. 155-158).

According to Woolcock, the absence of social capital was a better explanation of "development failures" than modernisation theory as it protected the integrity of "traditional societies" (Woolcock, 1998, p. 153). Modernisation theory suggested that development failures occur because western attitudes and behaviour had not been adopted. Here there is a synergy between Woolcock and Bourdieu's association of power with capital. Woolcock shared the concern of the author of this research project that development initiatives have largely been concerned with financial and human capital outcomes to the detriment of social capital outcomes. He cited Putnam in posing the question, 'Where are the efforts to encourage "social capital formation"?' (Putnam, 1993b, p. 38; Woolcock, 1998, p. 154).

Non-formal education fits well within his resulting framework as one activity that can be used to generate social capital formation for use amongst those with low levels of human development.

Like Coleman, Woolcock expressed his concern for distinguishing between what social capital is and what it does (Woolcock, 2001, p. 71). Unlike Coleman, he managed to define the distinction with more clarity. If you define something exclusively by what it does you do not distinguish between its function and its essential nature. He saw the same issue in other definitions of social capital that confused its sources and consequences. Out of his dissatisfaction with the ways in which social capital has been conceptualised and used, he arrived at the following conclusions:

- There are multiple dimensions of social capital;
- Different combinations of these dimensions give rise to different outcomes;
- There are certain conditions that support the development of combinations of these dimensions that contribute to human development.

These conclusions represented the starting point for Woolcock to develop his framework. Woolcock advocated for the need for social capital to be conceived as existing at both the micro and macro levels. A society might be said to possess social capital but that does not mean that it is equally distributed between its members. He began with two forms of social capital identified in the contemporary literature, embeddedness and autonomy. These two forms are complementary to one another and therefore cannot be considered in isolation. Originally, embeddedness was an economic term that regarded macro-level economic behaviour as dependent on social relations at the micro level. Granovetter argued that embeddedness, traditionally accepted as an underlying force of economic action in premarket societies, has continued its influence into the current time where markets have become more

autonomous (Granovetter, 1985, p. 482). Woolcock articulated two sub-forms of social capital in the embeddedness form: inter-community relationships that are integrative and state-society relationships that are synergistic.

Social capital in the form of autonomous social ties was acknowledged only after the limitations of embeddedness social capital was accepted. Like embeddedness, there are two sub-forms to social capital in the form of autonomous social ties: relationships between “non-community members” that create linkages and ties between institutional leaders and accountability structures that ensured organisational integrity (Woolcock, 1998, p. 164).

Closure is a characteristic of relationships with a high level of embeddedness. As articulated by Coleman, closure is important for the development of norms and effective sanctions (Coleman, 1988, p. 105). The downside of closure is that when it is experienced to a high degree it can restrict the development of relationships beyond the network that may have important information or opportunity potential. Therefore, effective system function is reliant not only upon embeddedness social relationships but also autonomous social ties.

These two forms with their sub-forms constitute the four dimensions of social capital that combine to produce four development outcomes and four types of states as illustrated in Figure 1. The four development outcomes and four types of states address activity at the micro and macro levels respectively. The two levels are important for Woolcock’s discussion on social capital’s impact on development considering that development initiatives can be implemented using a bottom-up or top-down approach. Further, Woolcock includes an explication of the types of states that emerge from different combinations of these types of relationships that could comprise state-society relationships as he recognises that individual conditions are shaped by the macro context (Woolcock, 1998, p.176). This research project is concerned with a bottom-up approach to development and will therefore concentrate on the development outcomes at the micro level.

Figure 1: Woolcock's four dimensions of social capital with associated development outcomes and types of state

		Embeddedness social relationships	
		Low	High
Autonomous social ties	High	Development outcome: Anomie – freedom without commitment	Development outcome: Social opportunity – ideal outcome
		Type of state: Weak state	Type of state: Developmental state
	Low	Development outcome: Amoral individualism – self-interest dominates	Development outcome: Amoral familism – trust exists only between family members
		Type of state: Collapsed state	Type of state: Rogue state

(Woolcock, 1998, p. 172)

Regardless of the approach to implementation, the priority placed on embedded social relations and autonomous social ties will shift throughout a program. Bottom-up approaches tend to be built upon existing embedded social relations at the micro level that serve to integrate members of a community, while the long-term focus might be on improving linkages to non-community members and networks. Yet in concentrating on micro level development outcomes, the role of the macro influences cannot be ignored. In this regard, Woolcock and Coleman are of a similar mind. To Coleman, macro level explanations were sought by investigating micro level activities that did not occur without the influence of macro level influences. This mutually reinforcing relationship can be seen from Figure 1 where the micro and macro level development outcomes are placed side by side. Considering the case where both embedded social relations and autonomous social ties are high, at the micro level, individuals will find themselves with opportunities to improve their socioeconomic wellbeing. They possess sufficient integrative relationships to allow them access to information about opportunities that exist, while simultaneously possessing sufficient linkage relationships to permit them to maximise the utility of these opportunities for their benefit and that of their households. These micro level outcomes are encouraged to

develop in such a context, since the state places a priority on the development of all its citizens and there are accountability measures in place to ensure that there is equitable distribution of resources.

The main goal of Woolcock's early work was to articulate a framework for social capital. His framework based upon the dimensions of embedded social relations and autonomous social ties with their various combinations address the first two conclusions he reached based on his preliminary observations that are listed above. The framework he developed acknowledged the presence of multiple dimensions of social capital with resultant combinations that produced different development outcomes. His framework integrated Bourdieu's association of power with capital. Less desirable development outcomes are the result of low levels of embedded social relations and autonomous social ties that constitute the social form of capital.

The third conclusion he addressed in his discussion was the benefits of social capital. It was at this point in his conceptualisation that he attempted to clarify the confusion he attributed to Coleman's and others' theories where they had confused the sources of social capital with the benefits and consequences that are expected to proceed from it. The benefits Woolcock listed were trust, norms, reciprocity, fairness and cooperation (Woolcock, 1998, p. 185). It is not an exhaustive list, and while he does suggest that each of the combinations outlined in Figure 1 will have different benefits, he does not go so far as to draw those connections. Yet the distinction he draws between sources and benefits is helpful in any attempt to operationalise social capital and derive a list of indicators that can be used to measure social capital's presence and relative strength in a community or a society.

While researchers interested in social capital acknowledge the important foundation made by Bourdieu and Coleman, they often are left to synthesise their work with another more

contemporary commentator whose work enables social capital to be analytically investigated. Woolcock's multidimensional conceptualisation of social capital makes it difficult to link him with any one of the three theorists discussed above. The theorist to whom he might be most closely aligned depends on the level of analysis that is being sought. At the micro level, Woolcock's framework complements the work of Bourdieu and Coleman. At the macro level, Woolcock's framework complements the work of Putnam.

At the micro level, Woolcock developed his framework further to describe three forms of social capital constituting the sources of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. These forms are similar to those articulated by Putnam. Gittel and Vidal referred to embedded social relations or intra-community ties as bonding social capital and autonomous social ties or extra-community networks as bridging social capital (Gittel & Vidal, 1998, p. 15).

Woolcock adopted these two types with a slight amendment. He believed that there were two types of autonomous social ties. Bridging social capital describes horizontal relationships, that is, extra-community relationships with people who share a similar status (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004, p. 655). Linking (or scaling up) social capital describes vertical relationships which are "alliances with sympathetic individuals in positions of power" (Woolcock, 2001, p. 72). Here, Woolcock addressed a deficiency in Coleman's theory by addressing the role of power in the development and usage of social capital.

Much of Woolcock's research was published since 1998 when he began working with the World Bank. As of 2010, he was the co-chair of the Bank's Social Capital Thematic Group and a member of the Development Research Group. In the preceding chapter the World Bank was criticised for their conception of human development that was too narrowly focused on economics to induce lasting holistic change in individuals who participate in NFE. However, the fact that there exists a Social Capital Thematic Group suggests that the World Bank is at

least concerned with improving their understanding of how social capital interacts with human development.

The World Bank has adopted Putnam's theory on social capital which fits with their definition of social capital as being, "social cohesion or social ties" (World Bank, 2003, p. 12). But this usage has been criticised for two reasons. Firstly because Putnam overlooks the influence of power on access to the community benefits of social capital, and secondly because the World Bank has failed to recognise that testing for the rate of return on investments in social capital is much more complex than it is for other forms of capital (Mansuri & Rao, 2003, p. 12).

The World Bank has created the Social Capital Assessment Tool (SOCAT) and the Social Capital Integrated Questionnaire (SOCAP IQ), both designed to measure social capital. These measurement tools include three questionnaires and an interview guide to be completed at the household, community and organisational levels. The SOCAT Community and Household Questionnaires are each 24 pages long and contain 141 and 79 items respectively. The SOCAT Household Questionnaire requires respondents to draw a diagram displaying a person's family relationships, otherwise known as a genogram. They are predominantly focused on quantitative indicators of social capital with a few open-ended questions present. The reduction of social capital to a series of numerical data is one reason for the second criticism levelled at the World Bank for its treatment of social capital outlined above.

Woolcock and Putnam speak admiringly of each other in their writing that is suggestive of sharing a similar theoretical standpoint (Putnam, 2001; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2006). In a similar vein to Putnam, Woolcock's definition of social capital stresses "collective action for mutual benefit" (Woolcock, 1998, p. 6). However, it has already been suggested in this chapter that Woolcock's framework cannot easily be associated with any

one social capital theorist. This association will depend on the level at which the analysis is taking place. Woolcock's association with the World Bank and consequently Putnam's social capital theory are not expected to contradict the proceeding theoretical framework since this research project is focusing on social capital at a micro level.

3.3.5 Negative consequences of social capital

It has been a common error to presume that social capital is exclusively positive (Dika & Singh, 2001, p. 44; Field, 2004, p. 90). For example, to Bourdieu social capital was an advantage to those that have it and a disadvantage to those that do not. Coleman did not speak directly to the negative consequences although they can be inferred particularly from his discussion on the closure of networks. Putnam articulated this idea more clearly albeit briefly by indicating that an imbalance in the forms of social capital (bonding and bridging) could lead to negative outcomes. Woolcock accepted that there were negative consequences to social capital but since he was more concerned with what social capital is, as opposed to what it does he did not explore them in any depth (Woolcock, 2001, p. 70).

Bonding social capital, that is, relationships between people with a shared social identity can reinforce those relationships in such a way as to make the integration of outsiders extremely difficult. Based on his observations of racial intolerance in America, Putnam concluded that bonding social capital was, "particularly likely to have illiberal effects" (Putnam, 2000, p. 358). One study found that non-formal education programs implemented by ethno-specific organisations helped consolidate relationships between people within the same ethnic group, at the same time as limiting the opportunity for interactions among ethnic groups (Shrestha, Wilson, & Singh, 2008, p. 144).

In Coleman's discussion on networks, it is possible to discern the potential for restrictions on individual freedoms to evolve through the closure of networks. Closure of social networks

encourages the establishment and maintenance of norms which enforce appropriate behaviour and trustworthiness that provide foundations for obligations and expectations to be formed (Coleman, 1988, p. 107). This reduces the transaction costs of developing a relationship as reputations can be quickly discerned and there is comfort in knowing that sanctions exist for inappropriate behaviour. Yet, as Putnam suggested, networks that have a high degree of closure discourage the establishment of relationships with individuals from other networks that might open up new information channels and opportunities (Putnam, 2000, p. 363). Also, individual freedoms could be further restricted by the surveillance of members within a closed network (OECD, 2001, p. 42).

3.4 Social capital outcomes of education

Since it can be perceived as an amorphous concept, this chapter has discussed the contribution of Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman to the description of the morphology of social capital as well as the contribution of Woolcock to the classification of different sources of social capital and the distinction between sources and benefits or consequences. This section explores how the preceding discussion has informed research into the social capital outcomes of education.

The literature review in the preceding chapter suggested a preoccupation in the literature with the human capital outcomes of NFE. In more recent times there has been a growing body of literature concerned with articulating the social capital outcomes of education and the mechanisms of NFE that influence their development.

In the context of this research project, the social capital outcomes of NFE are defined as changes to learner's relationships with other individuals, groups and authority structures that result from their participation in a NFE program. The literature on the social capital outcomes of education conforms to Woolcock's definitional distinction between sources and

consequences of social capital. Like Woolcock, it is thought that social capital is multi-dimensional where different combinations of the three types of relationships, bridging, bonding and linking (sources) will produce different outcomes in learners' state of wellbeing (consequences).

In developing his framework, Woolcock cited Putnam in posing the question, 'Where are the efforts to encourage "social capital formation"?' (Putnam, 1993b, p. 38; Woolcock, 1998, p. 154). One key area of effort is in the field of non-formal education. Traditionally, research has focused on social capital's impact upon educational attainment and achievement. For example, Coleman found that students enrolled in educational institutions with strong ties to the local community were less likely to drop out of school than otherwise (Coleman, 1988, pp. 114-115). The relationship between the educational institution and the local community creates a closed network that was characterised by norms that encouraged continuing education. Loury argued that an individual's connections determined their access to information channels that might lead them to educational or employment opportunities (Loury, 1981). This research project looks at the relationship from a different angle; that of education impacting upon the development of social capital in individuals.

The idea that education can produce social capital outcomes has only recently begun to be investigated. Balatti, Black and Falk found that 80% of their sample reported at least one social capital outcome from their participation in an adult literacy and numeracy course in Australia (Balatti, Black, & Falk, 2006, p. 21). But in order to make such a claim they first had to define what those outcomes were. They developed a framework of outcomes using the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Framework and Indicators for Social Capital. The framework includes four groups with elements that can be used to determine indicators for the presence or otherwise of social capital. The four groups are network qualities, network structure, network transactions and network types - presented in that order.

Like Woolcock's conceptualisation, the ABS framework includes both the sources of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking relationships are elements of the network types group) and the benefits or consequences of social capital (trust and trustworthiness, sense of efficacy, acceptance of diversity and inclusivity are elements of the network qualities group; and sharing support and sharing knowledge information and introductions are elements of the network transactions group). Size, communication mode and power relationships are elements of the fourth group, network structure, which give insight into the complexity of the network types. Changes in the elements of these groups represented that a social capital outcome had been achieved (Balatti et al., 2006, p. 16).

Woolcock envisages a linear relationship between the sources, benefits and outcomes of social capital. For example, trust and reciprocity (benefits) require the interaction of two or more individuals (sources) that will in turn affect individual wellbeing (outcomes). The ABS framework and the studies that have resulted from it order consequences before sources. This is problematic because different consequences will arise from different sources.

Interestingly network qualities were least represented in the indicators of Balatti et al.'s study with network types the most represented. A reason for this can be found in the indicators for each. The indicators they give for network qualities are: changes in trust levels, changes in beliefs about self-efficacy, action taken to solve personal or collective problems and greater diversity of interactions. The indicators they give for network types are changes in activities with groups individuals normally interact with, groups that were formerly unknown and institutions. The former set is associated with the elements of the latter set in different ways. One resolution could be to establish changes in the network types in the first place and then discern the network structures, transactions and qualities that are unique to each. This is the approach that will be taken in this research project. Changes in trust levels might better be

assessed in the context of specific relationships (bonding, bridging and linking) than generally.

A subsequent publication by Balatti et al., which builds upon the finding of their previous study, supports this shift by considering the consequences of social capital that derive from three sources of social capital: learners' networks with students (bonding), learner's networks with teacher (bridging) and the formal class-based network (Balatti, Black, & Falk, 2007, p. 249).

NFE is an interactive process, creating relationships between learners and their instructors. With the use of certain pedagogies, there is also the opportunity to create relationships between the learners and individuals and institutions. Assuming the socially interactive nature of NFE, it is anticipated that social capital outcomes would refer more to the sources of social capital than its consequences.

In her summary of a range of studies on the social capital outcomes of education, Suellen Priest organised the results according to the different types of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking, to which they refer (Priest, 2008). Yet, the strength of Woolcock's framework is that he conceived of different development outcomes for the range of possible combinations between degrees of embedded social relations and autonomous social ties.

The findings of one study of NFE programs in Sydney supports this thesis. Shrestha et al, found that while the programs were creating bonding relations between learners there was an increase in the group's isolation from the wider community (Shrestha et al., 2008, p. 143).

This limited their ability to establish bridging and linking relations.

Indicators of wellbeing are used in these studies to determine the presence or otherwise of social capital outcomes. This research project adopts the Organisation for Economic

Cooperation and Development's (OECD) indicators of wellbeing of which there are two dimensions: quality of life; and material living conditions, in assessing the impact of NFE on the wellbeing of learners. Synthesising Woolcock's framework with these indicators, it is expected that where the three types of relationships (bonding, bridging and linking) are strong, learners will experience high levels of wellbeing across all four dimensions. This would be the case because the strength of the relationships produces characteristics within and between individuals that affect individuals' ability to become more active in improving their own wellbeing. Where the three types of relationships are weak, it is expected that while self-sufficiency might improve, the learners might not experience similar improvements in equity and social cohesion because their relationships lack such characteristics as cooperation and trust. Where bonding relationships are strong, but bridging and linking relationships are weak, the expectation is that feelings of social cohesion might not improve, as trust will exist largely within familial units.

3.5 Synthesis

None of the four theories considered are exclusively sufficient to provide a framework from which the research project can proceed. As such, a synthesis of the theories is needed to develop a theoretical framework through which the potential impacts of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners can be investigated. The resultant framework is most similar to Woolcock's work but does not overlook the contribution of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam to his conceptualisation of social capital. Woolcock describes his own general definition of social capital as a summary of the definitions put forward by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam utilising those aspects of their definitions which best support his multidimensional framework (Woolcock, 1998, p. 189).

The theoretical framework for this research project is based predominantly on Woolcock's multidimensional framework of social capital, concentrating on the sources and consequences that produce development outcomes at the micro level. There are four reasons justifying this choice.

- Firstly, Woolcock's framework was developed out of similar experiences to those informing this research project, that is, development initiatives aimed at improving the wellbeing of adults in developing countries.
- Secondly, the multidimensional nature of his framework acknowledges that individual outcomes are not achieved in the absence of broader influences. The NFE programs under consideration in this research project provide learners with the opportunity to develop relationships with individuals and groups outside of their immediate sphere of social activity. This research project is concerned with investigating how NFE brings about changes in learners' relationships which impact upon their wellbeing.
- Thirdly, Woolcock's framework accepts that social capital has both positive as well as negative outcomes. The use of the word 'impact' in the aim of this research project is intentional so as not to limit the investigation to the positive effects of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners. This is important if the findings of the research are to inform future developments in NFE practice.
- Lastly, the distinction Woolcock draws between forms of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking), benefits (trust, norms, reciprocity, fairness, cooperation etc.) and development outcomes makes social capital easier to operationalise and therefore to apply research methods to its investigation.

The theorist to be given the least consideration in this section is Putnam. Putnam's differentiation between bonding and bridging relationships is taken up and extended by Woolcock, however Putnam's orientation towards the societal impacts of social capital is beyond the scope of this research project. While Putnam acknowledged the impact of social capital upon individual educational attainment and achievement, he has shown a greater concern for social capital's effect on educational reform at a macro level (Putnam, 2000, p. 301). As this research project seeks to explain the micro-level impacts of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners, Putnam's theory is not directly relevant other than to help in describing the morphology of social capital and highlighting the importance of theorising the concept in such a way to make it operationalisable.

This research project is concerned with the impact of education on the creation and maintenance or otherwise of social capital in learners. Bourdieu and Coleman considered the relationship between education and social capital from a different direction, that is, social capital's impact on educational attainment and achievement and social mobility. For this reason they are not exclusively sufficient to form the theoretical framework for this research project. Yet that is not to say that they do not make an important contribution to the framework. For example, Bourdieu considered that the lack of capital amongst individuals from the lower classes kept them ignorant of information and opportunity that might encourage upward social mobility. This could provide an explanation for why the target population for this research project experience low levels of wellbeing. If that is the case then NFE, where it is targeted to build capital in learners could be one solution for improving wellbeing. Thus Bourdieu's line of argument articulated here is highly relevant to this research project.

In keeping with Woolcock's framework, the theoretical framework for this research project distinguishes between the sources, consequences and outcomes of social capital. Woolcock's

use of the word 'benefits' has been replaced with 'consequences' since the outcomes of social capital are not considered to be exclusively positive. The sources of social capital in the theoretical framework for this research project are the bridging, bonding and linking relations articulated by Putnam and further clarified by Woolcock. The classification of different sources of social capital is useful for this investigation into NFE's impact on social capital outcomes, as it accepts the complexity of social capital and permits depth to the analysis. For Woolcock, it is different combinations of embedded social relations (bonding relationships) and autonomous social ties (bridging and linking relationships) that characterise these three type of relations that give rise to different development outcomes and types of states (Woolcock, 2001, p. 72). These combinations highlight both the positive and negative consequences of social capital. This research project adopts a similarly balanced view towards the outcomes of social capital.

Woolcock's conceptualisation of the consequences of social capital as occurring at the micro and macro levels acknowledges that development initiatives can be implemented using a bottom-up or top-down approach. Since this research project is concerned with a bottom-up approach to development it will concentrate only on the development outcomes at the micro level.

The consequences of social capital are changes in the holistic wellbeing of learners.

Traditionally NFE has been concerned with human capital outcomes and their impacts on economic wellbeing. This was predicated on the assumption that economic wellbeing was the most significant indicator of human development. Woolcock's framework associates combinations of embedded social relations and autonomous social ties with a range of development outcomes the impact on economic, physical and social wellbeing. The existing research indicates that NFE has a role to play in the development of social capital in learners

and suggests a link between social capital outcomes and improved wellbeing, fitting neatly within Woolcock's framework of social capital constituting both sources and consequences.

The outcomes of social capital are changes in the learner's experience of holistic wellbeing. The OECD indicators of wellbeing in their four dimensions are useful in describing these changes in the context of this research project.

The logical linearity of Woolcock's theory on social capital formation (Figure 2) is appealing for its ease of application to this research project. This research project seeks to extend his framework to uncover the mechanisms by which NFE can impact the social capital outcomes of learners and consequently impact on their wellbeing (Figure 3). As illustrated in Figure 3, NFE impacts on the social capital outcomes of learners by directly acting upon the sources of social capital, creating changes to the learner's relationships with other individual, groups and authority structures. These changes in learners' relationships lead to such things as trust and cooperation that enable individuals to become more active in improving their own wellbeing across four dimensions self-sufficiency, equity, health and social cohesion.

Figure 2: Linear representation of Woolcock's multidimensional framework for social capital

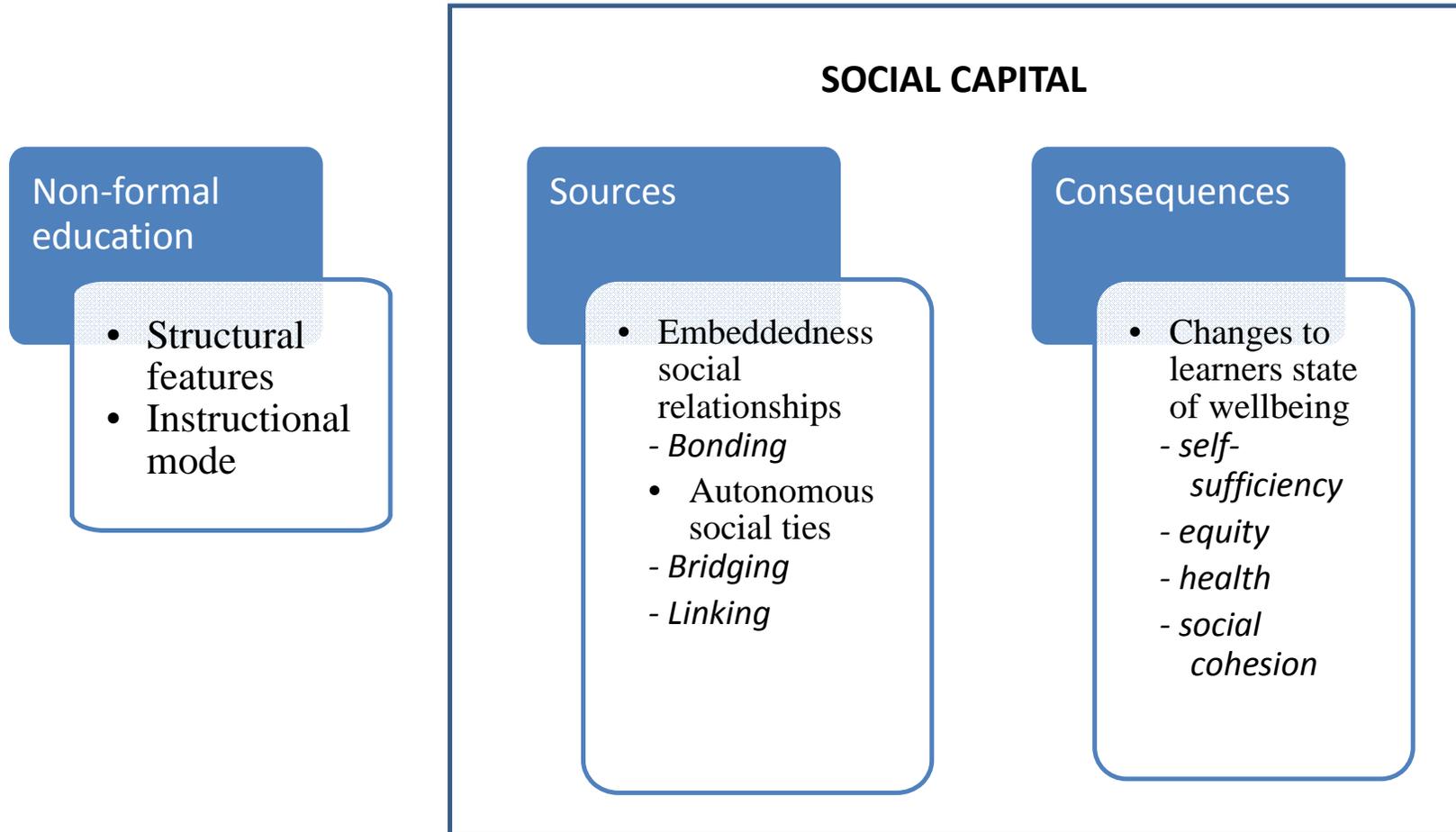
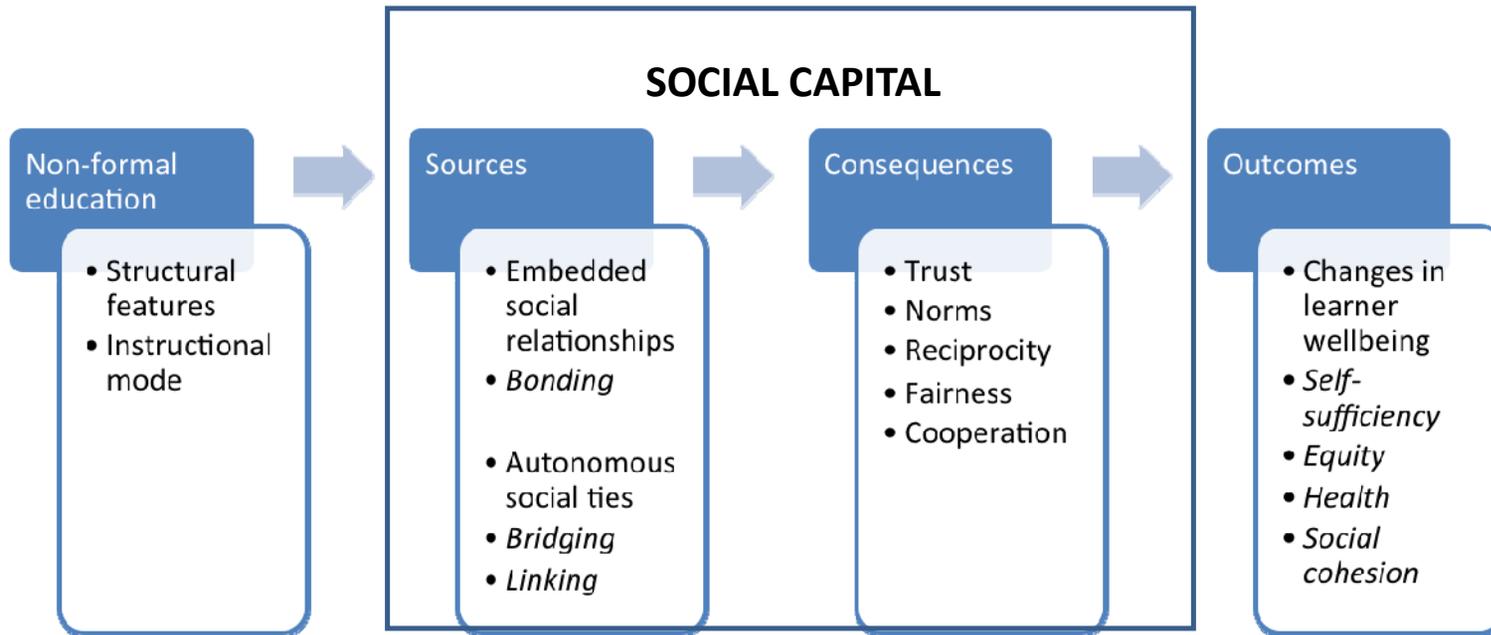


Figure 3: Linear representation of theoretical framework for this research project



As stated in section 1.2 (page 1), the aim of this research project was to investigate the impact of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners in one community in western Uganda.

Informed by the literature in Chapter 2 and by the theory reviewed above, as pointed out in Section 1.3 (page 2) three research questions were posed to guide the investigation.

Research question 1: How is bonding, bridging and linking characterised in the relationships of the learners within the context of the program under investigation?

The first research question is concerned with the middle component of the framework illustrated in Figure 3, namely the sources of social capital. In order to understand how NFE initiates changes to the learner's relationships with other individuals, groups and authority structures and how these relationships impact on the wellbeing of learners, it is essential to clearly understand these relationships in the context within which the research project is being undertaken.

Characterising the three different types of relationships, bonding, bridging and linking, will make it possible in answering the subsequent questions to articulate the degree to which NFE impacts upon each of these relationships independently and how they in turn impact upon learner wellbeing. As has already been established in the literature above, there is a link between NFE and the creation or maintenance of bonding relationships but its impact upon the remaining two types of relationships is less clear.

Characterising these relationships is also important in articulating the consequences that enable individuals to become more active in improving their own wellbeing. The consequences (or benefits) Woolcock listed were trust, norms, reciprocity, fairness and cooperation (Woolcock, 1998, p. 185). It is not an exhaustive list and while he does suggest that each of the combinations of the sources of social capital will have different benefits, he

does not go so far as to draw those connections. This research questions seeks to address this shortcoming.

Research question 2: How does non-formal education contribute to the creation, maintenance or otherwise of these relationships?

With the characteristics of the bonding, bridging and linking relationships present within the learner community having been established, the second research question is concerned with articulating the processes by which the NFE program has contributed to their creation, maintenance or otherwise. The “or otherwise” is significant since it is conceded that NFE might be an inhibitor as well as a catalyst of some relationships. This question concentrates on the first step in the process, namely that NFE impacts directly on the sources of social capital as opposed to the consequences of social capital. Of particular interest will be the structural features of the NFE program and instructional mode used by facilitators during course delivery.

Research question 3: How do these relationships impact upon the wellbeing of learners?

The third research question is concerned with the consequences of social capital and how NFE as mediated by the creation, maintenance or otherwise of the sources of social capital impacts upon the wellbeing of learners. The OECD indicators of wellbeing have been used in the framework. In its most recent presentation the OECD has arranged its wellbeing indicators into two broad dimensions: quality of life and material living conditions comprising eight and three indicators of wellbeing respectively. The OECD indicates how each of these indicators has been measured to assess the wellbeing of its member nations. This is summarised in Table 2 below.

Table 2: OECD indicators of wellbeing

Dimension	Quality of Life								Material Living Conditions		
<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Health status</i>	<i>Work and life balance</i>	<i>Education and skills</i>	<i>Social connections</i>	<i>Civic engagement and governance</i>	<i>Environmental quality</i>	<i>Personal security</i>	<i>Subjective wellbeing</i>	<i>Income and wealth</i>	<i>Job earning</i>	<i>Housing</i>
How it is measured by the OECD	Life expectancy Subjective perceptions of health status.	Hours of work per week Hours devoted to leisure and personal care Employment rate of mothers aged 6-14 years	Formal education qualifications of adult population Capacity of 15 year old students to engage with written texts to develop their knowledge and potential	Social interaction with friends and relatives Ability to request help from other people	Participation in major national elections Degree of consultation in decision-making	Concentration of fine particles in the air	Number of police-reported intentional homicides each year Number of victims of an assault crime in the last 12 months	Subjective perception on life satisfaction	Disposable income Net financial wealth (including assets)	Employment as a percentage of the working age population Unemployment	Housing density Household sanitation

(OECD, 2011)

Their body of indicators adopts a holistic understanding of wellbeing. Material living conditions refers to economic wellbeing, while quality of life refers to social, physical and psychological wellbeing. Further, and of particular relevance to this research project, the OECD's framework for wellbeing indicators considers the role that different types of capital including social capital have to play in sustaining wellbeing over time. It is important to remember however that this research project would be concerned with understanding changes to wellbeing for a small group as opposed to a nation. As such, the way in which these indicators could be measured would be different. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

3.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to develop a theoretical framework through which the potential impacts of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners could be investigated. This has been achieved through a consideration of the work of four social capital theorists, Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam, James Coleman and Michael Woolcock. The works of the first three individuals are most often included in discussions of social capital. Michael Woolcock constructs a framework that synthesises the work of Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman in a manner that is relevant to this research project. The resultant framework is most similar to Woolcock's work but does not overlook the contribution of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam to his conceptualisation of social capital. The framework suggests that NFE impacts on the social capital outcomes of learners by directly acting upon the sources of social capital, creating changes to the learners' relationships with other individuals, groups and authority structures. These changes in learners' relationships lead to such things as trust and cooperation that enable individuals to become more active in improving their own wellbeing across four dimensions: self-sufficiency; equity; health; and social cohesion. The following

chapter describes the research design created to further explore the impacts of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

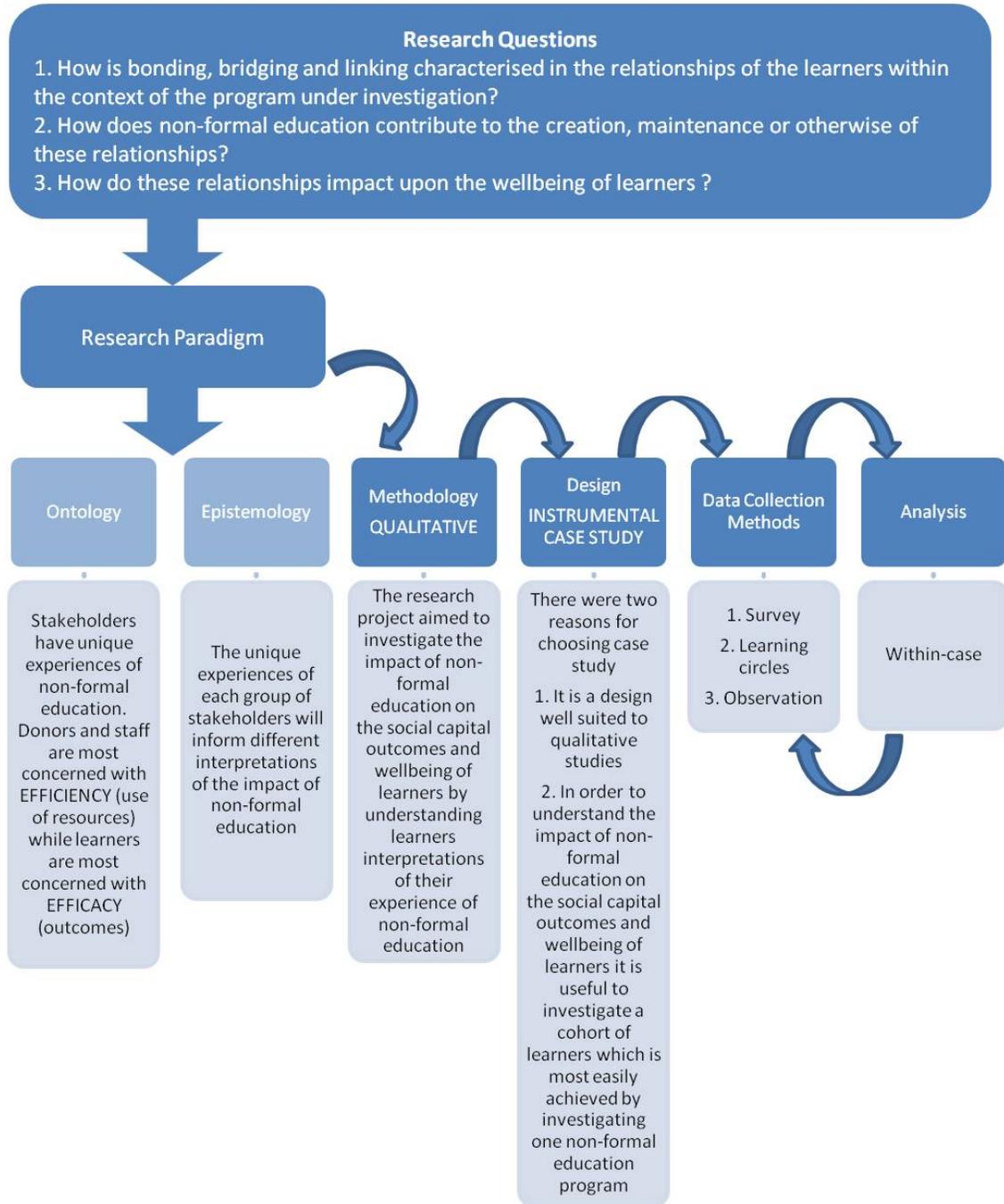
The purpose of the previous chapter was to develop a theoretical framework in which the potential impacts of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners could be investigated. The framework that was developed suggested that NFE impacts on the social capital outcomes of learners by directly acting upon the sources of social capital, creating changes to the learner's relationships with other individuals, groups and authority structures. These changes in learners' relationships lead to such things as trust and cooperation that enable individuals to become more active in improving their own wellbeing across four dimensions self-sufficiency, equity, health and social cohesion. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the design that was used to address the three research questions posed for this thesis, within the context of the theoretical framework.

4.1.1 Chapter structure

The first section of the chapter articulates the thought process through which the design for this research project has been chosen. It explores the understanding of social behaviour that is relevant to the theoretical framework developed for this study. This is a necessary preliminary step in choosing a paradigm within which this research project can be contextualised. The three classical research paradigms, positivistic, interpretive and critical, are examined to assess which best supports the understanding of social behaviour that is proposed. The consequence of adopting a paradigm is that it narrows the choice of research design and data collection methods. Considering the aim of the research project, the research questions and the understanding of social behaviour that is relevant to the theoretical framework, case study was chosen as the design for the research project. Having articulated the thought process through which the choice of case study was made, the second section

justifies this choice. The third section outlines the methods for data collection, sampling, tools and data analysis. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the steps that were taken to maximise the potential of the data collection methods to measure the impact of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners. The key ideas introduced in each section are summarised in Figure 4 on the next page.

Figure 4: Chapter Summary



4.2 Research questions

In the previous chapter, the logical linearity of Woolcock's theory on social capital formation proved most appealing for its ease of application to this research project. The purpose of the theoretical framework developed in the previous chapter is to enable an investigation into the potential impacts of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners. Within this theoretical framework the three research questions stated in section 1.3 (page 2) were framed. As said earlier, these questions were:

1. How is bonding, bridging and linking characterised in the relationships of the learners within the context of the program under investigation?
2. How does non-formal education contribute to the creation, maintenance or otherwise of these relationships?
3. How do these relationships impact upon the wellbeing of learners?

These three research questions reflect the linear model of social capital presented in the previous chapter, moving from an input (non-formal education) to sources (bonding, bridging and linking relationships) to consequences (e.g. reciprocity, cooperativeness) to outcomes (changes to holistic wellbeing). A limitation of some of the previous research is the uni-dimensional conceptualisation of social capital. One outcome of the preceding chapter's discussion on social capital was that it could have multiple sources. Woolcock identifies these sources as bonding, bridging and linking relationships. A potential outcome of this research project was that it might provide insight into the differential effects of the three sources on the social capital outcomes of learners and their wellbeing. As such it was important in the first research question to identify whether or not such relationships exist and the parties that constitute each type. The answer to the first research question was useful in directing the researcher's attention in the continuing investigation into the remaining two research

questions. It was necessary to word the second research question in such a way as to reflect the possibility that the NFE programs under investigation might be producing negative outcomes for learners' social capital. The third research question is important for considering how the changes that have taken place to learners' relationships as a result of their NFE have impacted upon their wellbeing. This question reflected the researcher's assumption that any anticipated impacts were more than just economic.

It was intended that this research project would bring efficacy to the forefront in considerations of NFE and expand thinking around the benefits of NFE particularly to learners. The answer to the first question is useful in helping researchers and NFE providers alike to more easily identify relationships within the learning community. Further, by knowing the elements of programs that bring about changes to learners' relationships from the second research question, providers will be better equipped to plan for NFE to maximise the positive outcomes and minimise the negative outcomes. Using answers to the second and third research questions, researchers will have a roadmap for investigating the processes by which NFE brings about changes to these relationships and in turn impacts upon wellbeing.

4.3 Research paradigm

Patton defines a paradigm as, "a worldview, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the world" (Patton, 1990, p. 37). The three classical paradigms, positivistic, interpretive and critical, have distinct perspectives on the nature of reality (ontology) and how knowledge of reality is obtained (epistemology). The paradigms of social science research are concerned with explaining social behaviour. In this section, the understanding of social behaviour that is relevant to the theoretical framework is outlined in order to choose the most appropriate paradigm in which to contextualise this research project.

If we acknowledge that different interpretations of the same situation can exist, then it is reasonable to conclude that the interpretive paradigm is the most suitable for this research project. The interpretive paradigm was a product of the advent of the social sciences. When the study of social behaviour began, researchers transported the methods used in studying the natural world and imposed them on studies of social behaviour. Dissatisfaction with this choice led to the articulation of the ontological view that reality was not objective but rather it was subject to interpretations that were bounded by culture and history. Further, a constructivist epistemology emerged stating that knowledge of reality was generated through interaction (Crotty, 1998, p. 8). This dissatisfaction can be described as a reaction to the objectivist claims of the positivist paradigm. Research based on the positivist paradigm is concerned with looking for causality in relationships that can be replicated and from which generalisations can be made.

The interpretive paradigm is based on the premise that the social world has already been pre-interpreted by the actors that constitute it and that they construct their interpretations in unique and varied ways. Individual behaviour is influenced by the interpretation they have constructed of their context (Winch, 1990, p. 21). So in studying the social world, the range of interpretations actors have constructed needs to be taken into consideration determining different research priorities to the positivists (Blaikie, 1993, p. 42).

The critical paradigm similarly emerged as a reaction against the influence of positivism on social research. The critical paradigm holds the view that reality is unjustly constructed by those in power who manipulate the less powerful to accept their lower status uncomplainingly (Sarantakos, 2005). This allows the powerful to ensure that their needs continue to be met. The less powerful possess a false consciousness as they are led to believe (by the powerful) that their oppression is representative of the natural order of things Yet

critical theory also contends that, given the opportunity, humans have the potential for creativity and are able to adapt to a constantly changing reality (Sarantakos, 2005).

The literature review revealed that there was a tendency in the research on NFE to cover only the perspectives of program staff. One reason for this could have been the focus on program efficiency as opposed to program efficacy. With this focus, it was reasonable to speak to staff because of the expectation that they would have a good understanding of the way in which financial, material and human resources were used in the implementation of a program.

Since the purpose of this research was to investigate program efficacy, the perspectives of a wider range of stakeholders had to be considered. It was also anticipated that learners might have different perspectives on the program to those of the program staff. These different perspectives were likely to arise from the different concerns each stakeholder had. For program staff, efficiency would remain a primary concern to ensure that the resources available to them were used in keeping with funding guidelines. Efficacy becomes more of a concern when the impact of NFE on learners is considered. Judgments on the success or otherwise of a program could then vary because of the different purposes that stakeholders impose on the program.

When deciding upon a paradigm, it is important to consider the purpose of the research project. Critical social researchers seek to transform participants' understandings so that they are empowered to consider an alternative reality (Fay, 1987). So, for example, transformation is a significant purpose of critical inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

Learners and the transformation of their circumstances are a significant, if not the most significant, group of actors in a NFE program. It is therefore important to understand NFE efficacy from their perspective. The purpose of this research project is to explore how NFE impacts upon changes to learner's relations with other individuals, groups and authority

structures, defined as social capital outcomes as they are articulated by the learners themselves. While some of the data collected will provide objective facts about the context and the behaviour of learners within it, the key concern is how individuals understand their context and their place within it (Gillham, 2000, p. 7). The exploratory and analytical purposes of this research project align well with the purpose of interpretive research that is to describe and interpret phenomena from the perspective of the actors that constitute the social system.

The role of the researcher in the research process will vary according to the paradigm chosen. For example, to the positivist, there is a universally objective reality of which it is the researcher's role to interpret (Blaikie, 1993, p. 36). According to the interpretive paradigm, the researcher's experience is an important catalyst for the resultant research project (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 23). With sufficient interest generated in a particular case and in order to formulate research questions, the researcher must understand the context in which the research project is to be carried out (Gillham, 2000, p. 6).

In the case of this research project, it has been the researcher's experience with NFE programs in western Uganda that has initiated an interest in understanding the learners' perspectives of their learning experience and investigating how to improve the efficacy of the education they are being provided in order to yield the maximum physical, social and economic benefits. The need to understand learner perspectives in order to answer the research questions reinforces the choice of the interpretive paradigm.

4.4 Methodology

The paradigm for a research project will have implications for the research design chosen provided that it adequately addresses the research questions. In choosing a research design, the purpose of the research has been taken into consideration. The purpose of this research

project is to explore the potential impacts of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners. The choice has been made to explore the impacts as they are articulated by the learners themselves. The reason for giving voice to the learners in a NFE program is twofold. The first reason relates to the unique experiences of stakeholders involved in a NFE program. The literature review demonstrated an important distinction between efficiency (use of resources) and efficacy (outcomes) in NFE. As the demand for the development dollar has increased, program financiers and facilitators have had to more succinctly justify their need for funding and demonstrate their ability to manage resources efficiently. But this emphasis on efficiency can be made at the cost of program efficacy, which is assumed to be a primary concern of the learners in a non-formal education program. If not why else would they invest their time and sometimes their money and material resources in pursuing it? The second reason is also made apparent in the literature review where the voice of the learners is largely absent from the data. Since the focus of the research project is on the impact of NFE on learners it is essential to involve them in the data gathering process and investigate their interpretations of the experience of NFE.

Considering the interpretive nature of the research and that the data were collected from surveys, interviews and documents, qualitative methodology was chosen to frame this research project. The alternative, quantitative methodology is much more suited to studies couched within a positivist ontology and epistemology and focuses on numerical data.

There are two characteristics of the qualitative methodology that are particularly suited to understanding the impact of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners. Firstly, this research project seeks to understand learners' interpretations of the efficacy of the education they have participated in, and secondly, this research project seeks to understand how NFE impacts upon the social capital outcomes and consequent wellbeing of learners (Merriam, 2009, p. 23). The choice of methodology is important, as it informs the design of the research

project including methods for data collection and analysis. The following discussion elaborates upon this process as it is related to this research project.

4.5 Research design

Case study was chosen as the most suitable design for this research project for two reasons. The first reason is that case study is a design well suited to qualitative studies. The second reason is that in order to understand the impact of non-formal education on the social capital outcomes and wellbeing of learners, it is useful to investigate a cohort of learners that is most easily achieved by investigating the programs delivered by one providing organisation.

Case study is one of a range of qualitative designs that could have been employed. The outcome of compiling a case study for this research project is to provide an analysis of the processes through which NFE impacts on the social capital outcomes of learners (Eisenhart, 2002, p. 8). This outcome is not compatible with other qualitative research designs such as ethnography because of their emphasis on description as opposed to analysis (Blaikie, 2010, p. 206). There are elements of the research design that focused on description but they were intended to help frame the case under investigation for the benefit of NFE practitioners who may wish to utilise the findings of this research project.

The definitional debate surrounding case study refers more to defining a 'case' than it does to articulating a specific set of data collection methods. In fact, a case can be studied using any combination of data collection methods provided that they suit the research questions being asked. Case studies predominantly rely upon qualitative data; however quantitative data can be used as a component of the study. An instrumental case study was chosen for this research project. In an instrumental case study, the case is chosen not because of a particular interest in the case under investigation but because of its ability to facilitate understanding around an issue, that is the efficacy of NFE (Stake, 2008, p. 123).

The researcher hoped that this research project would contribute to the academic discussion on improving NFE efficacy. It was anticipated that the findings of the research project on the impact of NFE on the social capital outcomes of a particular group of learners might permit recommendations to be made on how NFE can be employed to improve the social capital outcomes of learners more generally. Yet it could be said that generalisations are difficult to make from a single case since contextual elements will differ between that case and others. Indeed, a case can be of interest precisely because it is *not* typical. For example, in education a school might consistently have high student outcomes out performing all other like schools. A case study can be used to explore the reasons underlying this phenomenon.

Solutions to ensuring the findings of a case are able to be generalised include: strategically selecting cases that are representative of the wider population of cases; and compiling multiple cases for the purpose of cross-case comparison (Merriam, 1998, p. 40). Initially, it had been planned to compile case studies of two NFE programs for this research project. The cross comparisons enabled by compiling two case studies could have contributed to the research findings enabling concluding recommendations to be transferred to other programs. However it was in the process of communicating with the two programs about their involvement in the research project that the researcher chose to exclude the second program from further investigation. There were issues that led to a breakdown of trust between members of the program and between members and external parties such that it would have been unethical to keep them in the study. Their case is worthy of investigation, potentially at a later stage, with a different research focus. However in the absence of a second program to investigate, focusing on only one program will enable a deeper understanding of the ways in which NFE impacts on the social capital outcomes of learners.

4.5.1 Description of the case

The four NFE programs under investigation were provided by one organisation in a district in western Uganda. The district's economy is largely dependent on agriculture, in particular the production of sorghum, millet, maize and sweet potatoes. This district is located off the arterial roads that traverse the country. Its isolation from this road network means that it has attracted less attention from international development agencies. The providing organisation is best described as an indigenous organisation as people who originated from and were resident in the district established it.

The providing organisation under investigation had been in operation since 2004 focusing on two main activities. The researcher has been familiar with the providing organisation prior to 2004 when it was first conceived through to the present time. The providing organisation operated in one district in western Uganda. Since 2004, it had established its presence in twelve parishes surrounding the district's main town in response to the places of residence of its members. The target group was young adults (18-25 years) and adults (above 25 years) who had minimal or no formal education. The first activity of the providing organisation was NFE in skills that were identified as having the potential to generate income for learners. NFE had been offered in book-keeping and recording keeping, organic farming, food-processing, carpentry, tailoring, weaving and nursery education. The second activity was providing learners access to low-interest loans upon completion of their training so that they could establish micro-enterprises.

While it had a head office in the principal town of the district, the providing organisation operated out of twelve surrounding villages. There was a board of management that met at the head office and management committees at each of the twelve villages. The board of management and village management committees kept minutes of their meetings and these were regularly scrutinised by staff of the providing organisation. Where feasible, staff of the

providing organisation attended all village management committee meetings in addition to making regular monitoring visits to the NFE programs and microfinance activities taking place there.

As part of their participation in NFE, learners were required to become members of the providing organisation and participate in the microfinance association. Members of the microfinance association were organised into groups of 10-15 people known as Self Help Groups (SHGs). These groups were firstly organised according to place of residence, and further organised according to either gender or a common interest such as animal husbandry. The expectation for these SHGs was that members would meet weekly and make a financial contribution to the group fund. At least one member of each SHG was trained by the providing organisation in record-keeping, bookkeeping and conflict resolution. Once a year the providing organisation would increase the savings of each group by making a contribution. As the balance of the group fund grew, members had the opportunity to draw low-interest loans to be invested in income-generating activities.

4.6 Data collection methods

This section outlines the methods that were used to collect the data. With the exception of a small number of questions in the survey, the data collected for this research project were qualitative. Qualitative data collection methods were chosen in order to give voice to the learners on their experience of NFE (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011, p. 114). Of the four NFE programs under investigation, three perspectives are considered, those of the learners, the providing organisation and the researcher. Different data collection methods are associated with each perspective. It was anticipated that the collection of data representing these three perspectives, would allow for triangulation.

Data collection occurred in two phases. The first field visit was made in April 2010 and the second in January and February 2012. The collection of data in two phases permitted the researcher flexibility in the choice of data collection methods further ensuring the suitability of methods to the research questions. The surveys were conducted during the first field visit in April 2010. The learning circles and observation were undertaken during the second field visit in January and February 2012. In the interim between the two field visits the researcher had electronic access to all reports produced by and for the program.

4.6.1 Three perspectives

This section describes the three perspectives that were sought in order to develop the case.

4.6.1.1 Learner perspectives

This research project aimed to give learners an opportunity to voice their perspectives on the efficacy of NFE. As already established in Chapter 2, learners may often be a missing voice from research conducted into NFE. It was the experience of the researcher that learners enthusiastically embraced the opportunity to speak about their experience of NFE.

Learner perspectives were canvassed using three data collection methods. The first was the survey, conducted in April 2010. The second was the learning circles conducted in January and February 2012. The third were 21 letters written by learners between 2010 and 2012 to the providing organisation that were manually coded. They were published in quarterly progress reports to provide donors with specific examples of the impact of their funding. Eighty-three people completed the survey from seven different NFE programs. The four programs chosen for further investigation were those that were most represented amongst the survey respondents. The surveys focused on learners' expectations for NFE and learners' perspectives on the benefits realised as a result of their NFE. A total of 123 people participated in the learning circles. The key focus of the learning circles was the relationships

learners had with each other, their trainers, the providing organisation and other organisations and how they had been created, maintained or otherwise as a result of their NFE.

4.6.1.2 Organisation perspectives

The perspective of the providing organisation on the NFE programs they implemented was canvassed using field interviews with staff and the review of organisation documents. The field interviews with staff were conducted in April 2010 and January and February 2012. The review of organization documents happened continuously from 2010 and 2012 as they became available. The quarterly reports were also used to construct timelines showing the providing organisation's activities with regard to each of the NFE programs.

4.6.1.3 Researcher perspectives

The researcher observed all programs as they were being implemented in January and February 2012. The researcher was particularly interested in observing the structure of the program, the pedagogical strategies employed by the trainer, and the interaction between the trainer and learners.

4.6.2 Survey

A survey was designed to collect demographic data on the community of learners and provide them with the opportunity to describe the experience of NFE from their perspective (Fink, 2003, p. 63). It was necessary to collect demographic data on the community of learners as the providing organisation's budget did not allow for such the collection of such data, instead preferring to allocate the majority of its funding towards the two program activities identified above.

The survey was administered in April 2010 during a field visit to the program under investigation. The survey items are presented in Table 3. The first purpose of the survey was to generate demographic data on the learners enrolled in the NFE programs implemented by

the providing organisation. The second purpose was to develop an understanding of the learner's perspectives on their NFE. The survey was useful in clarifying the case for this research project's focus on social capital outcomes. In particular, their responses to items 8-10 and 14 indicated that learners had realised an improvement in their human capital but were struggling to generate income.

Table 3: Survey items

1. *Gender: Female/Male*
2. *Age: 18-25; 26-35; 36-45; above 45*
3. *Occupation*
4. *Highest level of formal education achieved: Primary; Secondary; Post-secondary*
5. *Name of non-formal education program*
6. *How did you find out about the program?: Radio; Program staff; Another person; Other*
7. *Why did you enrol in the program?*
8. *What did you expect to achieve by participating in the program?*
9. *What do you think you have achieved by participating in the program?*
10. *How has your household benefited from your participation in the program?*
11. *How were you involved in the planning for the program?*
12. *Were you given feedback about your progress in the program?*
13. *How were you asked to provide feedback on the program?*
14. *Would you participate in another non-formal education program offered by this organisation? Yes; No; Why?*

Before administration, the surveys were translated from English to the local languages spoken by learners and then translated from the local languages back to English. The translator used to translate from English to the local language was different to the person who translated from the local language back to English. This method of translation showed that the reverse translation was an accurate representation of the questions originally written in English.

The survey was composed of fourteen items. Assuming that the majority of respondents would not have progressed beyond primary school, the questions were simply worded. Items 1-5 were used to generate background data on the respondents. Respondents were asked their gender, age, occupation, educational attainment and the non-formal education program they had undertaken. Items 6-13 were open-ended questions aimed at generating qualitative data related to the NFE program completed by the respondent. Items 6-10 were intended to help develop a learner perspective of the NFE programs and articulate the perceived impact their education had had on themselves and their households. Items 11-13 were designed to give insight into the learners' relationships with the program. They did this by focusing on learners' participation in the planning, implementation and evaluation phases. Item 14 asked respondents if they would complete further education with the program and invited an explanation. This item was used to determine learners' confidence in the providing organisation.

Radio announcements were used to recruit survey respondents. This is a common mode of communication in the program areas where learners are spread over a large area, and access to other communication technologies such as phones and the Internet are limited. The problem with using this strategy alone is that it would favour those learners who had access to a radio and happened to be listening to the radio at the time of the announcements.

Therefore, program staff promoted the events through program activities and the radio announcements and program staff further encouraged those who had heard the announcement to tell other potential respondents.

The radio announcement was directed at individuals who had completed a NFE program with the providing organisation and gave the date, time and location where the surveys would be administered. The surveys were administered in a hall adjoining the program's central office that was situated on Church of Uganda land.

The two days over which the survey was administered followed a similar program. Respondents were assembled and the purpose of the survey explained using a pre-prepared information sheet (Appendix 1). As part of this explanation, respondents were told that they could choose not to submit a survey. The completion and submission of their survey indicated their consent to participate in the study. Surveys were photocopied so that each respondent had their own copy, and pencils were provided for them to complete the survey. Respondents received the equivalent of \$US2 to cover their transport costs to and from the location where the survey was administered. Scribes facilitated the completion of surveys for those who were illiterate. This meant that the survey was completed by all participants regardless of the amount of formal education they had received. On average, the process of completing the survey took over one hour.

The researcher observed the administration of the survey but was not directly involved in the administration so as not to influence the respondents to answer in any particular way. The researcher was available to help interpret the questions where there was difficulty in interpreting the questions but this was mediated by a community representative.

4.6.3 Learning Circles

At its broadest, an interview is a meeting between two or more people where information is obtained. There were different types of interviews considered for use in this research project. This section explores those considerations and provides reasons for the choice of learning circles.

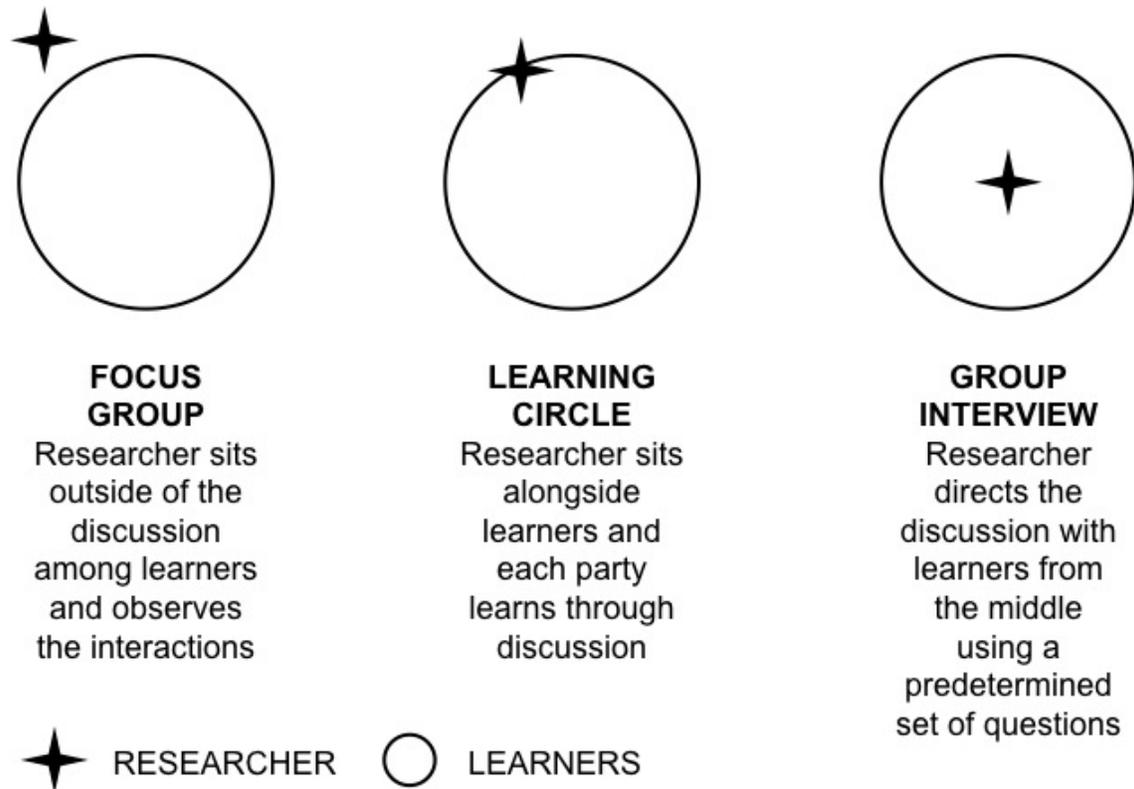
Initially the intention was to use one-on-one interviews between the researcher and individual learners. This proved impractical because of the different languages spoken by the two parties. A solution would have been to have an interpreter present. Yet one-on-one interviews were decided against because of their incompatibility with the modes of communication with

which the learners are most familiar. For the majority of respondents, their involvement in the research project would have been an unfamiliar experience. Therefore, it was intended to find a type of interview that made learners most comfortable in anticipation that optimising their comfort would increase the likelihood of learners providing honest responses to the researcher's questions.

Another potential issue was thought to exist in the power imbalance between researcher and learner in a one-on-one interview situation. In the interview process, the interviewee is subject to the interviewer and their agenda for the interview. As such, it was anticipated that any benefits that could arise from the interview would be directed solely towards the researcher.

If the different types of interviewing could be arranged along a spectrum with one-on-one interviews at one end, then the other end would be occupied by interviews involving several people. A particular model for these interviews, learning circles, was chosen for this research project primarily because of its suitability in yielding data relevant to the three research questions but also because of its suitability to the target population. In making this choice, three models for interviews were considered for this research project. The models differed in terms of the relationship between the researcher and respondents. These differences are illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Three models for group interviews



The first model considered was the focus group. A focus group is a method of interviewing where a discussion is held between the researcher and a group of people on predetermined topics (Gomm, 2004, p. 170). There is a variety of opinions of the ideal size of a focus group but the upper limit appears to be fifteen. The reason for this limit is that anything more than that might make it difficult for all members to participate meaningfully in the discussion (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 196). Supporting the case for the use of focus groups in this research project is the suggestion that they can be used effectively amongst disadvantaged groups to empower them to share their understanding of an experience or issue (Liamputtong, 2007, p. 106).

Learners are considered a disadvantaged group since their opinions have not often been considered in research into NFE. The challenge to the use of focus groups in this research project was found in the data it was likely to yield. Focus groups are not anticipated to yield

the same results as individual interviews and as such should not be used as a replacement for the latter. In conducting a focus group, a key interest of the researcher is to observe the interaction between members of the group and how inter-group relationships influence the development of norms and the corporate understanding of relevant issues (Babour & Schostak, 2007, p. 3).

The second model considered was a group interview. A group interview is more similar to a one-on-one interview where the interviewer asks pre-determined questions of a group (Bloor, Frankland, & Thomas, 2000, p. 42). Its conduct is much more structured than a focus group where the facilitator is concerned with promoting and observing discussion between respondents. A significant difference between focus groups and group interviews is the position of the researcher towards the respondents. This difference is highlighted most clearly in Figure 5. In focus groups, the researcher sits outside of the conversation. They have an area of focus which they would like the group to discuss, and as such, may have questions and comments designed to promote discussion, but their role is also largely that of observer, hence their position outside of the circle of respondents. In group interviews, the researcher sits in the middle of the circle of respondents to whom they direct pre-determined questions. Neither was a preferable model to the researcher for this research project who had hoped to use a model that would not enforce power differentials that could affect the data. Considering that the researcher had an existing relationship with the learners in the program under investigation, a third model was considered and chosen for its suitability.

In a learning circle, the researcher sits as part of the circle of respondents. It is the researcher's interest in extending knowledge in a particular area that has brought about the learning circle in the first place but that is not to deny the respondents from having the opportunity to learn from the experience as well.

This model fits well with the Freirean pedagogy described in the literature review that was asserted to have had an impact on NFE in Africa. Dialogue was essential to Freire's pedagogy through which problems could be acknowledged and overcome through the cooperation of a range of stakeholders (Freire, 1972, p. 61). This pedagogy entails a shared responsibility for learning between the teacher and the student who become 'critical co investigators' of the issue at hand.

The following discussion describes the composition of the learning circles used in this research project and the activities designed to promote a co-investigation of the impacts of NFE on the relationships and wellbeing of learners. It is evident throughout that the learning circles require a high degree of learner engagement with the assigned tasks with the intention of enlightening both parties (the researcher and learner) on the relationships that have been created, maintained or otherwise through participation in NFE, and the impact of these relationships on wellbeing.

The composition of the learning circles was informed by the results of the survey. Each learning circle was purposively sampled in that it only contained individuals who had completed one of four NFE programs: organic farming; tailoring; carpentry; and food processing. Four learning circles were conducted in total, one for each of the NFE programs under investigation. Organic farming, tailoring and carpentry were chosen because these programs had the highest representation amongst the group of survey respondents (22, 19 and 16 respectively). Of the respondents from each of these three groups, many stated an occupation that related to the NFE program they completed. All of the organic farmers listed farming as their occupation. Twelve of the nineteen respondents who undertook tailoring training stated their occupation as tailors. Six of the remaining seven respondents listed farming as their occupation and the other was enrolled in formal education at the time of completing the survey. Nine of the sixteen respondents who undertook carpentry training

stated their occupation as carpenters. The remaining seven respondents listed farming as their occupation.

The food processing program was chosen for a different reason. Six respondents had undertaken training in food processing but no one listed their occupation as a food processor. In discussion with the respondents following the surveys, the food processing group were particularly vocal about how they had been unable to secure a market for their goods despite their enthusiasm to establish a commercial enterprise. They brought some samples of their goods to the place where the surveys were administered and asked for help from the researcher and program staff in finding a market for their goods. Based on the experience of the researcher in food processing groups in Uganda, the goods were produced and presented to a very high standard. The barrier appeared to be their lack of connections to potential markets and a lack of knowledge as to how to make those connections.

Each learning circle took place over one day. They were advertised through the providing organisation. The food-processing learning circle was held at the home of the chairperson of the food-processing association that had been established by graduates of the food-processing program. The carpentry, organic farming and tailoring learning circles were held at venues in the town most central to the twelve centres across which the providing organisation operated. Participants were reimbursed for their transport costs and provided with refreshments during the learning circle.

The learning circles began with an introduction by a staff member of the providing organisation. The purpose of the presentation was to introduce the facilitation team. The facilitation team consisted of two people with extensive experience in the community development sector in Uganda. They had both worked for organisations similar to the providing organization and were skilled in running community consultations. The researcher

briefed them before and after each learning circle to ensure that they adequately understood the aims of the research project, the research questions and the researcher's expectations for how the learning circles would be run. The staff member left at the end of their introduction so as to permit the greatest honesty in participants' responses. The facilitation team then provided an overview to the learning circle. The discussion was semi-structured and organised according to four key relationships that had been identified in the first phase of data collection as being relevant to learners in the NFE programs. These were learner's relationships with each other, with their trainer, with the providing organisation and with other organisations and government agencies. Prior to initiating the discussion on each of these relationships, the facilitation team led a discussion on the meaning of 'relationships'. The importance of this was to convey that relationships could be with individuals as well as entities.

The researcher participated in the learning circles but did not act as the facilitator. One reason for this was that the researcher is not fluent in the language common to the members of the learning circle. Another reason was that the researcher did not want to influence members to respond in what they might perceive to be a desirable manner (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 198). In addition to a facilitator, a note taker was also employed to record the discussion in the local language. The reason for this was to allow focus group members to check the reliability of the records before they were analysed by the researcher. The notes were translated into English following the learning circles. In line with cultural expectations, participants were reimbursed for their transport costs up to \$US2 and provided with a beverage and snack at the end of the focus group.

4.6.4 Observation

Observation fulfils the descriptive purpose of case study. Yet the implication of observation is that the observer has an improved capacity of formulating an explanation of processes at work within a particular context. It is a type of field research that aims, “to see the world from the subject’s own frame of reference” (Singleton Jr & Straits, 2005, p. 307).

Observation was used in this research project to address the second research question on the structural and pedagogical strategies used in NFE to contribute to the creation, maintenance or otherwise of bonding, bridging and linking relationships. Observation focused on the NFE programs as they were being delivered in order to fulfil two purposes. The first was to observe the interactions between learners and facilitators to provide insight into the characteristics of the relationship; while the second was to identify those structural and pedagogical strategies that were used by facilitators in order for the researcher to investigate linkages between these strategies and the development and maintenance or otherwise of bonding, bridging and linking relationships.

The observation sessions lasted for a period of three hours either from the beginning of the session to the lunchbreak or from the lunchbreak to the end of the session. The researcher undertook two activities during the observation sessions. The first activity was to sit and observe how the program was being delivered and how learners were engaging with the material that was being presented to them. The second activity was field interviewing. Field interviewing was used to gain insight into the perspectives of learners and facilitators on the contributions of NFE to social capital outcomes. Field interviewing is a more informal type of interviewing than structured or semi-structured interviews and is intended to gather the perspective of the interviewee on a particular issue (Singleton Jr & Straits, 2005, p. 319).

Field interviews took place between the researcher and the facilitator of the NFE program and between the researcher and some learners from the program. The observations made by the

researcher in the first activity of the observation session informed the content of the field interviews.

4.7 Analysis

The means of analysis for the data in this research project is more tied to the methods used than to the overall case study design. However, the design for the analysis is within-case as opposed to cross-case. The latter is used where more than one case study is compiled in a research project. This research project seeks to provide a holistic analysis of the NFE programs under investigation with the intention of contributing to the wider academic discussion on NFE efficacy.

Coding was the main method used in processing the data. Coding requires pieces of data to be classified and made easily retrievable (Babbie, 2007, p. 384). The surveys were completed with pen and paper. Immediately following the two sessions needed to administer the survey, the researcher had the responses translated from the language of the learners to English. The researcher typed the English translation into the survey template in a Microsoft Word document. This allowed for easy searching of key phrases and perspectives. The content of the following documents produced by the providing organisation were also manually coded.

- The providing organisation's proposal
- The providing organisation's articles of association
- Three Annual Reports
- Twelve Quarterly Reports

Each of these documents was searched for references to either of the four NFE programs under investigation. The references were combined according to the NFE program. This helped to map the chronology of each of the programs and to ascertain key themes related to their planning, implementation and evaluation.

The results of the learning circle were recorded by one of the facilitation team. He was fluent in both the language of the learners (Rukiga or Rutooro) and English. While the learning circles were conducted in the language of the learners, the results were recorded in a mixture of the local language and English. At the end of each learning circle the researcher debriefed the facilitator and recorder to gather any further information that may not have been recorded and to gauge their perspectives on what the learners had had to say.

The researcher took the notes made by the recorder and wrote each point on a separate index card. Written at the top of each index card was the NFE program and the relationship that was being discussed at the time the point was made. Ideas that were repeated were recorded on separate index cards. These cards could then easily be sorted across the NFE programs. This process was useful for finding trends in the responses made and to be able to link learners' responses to specific indicators of changes in wellbeing. Before the similarities across the NFE programs are considered, the results from the survey and learning circle for each NFE program will be considered separately.

4.8 Research quality

Conventional criteria for evaluating research quality are internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity. Yet it has been argued that such criteria are only appropriate for positivistic studies and not those guided by alternative paradigms like in this research project. Since this research project is based on the interpretive paradigm with a constructivist epistemology different research quality criteria need to be articulated. Guba and Lincoln (1989) propose five criteria for assessing the quality of research situated within a constructivist epistemology and four criteria for assessing the quality of case studies. The two groups of criteria draw a distinction between the research process and the research product, in

this research project, a case study report. Following is a brief description of each criterion and an explanation of how each contributes to this research project.

4.8.1 Criteria for quality constructivist research

4.8.1.1 Credibility

According to this criterion, research is credible if its findings, as constructed by the researcher, are congruent with the reality constructed by the stakeholders in the NFE program under investigation. Credibility can be increased by maximising the time spent with the programs and making ongoing observations; debriefing between the researcher and a peer who is not a stakeholder in the program; and checking the researcher's interpretations with stakeholders prior to publication (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, pp. 237-239). Observations were made by the researcher concurrently with the other data collection methods for the duration of the time spent with the programs. The notes taken during the learning circles were checked by participants for reliability. The researcher's interpretations of the programs and stakeholder's comments from the various data collection methods were checked with respondents prior to analysis.

4.8.1.2 Transferability

The criterion of transferability speaks to the capacity for the generalisability of the findings to other NFE programs. The positivistic parallel for transferability is external validity where the researcher must establish the generalisability of their findings to other similar cases. Non-positivistic approaches to inquiry place more emphasis on the reader of a study determining the generalisability of the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 241). For this research project rich descriptions will allow the reader to identify points of connection with similar NFE programs.

4.8.1.3 Dependability

Two concerns with the learning circles were that participants would give answers based on their presumptions of the researcher's expectations or would not answer honestly where they felt their answers might be critical of the program and thus jeopardise the relationship. The first concern was addressed by employing a facilitator with the researcher adopting an observational role. The second concern was addressed by facilitating the learning circles in the absence of program staff.

4.8.1.4 Confirmability

The confirmability criterion seeks to evaluate to what degree the research findings are an accurate representation of the research context and not unduly influenced by the researcher's own opinions and beliefs (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 243). In order to confirm the research findings as an accurate representation of the research context, every effort will be made to link data with its sources and to explicitly outline the approaches used to arrive at the final interpretation.

The fact that the researcher has been familiar with the providing organisation as it was being designed through to its implementation could unduly influence the confirmability of the findings. In investigating the practices of NGOs in Uganda, Barr, Fafchamps and Owens found that many evaluations were conducted internally (Barr et al., 2005). This is problematic as these NGOs may be unwilling to admit the weaknesses or failures of their programs particularly where the results will determine future funding arrangements. In order to minimise the potential negative impact of the researcher's relationship to the program on the confirmability of the findings, the results of the data collection were cross-checked with participants in the study prior to analysis.

4.8.1.5 Accuracy

The accuracy of the data from the surveys was supported by presenting the survey in the language spoken by respondents as opposed to the language spoken by the researcher. The process of having two translators translate the survey from English to Runyoro (the local language) and from Runyoro and English respectively attested to the accuracy of the translations.

To ensure the accuracy of data collected from respondents during the focus groups, another person was employed to take notes. The role of note-taker was additional to the person employed to facilitate the focus group. The notes made by the note-taker were made in the local language so as to protect the integrity of individual's contributions.

4.8.2 Criteria for quality case studies

The previous set of criteria was concerned with the research process and was used to inform the development of the research design. This set of four criteria is concerned with the research product and was used in documenting the findings of this research project in the next chapter.

4.8.2.1 Resonance

The resonance criterion refers to how consistent the final report is with the paradigm chosen prior to the commencement of research (Lincoln & Guba, 2002, p. 206). The interpretive paradigm that has shaped the development of this research project is based on the premise that the social world has already been pre-interpreted by the actors that constitute it. With as many interpretations as there are actors, the case study report should reflect this diversity by including the perspectives of different actors within the case under investigation. The researcher acknowledged the presence of different groups of actors within the NFE programs, each with their own expectations and indicators of success. While this research project was

primarily concerned with the perspective of the learner in an attempt to fill the gap left from previous research, it has still taken into consideration the perspective of program staff and program facilitators.

4.8.2.2 Rhetoric

The rhetorical criterion refers to the overall presentation of the case study (Lincoln & Guba, 2002, p. 207). The purpose of this research project is to explore how NFE impacts upon changes to learner's relations with other individuals, groups and authority structures, defined as social capital outcomes as they are articulated by the learners themselves. These changes in learners' relationships lead to such things as trust and cooperation that enable individuals to become more active in improving their own wellbeing across four dimensions: self-sufficiency; equity; health; and social cohesion. Academic writing has its own conventions that the researcher has made every attempt to adhere to in documenting the findings of this research project in the next chapter. At the same time however, it is also hoped that the language might be clear enough for it to be accessible to NFE practitioners and learners as they attempt to improve their practice.

4.8.2.3 Empowerment

The empowerment criterion refers to the impact of the research on its readers (Lincoln & Guba, 2002, p. 211). The findings of this research project have been written in such a way as to help raise awareness amongst NFE practitioners and learners of the impact of NFE on social capital to guide them in choosing appropriate structural and pedagogical strategies to enhance the presence of social capital outcomes for learners. This criterion is hard to judge without assessing the impact upon its being made available. As a result of the pre-existing relationship the researcher has with the program it is hoped that the level of this impact might be assessed at least in an informal manner.

4.8.2.4 Applicability

The applicability criterion is similar to the transferability criterion described above. It refers to the ability of the reader, in the absence of the researcher, to be able to engage with the report in such a way as to identify similarities with their own context (Lincoln & Guba, 2002, p. 211). So in the same way as with the transferability criterion, the researcher sought to give depth to the descriptions where the data have allowed. Attempting to meet these criteria has been helped by the reduction of case studies from two to one and by the use of more than one method of data collection.

4.9 Ethical considerations

Informed consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality and accuracy constitute the four main areas of ethical consideration for research in the social sciences (Christians, 2000). This section outlines the thought processes and steps undertaken by the researcher to ensure that the research was conducted ethically using the four areas of consideration as the structure. UNE HREC approval (HE09/161) was given prior to the study being undertaken.

4.9.1 Informed consent

Informed consent is an important means of ensuring that the participant has a clear understanding of the research they are being asked to participate in. Any participation required the full and voluntary consent of participants. Prior to their consent being given, learners were read a Participant Information Statement (Appendix 1) that outlined the nature of the study and its purposes, with attention given to their role in the research. Anticipating that some participants would lack the literacy skills necessary to read the letter independently, the researcher ensured that the letter was read out for them in their first language. Participants were given the opportunity to withdraw from the study at any time but none did.

4.9.2 Privacy and confidentiality

The Participant Information Statement explained the privacy and confidentiality procedures implemented by the researcher for individuals and the program under investigation. These procedures included the secure storage of all responses and the use of coding in the reporting of results. In line with the UNE Human Research Ethics Committee requirements, the letter indicated that the data would be kept for five years, accessible only to the researcher, after which, the paper-based data would be shredded and electronic data would be permanently erased.

4.10 Assumptions and limitations of the study

There are four assumptions upon which the theoretical framework outlined in the last chapter are based. These are:

1. That social capital has multiple sources, in particular, bonding, bridging and linking relationships;
2. That NFE will have contributed to changes in learner's relationships;
3. That the changes mediated by NFE will have occurred as a result of either the structural features or pedagogical strategies employed;
4. That wellbeing is holistic.

The following four limitations have also been identified:

1. A lack of baseline data on learners prior to their enrolment in NFE;
2. That only one providing organisation was investigated;
3. That none of the trainers had educational qualifications;
4. That the long-term impacts on wellbeing could not be investigated.

These assumptions and limitations will be considered in the more detail in the following two sub-sections.

4.10.1 Assumptions

The four assumptions identified on page 125 will be considered in more detail in this subsection. They help make the theoretical framework presented in the previous chapter relevant to this research project.

4.10.1.1 That social capital has multiple sources, in particular, bonding, bridging and linking relationships

Social capital is a dynamic concept constituting a range of relationships. Relationships that represent social capital can be, but are not limited to, relationships between individuals.

Social capital is also present in relationships that individuals hold with groups. In the case of this research project, social capital was present in the relationship that the learners had with the providing organisation.

Using Woolcock's multidimensional concept of social capital, this research project operates on the assumption that the relationships that constitute social capital can be classified according to three types, bonding, bridging and linking relationships.

4.10.1.2 That NFE will have contributed to changes in learner's relationships

If learning is a social process, as is assumed, then it is logical to suggest that NFE will contribute to changes in learners' relationships. This supports two purposes of the research project that are to investigate which relationships in particular are affected by NFE, and whether these affects are positive, negative or otherwise.

4.10.1.3 That the changes mediated by NFE will have occurred as a result of either the structural features or pedagogical strategies employed

It was necessary to decide beforehand what features of the NFE programs under investigation would be considered for their impacts on social capital outcomes. It was assumed that the features most likely to impact on social capital outcomes were the structural features and the pedagogical strategies. The structural features include such elements as the location of the program, the requirements for the trainers, individuals or groups responsible for oversight of the program, and the process by which NFE is planned for, implemented and evaluated. The pedagogical strategies refer to the strategies employed by the trainers to deliver their program.

4.10.1.4 That wellbeing is holistic

A concern with the existing literature on NFE has been the preoccupation with economic outcomes. The researcher prefers the view that individual wellbeing is the product of a range of outcomes including but not limited to economic. This holistic conceptualisation can accommodate elements such as physical and mental health, social activity, living conditions and environmental quality. This assumption supports the use of the OECD indicators of wellbeing that also adopt a holistic approach to understanding wellbeing.

4.10.2 Limitations

The four limitations identified above will be considered in more detail in this subsection. They have not compromised the quality of the data collected or the integrity of the results but are acknowledged for their potential contribution to providing further directions for future research.

4.10.2.1 A lack of baseline data on learners prior to their enrolment in NFE

Understandably, the providing organisation under investigation was primarily concerned with its two main activities, providing NFE and running a microfinance association. They had made sporadic attempts to collect data on their members but the results were often incomplete. Further similar questions were not asked so there was no ability to draw conclusions as to any trends that may be present within the learning community. The research project began after the providing organisation had begun implementing NFE, so it was not possible for the researcher to collect these baseline data. This feeds into the fourth limitation as the absence of such data makes it difficult but not impossible to comment on the long-term sustainability of changes to learner's wellbeing.

4.10.2.2 That only one providing organisation was investigated

It was feasible to investigate only one providing organisation for this research project. The researcher had initially intended to investigate a second providing organisation but the internal dynamics of that providing organisation were as such during the first period of data collection in April 2010 as to make it impossible. It would have been beneficial to investigate NFE programs delivered by a second organisation to account for any possible organisational influences on learners' social capital outcomes.

4.10.2.3 That none of the trainers had educational qualifications

While the trainers of the four NFE programs under investigation did a commendable job in teaching their skills, none of them possessed an educational qualification. It is not anticipated that this would necessarily reduce the efficacy of the programs but it would have been interesting to compare the social capital outcomes for programs delivered by trainers with and without educational qualifications.

4.10.2.4 That the long-term impacts on wellbeing could not be investigated

Owing to a lack of baseline data and the relatively short time period in which the researcher had to complete the project, it was not possible to investigate the long-term impacts of NFE on learner's relationships and their wellbeing. Sustainability is an important measure of efficacy. At the time that the research project ended, the providing organisation was entering a period of transition owing to a cessation of a significant amount of their funding. It would have been interesting to have assessed whether the impacts that were observed could be maintained the more time had elapsed since NFE was complete and with a possible change in the relationship with the providing organisation.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the design for the research project, addressing the three research questions that have been posed. Framed from an interpretive paradigm with a constructivist epistemology, the research design was developed to give the researcher the opportunity to explore how NFE has changed the relationships of learners (social capital outcomes) and how these relationships have impacted upon their wellbeing across four dimensions: self-sufficiency, equity, health and social cohesion. Case study was the chosen design with three data collection methods, survey, learning circles and observation, used to enhance the quality of the research project in the areas of credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability and accuracy. The following chapter discusses the findings of the research.

CHAPTER 5 FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the data collected to assess the potential impacts of NFE on the social capital outcomes of learners as outlined in the three research questions. In the course of collecting data, it became apparent that the providing organisation uses two models for delivering NFE. Each model was used to implement two programs. While both models have impacted upon the social capital outcomes of learners, these impacts have not been as widespread for one program as for another.

5.1.1 Chapter structure

The chapter begins with a description of the two models used to implement NFE. Following this, each of the four NFE programs is considered in detail. The chapter ends with a summary of the key findings from the analysis. This will be useful in assessing the social capital outcomes of learners that will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.2 NFE program models

During the collection of data, it became apparent that two distinct models were being used to implement NFE. Each model was used to implement two programs. The two models are considered below.

5.2.1 Model 1

Model 1 was used to implement the food-processing and organic farming programs. A summary of the features of Model 1 is outlined in Table 4.

Table 4: NFE Program Model 1

	Model 1
Delivery mode	Intensive courses of a maximum of 5 days
Instructional mode	Knowledge transfer, group work
Venue	Learner's home
Recruitment of trainers	Trainers recruited by providing organisation
Facilitation	Programs provided at no cost to learners
Assessment	Informal assessment

It was initially intended to provide all programs according to this model. The Executive Director of the providing organisation had employed this model to implement NFE in a previous organisation. The reasons for which a new model was employed to deliver the remaining two programs that are the focus of this research project will be discussed later in the chapter.

The programs were offered in an intensive mode that ran for a maximum of five days. They were run out of one learner's home. The venue was selected based on space and location, necessitating the least amount of travel by the remaining learners. The providing organisation was responsible for recruiting the trainers. They had allocated money in their budget such that they could offer the programs at no cost to learners. The budget covered the costs of the trainer, resources, scholastic materials, refreshments and transport reimbursements.

Successful completion of the program was based on attendance at all sessions of the course and active participation in activities. Learners received a certificate for completing the program.

There were two instructional modes used in the programs in Model 1, knowledge transfer and group work. Each day of the program was divided up according to these two modes. For the food-processing program, a similar pattern was followed each day of the program, with a morning and afternoon session. The morning session was devoted to theory. The trainer

presented the theory, with a learner taking notes on large pieces of paper in view of learners. Learners wrote these notes into the exercise books they had been provided with. Notes were written in the local language. The content of the morning sessions included processing food for income generation, using preservatives to extend the life of foodstuffs, packaging and labelling and recipes. The providing organisation was not equipped with the resources to provide printed notes of the trainer's information. In writing down such information, learners had a resource to take with them from the training that they could use in their own food-processing endeavours.

Following the presentation of theory, the trainer made a practical demonstration of what the learners were to produce in the afternoon session. In the afternoon session, learners worked in small groups to produce juices, jams, tomato sauce, potato crisps and banana wine. At the end of the afternoon session learners were able to sample the foods they had processed.

The organic farming program placed a much greater emphasis on theory than on practice. This was partly because of the context in which the lessons learnt were to be applied. It was only possible to demonstrate on one plot of land the skills learners intended to replicate on their own land. As such, the trainer tended to give verbal instruction to learners on topics such as constructing kitchen gardens, sack mode farming and the production of organic fertilisers and pesticides, while learners took notes in the exercise books they had been provided with. The verbal instruction was aided by demonstration where possible. To compensate for the learner's lack of ability to practice the skills being taught during the program's implementation, the trainer was available to visit learners on their own plots of land post-training and evaluate their efforts.

5.2.2 Model 2

The carpentry and tailoring programs were implemented according to Model 2, the main features of which are summarised in Table 5.

Table 5: NFE Program Model 2

	Model 2
Delivery mode	Apprenticeships lasting between 6 and 12 months
Instructional mode	Guided instruction
Venue	Apprenticeship training centre
Recruitment of trainers	Trainers recruited by zonal management committees
Facilitation	Programs provided at cost to learners
Assessment	Formal assessment

As indicated above, the providing organisation had not intended to employ this model from the outset. Model 2 was developed in response to the large number of young people aged 18-25 years who were minimally schooled or unschooled living within the providing organisation's area of operation. Recognising the role that these young people could play in the future wellbeing of their community, the providing organisation chose an apprenticeship model for the carpentry and tailoring programs.

The inspiration for the apprenticeship programs came from another local organisation providing tailoring training to young women who were victims of sexual abuse and domestic violence. This organisation had experienced success in helping these women achieve self-reliance through the establishment of small income-generating enterprises upon the completion of their training.

Instead of duplicating the service, the providing organisation negotiated a partnership with the other local organisation to offer more apprenticeships and improve the resources used in training. In order to cater for the male youth, a similar carpentry apprenticeship program was developed. The reason for this is that in the project area tailoring is typically viewed as an

occupation for females and carpentry as an occupation for males. This is evidenced by enrolments in fee-paying institutions within the same district where tailoring and carpentry have exclusively female and male cohorts.

The programs lasted between six and twelve months. The difference in course length is attributable to the way in which the programs were managed. Zonal management committees established by the providing organisation each oversaw one apprenticeship training centre. The zonal management committees were responsible for recruiting trainers and setting their own specifications for the programs. The zonal management committees tended to recruit trainers from within the local area. Trainers were artisans who initially volunteered their time. This was consistent with the providing organisation's intention to implement NFE at no cost to learners. The providing organisation's budget could not cover the costs of programs that ran for such an extended period of time. Support from the providing organisation came in the form of resources, monitoring and evaluation and recruiting assessors. External assessors were recruited.

The main instructional mode used in the programs implemented according to Model 2 can best be described as guided instruction. A small group of learners developed their skill in the company of a recognised artisan in either carpentry or tailoring. Since the trainers tended to be recruited from within the local area, in most cases there was an existing relationship between the trainer and the learners. Trainers developed their own programs according to the skills they discerned an individual needed in order to generate income from carpentry or tailoring. Learners developed skills through working on specified projects. On one field visit the researcher observed that tailoring students were working at producing skirts for school students that required pleating of the fabric. On another field visit, the researcher observed that the carpentry students were developing their skills at making window frames and shutters.

An external assessor was called when the trainer deemed that their apprentices had acquired sufficient skills to pass out as a carpenter or tailor. Upon receiving a satisfactory report from the assessor, learners were presented with a certificate from the providing organisation as recognition of their having completed the apprenticeship.

During the course of the providing organisation's implementation of these programs 12 apprenticeship training centres (ATCs) were established. The carpentry and tailoring programs operated out of each centre. In some cases these centres operated out of local churches. These buildings were secure places for trainers to store materials and tools when not in use. One centre ran out of a shop, the use of which was made available by the owner at minimal cost to the cohort. When establishing an ATC, due consideration was given to the location to ensure that it was centrally located, so as not to disadvantage potential learners from more remote locations within the area of operation. Unlike the programs in Model 1 where learners were reimbursed for their transport costs, learning from programs in Model 2 were expected to travel by their own means.

Due to the decentralised management of Model 2, the ATCs developed as distinct entities and there was minimal interaction between them. The most obvious similarity was that all programs were geared towards equipping learners with basic skills in carpentry and tailoring. In the course of field interviews, project staff identified a centre that was regarded as the model which others were encouraged to imitate. The zonal management committee had secured a weatherproof venue out of which the trainings could take place. They had even found a secure store for their materials. Some of the other centres had no fixed venue out of which to operate and would conduct their training outdoors possibly under a tree. Some of the other centres had no secure place to keep their equipment.

On a field visit, the trainer and carpentry pupils showed the researcher a structure under construction that would provide additional space for training to take place from. From the researcher's field visits, the trainers were clearly passionate about imparting their skills to local youth and had established a close bond with their cohorts.

An active zonal management committee supported the centre. The members of the zonal management committee had been members of the providing organisation since its establishment in 2004.

The researcher visited the home of one lady who sat on the zonal management committee. In conversation with her she reported on the changes that had taken place in her local community since the providing organisation had started implementing its activities and how she had benefited personally through her participation in the microfinance association. Her gratitude and that of others at what had been done to improve their wellbeing produced acts of generosity, with time, money and resources being donated. She had donated part of her land for the cultivation of banana trees the fruit of which was used to produce banana wine. Another part of her land she had donated to a group of young males who had established a poultry-keeping enterprise.

5.3 Food-processing

It became apparent through the learning circle that while the program had at first been well received, people had become frustrated when trying to generate income. The trainer for the food-processing program was a female who directed a women's food-processing association in a neighbouring district. The Executive Director of the providing organisation had an existing relationship with her from when he had employed her to deliver a food-processing program for the previous organisation he was employed in.

5.3.1 Learner perspectives

Six learners from the food-processing program completed the survey and 21 attended the learning circle. The food-processing program was run in the fourth quarter of 2009. At the end of the program a group of female learners established a food-processing association that exists to the current time.

5.3.1.1 Survey

Of the six people from the food-processing program that completed the survey in 2010, two people indicated that they expected to make money as a result of completing the program.

When asked what they expected to achieve from the program they responded,

“To get money. (Respondent A)

“To know more knowledge about catering.” (Respondent B)

Another four respondents indicated that they had enrolled in the program out of a desire to learn and at least use their newly acquired skills in their households.

“Because I want to learn. I enjoy learning” (Respondent C)

“I wanted to learn and to be able to help the orphans at home.” (Respondent D)

“To learn new things and work with my group” (Respondent E)

“To learn new things” (Respondent F)

There is a pattern to these responses based on the age of the respondents. Respondents A and B indicated their age as between 18 and 25 years. Respondents C, E and F indicated their age as between 36 and 45 years. Respondent D indicated their age as between 26 and 35 years.

The two youngest respondents expected their education to impact upon their employability and income status. Yet it was the older respondents (C, D and E) that appeared to have been more successful at generating income.

In many of the discussions the researcher had with members of the providing organisation, people often made reference to the orphans that were under their care. The challenge of caring for orphans and the desire to see them experience a healthy and productive future were

often cited as reasons for people joining the providing organisation in the first place. The most recent statistics from UNAIDS suggest that 7.2% of Uganda's population has HIV which equates to almost 1.5 million people (UNAIDS, 2011). UNAIDS fifth stocktaking report on Children and AIDS 2010 estimated that 2.7 million children in Uganda have lost one or both of their parents to HIV/AIDS (UNICEF, 2010, p. 48). Quantitative data on HIV prevalence in the district where the providing organisation operates is not available but based on the observations of the researcher, the majority of households represented by the membership of the providing organisation had in some way been affected by HIV/AIDS.

The food-processing program was found to have a direct impact on household food security.

“I have been able to grow more food for my family and sell others” (Respondent C)

“We have more food at home and more to sell.” (Respondent D)

“I am growing more crops now for my family and I plan to grow more to sell” (Respondent E)

All six respondents wrote that they would complete another program with the providing organisation. Three of the six respondents wrote that they hoped to develop themselves by completing more training. The other three respondents wrote that they enjoyed learning and wished to learn more about food-processing.

5.3.1.2 Learning Circle

The results of the learning circle in January 2012 indicated a high level of satisfaction amongst learners for the program. They spoke highly of the trainer with one learner saying,

In case the trainers are in Kamwenge, we can help them in anyway and likewise when I am in Fort Portal she can help me. We have a direct linkage between us and her. She has become our friend and really she has helped us and gave us three containers and we gave her our wine. (Respondent G)

The trainer had not only imparted her comprehensive knowledge of food-processing but had also helped the food-processing association to secure resources and hosted an exchange visit with the food-processing association she coordinated in a neighbouring district.

During the learning circle, learners were asked to explain the small number of male members in the association. The clearest explanation was that few men completed the initial program. The male and female participants in the learning circle agreed that the food-processing program was much more likely to be completed by females. Culturally, women are responsible for the cultivation and preparation of food. Another possible explanation is that the trainer was female. One of the five men in the learning circle explained that, as the trainer was a woman who also coordinated a women's food-processing association, the program was perceived as being for women. The researcher had attended another food-processing program facilitated by the same trainer in 2004 where she had co-presented with a male. The gender balance between learners in this earlier program was much more even and at the end of the program it had been the male learners who had shown the greatest enthusiasm for establishing a food-processing association.

Overall, learners were satisfied with the providing organisation. For example, when asked to elaborate upon their relationship with the providing organisation their responses included:

"It helped us in raising the orphans." (Respondent A)

"The organisation taught us on how to live in society. It took us to many areas, regions and in that we got friends. It has also taught us on how to earn a living." (Respondent J)

"We were poor but now we are self reliant." (Respondent K)

"It has brought us together and helped us to know each other." (Respondent E)

Learners could name the three project staff but they did not understand their roles. One learner said,

"For us we are ignorant about what we are supposed to get. Whatever we get we appreciate." (Respondent N)

A request was made by the learners for the project staff to visit and explain to them their roles and how they could help the learners in their establishment of their association. Two key challenges raised by the participants in the learning circle was the lack of a market to sell

their products and a shortage of utensils such as saucepans. The chairperson of the food-processing association said during the learning circle that she was unsure whether the providing organisation was obliged to provide such utensils or whether members had to purchase them for themselves. The facilitation team suggested that learners compile a budget and submit it to the providing organisation's board of management for their consideration. The provision of such utensils post-training was outside the scope of the organisation but there were often surplus funds that could be dispensed at the discretion of project staff.

5.3.1.3 Learner-generated report

The providing organisation's 2011 Annual Report included a report generated by the members of the food-processing association. They described their work in this way:

The food-processing association

was formed in 2009 with an objective of adding value to our agricultural harvests in order to ease marketing and minimize post-harvest wastage. It was formed after a three days' training in food-processing organized by (the providing organisation) after which some focused members who saw it important for our communities to consume organic products that are processed from our locally grown fruits decided to come together and start the group. Since then, we have been processing pineapple juices, fruit jams, tomato sauce, banana wine and cakes. We have a processing room at one of our member's homes. Our group is registered (Community Based Organisation status) both with the Local and District Governments.

They expressed the following aspirations for the future:

We have finished the learning and practicing stage. It is now time to start real business. As such, in our group meeting of 20th October 2011, we have resolved to do the following:

To allow shareholding in order to enable new members to join without being asked to pay for what is already in place. This is intended to enable us to raise more capital

Buying more equipment such as saucepans, tables and their covers, and plastic containers

Buying uniforms for a few processors

To make sure each month we process at least twice (for wine) in order not to run out of products

To streamline our books showing income, expenditure, profits/losses.

Developing labels for our products

Diversifying our wine products to include pineapple wine and banana wine (non-alcoholic) (Annual Report 2011, pp. 13-14).

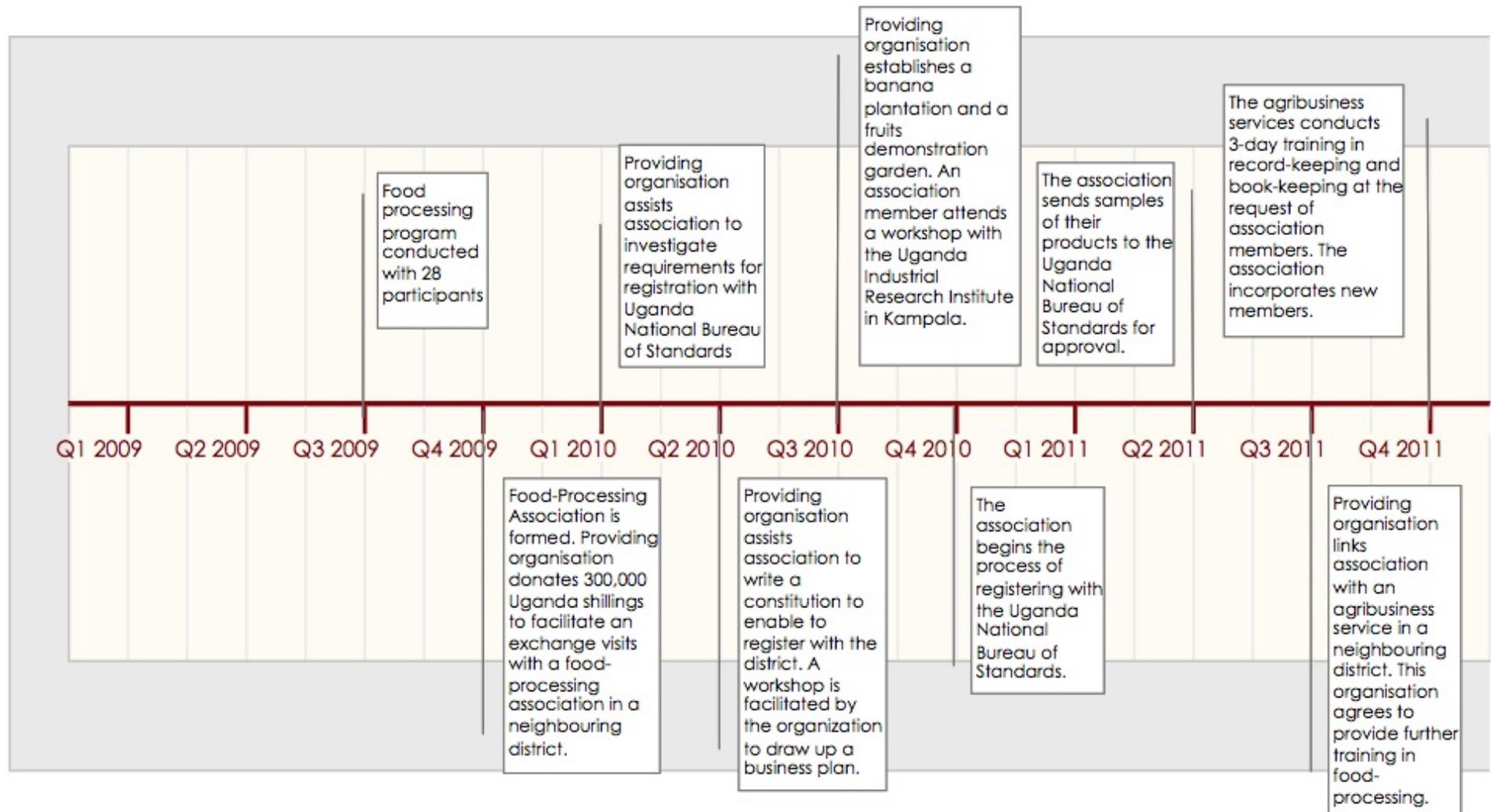
The quality of their reports indicates that they are well organised and have a clear set of goals. This is a product of the book-keeping and record-keeping training that members would have received through their self-help groups and the one week training in Kampala undertaken by one member of the food-processing association.

While they do express an intention of expanding their membership, this is not anticipated to attract learners who had previously experienced difficulty in accessing the association because of their geographical distance from its place of operation. The high degree of closure present between members of the food-processing association could potentially make it difficult for new members to become fully integrated particularly under a shareholding situation.

5.3.2 Organisation perspectives

A timeline showing the providing organisation's activities regarding the food-processing program over the period 2009 to 2011 is provided in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Timeline of activities for food-processing program



In reporting on the food-processing training in the third quarter of 2009, the providing organisation wrote:

The objectives for the (food-processing) training were to equip the youth and guardians with skills on how to add value to their agricultural products, to preserve foods and beverages and minimize wastage during times of abundance; to improve the nutritional status of orphaned and vulnerable children and their guardians; and to create employment. A group has been formed to continue practicing and extending the skill to the 12 centres. This will encourage more youths and adults to engage in growing pineapples, oranges, passion fruit and banana. (Progress Report, third quarter 2009, p.4).

Despite the intention expressed above to extend the program to all 12 centres, the providing organisation's Annual Report for 2010 included the following comment:

We have not been able to carryout more training in food-processing. Our desire was to first strengthen the food-processing group in (the centre where the food-processing association was established) other than training more people and end without tangible results. We supported the food-processing association financially to help them to obtain some equipment to improve on their production and quality of products.

We facilitated one member of the food-processing group to go for a one week training opportunity with the Uganda Industrial Research Institute (UIRI) in Kampala in order to acquire more skills in food-processing. This helped the entire group to be more determined in their endeavour.

We established 1.5 acres plantation of juice species bananas for the food-processing association. The objective was to help them to get banana juice for producing banana wine. Banana juice has been difficult to get because the banana juice species is not common in the local area. This will be a mother garden from which more members can be able to access banana suckers for planting.

We also set up a fruits demonstration garden for the food processors. The objective was to use this garden as a learning site for them so that they can also embrace fruits growing instead of purchasing fruits for processing from the market. The garden will also help them to generate income to support themselves. (Annual Report 2010, pp. 6-7).

The food-processing program was one of the first to be offered by the providing organisation. The small number of learners who formed an association upon completion of the program has continued to work closely with the providing organisation as they have sought to generate income from their newly acquired skills. The providing organisation rewarded the initiative shown by learners in establishing the food-processing association by offering continued technical and financial support. The learners utilised their existing relationship with the providing organisation to become more knowledgeable of the process required to receive certification with the Uganda National Bureau of Standards and to access opportunities for further training.

In the learning circles, learners reported receiving frequent visits from the providing organisation's community development officer (CDO). When the CDO was asked about his visits, he explained that he did so as he was encouraged by their enthusiasm and wanted to offer them as much support as possible towards seeing their goals achieved. For example, the CDO had received a donation of empty wine bottles that he passed on to the association for use in the production of banana wine. The CDO responded to the association members' requests for training in record-keeping and book-keeping by connecting them to an agribusiness service in the neighbouring district.

While there was frequent mention in the quarterly reports of wanting to offer food-processing training to more members of the providing organisation no other program was organised. Budget constraints were cited by the organisation as the reason for this. Members of the association have informally trained people who wanted to learn food-processing.

5.3.3 Researcher perspective

When the learning circle was conducted in January 2012, the association had 14 active members, including three men. The 14 members represented only a small portion of the 40 who initially comprised the association. The learners gave the following reason for the attrition of members,

“Different people come from different areas. They have no means of transport. They have to come from far.” (Respondent M)

Whereas the other three programs were run out of multiple centres, the food-processing program operated out of one centre. The training had attracted members from the providing organisation’s 12 centres of operation. When the program had been completed in the third quarter of 2009 there were 40 people who began the association. As noted, the association’s membership had dwindled to 14 in the three years since it had been founded.

The food-processing program had been run out of a learner’s home. She was a founding member of the providing organisation, treasurer of the board of management and one of the wealthier people in her local area. At the end of the program, she offered some vacant rooms in her house to the association. Since the transport costs to learners had been reimbursed it was easy for learners to attend a program that was at a distance from their home. Once the transport reimbursement was no longer available, it became more difficult for learners to travel the distance to participate in the food-processing association. It appeared that there were not sufficient numbers of motivated and well-resourced learners from other centres to start other food-processing associations.

5.4 Organic farming

The organic farming program operated out of learners’ homes that were designated to become a demonstration home for the benefit of the entire cohort. The trainer was recruited from within the district. He was an employee of the Ugandan Government’s National

Agricultural Advisory Service (NAADS). Topics covered in the organic farming program included constructing kitchen gardens, sack mode farming and the production of organic fertilisers and pesticides. Sack mode farming uses household waste as an organic fertiliser. Household waste is collected in a sack that is buried in the ground as a way of fertilising the soil.

5.4.1 Learner perspectives

Twenty-two learners from the organic farming program completed a survey in April 2010 and 35 attended the learning circle in January 2012. The farming programs were run in the third and fourth quarters of 2009. The first program was attended by 43 youth from the 12 centres out of which the providing organisation operates. The attendees were tasked with promoting the second training amongst other youth in their respective centres. In the fourth quarter of 2009 the program was implemented in all twelve centres and a total number of 196 youth (107 males and 89 females) attended.

5.4.1.1 Survey

Improving employability and household was a key concern of learners from the organic farming program. More than any other program, learners from the organic farming program indicated their motivation for generating this income as helping others particularly orphans.

“To learn more skills and knowledge in order to help orphans. To add on what I already know.” (Respondent I, aged above 45 years)

“To look after orphans.” (Respondent J, 70 years)

“To be able to get a job and look after orphans.” (Respondent P, 18-25 years)

“To be able to learn new things and help orphans.” (Respondent S, 36-45 years)

Three respondents indicated that he would not complete another program with the providing organisation.

“No, because I haven’t received anything.” (Respondent I, aged above 45 years)

“I haven’t benefited.” (Respondent J, aged 70 years)

“I have got work and I don’t think I have time to do training.” (Respondent L, aged 26-35 years)

As indicated in the quarterly reports to be discussed below, learners from the organic farming programs received agricultural inputs such as seeds at no cost. The results of the learning circle indicated that there was some concern amongst learners that these inputs had not been evenly distributed amongst those that were eligible.

5.4.1.2 Learning Circle

The learning circle for the organic farming program was held in January 2012 in the main town of the district. The reason for this was to make the activity accessible to member from all twelve centres in which the providing organisation operated. The researcher observed that many of the people who completed the survey also attended the learning circle.

Relationships between learners were built as a result of the organic farming. This was evidenced by comments such as:

“I got to know other learners through the training and I’ve kept in touch with them. We used to meet but this time we know each other and try to help each other in farming systems, sharing ideas.”(Respondent A)

“Through knowing them (other learners) we are able to share items such as pesticides and seeds. Through the training we share knowledge and information on modern ways of farming.”(Respondent B)

An ongoing relationship had also been established between the learners and their trainer.

“Because the trainer is local it doesn’t cost us much in transport to go and visit him to ask further questions. We have a direct linkage with him as he is accessible.” (Respondent E)

“We learnt on the improved methods of farming. They also said that in any case where the cattle or goats get a problem we call him for rescue.” (Respondent J)

“Three members of the group have the trainer’s phone number.” (Respondent K)

“We called him again and he helped us on how to inseminate cattle and helped me on how to apply and plant my fruits.” (Respondent H)

They commended the providing organisation’s decision to recruit a trainer from within the district as it had enabled them to maintain contact with him following the program’s

completion. They had not received further training from the trainer but he had made several visits to initiatives started by the learners to offer advice.

Perspectives on learners' relationships with the providing organisation were more variable:

“Because of the staff we can get money through the bank to buy some of the things we need for farming. After the training the project gave us seeds and two demonstration homes were set up to show us what to do. They were all approved by NAADS.” (Respondent A)

“We got income through their programmes and now I can sustain my family.” (Respondent B)

“There is no discrimination towards the support given.”

There were a small number of learners, who vocalised their dissatisfaction,

“We requested for loans but we were not given. Last year some students never got books (from the school book distribution) especially candidates in S4, S6 and P7. They should give us certificates and benefits to the coordinators.” (Respondent M)

“We chose our leader and in the long run the board refuses him.” (Respondent N)

A key point of discussion in the learning circle was with regards to the savings and credit cooperative organisation (SACCO) started by the providing organisation. A SACCO is a, “community membership-based financial institution...formed and owned by their members in promotion of their economic interests. These institutions mobilise and intermediate savings exclusively within their membership” (Ahimbisibwe, 2007, p. 1). Membership in the SACCO was contingent upon the purchase of shares. Members were entitled to draw low-interest bearing loans from the SACCO to support the establishment of income-generating activities or the purchase of household items. The greater the number of shares the larger the sum of money members could apply to borrow. One learner commented that,

“Sometimes getting the money from the SACCO is hard. They give us less money and we only have three months to pay it back. We need more money to buy what we need. The organisation needs to extend the terms of loans.” (Respondent M)

Learners felt that this was unfair as the sum of money most members could apply to borrow was insufficient to establish an income-generating activity. At the time of the learning circle, the inflation rate in Uganda was 25.7% whereas only twelve months earlier it had been 5%

(Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2011; 2012, p. 3). The impact of the elevated inflation rate was that the cost of resources needed for farming had increased significantly. The learners expressed a desire to see the providing organisation increase the amount that could be borrowed temporarily until prices returned to normal. Their frustration was increased by the fact that they had written a number of letters to the providing organisation expressing their concerns but had not received a reply.

“We wrote the report but some groups have never brought them to the people.” (Respondent N)

The facilitation team felt that part of the learners’ dissatisfaction with the providing organisation was attributable to their not clearly understanding how a SACCO operated. They commented that the SACCO manager had only recently become more accessible to learners.

One learner’s resolution was that,

“The project SACCO should come to the centres and train people.” (Respondent A)

The learners who attended the learning circle were very concerned that all members of the providing organisation received an equal share of the benefits. There were some SACCO members known to the learners who had failed to pay back their loans. According to the way a SACCO operates, if someone defaults on their loan, then it reduces the amount from which people have to draw on and increases the stringency of the loan application process.

5.4.1.3 Letters

A female learner from the organic farming program wrote the following to the providing organisation:

In 2009, we were visited by the staff of (the providing organisation), we were being told to form groups as parents and guardians of orphans and vulnerable children. After that call, we started this group with 28 guardians, 2 males and 26 females.

We started a revolving fund for this group. We would collect money and lend it to a member who would in turn pay it back with a small interest. We also later on started a group garden as a centre. We normally meet every Thursday of the week to discuss about the group garden and even cultivate.

Last year we were given training in modern techniques of putting up a good maize and beans garden. We were also given 70 kgs of maize and 18 kgs of beans as a centre to plant in the garden. One of our group members offered us a piece of her land to cultivate from and together with the instructor we met and did the planting as required.

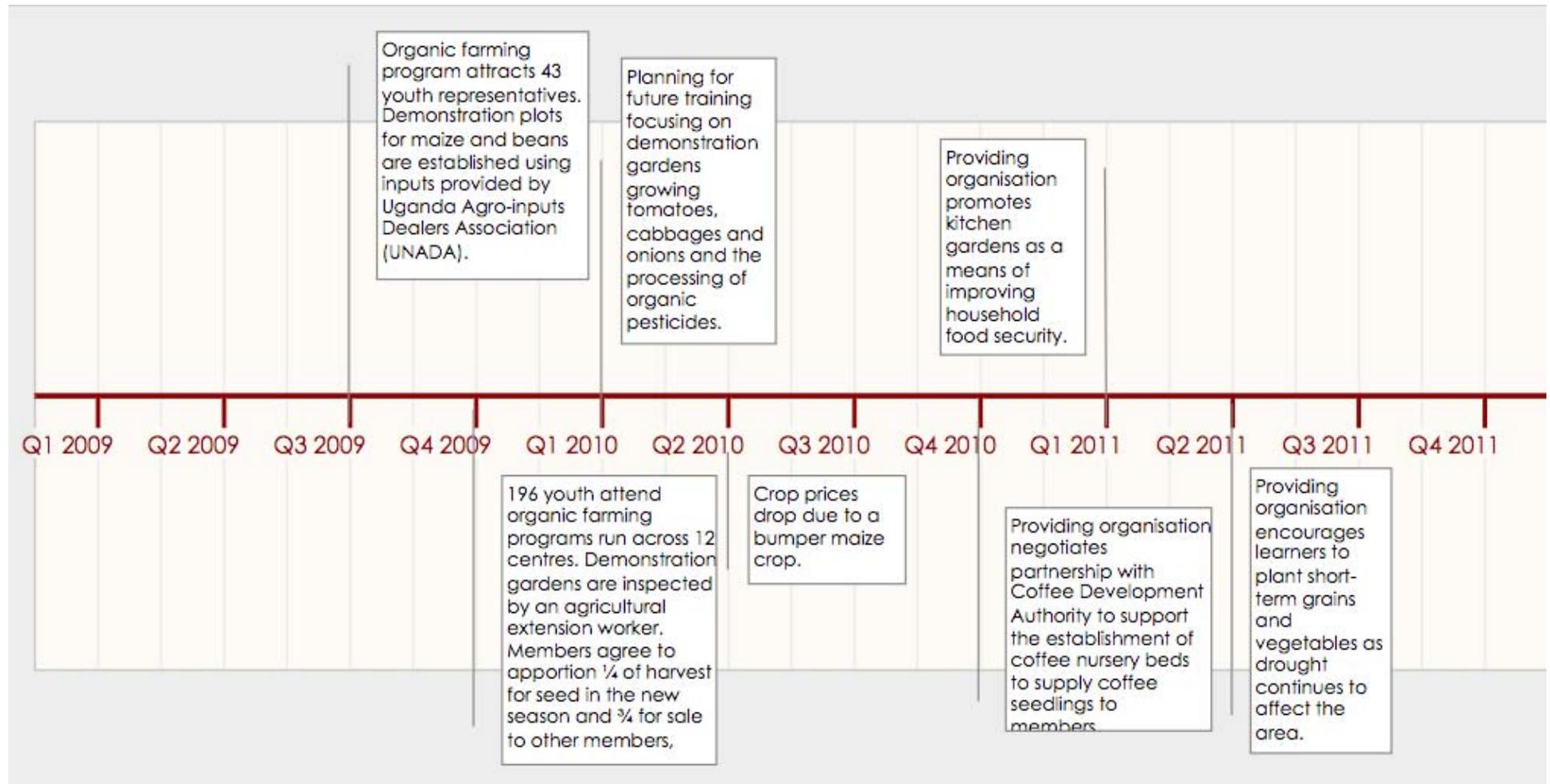
We proudly harvested over 100 kgs of maize and 87 kgs of beans from the garden. With the low prices of the maize, we are currently keeping our harvest in store and waiting for the right time to sell. We are very grateful to (the providing organisation) for giving us the food to feed our families and showing us that we can achieve more if we work together, or use combined effort. (Letter 14).

This letter speaks directly to the bonding relationships that have been strengthened through learners' participation in NFE. Further it demonstrates a consequence of these bonding relationships, namely generosity, with one learner donating land to the group for cultivating maize and beans.

5.4.2 Organisation perspectives

A timeline showing the providing organisation's activities regarding the organic farming program over the period 2009 to 2011 is provided in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Timeline of activities for organic farming program



Considering that the majority of the providing organisation's members were subsistence farmers, there was a potential challenge in that the organic farming program presented farming methods that were unfamiliar to learners. These methods were supported by research as being most beneficial for improving agricultural yields and household nutrition and protecting the environment. Prior to the implementation of the programs, the providing organisation sensitized the community to its content. The following comment was made in the Progress Report for the second quarter in 2010:

We have continued our efforts to sensitize communities about the need to add value to their traditional agricultural practices and adopt improved farming methods. We have been educating them to always aim at maximizing outputs other than valuing the number of acreage tilled. We educate our members to adopt the business element in their agriculture practices other than doing it as a routine they have mastered.

Community mobilization is a continuous endeavour. We continued with a rather not simple task of mobilizing the communities to help them realize the benefits associated with working together in the fight against poverty. (Progress Report, second quarter 2010, pp. 4-5).

The trainer submitted the following report to the providing organisation:

Organic farming technology was conducted in all the centres whereby farmers most especially the Youths were advised to form groups for the success of their enterprises.

In this case farmers were told what Organic Farming is all about, methods in which organic farming can be used. Therefore, farmers were trained how to make kitchen gardens around their homes and the required crops that should be grown there. This was done practically where by farmers participated in gathering materials to be used in making a kitchen garden.

Furthermore, farmers were advised how to make some organic farming fertilisers such as plant tea, liquid manure, compost manure, mulching and some common natural pesticides used in organic farming such as hot pepper or chilli pesticides, wood ash pesticides, tobacco pesticide extraction and animal urine and dung, their mode of action,

the pests they control and how to prepare them. (Progress Report, third quarter 2009, pp. 15-16).

The program was difficult to implement because it was much more affected by local climatic conditions than the other programs. The providing organisation found itself caught between competing interests. The prevailing drought condition in the project area between 2009 and 2011 led the providing organisation to promote the planting of short-term grains and vegetables in order to improve household food security. Improving nutritional standards had been one of the providing organisation's original aims for the program. At the same time, the providing organisation also intended for learners to be able to increase household income through the sale of agricultural outputs. The challenge was that market influences devalued the price of previously valuable short-term crops such as maize and increased the value of long-term crops such as coffee. The providing organisation made the decision to distribute coffee seedlings as they considered it more likely to retain its high value compared to other crops which may have yielded a quicker return.

Project staff of the providing organisation had thought carefully about how the SACCO could be structured so as to avoid problems like the one outlined above. Yet they were still influenced by the fact that SACCO's were an initiative promoted by the government, understanding their endorsement to mean that it must necessarily be beneficial for the learners. However, the results of the learning circle indicated that members were dissatisfied with the way the SACCO was being run.

5.4.3 Researcher perspective

The program had allowed strong relationships to develop between learners. Through these relationships, learners had been able to share experiences, ideas and resources. One learner in the learning circle explained,

“Through the training, members who have more land have been able to share some with other members for growing crops which they couldn’t have done on their own land.”
(Respondent C)

Through her observations, it became evident to the researcher that learners had improved their wellbeing such that they were able to demonstrate generosity to others. Two cases are worthy of mention here.

In the fourth quarter of 2010, the providing organisation became aware of a child-headed household in one of its centres. A 17-year old was left to care for his four siblings after the death of his parents. There was no extended family in the local area to care for them. They were being cared for by an elderly couple but were looking to establish their own home. Members reported the case to the providing organisation having been inspired to want to construct a house for the family. The providing organisation donated 17 iron sheets for roofing and the remainder of the materials to construct the house were donated by members. Members came together to construct the house and the children moved into it in the second quarter of 2011.

In the third quarter of 2011, the child of one of the providing organisation’s members fell from a tree when he had an epileptic seizure. As a result of the fall, he sustained spinal cord injuries that required treatment that the member could not afford. The members of the child’s mothers self-help group banded together to make a financial contribution towards the son’s treatment. In addition to money donated by the providing organisation, the member was able to take her child to Mulago Hospital in Kampala to receive treatment. He has since returned home and has recovered much of his mobility.

The initial proposal for the providing organisation stated as a key goal for members to become self-reliant. These two cases would suggest that the providing organisation has been

able to achieve more than this with members not only being able to help themselves but also to have sufficient time, money and resources to help others.

5.5 Carpentry

With the exception of the centre described above all of the carpentry ATCs operated outdoors. Temporary structures had been erected to provide shelter for learners from the elements. Permanent buildings such as the local churches were used to store equipment and materials outside training hours.

5.5.1 Learner perspectives

Sixteen learners from the carpentry program completed a survey and 29 attended the learning circle.

5.5.1.1 Survey

Of the 16 learners who completed the survey, 15 were less than 25 years. When asked why they enrolled in the program and what they expected to achieve from it, all but one said they were looking to secure employment and to increase their income.

The responses indicate that unemployment was a problem amongst the respondents.

“To learn more about carpentry because I didn’t have a job.” (Respondent C, 26-34 years)

“I didn’t have a job.” (Respondents E and P, 18-25 years)

“To get more knowledge and skills so that I could get something to do.” (Respondent F, 18-25 years)

“Because I wanted to learn something new so that I could get a proper job.” (Respondent H, 18-25 years)

“To get a job.” (Respondents M and N, 18-25 years)

The survey took place in the second quarter of 2010 when only three of the eight apprenticeship training centres had been established. As these centres were in their infancy, it was not anticipated that learners would have achieved their goal of generating income. It

would appear that the main beneficiaries at the time of the survey were the learners' family. Learners reported having made beds, chairs, tables and stools that they kept in their households. Two respondents included information on income they had generated and how they had used it.

The common purpose for any income generated from carpentry was to help the learners themselves and their family. One of the older learners, aged between 36 and 45 years responded to the item on how their family had benefitted wrote,

“Money to send my children to school. I am sending my children to school now.”

(Respondent I)

A youth aged less than 25 years responded that he wanted,

“To be able to learn new things and help people who are orphans due to HIV/AIDS.”

(Respondent Q)

Another wished to complete more training with the organisation to,

“...develop myself and my family and get a job.” (Respondent P)

There is a high incidence of child-headed households within the providing organisation's area of operation. It is a common occurrence in the project area that the eldest child in a household where both parents are deceased will take responsibility for the care of their younger siblings. The responsibility is such that the eldest child is often left with no choice but to discontinue their education. The program was attracting young men who carried primary responsibility for their siblings. However the field interviews with project staff revealed a high rate of attrition leaving learners susceptible to not achieving their goal of being able to help their families.

Six of the respondents stated that they would complete another program with the providing organisation as they felt it would increase their chances of generating income. One respondent wrote,

“Yes to learn more about carpentry so that I could get a job.” (Respondent E)

5.5.1.2 Learning Circle

The learners said that they chose carpentry above other programs because it was not seasonal, which meant they could practice their skills all year round. One learner commented that the skills learnt in the program,

“... are not seasonal, but agriculture is seasonal.” (Respondent E)

However they reported the following challenges to their being able to establish an income generating enterprise,

“We find it a problem in design-making but we lack timber, modernised tools for design.”(Respondent P)

“We lack the space for keeping our products and equipment.” (Respondent O)

“The market for our products is still not favourable. We cannot get certificates after studies” (Respondent N)

“We lack capital and therefore the outcome is still low, for example, carpentry is costly in buying timber, varnish.” (Respondent L)

Some learners had bought shares in the SACCO and had been able to draw loans. Owing to the young age of learners and their lack of capital, they were only able to buy a small number of shares that made them ineligible for loans of the amounts required to purchase tools. Some centres had purchased cheap tools but they broke easily.

Unlike the tailoring program, trainers were not being financially compensated for their time, but were acting as volunteers. On an observation activity, the researcher noted strong, positive relationships between the trainers and learners who would congregate together under a tree or temporary shelter with a small box of tools to share between them. Of their relationship with other learners, one learner in the learning circle commented,

“We have known each other and now we can help each other.” (Respondent B)

Of their relationship with their trainers, another learner in the learning circle commented,

“They monitor our works. They are linked to us and we can directly access them.”

(Respondent J)

One group had attempted to use their carpentry skills to extend their workspace and make it more permanent but had been constrained by a lack of resources. Contrary to the providing organisation’s policy for providing certificates upon completion, the researcher was surprised to hear that a number of learners in the learning circle were yet to receive their certificates. Learners were dissatisfied with this as the certificate was important when approaching potential employers.

5.5.1.3 Letters

The learners from one apprenticeship training centres wrote the following letter to the providing organisation:

We the youth who are learning carpentry here by express our happiness for the opportunity given to us by (the providing organisation). We the youth have benefited a lot since your organisation came to our area. We have been trained and supported to start our income generating activities.

When our groups’ leaders told us of an opportunity to get training equipment, we were very grateful because we had always requested to have the same since the place where the training centre was initially established was far from us. We worked hand in hand with our SHGs leaders and mobilized the youth who are interested in the training. We put in place a committee comprised of some parents and guardians. This committee is responsible for overseeing the workshop and keeping custody of the training equipment. We are very determined to learn and cooperate with the above committee to develop our workshop. So far we are 14 boys though some don’t come regularly because this is planting season they have to plant their gardens or work for money in other people’s gardens.

The biggest challenge we are having is that we are still operating under a tree shade in (the local trading centre). When it rains, we have nowhere to work from. The small room we have is only for keeping our equipment. We are in urgent need of a shelter. Our committee has negotiated with

the local Catholic Church and the local primary school and they all offered free space where we can put our workshop. Some well-wishers have already pledged to contribute trees for logs if we are able to build but we are stuck on how to get iron sheets. Our desire is to build a semi permanent house that can contain a room for Carpentry, Tailoring and a small office for our Centre Committee. (Letter 19)

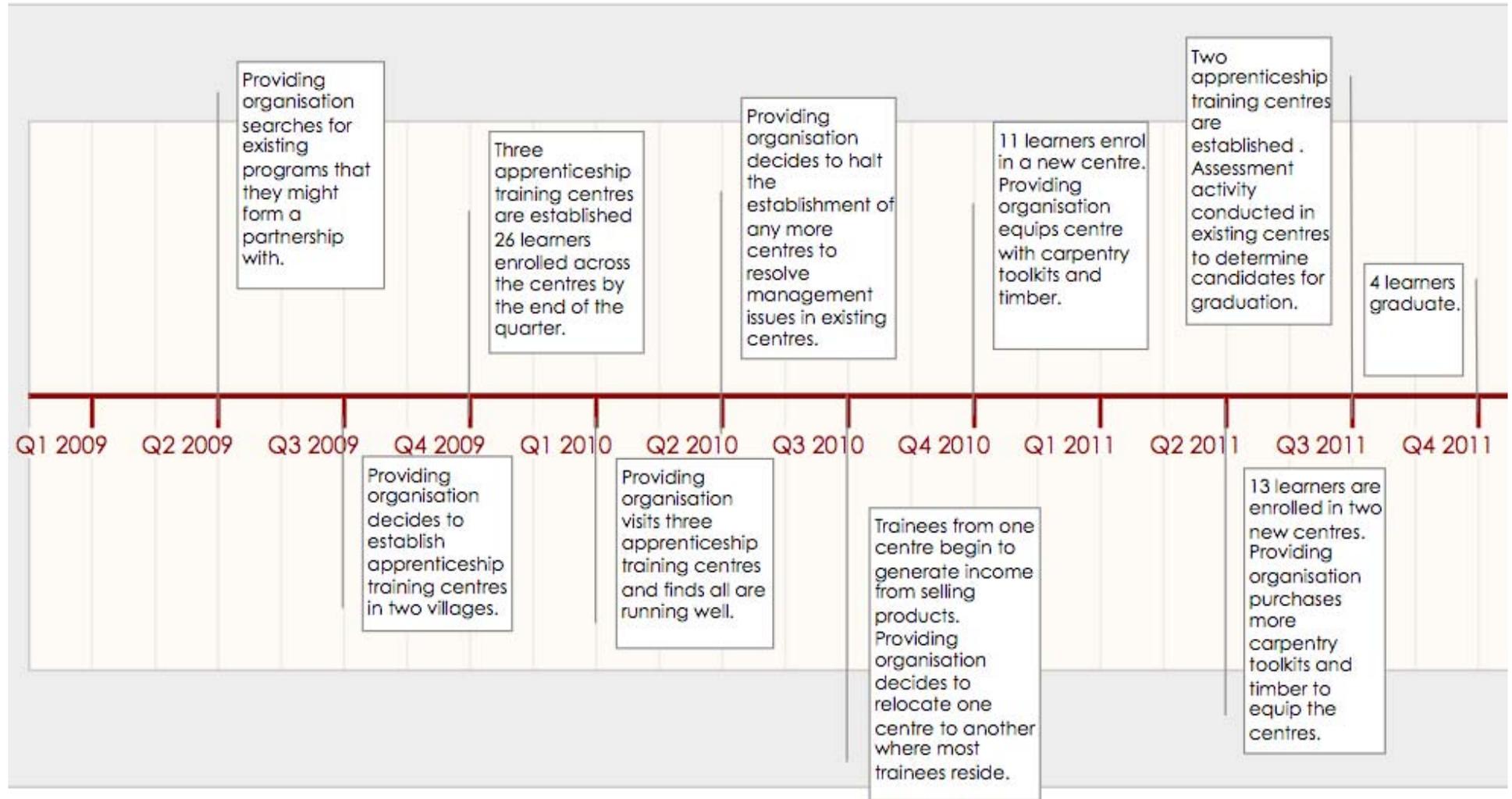
This letter indicates the importance of cross-generational bonding relationships in the youth's efforts to establishing a more permanent training centre and income-generating enterprise.

The youth have shown initiative in establishing a committee comprising their elders to be stewards of the equipment they received from the providing organisation. Further there is generosity demonstrated by the local Catholic Church and primary school and other individuals in the donation of space and resources.

5.5.2 Organisation perspectives

A timeline showing the providing organisation's activities regarding the carpentry program over the period 2009 to 2011 is provided in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Timeline of activities for carpentry program



In the progress report for the second quarter in 2009, the providing organisation wrote:

The objective of training the youths in carpentry is to equip youths in vocational skills. This is to enable them to earn a living for themselves and to reduce on redundancy with its associated problems. We have been working out a strategy to ensure that the program's sustainability is built within its implementation strategy if it is to have a viable and durable impact. We are in the process of identifying carpentry workshops in the communities whereby we can enter into a memorandum of understanding for training our youths. Our idea is to raise community based apprenticeship-training centres. (Progress Report, second quarter 2009, p. 4).

The process of establishing more ATCs was stalled for the reasons given in the Progress Report for the second quarter in 2010:

We were not able to establish any new carpentry training workshops despite requests from the community. The objective was to avoid starting many centres before seeing how the already established ones were doing. Some of the established workshops have been facing some minor managerial challenges. We were so encouraged that the responsible communities have been trying to supervise the workshops. We shall continue to support them in this effort. (Progress Report, second quarter 2010, p. 3).

Eight ATCs were established by the providing organisation between 2009 and 2011. The centres were located in different parts of the providing organisation's area of operation to provide the greatest access to potential candidates. They demonstrated flexibility in relocating a centre to another area within which a large number of learners were resident.

The providing organisation reported a high attrition rate for learners in the program. This is evidenced by the fact that only four people graduated from the program in the fourth quarter 2011 compared to 27 for the tailoring program. They gave two reasons for this trend. The first reason was that the length of the program took learners away from their home responsibilities for too long a period of time. The second reason was that a number of

learners had left the district to look for employment elsewhere meaning that they had to discontinue their training.

On more than one occasion, project staff expressed to the researcher the desire to be able to send graduates for apprenticeships with successful carpenters in the neighbouring district. Their reason for this was that they perceived the carpenters from the neighbouring district to be skilled in finishing products well. They were frustrated however at not knowing how to make this happen. They had identified carpenters that many people in the project's area of operation commissioned these carpenters for their carpentry needs even though they were located far away. However they were constrained by the capital and resources to facilitate graduates relocating to the neighbouring district for further training. There were vocational colleges in the neighbouring district which graduates could also have accessed but many were limited because they lacked the money to cover the fees. Overall project staff gave the impression that they were frustrated at not being able to meet the learner's needs of wanting to become highly skilled carpenters.

5.5.3 Researcher perspective

If the carpenters were to generate income from their products, they would need to secure a market outside the local area because the demand was not high enough in each of the centres to sustain their enterprises. A key observation of the researcher in her visits to the carpentry ATCs was that the products were not well finished and would struggle to sell at markets outside the local area. The observations made indicated that there were two reasons for the work not being well finished. The first was the carpentry techniques being used and the second was a lack of resources. For example, on one visit the learners had recently completed an order of windows for a local person. On inspection of the windows, the researcher observed that the nails were exposed and poorly finished. This was because the nails used were longer than the depth of the windows and they were not sufficiently knowledgeable to

remove the excess. The researcher consulted with a certified carpenter who said there were techniques to remove the exposed part of the nail. Another learner had just completed a stool. The entire stool had been varnished except for the underside. The learner explained that varnish was expensive and therefore was to be used sparingly, only being put on surfaces that were in full view of customers. The researcher checked with a reputable carpenter in a neighbouring district who confirmed that high quality products would be entirely varnished, even the parts that were not always in full view of the owner.

Learners were constrained in what they could produce by the products their trainers knew how to make, which in most cases was few. The researcher spoke with someone who was overseeing the construction of a health clinic in the local area. They had ordered most of the furniture to be made in the neighbouring district. They had initially planned to use local artisans but this had not been possible, because the products were not made to the specifications required. He said that he was guaranteed a better quality of work by spending more time and money in ordering the furniture from outside of the district.

5.6 Tailoring

The providing organisation worked in partnership with another local organisation to implement the tailoring program. The other local organisation specialised in training young women who had been victims of sexual abuse or domestic violence. The other local organisation had existing structures in place for training and assessment, but was constrained by a lack of capital to equip learners with sewing machines and other basic resources. One of the providing organisation's roles in the partnership was to establish more ATCs out of which the other local organisation could offer more training opportunities. The training focused on the production of clothes that were mostly likely to be sellable within the district, particularly for women and school children. Patterns were produced on brown paper and stored with the

sewing machines. As part of their training, learners sewed their own uniforms. The other role of the providing organisation was to purchase new sewing machines for graduates. Owing to the unpredictable power supply in the district, treadle sewing machines were purchased.

5.6.1 Learner perspectives

Nineteen learners from the tailoring program completed a survey and 39 attended the learning circle.

5.6.1.1 Survey

All of the survey respondents were female and less than 25 years. All but one of the respondents stated that they had enrolled in the program to generate income. Like the learners from the carpentry program, a number of respondents wrote that they had enrolled in the program with the hope of being able to help others from the income generated through their newly acquired skill. When asked why they enrolled in the program the following responses were made,

“To be able to learn tailoring so that I can get a job and earn money to look after my family.” (Respondent F)

“...to get more knowledge and skills so that I can help my family.” (Respondent C)

“To be able to learn and help my family,” (Respondent I)

As part of their agreement with the other local organisation, the providing organisation had agreed to provide sewing machines to small groups of three to five graduates. The intention was that between them they might be able to start a small tailoring business. The ATCs were sufficiently spread out such that these businesses would not be in direct competition with one another. More respondents from the tailoring program than the carpentry program said that they had generated some income from their newly acquired skill. Those that wrote they generated income said they had done so as part of a group. All references to income were made in the context of a group. A common sentiment expressed by the learners to the

researcher on her field visits was how their NFE program had taught them that through unity came improved opportunity for individual betterment.

“I have been able to make some money through tailoring in my group.” (Respondent D)

This income was used to benefit the household of the learners.

“I have got some money for my family to pay school fees.” (Respondent Q)

Members of the learners’ households had benefited from the products made during the course. The household acted as a training ground for students who produced goods such as clothes and bed sheets.

“I have made clothes for my children and my family.” (Respondent L)

“I have made bed sheets for my family.” (Respondent C)

“I have made a few dresses for my family.” (Respondent F)

This was a definite benefit for the learners’ households but was not the primary benefit that they hoped to achieve by completing the program. All respondents said that they would complete another program in order to improve their tailoring skills.

5.6.1.2 Learning Circle

Of the four programs, tailoring had the highest attendance at a learning circle. As with the carpentry program, learners explained that they had built strong relationships between one another as a result of their training. One learner commented that,

“We came to know each other during seminars.” (Respondent D)

With regards to their relationship with the trainers, one learner said,

“We have a direct contact with our trainer.” (Respondent E)

A consequence of trainers being recruited by the zonal management committee was that they resided within close proximity to the ATCs and the homes of learners. While living close to one another made it easier to have close contact between learners and trainers, learners were doubtful of the ability of the trainers to provide adequate training.

The researcher asked project staff about the validity of the claim that trainers were unqualified. They explained that the trainers might not have formal qualifications in the skill they were teaching. Owing to the remote location of some of the centres and the low mobility of members of the zonal management committee, potential candidates for trainers were limited. The zonal management committees, as the party responsible for recruiting the trainers, were constrained by their relationships which were often only with people living in their local area.

The researcher was surprised to hear of fees being charged to learners considering that the providing organisation had been founded with the intention of providing NFE at no cost to learners. One learner reported that,

“In most cases they bring unqualified personnel and we normally pay our trainers, for example each student pays 60,000 Uganda shillings.” (Respondent P)

The learners attributed the imposition of a fee schedule to the program’s attrition rate. One learner commented,

“Many people ran away due to the fact that the money to be paid is too much.” (Respondent Q)

The providing organisation’s budget for the NFE programs suited intensive courses such as food-processing and tailoring. There were insufficient funds to pay trainers for the duration of the tailoring program. The providing organisation had hoped, maybe unrealistically, that trainers would be willing to volunteer their time to impart their knowledge of tailoring to the young female learners. The trainers at first accepted the conditions. Having been recruited from within the local area, they were eyewitnesses to the limited educational opportunities available to the youth. Some of the more enterprising trainers also saw an opportunity for talented graduates to become future employees. However, this goodwill could not be sustained over the long-term.

Once trainers realised the level of commitment required to fulfil the role of a trainer, they requested financial compensation. As the providing organisation's budget did not cater for this, trainers introduced fees. Due to the decentralised management of the tailoring program, different centres charged different amounts ranging from 30,000 to 60,000 Uganda shillings. The learners were not opposed to paying fees altogether. Rather, they were requesting that the fees be reduced to make the program more accessible to those with less money.

Like the learners from the food-processing program, there was some confusion as to the providing organisation's role post-training. One learner commented,

"We finished learning but we don't have capital to buy our machines," (Respondent V)

And with regards to the sewing machines that had been distributed, another learner commented,

"In most cases the sewing machine gets a problem." (Respondent I)

Project staff explained to the researcher that learners would like to be able to provide sewing machines to small groups of graduates for use in small tailoring businesses. Many of the learners were members of the SACCO that made them eligible to apply for a loan. However, like learners from the organic farming and carpentry programs, the shares held by learners from the tailoring program did not make them eligible for a loan of the size necessary to purchase a sewing machine.

5.6.1.3 Letters

A group of graduates from the tailoring program wrote the following to the providing organisation:

We thank you for the assistance you gave to us in form of the sewing machine.

Your help came when we needed it the most. We were going to hire a sewing machine in order to earn a living and sustain our livelihood. Because of your love and care we are

now able to serve our customers well since we have our own sewing machine and are able to meet our other expenses such as rent and materials.

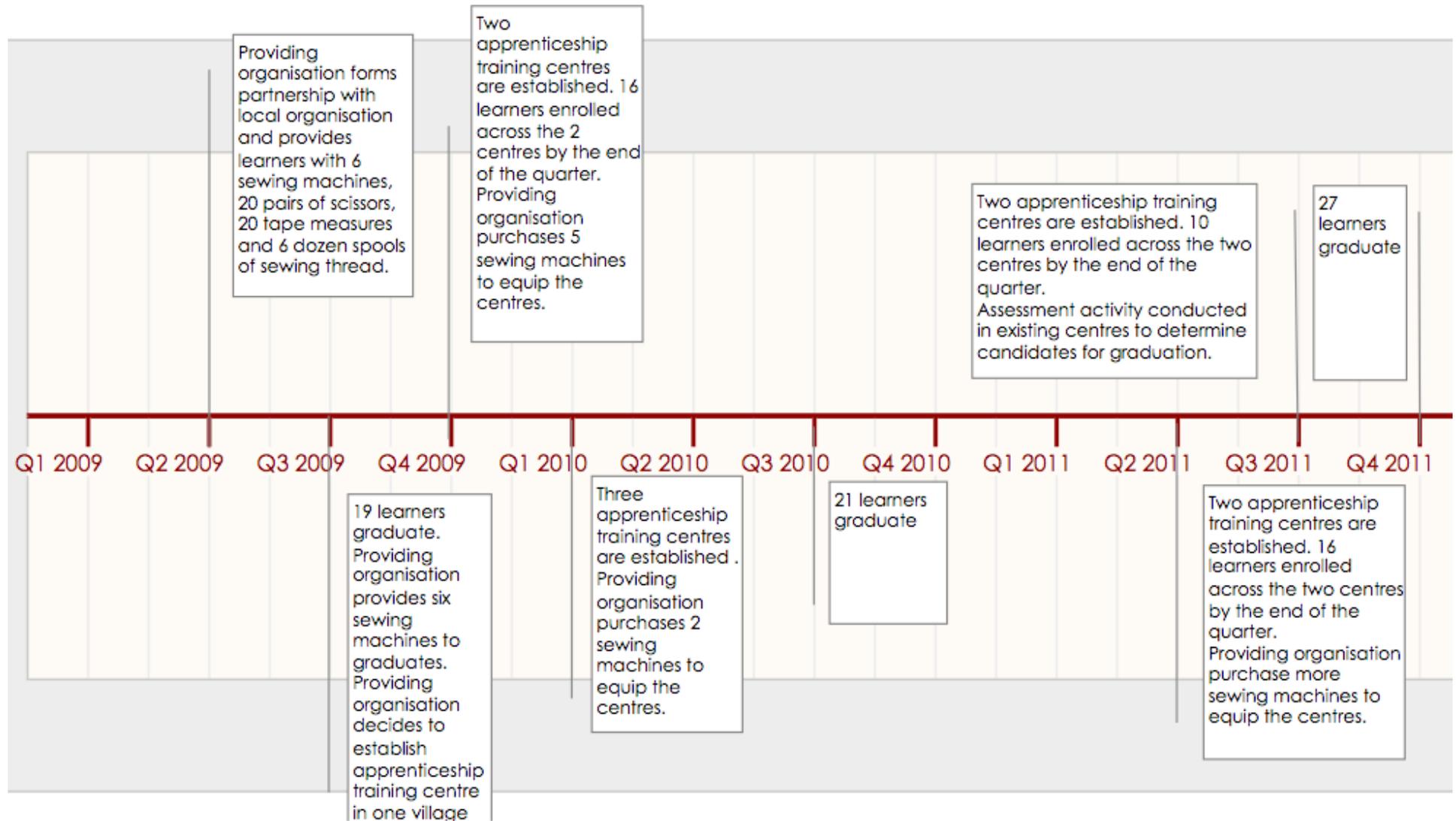
We thank you for the skills training program you extended to our area. We are happy to report to you that two of the girls who completed training at this centre acquired sewing machines and are working at different trading centres. The other two girls were accepted by another NGO for more training. (Letter 20).

This letter confirms the providing organisation's claims to provide sewing machines to graduates of the tailoring program. However, from the researcher's observations it would seem that this claim was not realised for all graduates. This letter contains evidence of a linking relationship having been established between two learners and another local organisation to which they have gone to receive further training. From the field interviews, staff of the providing organisation confirmed that they were responsible for the establishment of this relationship.

5.6.2 Organisation perspectives

A timeline showing the providing organisation's activities regarding the tailoring program over the period 2009 to 2011 is provided in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Timeline of activities for tailoring program



In the progress report for the second quarter in 2009, the providing organisation wrote:

We have had a memorandum of understanding with a community-based organization to train the vulnerable children in tailoring. Special emphasis on this training program stresses abandoned youths, orphaned children and girls who have been victims of domestic and sexual violence. Our concern has been to support these youths even after the training, which takes only six months. We have offered to provide start up tools to those who are graduating and have opted to have combined effort in their future career. We will continue to follow them up. 19 youths will be graduating on 15th July 2009. Six sewing machines will be given to the four groups that have agreed to work together in different centres. It is our hope that these youths will attract other youths of similar category to join them for apprenticeship training. We trust that this practice will absorb more youths for this support. (Progress Report, second quarter 2009, p. 4).

The organisation appeared to be overwhelmed by the resource demands of the program. The head office of the project did not have sufficient funds to pay for the repair of three sewing machines that were sitting at their head office. The centres were also poorly equipped with items such as scissors making it difficult for learners to have much hands-on experience.

The researcher also observed that of the four programs, the tailoring program received the lowest level of supervision from the providing organisation. One of the participants in the learning circle gave her age as 12 years. The researcher was concerned by her presence in the program especially considering the providing organisation had agreed a minimum age of 18 years. The researcher spoke about this with project staff who was surprised to hear of someone so young having been admitted to the program. They said they would investigate and possibly find a way for her to enrol in primary school where she could at least attain a minimum level of formal education.

5.6.3 Researcher perspective

The biggest impediment that the researcher observed towards the tailors generating income from their skill was a lack of reliable equipment. The providing organisation had purchased a number of sewing machines for use in the ATCs. What they had not foreseen was that the sewing machines would inevitably require service. Learners confirmed in the learning circle that they had been informed by the providing organisation of there being insufficient funds. A number of learners mentioned that they lacked other resources such as scissors that were essential for the practice of tailoring. One learner said that there was only one pair of scissors in their centre while another said they had not been given any scissors at all.

The youthfulness of learners was another barrier to their success as they lacked the capital to purchase sufficient shares in the SACCO to draw a large enough loan to allow them to start a tailoring business. One participant in the learning circle said that she was 12 years of age.

5.7 Conclusion

Model 1 was chosen because project staff in their previous employment had used it. The researcher visited the premises of the food-processing association and observed that the production process was well managed and the final products were professionally packaged. The researcher also visited the farms of learners from the organic farming program and observed the abundant yields of their crops and the application of organic fertilisers. The researcher had initially visited the learners in 2004 as the providing organisation was preparing to establish itself in the project area. It was clear that in the interim, the learners had developed a range of new skills and were confident in applying them. Model 2 evolved out of the learners' need for flexibility to allow them to meet their ongoing responsibilities. It differs to Model 1 in terms of its duration, the instructional mode, the location, the recruitment of trainers and the method of assessment.

In addition to building learners' human capital, the programs under investigation had impacted upon the relationships of learners. Firstly, learners felt a greater bond with each other. These bonds had been forged out of experience sharing and cooperative learning activities in the program. Secondly, learners had developed and maintained a productive relationship with their trainers. Previously unknown to them, the trainers had earned the learners' respect and the learners had proactively sought out their trainers post-training to request further assistance. Thirdly, the relationship between learners and the providing organisation was not the same for all learners.

The learners from the food-processing program that had gone on to establish a food-processing association had received technical, financial and material support from the providing organisation. They held the providing organisation in high regard for their ongoing voluntary support of the efforts to seek accreditation with the Uganda National Bureau of Standards. Based on their experience to date, they had increased confidence in approaching the providing organisation to request further support.

A number of the learners from the organic farming program were keen to continue their involvement in the providing organisation's activities particularly the microfinance association from which they could draw low-interest bearing loans. A minority of learners from the organic farming program felt that they had been disadvantaged in their relationship with the providing organisation as they had not received the same benefits as other members.

Fourthly, learners were able to identify a number of other organisations and government agencies that were concerned with their needs but were not sufficiently connected to them to receive any benefits. They had become aware of these entities throughout their NFE but were reliant on those organisations coming to them to offer support instead of requesting support from them.

In contrast to Model 1, the social capital outcomes appear not to have been as widespread for learners in the carpentry and tailoring programs. Strong bonds had developed between learners in the apprenticeship training centres. The presence of 12 ATCs meant that learners were able to attend a centre in close proximity to their place of residence. The cohort of learners in each centre then had their geographical location in common. These bonds are evidenced in the way learners had grouped together upon graduation to establish income-generating enterprises in their local areas.

The learners had clearly benefited from their trainers expertise in their respective fields. However, some learners questioned the trainers' qualifications and their ability to provide education on the most current techniques in either carpentry or tailoring. The survey responses particularly from learners in the tailoring program indicated that they would like more training to acquire skills that would set them apart from other tailors in the local area. The lack of resources at the ATCs and the lack of access to capital to establish income-generating activities impacted upon the relationship between learners and the providing organisation. Learners felt that the providing organisation should be doing more to support them in becoming self-reliant. Apart from the other local organisation that partnered with the providing organisation in providing NFE, the learners had no relationship with other organisations or government agencies.

The changes to these relationships constitute the social capital outcomes of NFE for learners in the food-processing and organic farming programs. The relationship between the learners and their trainer was created and strengthened through participation in NFE. The existing relationship between learners within a program were strengthened and led to a greater degree of reciprocity. For some the existing relationship between the learners and the providing organisation had been strengthened as learners had come closer to realising their goal of self-reliance. For others however the existing relationship between the learners and the providing

organisation had been weakened where there was a discrepancy between what learners had expected to receive and what benefits had been realised. A tentative relationship between learners and other organisations and government agencies had been created but was not sufficiently strong as to produce any benefits for the learners. The social capital outcomes that have been produced have complemented the human capital outcomes of the programs under investigation. Social capital outcomes are important for learners as they seek to use their newly acquired skills to improve their holistic wellbeing. The following discussion in Chapter 6 compares and contrasts these two models further in light of the three research questions and concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6. 1 Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to discuss the findings presented in the previous Chapter in light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3 and the questions formulated for this research. The Chapter is laid out in accordance with the three research questions investigated in this research project, which as said earlier were

1. How is bonding, bridging and linking characterised in the relationships of the learners within the context of the program under investigation?
2. How does non-formal education contribute to the creation, maintenance or otherwise of these relationships?
3. How do these relationships impact upon the wellbeing of learners?

6.1.1 Chapter structure

In section 6.2, the findings pertaining to the first research question are discussed. As stated earlier in Chapter 3, this question investigated how bonding, bridging and linking are characterised in the relationships of the learners within the context of the program under investigation. This is followed in section 6.3 by a discussion of the findings on the second research question which was concerned with how non-formal education contributed to the creation, maintenance or otherwise of these relationships. In section 6.4 the third research question relating to how these relationships have impacted upon the wellbeing of learners is discussed. Section 6.5 concludes the thesis with a consideration of the implications for relevant stakeholders, recommendations for future research and a discussion of the significance of this research project.

6.2 Research question 1

Research question 1 focused on how bonding, bridging and linking was characterised in the relationships of the learners within the context of the program under investigation. According to the framework developed in Chapter 3 and reiterated in the following discussion, relationships constitute the sources of social capital. Three categories of relationships, bonding, bridging and linking, were proposed. This categorisation is based on the premise that relationships are pursued for a variety of purposes and that they produce a variety of outcomes for those involved. Characterising these three types of relationships is important for answering the subsequent questions to articulate the degree to which NFE impacts upon each of these relationships independently and how they in turn impact upon learner wellbeing.

Bonding relationships represent “relations between family members, close friends and neighbours” (Woolcock, 2001, p. 72). In the case under investigation, they occur between learners in a NFE program. Bridging relationships are extra-community relationships with people who share a similar status (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004, p. 655). The example of this in the case under investigation is other learning communities. Linking relationships are vertical relationships that are “alliances with sympathetic individuals in positions of power” (Woolcock, 2001, p. 72). This type of relationship occurs between learners and their trainer, the providing organisation and other organisations in the case under investigation.

The findings of this research indicate that the different sources of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking relationships) produced different consequences. Not all of the three types of relationships have been affected by each of the NFE programs. The relationship between sources and consequences for each NFE program under investigation is summarised in Table 6 below. Positive consequences are presented in normal font while the negative consequences are italicised.

Table 6: Synthesis of research findings within context of the theoretical framework for this study

Food-processing	Bonding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A small group of female learners cooperated in the establishment of a food-processing association. • <i>The remaining learners were excluded from participating in the food-processing, either because they were men (who perceived it as an exclusively female association) or they lived too far from the association's premises for it to be accessible.</i>
	Bridging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learners met a similar group of people in an exchange visit in the neighbouring district. This group had made greater progress in the establishment of their food-processing association and were accredited with the Ugandan National Bureau of Standards. Through this experience, learners gathered more information on food-processing and self-confidence that they could generate income from their food-processing skills.
	Linking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Through their relationship with the trainer, a leading member of the food-processing association was able to access further food-processing training in Kampala (capital city of Uganda). • Through their relationship with the trainer, the members of the food-processing association had become aware of potential markets for their products.
Organic Farming	Bonding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learners with large landholdings shared surplus land with other learners who did not own land. • Learners visited each other's homes to observe farming practices and successes. • The implementation of the organic farming program in each of the 12 centres of the providing organisation's area of operation meant that learners participated alongside people who they already knew and were likely to remain in contact with post-completion of the program.
	Linking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The learners had developed an autonomous relationship with their trainer. They had used their relationship with the trainer to request further training seminars. The trainer also made visits to the homes of learners to offer advice. • <i>Some learner's felt that the SACCO established by the providing organisation did not permit them to borrow sufficient capital to purchase farming equipment that would have improved their productivity potential.</i>
Carpentry & Tailoring	Bonding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some graduates of the tailoring program had cooperated in small groups to establish small tailoring businesses in their local area. Some graduates of the carpentry program had gained employment with their trainers. These were both helped by the fact that apprenticeship training centres were established in each of the twelve centres out of which the providing organisation operated and that trainers were recruited from the local area. • Graduates acknowledged that because of their youth and socio-economic status, it would have been difficult to establish businesses as individuals.
	Linking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some graduates of the carpentry programs were able to take advantage of the relationship with their trainer to gain employment. • <i>Some graduates felt that the trainers failed to provide links to people and opportunities that might have improved their employment prospects and opportunities for further training.</i> • <i>A number of graduates felt that the providing organisation had failed to link them to sufficient capital to purchase equipment necessary to start income-generating activities even as a small group of graduates.</i>

6.2.1 Bonding relationships

As shown in Table 6 above, this research found that bonding relationships existed between the learners in a NFE program. Participants in all four learning circles reported that they had experienced stronger relationships with their peers as a result of their involvement in NFE. Learners found themselves more firmly embedded within their local communities and were more aware of their neighbour's strengths and how they could be utilised to produce community-wide benefits. In Chapter 3, embeddedness was identified as an important precursor to effective system functioning. The study found that these relationships were characterised by a high degree of cooperativeness. Out of the organic farming program, landholders shared land with those who did not own land. Out of the tailoring program, graduates formed small groups to establish tailoring businesses. However, it is important to consider the representativeness of the participants in the learning circles to the community of learners who accessed NFE through the organisation under investigation. To do this, it is necessary to comment on the area of operation for the providing organisation. The providing organisation operated out of twelve parishes from two sub-counties in a district in western Uganda. While project members from the twelve parishes were equally eligible to participate in the NFE programs, the programs were not equally accessible to those who were eligible. This was particularly the case for the programs implemented according to Model 1. The providing organisation's budget permitted fewer programs than there were parishes in the area of operation. This meant that some parishes did not host NFE programs and learners from those parishes were required to travel to attend program sessions. These programs were run out of the homes of learners that were not necessarily central to the twelve parishes. This was not a problem for the duration of the program since learners received a transport reimbursement. It became problematic post-training when income-generating activities were being established. These activities tended to be established in the same parish as the training

took place. Learners from outside of the parish in which the income generating activity was established could not afford the cost of transport and were therefore excluded from participating.

Twenty-eight people completed the food-processing program in the third quarter of 2009. In the fourth quarter of 2009, forty people came together to form a food-processing association. By the time of the learning circle in January 2012, the food-processing association had only fourteen active members. People from the twelve parishes had attended food-processing program but the fourteen active members of the food-processing association in January 2012 came from two parishes. The home out of which the food-processing program was run was central to the two parishes from which the fourteen active members of the food-processing association came but not central to the twelve parishes of the providing organisation's area of operation.

In contrast, the programs implemented according to Model 2 operated out of the twelve centres. The apprenticeship training centres that were established in these centres was typically located in the parish's main trading centre, the intention being to provide easy access for all eligible people. The exclusion of some learners from participating in the food-processing association is indicative of the potential negative consequences of social capital. From Table 6 above, a number of learners were excluded from joining the food-processing association. Firstly, men felt they were excluded on the basis that women had started the association and they perceived it to be an exclusively female association. Secondly, other learners were excluded on the basis of their place of residence being too far away from the premises for the food-processing association. While participating in the NFE program, they had had their transport costs reimbursed but post-completion they were required to fund their own transport costs. That is to say the bonding relationships formed between the women who established the food-processing association isolated other learners from accessing

opportunities for further training and improving their income-generation potential. Again it was the geographical proximity and pre-existing relationship of the women who established the food-processing association that contributed to a strengthening of the bonds through participation in NFE.

6.2.2 Bridging relationships

Bridging and linking relationships belong to the category of relationships Woolcock described as autonomous social ties. Autonomous social ties relationships exist between “non-community members” that create linkages and ties between institutional leaders and accountability structures that ensured organisational integrity (Woolcock, 1998, p. 164). These relationships are an important complement to bonding relationships. From Table 6 above, all NFE programs contributed to the maintenance and strengthening of bonding relationships between learners. These relationships preceded learners’ utilisation of the bridging and linking relationships that were created through NFE.

So in the case of the carpentry and tailoring programs, students used their bonding relationships to form small groups out of which they began a small business. In establishing this business, they drew on the linking relationships they had developed with their trainers and the providing organisation to attempt to access necessary equipment and potential markets. In the case of the food-processing program, the bonding relationship between learners who went on to establish the food-processing association helped in the creation of a linking relationship with the Uganda National Bureau of Standards who they approached for accreditation. This was mediated by their relationship with the providing organisation, another example of a linking relationship.

The success of a bonding relationship is dependent on the degree to which closure occurs between learners (Coleman, 1988, p. 105). As identified in the discussion above, the strong

bonds present between members of the food-processing association served to benefit them in their efforts but isolated other learners from the food-processing program. Whereas bonding relationships are inward-looking, autonomous social ties turn learners' attention outside of their local area to people who are in a similar situation but in a different context and people who operate in positions of power. The benefit of the former type of autonomous social tie is that people in a similar situation but in a different location may be able to offer new insights on common problems. The benefit of the latter type of autonomous social tie is that people who operate in positions of power may have access to information on further opportunities for training, to resources useful in the generation of income by learners, and to other organisations that may be available to offer financial, material or information support.

Bridging relationships had been created for the food processors through an exchange visit organised by the trainer. The trainer arranged for learners to visit the members of her own food-processing association. The exchange visit provided learners with the opportunity to share experiences with a similar group of people. The exchange visit was particularly helpful to those learners who were part of the food-processing association, as the group they visited had achieved similar goals to the ones they were pursuing, particularly certification with the Uganda Bureau of Standards. There was the potential for information gathering on receiving certification. In the process of experience sharing, learners grew in their confidence to generate income from their food-processing skills.

The bridging relationship indicated above needed to be mediated by a third party, the trainer. A consideration of the geographical proximity of the trainer to the learners offers one explanation of why bridging relationships might not have been present in the remaining three programs. Learners in the programs under investigation were constrained by the social network of their trainers.

Trainers were responsible for the design of their programs. To organise an exchange visit that could have resulted in bridging relationships, the trainer would require a relationship with at least one person who was outside of the learners' immediate social context. The further the geographical distance between the trainer and the learners the more likely it is that the trainer has the requisite contacts to mediate the building of bridging relationships in learners.

This is supported in the findings presented in the previous chapter. The trainer for the food-processing program resided the furthest from the learners and the learners had bridging relationships. The trainers for the carpentry and tailoring programs resided the closest to the learners and no bridging relationships were evident for the learners.

The process of recruiting trainers for Model 1 appeared to have a greater impact on learner's bridging relationships than for Model 2. Trainers for the programs implemented according to Model 1 were recruited by the providing organisation. Staff of the providing organisation utilised their professional relationships to recruit trainers for the food-processing and organic farming programs. In the case of the food-processing program, the trainer was able to use their social network to arrange an exchange visit for learners to an established food-processing association in a neighbouring district. No such opportunities were made available to learners from the carpentry and tailoring programs. The zonal management committees recruited trainers for the programs implemented according to Model 2. Each zonal management committee comprised members from the same parish. The pool of suitable candidates from which to recruit trainers was constrained by the committee members' relationships that in the case of the carpentry and tailoring programs extended to the sub-county level.

6.2.3 Linking relationships

Woolcock used the term ‘scaling up’ interchangeably with linking when describing this particular type of relationship (Woolcock, 2001, p. 72). These relationships held the greatest potential for learners to gather new information and become aware of opportunities for further training, income generation and employment outside of their immediate context. Particularly in the case of the food-processing and organic farming programs, the trainers exemplified a linking relationship with these consequences. The trainer for the food-processing program was able to introduce learners to an established food-processing association with whom they could share experiences and from whom they could gather information on establishing their own food-processing association. This trainer also worked with the resultant members of the food-processing program to connect them with further training opportunities. One of the members was sent to Kampala for a fortnight’s training in commercial food-processing to disseminate this information within the association. The members of food-processing association also cultivated a strong linking relationship with the providing organisation through which they were able to receive assistance in applying for accreditation by the Uganda National Bureau of Standards and to access further funds for resources necessary for food-processing.

While bonding relationships served to establish a foundation upon which a cooperative income-generating enterprise might be established, without the benefit of linking relationships, such enterprises might fail to be successful. The learners were not skilled at establishing small businesses and were therefore dependent on the expertise of others to help them in locating and securing potential markets and seeking recognition with government agencies that would build their credibility in the eyes of potential customers. This was a concern expressed amongst the learners from the food-processing program. They felt confident in their ability to process and package food to a high standard but were less

confident in their ability to market their products and establish a profitable business. The fortnight's training that a member of the food-processing association had been sent on covered aspects of running a business but members felt that they all could benefit from further training in this area.

Linking relationships were present for learners from all four NFE programs but the success was variable. The learners from the food-processing program, specifically those that had formed the food-processing association, had benefited the most from the linking relationships with their trainer and the providing organisation. The learners from the carpentry and tailoring programs had benefited the least from the linking relationship with their trainer and the providing organisation. The trainers did not appear to have a significantly larger network of social contacts than the learners themselves, therefore limiting learners' exposure to further opportunities. The providing organisation was not able to utilise its network to help learners' access capital to start their income-generating enterprises.

Linking relationships were evident between learners and their trainers in the food-processing and organic farming programs, and learners and the providing organisation and other organisations across all four programs. Through these relationships learners have been able to access more learning opportunities and improve their efforts in generating income.

The trainers for the food-processing and organic farming programs possessed extensive experience in facilitating training prior to their involvement in the NFE programs under investigation. Through their experience, they were aware of the needs of their learners, were across new developments in their skill area and had an extensive network of contacts within their field. Through their trainer, learners from the food-processing program were able to showcase their products in their neighbouring district in an attempt to secure a market.

Through his position at NAADS, the trainer of the organic farming program was able to provide agricultural inputs for learners under government-sponsored initiatives.

The trainers for the carpentry and tailoring programs were recognised as being experts in their local area. While learners in the tailoring program acknowledged the advanced skills of their trainers, they questioned their ability to provide education in modern techniques of tailoring. They felt that the styles of clothing they were being trained to make were not necessarily those styles that were currently in demand in the local area.

In the tailoring learning circle it was raised that learners would like to learn how to make men's suits, something none of them had received instruction in. To find trainers with this knowledge might have required the zonal management committees to search beyond the sub-county level. However, as discussed in the section on bridging relationships, the recruitment process for the carpentry and tailoring process was constrained by the social networks of the zonal management committee members. So the experience and network of relationships of the trainer influenced the learners' access to information and income-generating prospects.

The providing organisation played a central role in the creation, maintenance or otherwise of linking relationships. In the case of the carpentry and tailoring programs, the providing organisation had partnered with another local organisation. One of the responsibilities of the other local organisation was to assess candidates for graduation.

The employment prospects for graduates of the four programs differed. The prospect for graduates of the food-processing program was the establishment of a food-processing association. This required cooperation between members with income being generated out of cooperation. The prospect for graduates of the organic farming program was increased agricultural yields that could be sold. There was less need for cooperation between members and income could be generated at the individual level.

There were two prospects for graduates of the carpentry and tailoring programs. Like the food-processing program, the first prospect was to establish carpentry and tailoring businesses. Where this has been achieved it has been done between small groups of learners. The other prospect was for graduates to be employed by carpenters and tailors who had established businesses. This last prospect required evidence of learners having gained a qualification in carpentry or tailoring. Assessment was a necessary step in the process of receiving the qualification. However, the providing organisation hindered the progress of some graduates by being slow in presenting them with their certificates of qualification.

Through their linking relationship with the providing organisation, learners have been able to access capital to establish income-generating activities. This capital is offered through the SACCO that was created by the providing organisation. Yet the effectiveness of this relationship was proven to be somewhat variable for the learners participating in this research project. Learners are able to draw loans that are repaid at a low interest rate. It was evident that without this access to credit, learners would be unable to apply their skills to income generation. There are inputs associated with each of the programs that would need to be purchased to establish an income-generating activity, many of which would be unaffordable to learners if they were not able to access this credit. The results of the learning circles indicated that some learners were frustrated in their attempts to get credit and to get sufficient credit to purchase what they required.

The linking relationships hold much potential for learners to apply their skills to income generation and extend their knowledge of their skill. The findings of this research project are consistent with those of Balatti, Black and Falk who found that the trainer was a significant contributor to the social capital outcomes (Balatti et al., 2007, p. 249). However, it would seem that the providing organisation could have done more to maximise the outcomes for learners.

6.3 Research question 2

Research question 2 was concerned with how NFE had contributed to the creation, maintenance or otherwise of these relationships. In addressing this question it was necessary to consider the two models used to implement NFE separately. The programs implemented according to Model 1 affected all three types of relationships, while the programs implemented according to Model 2 affected only bonding and linking relationships.

The research was concerned with the nature of the effect, the results of which are summarised in Table 7. It was typically the case that learners in a program were acquainted with each other at the beginning. Throughout their participation these bonding relationships were maintained if not strengthened. Bridging relationships were only found to exist for learners in the food-processing program as a result of the exchange visit that was arranged for them. These relationships were created as a result of participation in NFE. Linking relationships were found between learners from all four programs and their trainers, the providing organisation and other organisations. Like the bridging relationships these were created as a result of participation in NFE. Particularly in the case of the learner's relationship with their trainers, these relationships have continued post-completion.

Table 7: NFE programs and their effect on bonding, bridging and linking relationships

NFE Program	Bonding	Bridging	Linking
Food-processing	Maintenance and strengthening	Creation	Creation
Organic Farming		No effect	
Carpentry			
Tailoring			

The fact that all four NFE programs maintained and strengthened existing bonding relationships between learners supports Shrestha, Wilson and Singh's findings for the NFE programs they investigated (Shrestha et al., 2008, p. 144). The purpose of the NFE programs they investigated were to integrate newly arrived migrants into their host communities. The

bonding relationships created through NFE were found to assist learners in the settlement process. It helped that learners came from the same ethnic group as this created a “nonconfrontational” environment in which they did not feel “socially marginalised” (Shrestha et al., 2008). The downside was that the bonds created among learners appeared to interfere with opportunities for learners to establish relationships with people from other ethnic groups.

The bonding relationships maintained and strengthened through the NFE programs under investigation in this research project served to embed learners within their local community. In the case of the food-processing program this led to some members being excluded from the food-processing association.

Putnam suggested that bonding social capital was, “particularly likely to have illiberal effects” (Putnam, 2000, p. 358). He argued that networks that have a high degree of closure discourage the establishment of relationships with individuals from other networks that might open up new information channels and opportunities (Putnam, 2000, p. 363). In the case of this research project, the closure present between members of the food-processing association discouraged other learners from joining who may have had skills or information that could have complemented the group.

The purpose of the NFE programs comprising the case for this research project differed from those investigated by Shrestha, Wilson and Singh (2008). The former programs’ purpose was to equip learners with skills that they could use to generate income through the establishment of small businesses. In order for this goal to be realised, learners needed more than their relationships with other learners. The bonding relationships between learners have proven to be useful in establishing small businesses. Through group work and the programs taking place out of learner’s homes, learners have had the opportunity to get to know each others

strengths and to witness how cooperation can improve productivity. Without bridging and linking relationships, learners will not necessarily have access to new information regarding their skill area and potential markets for their products.

Only the food-processing program impacted upon bridging relationships. This was because of the exchange visit arranged by the trainer who took the learners to a neighbouring district to visit the members of her own food-processing association. Trainers for the carpentry and tailoring and, to a lesser extent, organic farming programs occupied a similar social environment to their learners. As such, they did not have many contacts unknown to learners that they could introduce them to. These findings would suggest that the trainer helped learners create bridges outside of their social environment to access new information and opportunities.

Linking relationships were created through all of the four NFE programs although there were variations in strength. Again, the strongest linking relationships were created through the food-processing program, and again as a consequence of the learners' close relationship with the trainer. One learner from the food-processing association represented her fellow learners at additional food-processing training in Kampala. All members of the food-processing association benefited from the information she was able to bring back and share with them. Members of the food-processing association, with the help of the providing organisation made contact with the Uganda National Bureau of Standards and were in the process of seeking accreditation with them. Learners from the remaining programs reported an increased awareness of government agencies and organisations but few were actually receiving any support from them. Some learners were frustrated at the providing organisation for not linking them to opportunities for capital to put towards the establishment of their businesses.

The researcher was interested in the structural features and the instructional mode used in implementing the NFE programs when addressing this research question. The structural features of each model would appear to have had a greater impact on the learners' relationships than the instructional modes. One reason for this is that none of the trainers were qualified educators. They were recognised as experts of a particular skill, that is, food-processing, farming, carpentry or tailoring. The trainers for the food-processing and organic farming programs had previous experience in facilitating training, while the trainers for the carpentry and tailoring programs were practising their skill within the project's area of operation. Without educational qualifications, it would not be expected that trainers would give consideration to the instructional modes that might best address the learners' expectations for the programs. Beyond simply acquiring a skill many of the learners indicated in their surveys that they had enrolled in a NFE program to generate income or secure employment. The programs appear to have been effective in helping learners acquire new skills but have fallen short in meeting learners' expectations of income generation and employment.

6.3.1 Model 1

A summary of the features of Model 1 was presented in the previous chapter. According to this model, programs were offered in an intensive mode at one of the learners' homes. The remaining learners were reimbursed for their travel expenses to the training site. The providing organisation recruited the trainers and provided all the resources at no cost to learners. Learners were deemed to have completed the course by attending all sessions and actively participating in all activities for which they received a certificate.

6.3.1.1 Structural features

The food-processing and organic farming programs were run out of a learner's home. The providing organisation had no training facilities and wished to reduce the costs associated with implementing the programs wherever possible. The learners' homes also became demonstration sites that could be visited by other learners as they sought to implement similar changes to their own homes.

While bonding relationships were strengthened through participation in these programs, some learners were excluded from post-completion activities because of their distance from the training site. The learner whose home was used for the food-processing program offered a storeroom attached to her house as a site for the food-processing association. As has already been discussed, her house was not central to the twelve centres out of which the providing organisation operated and was central only to members current as of January 2012.

The recruitment of trainers by the providing organisation mediated the creation of bridging and linking relationships in the case of the food-processing program and linking relationships in the case of the organic farming program. The trainers that were recruited provided learners with access to similar groups of people, goods for use in the establishment of income generation and opportunities for information gathering and experience sharing.

In the case of the food-processing program, the providing organisation's ongoing support of the food-processing association served to strengthen learners' linking relationship with the providing organisation. Learners had come to respect the knowledge of the organisation's staff and sought out their advice particularly in regards to seeking certification with the Uganda Bureau of Standards.

6.3.1.2 Instructional mode

There were two instructional modes used in the programs in Model 1, knowledge transfer and group work. As indicated in Chapter 5, the programs implemented according to Model 1 followed a similar pattern, theory and practice. Each day began with the trainer presenting theory the main points of which were recorded on large pieces of paper in view of learners. Learners wrote these notes into the exercise books. The second part of the day consisted of the trainer demonstrating a particular skill and learners working in small groups to do the same. The food-processing program balanced time evenly between the two modes while there was a greater emphasis on theory in the organic farming program.

The trainers' presentation of theory appears to have contributed to the strength of the relationship between trainer and learner. Trainers for both the food-processing and organic farming possessed extensive knowledge of their skill area and were experienced facilitators of training programs. Through the presentation of theory, learners developed a respect for their trainers that led to them being sought out for further assistance post-training.

The group work in the food-processing program was important for the bonding relationships between learners. The afternoon session of each day of the program involved learners working in small groups to produce the food they had learnt about in the morning's theory session. Producing commercial quantities of food requires teamwork and through the group work sessions, learners were able to see the benefits of cooperation.

6.3.2 Model 2

A summary of the features of Model 2 was presented in the previous chapter. According to this model, education in carpentry and tailoring was offered in an apprenticeship format. Zonal management committees comprising members of the providing organisation recruited local artisans to provide training. In some cases, fees were required of the students to cover

the cost of materials. These programs were run out of apprenticeship training centres that were established in each of the twelve centres of the providing organisation's area of operation. Learners were assessed by an independent organisation and were given a certificate on completion.

6.3.2.1 Structural features

The delivery of programs out of apprenticeship centres was done with the intention of maximising accessibility for all eligible people. The creation of apprenticeship centres in each of the twelve centres out of which the providing organisation operated meant that learners studied alongside people who lived in the same parish. This served to strengthen existing bonding relationships. The fact that graduates formed small groups to start businesses is evidence of this.

The recruitment of trainers by the zonal management committees appears to have constrained learners in establishing useful bridging relationships. The trainers did not possess the requisite relationships with people outside of the immediate project area for learners to become acquainted with people in a similar situation. Learners had not travelled beyond the project area nor had they interacted with students from other areas throughout their training.

The partnership created with another local organisation particularly for the purpose of assessing learners was the source of a linking relationship. Through this relationship there were opportunities for more training. This organisation had been training young women in tailoring for longer than the providing organisation. The relationship the providing organisation entered into with them to provide tailoring and carpentry training was mutually beneficial. The other organisation had people with the expertise to train tailors and carpenters but had no microfinance component to allow graduates to access low-interest loans to purchase the equipment necessary to begin a small business. The providing organisation had

a SACCO from which loans could be drawn but did not have the expertise for training tailors and carpenters. The other organisation had links with other training facilities in western Uganda but without capital, learners were unable to access these opportunities. While the providing organisation had the loan facility, a number of learners expressed frustration at not being able to borrow enough to purchase equipment or being denied capital at all. While an example of a linking relationship, learners' relationship with the other organisation is weak.

6.3.2.2 Instructional mode

The main instructional mode used in the programs implemented according to Model 2 can best be described as guided instruction. Implementing carpentry and tailoring programs in each of the twelve centres reduced the demand on any one centre and kept cohort sizes smaller than for the food-processing and organic farming programs that were implemented at a larger scale. The small cohort size meant that learners were able to receive close instruction from their trainers on all aspects of their skill area. The instructional mode created contributed to the relationship between learners and their trainer. In the food-processing program and, to a lesser extent, the organic farming program, the relationship between the learners and their trainer constituted a bridging relationship. The trainers in these programs had a social network containing individuals and groups unknown to the learners and beneficial to them in gathering new information on their skill area or accessing opportunities for further education or income generation. In the case of the carpentry and tailoring programs, there was no indication of the relationship between learners and their trainer constituting a bridging relationship. The zonal management committees overseeing the apprenticeship training centres recruited trainers from the area in which learners lived. This was as a result of the members' social network. Thus the trainers' social network was similar to that of the learners with most relationships in common.

6.4 Research question 3

Research question 3 aimed to investigate how the bonding, bridging and linking relationships mediated through NFE had impacted upon the wellbeing of learners. In his framework, Woolcock conceptualised social capital as having two dimensions: embeddedness social relationships comprising bonding relationships and autonomous social ties comprising bridging and linking relationships. He suggests that different combinations of the relationships within each of these dimensions give rise to different development outcomes. The theoretical framework for this research project adopts the OECD wellbeing indicators as evidence of changes to learners' human development. Past research has used indicators of wellbeing to determine the presence or otherwise of social capital outcomes. In this research project the OECD's indicators of wellbeing were used to investigate the outcomes of the learners' bonding, bridging and linking relationships as they had been created, maintained or otherwise by participation in NFE. Table 2 in Chapter 3 showed the eight indicators and how the OECD has chosen to measure them. Table 8 outlines the changes to learners wellbeing according to the OECD's quality of life dimensions of wellbeing.

Table 8: Changes to learner wellbeing according to OECD quality of life dimensions

Wellbeing dimension	Indicator	Relationship this outcome is mediated by
<i>Health status</i>	Even though the health of learners was not directly targeted by the providing organisation, learners from the food-processing and organic farming programs reported improved household nutrition as a result of the knowledge they had learnt in their NFE	Linking relationship with trainer Linking relationship with other organisations and government agencies
<i>Education and skills</i>	Many learners reported in survey item 9 that they had gained knowledge and skills through their participation in NFE. Observation visits made by the researcher to the homes of learners in the four NFE programs indicated that learners were putting into practice the skills they had acquired.	Linking relationship with providing organisation and trainers
<i>Social connections</i>	Learners within programs generally felt closer to one another through participation in NFE. Many of the learners were acquainted with one another prior to the NFE program. Their bonds were strengthened as a result of participation in NFE. Learners were more willing to be generous to one another with their time, money and resources.	Bonding relationship between learners For learners from the food-processing program: Bridging relationship with members of a food-processing association in a neighbouring district
<i>Civic engagement</i>	As part of their participation in NFE, learners were required to become members of the providing organisation and participate in the microfinance association. Through their membership a number of learners had progressed to occupying positions in their zonal management committee taking part in decision-making on behalf of their neighbours.	Linking relationship with providing organisation
<i>Environmental quality</i>	Learners from the organic farming program were applying organic fertilisers and pesticides to their crops, replacing environmentally hazardous chemicals.	Linking relationship with trainer
<i>Subjective wellbeing</i>	Letters from the learners to the providing organisation indicate that they feel they have a better understanding of the challenges they face and how they can overcome them to achieve self-reliance.	Bonding relationship between learners Linking relationship with providing organisation Linking relationship with trainer

To answer this research question, the researcher took into account the learners' comments in the survey particularly items 9 (What do you think you have achieved by participating in the program?) and 10 (How has your household benefited from your participation in the

program?), the learners comments in the learning circle and the providing organisation's quarterly reports. The findings did not indicate that there were any changes to leisure time or perceptions of safety as a result of NFE and as such these indicators have been excluded from the discussion. How changes to the remaining indicators have been manifested is addressed in the following discussion.

6.4.1 Health status

The health of learners was not directly targeted by the providing organisation. There were other organisations operating within the project area focusing on health outcomes. However, there were some indirect positive effects on the health outcomes of learners through their participation in the food-processing and organic farming programs.

The household nutrition of learners in the food-processing and organic farming programs improved as a result of their training. As indicated in the table above this was an indirect result of learners' linking relationship with their trainer and with other organisations and government agencies. Through the knowledge imparted by the trainers in the food-processing program and organic farming programs, learners had a better understanding of the need for a balanced diet. In addition to learning about growing profitable crops, learners from the organic farming program also learnt how to grow a wider range of fruit and vegetables that could be consumed within the household. Survey responses indicated that agricultural yields for the crops for household consumption had increased following completion of the organic farming program, to such a degree in some cases as to have surplus to sell at market. The additional income that this brought into the household was used to improve the wellbeing of household members.

Through the linking relationship with the trainer learners developed another linking relationship with NAADS that enabled them to receive agricultural inputs more speedily than

would have been realised when working independently. The trainer for the organic farming program was an employee of NAADS. The trainer was able to use his position in the local government to distribute seeds amongst learners as part of a wider district initiative. This reduced the capital input for learners and made it possible for them to grow crops that contributed to an improvement of household nutrition without having to wait to accumulate the capital themselves.

6.4.2 Education and skills

From their own perspectives, learners had become more self-sufficient as a result of their NFE. Through their participation in NFE they had been equipped with knowledge, skills and access to services such as the SACCO that could enable them to take control of their daily affairs without requiring assistance from external sources.

The providing organisation's provision of the NFE programs and follow-up support post-completion was the medium through which learners experienced a change to their employment status. However, the impact was variable. At the time of the second phase of data collection in January 2012, a group of learners from the food-processing program had established a food-processing association but were yet to derive an income from it. There was no evidence to suggest that learners from the program who had not joined the association were generating income from their food-processing skills. If there was any change to learners from the organic farming program it was to income level as they used their skills to increase their agricultural yields. In the surveys, learners from the carpentry and tailoring programs were more likely to indicate an occupation in line with their training. However many respondents in the learning circles for both programs indicated that a lack of capital was holding them back from gainful employment.

As the facilitators of the NFE, the providing organisation and the trainers had a direct impact on learners' education level. The majority of survey respondents indicated that they would complete another NFE program with the providing organisation, expressing satisfaction that they had gained new knowledge and skills through their participation.

6.4.3 Social connections

A sentiment often repeated by learners to the researcher during field visits was how much more could be achieved when people worked together. This was a lesson that they said they had learnt through their participation in NFE and the opportunities they had had to work alongside their fellow community members. This speaks directly to the strength of bonding relationships that had been strengthened in the course of the programs.

Through their participation in NFE, learners had increased their social network and strengthened existing relationships. In the learning circles, learners indicated that people had moved from being acquaintances to friends who could be called on to help when needed. Incidences of generosity with time, money and resources had increased between learners and were reciprocated. Changes in access to goods and services occurred as a result of these bonding relationships.

In the case of bonding relationships, learners became aware of the needs of others and gave of their time, money and resources. Landholders in the organic farming program shared land with learners who did not own land. A member of the food-processing association permitted the food processors to situate themselves in a storeroom off her residence.

Bridging relationships brought an indirect impact on learners' access to goods and services. Through the exchange visit conducted by learners in the food-processing program, learners became aware of services that could assist them in marketing their produce. The learners'

linking relationship with the providing organisation gave them access to the SACCO from which they could draw loans for the establishment of income-generating activities.

At least for learners from the food-processing program, the bridging relationship established with members of a food-processing program in a neighbouring district enabled them to expand their social network beyond the boundaries of their district. The trainer, who was the chairperson of the food-processing association to which learners made the exchange visit, facilitated the establishment of this bridging relationship. As indicated in Chapter 5, the trainer for the food-processing program lived the furthest distance from the learners. As such, there were fewer mutual contacts between the trainer and the learners than there were for the trainers and learners from the remaining three programs. Learners from the food-processing program benefited from the fact that their trainer lived in a different district to them. This gave them the opportunity to meet people who were pursuing similar goals but in a different setting.

6.4.4 Civic engagement

The providing organisation considered the SHGs an important complement to the NFE programs as it gave learners an opportunity to apply their newly acquired skills to income generation. The microfinance association served to strengthen two relationships for the learners. Firstly, bonding relationships between members of a SHG were strengthened. More than just saving money, these groups became a place in which learners could share their experiences and practice acts of generosity towards one another. Secondly, learners' linking relationships with the providing organisation was strengthened. SHG meetings were a common place for staff of the providing organisation to meet with learners. The formal purpose of these visits was to monitor the group's bookkeeping and record keeping. Informally, it gave staff and learners an opportunity to become more acquainted with each

other. Staff would use these visits to disseminate information to learners exposing them to new ideas and opportunities.

The combined effect of the strengthened bonding and linking relationships served to improve learners' civic engagement. As some learners became aware of the common challenges faced by their fellow members and as they became more aware of the providing organisation's management structure. A number of them had come to occupy positions on their zonal management committee. These were elected positions which required learners to not only have a good reputation amongst the other residents of their zone but also the confidence of the providing organisation that they could participate in important decision-making on behalf of their neighbours.

6.4.5 Environmental quality

It was anticipated that changes to environmental quality would take place on the land of learners from the organic farming program. This would have been as a result of the linking relationships learners established with their trainer. One of the purposes of the organic farming program was to train learners in farming methods that were environmentally friendly and reduced their dependence on costly agricultural inputs such as chemical fertilisers and pesticides. The trainer of the organic farming program taught learners how to make their own organic fertilisers and pesticides. Learners appreciated the monetary saving they were able to make and acknowledged that the organic fertilisers and pesticides were no less effective than their chemical counterparts. As a consequence of their NFE they understood how the use of organic fertilisers and pesticides made farming more sustainable as they caused less damage to the soil.

There was the potential for environmental quality to be affected by other NFE programs but this was not realised. Learners from the carpentry program sourced their wood locally but did

not appear to be practising sustainable forestry. The members of the food-processing association had started to grow some of the ingredients for their products but as not all had completed the organic farming program were not necessarily aware of the methods for producing and the environment benefits of organic fertilisers and pesticides.

6.4.6 Subjective wellbeing

Letters from the learners to the providing organisation indicated that they felt they had a better understanding of the challenges they face and how they can overcome them to achieve self-reliance. Learners attributed these lessons to the providing organisation. Responses given in the learning circles indicated that learners had developed strong relationships with the executive director and community development officer of the providing organisation through the visits they had made to their NFE programs.

Learners from the food-processing program perceived the community development officer to possess a genuine concern that they succeed in the establishment of a food-processing association. According to them he had gone beyond their understanding of his responsibilities toward them to help them source packaging materials for their products. The time that he spent meeting with the learners improved their self-confidence. The same sentiment was expressed with regards to these learners' relationships with their trainer. Learners in the learning circles reported that without the intervention of the providing organisation and their trainers they would not have been able to achieve what they had. While some learners did not feel that they had achieve all that they had expected, it appeared that very few learners were worse off for having completed NFE.

Through the group work activities in the NFE programs and the bonding relationships strengthened as a result, learners developed their awareness of their own strengths and the contributions they could make to improve their own wellbeing and that of their household

and wider community. In the course of the learning circles, some learners seemed almost surprised to realise what they were capable of achieving. The chance to develop the practice of their new skills in a supportive environment with the guidance of an experienced trainer gave learners the confidence to apply these skills independently or with other learners.

Table 9 outlines the changes to learners wellbeing according to the OECD’s material living conditions dimensions of wellbeing.

Table 9: Changes to learner wellbeing according to OECD material living conditions dimensions

<i>Wellbeing dimension</i>	Indicator	Relationship this outcome is mediated by
<i>Income and wealth</i>	Some learners, particularly in the carpentry and tailoring program, reported deriving an income from their newly acquired skills. They had used this for a variety of purposes including school fees for their dependants and the purchase of household items such as mattresses. Learners from the carpentry program had been able to construct furniture for their households where before there would have been none.	Bonding relationship between learners Linking relationship with trainer
<i>Job earnings</i>	It is difficult to comment on changes to this wellbeing outcome. At the time of the final phase of data collection learners were in the early stages of deriving an income from their newly-acquired skill. While some learners were deriving an income, they had not fully retired from subsistence living.	

6.4.7 Income and wealth

When the providing organisation began operation, the majority of learners were subsistence farmers, surviving without deriving an income. The PRA conducted by the providing organisation to inform its work plan identified the following problems that flowed from a lack of income. Firstly, learners experienced difficulty in sending their dependants to school. Despite the fact that the Ugandan Government had introduced universal primary and secondary education, there were still costs associated with education. Even for dependants of learners who had managed to obtain secondary qualifications, there was no potential for them to undertake tertiary studies.

Secondly, learners were unable to access adequate health care. At the time of the providing organisation's establishment there was no health facility within its area of operation. When learners were sick they were required to travel to the neighbouring district to be treated at one of the three hospitals there. For many learners this was not a possibility as they lacked the income to pay for the transport, treatment and costs associated with their care.

Thirdly, learners were unable to improve their household environment. Poor household environments contributed to poor health and sanitation.

As a consequence of bonding relationships learners were able to improve their income. This was particularly the case for learners from the food-processing, carpentry and tailoring programs who formed small groups for the purpose of establishing a small business. Further, the linking relationship between learners and the providing organisation mediated through learners' membership in the microfinance association gave some learners access to capital. Some survey respondents indicated that they had used the income derived from their skills had been used to pay for their dependants' education. The lady whose son sustained spinal cord injuries when he fell from a tree received money derived from other learners' income to seek specialist treatment in Kampala. One learner was able to purchase a mattress out of the income she had derived. This was a source of great pride, as she had never slept on a mattress. She reported in conversation that upon the purchase of her mattress she had invited her neighbours over to show it to them. As a consequence of the linking relationship with their trainer, learners from the carpentry program were able to produce furniture for the home and learners from the tailoring program were able to produce clothes for their families, adding to the household's assets.

6.5 Conclusion

NFE has featured on the educational landscape in Uganda for some time and has had an important role to play in raising the educational status of a large number of people who have not had access to formal education. A consideration of the most recent developments in the NFE sector in Uganda indicates that NFE has been moved off the agenda of the Government of Uganda for the foreseeable future. In light of these influences, the implication for NFE is not that it will cease to be provided but that the sector will become further fragmented as private providers operate without regulation and independent monitoring. This will leave participants subject to the providing organisations without recourse to complain where they do not feel their educational needs are being adequately met. Further without coordinated planning for the placement of NFE programs, replication is likely to occur and some districts will invariably be overlooked. Considering the large number of youth and adults that have no or limited access to formal education, NFE must remain on the research agenda to ensure that its efficacy and efficiency are maximised.

This research project set out to explore factors contributing to the success or otherwise of NFE so that providers might be better equipped to implement efficacious programs that bring sustainable improvements to learner's holistic wellbeing. In light of the literature review in Chapter 2 that revealed a preoccupation with the human capital outcomes of NFE it was decided to focus on social capital outcomes. The problem with emphasising human capital outcomes to the neglect of all others was that it complemented a one-dimensional conceptualisation of human development. A more holistic conceptualisation of human development acknowledges economic, social, physical, psychological and spiritual dimensions. From the literature of Paulo Friere and Latin American educationists, it was apparent that changing learner's relationships with a range of stakeholders contributed to an expanded set of outcomes.

Based primarily on the work of Michael Woolcock, the theoretical framework for this research project was presented in linear form. The first element was the NFE programs, in particular their instructional mode and structural features. It was proposed that these would impact upon the sources of social capital, articulated as bonding, bridging and linking relationships. Changes to these relationships had consequences; a proposed list was compiled using the literature and included trust, cooperativeness and solidarity. Finally, it was proposed that these consequences would help learners improve their holistic wellbeing using the dimensions outlined by the OECD.

Using a case study design with four data collection methods (survey, document analysis, observation and learning circles) one organisation providing NFE in western Uganda was investigated. They used two models, one to implement the food-processing and organic farming programs, and another to implement the carpentry and tailoring programs.

The findings of this research project were consistent with the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3 particularly Woolcock's multidimensional conceptualisation of social capital and the linear progression from sources to consequences to outcomes.

Both models had strengthened bonding relationships between learners to a similar degree. Only the food-processing program created bridging relationships as a result of an exchange visit arranged by the trainer. Both models created linking between the learners and their trainer and the learners and the providing organisation but the strength of these relationships was stronger for learners from the programs implemented according to Model 1. There was an inconsistency between the providing organisation's claim in their progress reports to have brought learners into contact with several relevant local organisations and government agencies, and the learner's perspective of these relationships. The learners were less sure that these relationships had been created. They were certainly more aware of the existence of

these organisations and agencies but were not sure of how they might be beneficial to the realisation of their personal goals.

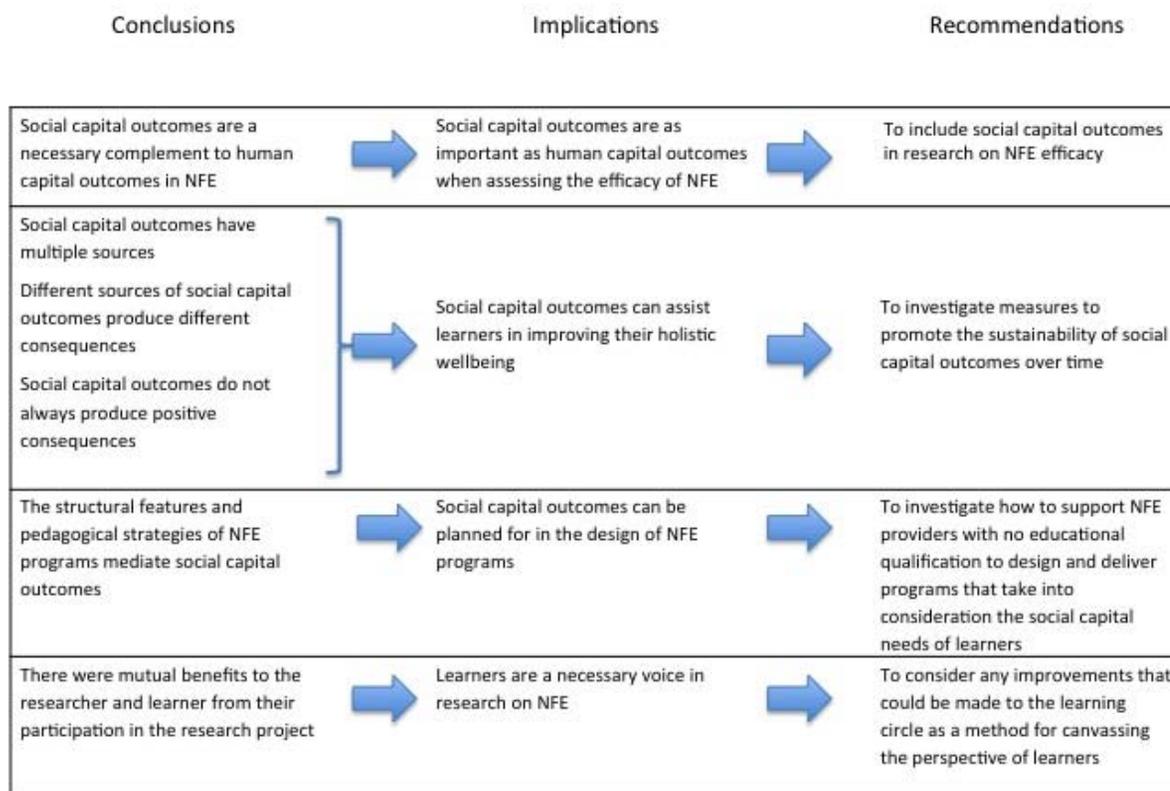
The differences between the social capital outcomes for the two models were attributable largely to the structural features. Staff from the providing organisation drew upon their existing social network to recruit experienced trainers for the food-processing and organic farming programs. These trainers lived further away from the learners that increased the likelihood that their social network would contain people unfamiliar to the learners. This benefited learners from the food-processing program who were able to make an exchange visit with a well-established food-processing association in a neighbouring district.

The trainers recruited for the carpentry and tailoring programs practised their skills in the same area as the learners, meaning that there were less opportunities for the trainer to bring learners into contact with people from another location in a similar situation. There were two features the carpentry and tailoring programs that contributed to a higher than anticipated attrition rate. The first was the imposition of learner fees that for most learners was prohibitive. The second was the length of some programs that placed too great a demand on learner's time. This lessened the strength of the social capital outcomes for those learners.

Changes to learners' relationships as a result of NFE, defined in this research project as social capital outcomes, have had positive effects on their holistic wellbeing. Using the dimensions of holistic wellbeing articulated by the OECD, this research project has found improvements to learner's health status, education and skills, social connections, civic engagement, subjective wellbeing and material living conditions as a result of changes to their relationships, which were mediated through NFE.

Figure 10 summarises the relationships between the conclusions, implications and recommendations that emerge from this research project. This summary will form the basis for the remainder of this section.

Figure 10: Summary of conclusions, implications and recommendations for this research project



6.5.1 Overall conclusions on the research questions

This chapter concludes the narrative on a group of learners from four NFE programs implemented by the same organisation in western Uganda. As a result of the above discussion, this research project draws the following seven conclusions.

- **Firstly, social capital outcomes are a necessary complement to human capital outcomes in NFE.** The findings of this research project indicate that human capital outcomes were most evident for those learners who had also realised changes to their relationships.
- **Secondly, social capital outcomes have multiple sources.** Learners in the NFE programs under investigation realised changes to a range of relationships including with other learners, their trainer, the providing organisation, and, in a small number of cases, other organisations or government agencies.
- **Thirdly, different sources of social capital outcomes produce different consequences.** Bonding relationships were found to be helpful in producing cooperativeness between learners and encouraged acts of generosity and a spirit of reciprocity. Bridging relationships exposed learners to new information and encouraged experience sharing. Linking relationships enabled learners to access further educational opportunities or resources and technical expertise useful for the establishment of an income-generating enterprise.
- **Fourthly, the different sources of social capital outcomes need to be realised in concert to complement human capital outcomes.** In the case of the carpentry and tailoring programs, the bonding relationships formed were useful in helping learners find similar-minded people to begin an income-generating enterprise with. However, bridging and linking relationships were needed to gather information on how to establish an enterprise, provide access to start-up capital, and to help secure a market.

- **Fifthly, social capital outcomes do not always produce positive consequences.** The members of the food-processing association demonstrated a high degree of bonding which excluded other members.
- **Sixthly, the structural features and pedagogical strategies of NFE programs mediate social capital outcomes.** Changes to relationships, positive or otherwise, occurred as a result of the way a NFE program was structure or the teaching strategies used in its implementation.
- **Seventhly, there were mutual benefits to the researcher and learner from their participation in the research project.** The research project occurred at an important time in the providing organisation's existence. Having been in operation for close to a decade, project staff felt it was an opportune time to evaluate the efficacy of what they were doing, particularly with regards to the learners. As the evaluation process necessitated their involvement, staff of the providing organisation had been mobilising learners' support in a series of community meetings. When the researcher came to complete the second phase of data collection, learners were aware of the benefits an evaluation could bring to them and were enthusiastic to participate. The learning circles in particular provided learners with an opportunity to reflect on their relationships and think about how they could be more effectively utilised to achieve personal goals. As a result of the learning circle discussion, some learners prepared reports and budgets to formally request support from the providing organisation for the establishment of their small businesses. This was positively received by the providing organisation, as they required such formal correspondence to make decisions about the allocation of resources and finances.

The learning circles brought together all learners from a particular NFE program.

Except for the food-processing program for which there was only one program, the

remaining three programs brought together learners from different zones within the providing organisation's area of operation. Many of these people were still known to each other through all-member events arranged by the providing organisation but were not aware of each other's aptitude for a particular skill or ideas for income-generating activities. The learning circles provided an experience sharing opportunity for learners. One of the benefits of the Self Help Groups reported by learners was the opportunity for experience sharing with people from a similar locality or with a common interest. Experience sharing served the purpose of reducing feelings of isolation in solving problems and increased acts of generosity with time, money and resources. Learning circles benefitted learners by giving them an opportunity to share experiences with one another particularly where they were interacting with learners from different centres.

6.5.2 Implications for different stakeholders

This research project has four significant implications. Firstly, social capital outcomes are as important as human capital outcomes when assessing the efficacy of NFE. The traditional view presented in the literature on NFE is that human capital outcomes are the most significant outcomes to be realised. This is understandable considering that it is these outcomes that most often encourage learners to participate in NFE. Certainly in the survey conducted with learners for this research project, a majority indicated that the reason they had enrolled in NFE was to gain knowledge and skills that might enable them to generate an income. However, this research project has found that without social capital outcomes, that is, changes to learners' relationships, learners' ability to generate an income from their newly-acquired skills is limited. As a necessary complement to human capital outcomes, social capital outcomes need to be considered when assessing the efficacy of NFE.

Secondly, social capital outcomes can assist learners in improving their holistic wellbeing. Beyond just improving their capacity to generate an income, the social capital outcomes identified for the programs under investigation were found to have influenced a range of the dimensions of wellbeing as articulated by the OECD.

Thirdly, social capital outcomes can be planned for in the design of NFE programs. This was difficult to assess in this research project considering that the trainers were not required to submit a program to the providing organisation prior to implementation. As such there is no documentation on the planning process undertaken by trainers to prepare for NFE.

Considering that social capital outcomes have been identified as contributing significantly to NFE efficacy it would be worthwhile to investigate how they can be planned for and integrated into NFE programs.

Fourthly, learners are a necessary voice in research on NFE. An outcome of the literature review in Chapter 2 was that learners were an absent voice in the research on NFE. Despite the fact that they are at the centre of the NFE experience, it has been most common to canvas the perspective of trainers, providers, representatives of funding bodies and government representatives. This was attributed to the size and sources of funding for NFE research. The more recent research into NFE and particularly social capital outcomes of NFE has been funded by inter-governmental agencies such as the World Bank and UNESCO. In order to justify continued financial support to NFE, it was suggested that there was an overemphasis on successful programs and too little consideration of programs that had had a minimal impact. To add the learners' voices to those mentioned above could create a source of possible conflict particularly where learners did not feel that their expectations had been realised. This research project chose to give chief importance to the voice of learners, as they are the reason for which NFE exists. The effectiveness of the learner's contribution to

addressing the research questions in this research project is attributable to the methods chosen to canvas their perspectives.

The learning circles were a particularly effective method for encouraging discussion between learners and the researcher. Despite their unfamiliarity with the research process, the learning circle was a discussion format that closely resembled the way that they interacted on a daily basis. This put learners at ease and they freely offered their responses to the questions asked and were not reluctant to make comments that were critical of their trainers and the providing organisation where they were relevant to the topic of discussion. Learners conducted themselves in an orderly manner showing respect for each other's opinions. The implication of this methodological choice is that learning circles are a useful method for canvassing the perspectives of learners.

In Chapter 1 it was established that the Government of Uganda has chosen to preference formal education over NFE. The majority of its own government spending and the money received from lending organisations such as the World Bank has been allocated to primary education and more recently secondary education. Yet the increased investment has not necessarily led to improved outcomes either for the students who are enrolled in education or those who were previously excluded from formal education. There remains a large number of people who are minimally schooled or unschooled even amongst those of a school-appropriate age.

This research project has demonstrated the feasibility of NFE to improve the educational status of learners and impact positively upon their holistic wellbeing. NFE has been presented as a viable option for the minimally schooled or unschooled in Uganda.

It would not be reasonable to expect that the Government of Uganda take full responsibility for returning NFE to the educational landscape. They attempted this with the GWP but fell

short, possibly because their expectations were unrealistic to begin with. As it stands, NGOs have taken primary responsibility for the provision of NFE. However, the sector has become fragmented as the government has played less of a role. A policy implication of this research project is for the government to assume some responsibility for the oversight, monitoring and regulation of the NFE sector with a view to improving program efficacy.

6.5.3 Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendations for future research.

- **to include social capital outcomes in research on NFE efficacy.** Where research into NFE takes place, this research project has made an argument for social capital outcomes to be considered with regards to program efficacy. The learner's relationships that have been created and strengthened as a result of their participation in NFE have improved their holistic wellbeing and assisted them in using their newly-acquired skills to generating an income.
- **to investigate measures to promote the sustainability of social capital outcomes over time.** At the time that this research project had taken place, learners had only recently finished their NFE. As a result it was not possible to assess the longitudinal effects of the social capital outcomes that were identified. It would be worthwhile to investigate if the social capital outcomes identified have longevity and how their sustainability over time could be promoted. It is recognised that human capital outcomes need to be nurtured over time if they are to continue to be productive. A number of learners expressed a desire to enrol in another program were it available in order to extend their understanding of their skill area and to remain competitive in their respective market. As a necessary complement to human capital outcomes, social capital outcomes may be subject to a similar need.

- **to investigate how to support NFE providers with no educational qualification to design and deliver programs that take into consideration the social capital needs of learners.** The facilitators of the NFE programs under investigation were experts in the skill they were teaching but did not possess educational qualifications. Staff of the providing organisation were knowledgeable about NFE but also did not possess educational qualifications. An educational qualification is likely to have been achieved after a consideration of the factors contributing to effective teaching and learning. The facilitators were responsible for preparing their teaching program. In the case of the programs implemented according to Model 1 (food-processing and organic farming), both facilitators were experienced trainers who used a teaching program they had delivered on several occasions. In the case of the programs implemented according to Model 2 (carpentry and tailoring), the facilitators were local artisans who had no prior experience in delivering a program aimed at training others in their skill. Facilitators were not required to submit their teaching program for approval but were monitored by staff from the providing organisation in the implementation phase. From observations made by the researcher, Model 2 programs were implemented more haphazardly than Model 1 programs. Relying upon their previous experience, trainers for the Model 1 programs delivered a course that they had implemented on several occasions.

The researcher had observed two programs implemented by the food-processing trainer at an interval of six years. The latter program was perceived to be more expertly implemented and had taken into account new developments and trends in food-processing. Learners from the tailoring program commented that their trainers were not teaching them how to make modern designs for clothing but were imparting their existing knowledge.

Knowing that social capital outcomes can help learners utilise their human capital outcomes to improve their holistic wellbeing, it is worth considering how enhancements to the former might be planned for in the development of teaching programs. As it is assumed that many NFE trainers in other programs also lack educational qualifications, a potential area of future research could be how to assist them in creating pedagogically sound programs that improve a range of learner outcomes.

- **to consider any improvements that could be made to the learning circle as a method for canvassing the perspective of learners.** As identified above, the learning circles were effective in encouraging learners to talk about their experience of NFE. There was consistency between the structure of discussion in learning circles and the learners' everyday experiences of social interaction. For people who were previously unfamiliar with the research process, the learning circles provided a non-threatening environment in which the learners could talk openly about the strengths and weaknesses of the education they had received. As a method not widely used in NFE research, it would be worth considering how learning circles might be improved as a method for gathering data from learners and their appropriateness for learners in a different context.

6.5.4 Significance of the study

This research project has significance because of the contribution it makes to the academic discussion on NFE, for the potential benefits it has for providers of NFE and due to the possibilities it presents for delivering improved outcomes for learners. Since its inception, NFE has struggled to find its place on the worldwide educational landscape. As a vehicle for training people in skills that can be used for income-generation, the programs under investigation have been efficacious. Learners' ability to generate income from their newly-

acquired skills has been enhanced by the changes to their relationships with each other, their trainers, the providing organisation and in some cases other organisations or government agencies. These social capital outcomes have operated as a necessary complement to learners' human capital outcomes as they negotiate the task of establishing income-generating enterprises. The findings of the research project demonstrate the ongoing importance of considering social capital outcomes in NFE research. Further, this research project has significance for providers of NFE. The findings suggest that NFE providers need to design programs that take into consideration social capital outcomes. These outcomes can be mediated by the way programs are structured and the pedagogical strategies used in their implementation. Finally, this research project has significance for learners who stand to benefit from continued research into improving NFE efficacy and a concentration by NFE providers on the range of human capital and social capital outcomes that can improve their holistic wellbeing.

In addition to holding significance for the above mentioned parties, this research project has applications for NFE theory and practice. Building upon Woolcock's multidimensional conceptualisation of social capital, this research project has characterised bonding, bridging and linking relationships present in the learning community under investigation. It has identified two elements of NFE programs, structural features and pedagogical strategies that support changes to learner's relationships. It has demonstrated the linear progression from inputs to sources of social capital to consequences to outcomes. These findings support improved planning for social capital outcomes in NFE programs and has developed a method, learning circles, for canvassing learner perspectives on their education.

6.6 Final Comment

In the past sixty years, NFE has featured on the educational landscape as a solution for the minimally schooled or unschooled. It has primarily fallen to NGOs to deliver NFE. The dependence on their budgets has led to a preoccupation in NFE research into efficiency as opposed to efficacy. This research project has been concerned with investigating options for improving NFE efficacy particularly as they relate to learners.

The research project has demonstrated the importance of taking social capital outcomes into account when considering NFE efficacy. The findings indicate that the social capital outcomes experienced by learners were a necessary complement to the human capital outcomes that were realised as a result of their training in either food-processing, organic farming, carpentry and tailoring. The three sources of social capital were identified as bonding, bridging and linking relationships. Bonding relationships were evident between learners, bridging relationships between learners and their trainers and linking relationships between the providing organisation and other organisations and government agencies. Human capital was generated regardless of the strength of the social capital outcomes. The social capital outcomes influenced the ability of learners to use their human capital to generate income.

Considering its significance to efficacy, it is worth continuing research into the social capital outcomes of NFE. In particular, how social capital outcomes can be planned for, how trainers without educational qualifications can be supported to choose appropriate pedagogical strategies and how social capital outcomes can be sustained over time.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Participant Information Statement

This statement was read out to those who had attended the survey-completion sessions. It was read out in English and the local language.

You are invited to participate in a research project that is being conducted by Amy Birungi from the School of Education at the University of New England, Australia. The research is part of Amy Birungi's doctoral studies at the University of New England, supervised by Dr Charles Kivunha and Dr Neil Taylor from the School of Education.

Why is the research being done?

The purpose of the research is to investigate how your relationships have changed as a result of your education and how these changes have impacted upon your wellbeing.

What choice do you have?

Participation in this research is voluntary. Completion of the survey indicates your consent to be included in the research project. There will be no disadvantage to you if you decide not to participate. If you submit a completed survey you still withdraw from the project at any time without giving a reason and have the option of withdrawing any data you contributed to the research.

What would you be asked to do?

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete a survey.

How much time will it take?

The survey will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.

What are the risks and benefits of participating?

There are no known risks to your personal or social safety by participating or choosing not to participate in this study. We cannot promise you any benefit from participating in this research. The outcomes will, however, assist others.

How will your privacy be protected?

Only the researcher will have access to the data. The data will be secured in a locked cabinet at all times. The data will be kept by the researcher for 5 years after the conclusion of the study. Your name is required on the survey forms only so that you can be re-contacted should the researcher wish to invite you to be interviewed. Any information collected by the researcher which might identify you will be stored securely in a locked cabinet and only accessed by the researchers unless you consent otherwise, except as required by law. It will not be possible to identify you from the dissertation or any academic papers.

How will the information collected be used?

The information collected will be primarily be used in a dissertation to be submitted for Amy Birungi's degree. It is also likely that the information collected will be used in the writing of papers for academic publication. Individual participants will not be identified in any reports arising from the project. Ultimately the data will be used to improve NFE in Uganda and beyond. Upon completion of the research project participants will be offered a summary of the results.

What do you need to do to participate?

If you are willing to participate, please complete the survey and submit it to the researcher.

Further information

If you would like further information you can speak to Amy Birungi at this session or contact her at a later time at abirungi@une.edu.au.

Complaints about this research

This project has been approved by the University's Human Research Ethics Committee, Approval No HE09/161. Should you have concerns about your rights as a participant in this research, or have a complaint about the manner in which the research is conducted, you may contact Research Services at UNE on +61 2 6773 3571.

Appendix 2: Survey – English



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	Personal Information				
1	Gender (circle one)	Female		Male	
2	Age Group (circle one)	18-25	26-35	36-45	Above 45
3	Occupation				
4	Educational Background				
	Highest level of formal education achieved (circle one)	Primary	Secondary	Post-Secondary	
	Information on non-formal education undertaken				
5	Name of non-formal education program				
6	How did you find out about the program? (circle one)	Radio	TICH/KABBICCA staff	Another person	Other:
7	Why did you enrol in the program?				
8	What did you expect to achieve by participating in the program?				
9	What do you think you have achieved by participating in the program?				
10	How has your household benefited from your participation in the program?				

11	How were you involved in the planning for the program?		
12	Were you given feedback about your progress in the program?		
13	How were you asked to provide feedback on the program?		
14	Would you participate in another non-formal education program offered by this organisation? (circle one and say why)	Yes	No

Appendix 3: Survey – Rukiga



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Okweshobororaho kwawe				
1	Obuhangwa bwawe	Omwisiki/Omukazi		Omusigazi/Omusaija
2	Emyaka yawe	18-25	26-35	36-45 Haiguru ya 45
3	Omurimo ogworakora			
Okushoma kwawe mumashomero				
4	Yoreka ahi wagarukiire mukushoma	Primary	Secondary	Haiguru ya Secondary
Okwegyesibwa okutari kwamashomero				
5	Izina ryentegyeke yokwegyesibwa endi yona eyiwatungyire etari yomwishomero			
6	Ebirikukwata hantegyeke egyo okabimanya ota?	Radio	Kuruga ha bakozi ba TICH/KABBICCA	Kuruga ha muntu ondi Ebindi:
7	Ekyakureteire kwehandikisa muntegyeka egyo nenkyi			
8	Obuwataha muntegyeka egyi okaba notekateka kugasirwamu kyi?			
9	Noteketeka ngu omazire kugasirwa ota kuruga omuntegyeka egyi?			

10	Abeka yawe bagasirwe bata kuruga otaha muntegyeka egyi?		
11	Okakwatanisa ota omukutebekanisiza entegyeke egyi?		
12	Okamanyisibwa ota obusinguzi obu wahikireho omuntegyeka egyi?		
13	Okashabwa ota kworeka ebitekateko byawe hantegyeke egyi?		
14	Oyetekaniize kugumizamu omuntekaniza egyi ey'ekitongore.	Ego:habwenkyi?	Ingaha: Habwenkyi?

Appendix 4: Survey – Rutoro



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	Ebirukukwataho				
1	Obuhangwa bwawe (komaho kimu)	Mwisiki/Mukazi		Musigazi/Musaija	
2	Emyaka (komaho kimu)	18-25	26-35	36-45	Haiguru ya 45
3	Omulimo gwawe				
	Okusoma kwawe				
4	Idaara wahikireho omukusoma (komaho kimu)	Primary	Secondary	Haiguru ya Secondary	
	Okutendekwa okundi kwona okutali kw'omwisomero				
5	Ibara ly'entegeka yokutendekwa okundi okuwagiremu				
6	Entegeke egyo okagimanya ota? (komaho kimu)	Ha Radio	Kuruga habakozi ba TICH/KABBICCA	Kuruga ha muntu ondi	Ebindi:
7	Habwaki wagiire omuntegeka egyo?				
8	Biki eby'okaba nonihira kuhikaho obu noraba omukujumbira entegeka egyo?				

9	Notekereza biki ebyohikireho kuruga omukujumbira entegeka egyo?		
10	Eka yawe egobere eta kuruga omukujumbira kwawe entegeka egyo?		
11	Iwe mulingoki oguwabairemu omukutegekera entegeka egyo?		
12	Okatungaho kumanyisibwa kwona nkoku okaba nogenda mumaiso omuntegeka egyo?		
13	Mulingoki ugu naiwe wasabirwe kugira ekyogambire kurugiirra nkoku okaba norora entegeke egyo?		
14	Kakuba ohebwa omugisa nosobora kujumbira entegeka endi yona eyetekanizibwe ekitongole?	Ego: Habwaki?	Nangwa: habwaki?