A comparative study of education and development in Cambodia and Uganda from their civil wars to the present
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Citation for published version (APA):
Un, L. (2012). A comparative study of education and development in Cambodia and Uganda from their civil wars to the present
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

I.1 Background of the study
Efforts to improve people’s living conditions are as old as the history of humankind. However, the systematic study of this effort as an academic discipline called 'development studies' emerged just six decades ago after the end of World War II. Although development involves many aspects — social, political and cultural — economic development is considered the key as it provides resources for promoting other aspects of development. Since the 1950s, countless studies have attempted to investigate the causes of economic development (usually measured in terms of GDP/per capita and poverty) between countries within the same continent as well as between countries across continents in order to detect why, in the long run, some countries can perform better than others. Recently, comparisons between Asia and Africa have become increasingly important both for academicians as well as development practitioners following the growth of dialogue between the South-and-South.

Various disciplines provide a wide range of possible explanations on the underlying causes of economic development, but the most prominent studies have stressed the role of economic institutions (macro-economic stability, a well-defined system of property rights, and openness of the economy) and business-friendly environments, such as right incentives for investors and good governance, as the fundamental causes of differences in economic performance (Benhabib and Spiegel, 1994; López et al., 1998; Easterly, 2001). Although these factors are relevant in economic development, they are not sufficient conditions to ensure a prosperous economy.

Arguably, investment in human capital in terms of education is one of the fundamental factors in economic development. The role of education in economic development is manifested in the successful experience of East and Southeast Asian countries such as Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Indonesia, 2

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2 UNDP even established a mechanism for policy dialogue and knowledge-sharing amongst developing countries, what it calls the global South. For more details see http://www.ipc-undp.org/.
and Vietnam. Although these countries have different degrees of quality of their economic institutions, business-friendly environments, and good governance, they share a common factor that contributes to their economic development, a strong interest in investment in education (Economist 1991; Morris 1996).

Educational development, however, is a complex issue, especially when it is developed with the ultimate objective of contributing to the overall economic development of a country. It consists of not only multiple sub-sectors (primary, secondary, and higher education), but also equitable access, quality, and orientation of the educational content. Further, different levels of economic development and labour markets need to give different priorities to these sub-sectors and aspects of education.

Experiences from cross-country comparisons reveal that the absence/presence of the appropriate provision of a relevant mix of skilled human resources needed by their labour market and economy is the key to explaining the advancement or stagnation of economic development, not only among East Asian countries, but also in comparison to other parts of the developing world (World Bank, 2008b). Specifically, experiences from cross-country comparison, especially between East Asia and other parts of the developing world, also reveal that at an early stage of development for the investment in education to have a more positive return, basic education, followed by technical and vocational education and training, should be prioritized over higher education. Within higher education, investment in science, engineering, manufacturing, construction, and technology provide the highest rate of economic return compared to the social sciences, business, humanities, and arts. The economics of education analysis reveals that failure to develop appropriate education will lead to the misuse of scarce resources and efforts and failure to fulfill the role of education in the overall economic development process.

This study attempts to analyse as well as compare education and the economic development trajectory of two post-conflict countries, Cambodia and Uganda. Cambodia and Uganda underwent similar historical experiences after the end of colonialism. Between the late 1960s and 1980s, both countries experienced political instability, social upheaval and civil war that significantly affected the efforts to
develop their countries, especially economically. Further, millions of people were lost during this period, especially those with higher education in Cambodia.

Since the end of their respective civil wars, Cambodia and Uganda have depended heavily on foreign assistance to rebuild their devastated countries after more than two decades of civil war and social upheaval. Since then, Cambodia and Uganda have improved in almost every aspect of human development, especially economic growth. Given the two countries' past tragedies, their improvements have received widespread praise from donors as well as their populations. However, despite their rapid rates of economic development, Cambodia and Uganda are still behind many countries as seen clearly in their low GDP (per capita), high poverty rates, and widening inequality (for more details see Chapter VI). This is also reflected in their Human Development Index, which after nearly three decades of peace has remained lower than the average world standard. For instance, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) classifies Cambodia and Uganda as the 'least developed countries'.

This study is part of a broader comparative research project entitled 'Tracking Development Project'. The Tracking Development Project attempts to explore why Southeast Asia (SEA) and Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) diverged so dramatically in terms of their economic development over the last 50 years. The project covers four paired countries from these two regions, Malaysia and Kenya, Indonesia and Nigeria, Vietnam and Tanzania, and, finally, Cambodia and Uganda. This adds an additional task for this dissertation: not only analyse why the level of economic performance in Cambodia and Uganda is still low, but also compare why their economic performances and economic development trajectories are different after their respective civil wars.

During the 1990s, Uganda was considered to be on the right path to sustainable economic development, while Cambodia's development was in doubt. In fact, the World Bank characterized Uganda as moving from 'basket case' to 'success story'. This is reflected in terms of economic development where poverty was reduced

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3 More detail about 'Tracking Development Project' can be found at [http://www.trackingdevelopment.net/](http://www.trackingdevelopment.net/).
substantially and GDP per capita increased steadily in Uganda during the 1990s. Also, its Human Development Index moved from lower to higher than Sub-Saharan Africa's average, while Cambodia remained directionless because of political instability and bad governance. However, at the turn of the millennium, especially since the mid-2000s, the reverse trend was observed. Although Cambodia’s economic performance is still below Southeast Asian standards, its economic performance is slightly better than that of Uganda as manifested in higher GDP per capita and lower rates of poverty, especially when it is measured in terms of percentage of population living below US$2 per day (for more detail see Chapter VI). The relative divergence of growth between the two countries is also reflected in their different levels on the 2010 Human Development Index, where Cambodia was ranked 124, higher than Uganda's rank of 143 out of a total of 169 countries.

One wonders what brings about the different performance trajectories in Cambodia and Uganda, and at the same time what hinders their ability to develop economically. Therefore, this dissertation attempts to examine the role of the state in fostering economic development via deliberate provisions for a mixed skilled labour force in Cambodia and Uganda. Such an examination involves two aspects of analysis. The first aspect concerns the relation between education and economic development, and the second aspect addresses the role of the state in educational development. A comparative case study between Cambodia and Uganda is important because it helps to shed light on how the rebuilding of the education system contributes to economic development in post-conflict and aid-dependent countries. The civil wars and social upheaval in both countries not only disrupted educational development, but also destroyed the foundations on which further educational development could be built, especially in the case of Cambodia where formal education was nearly abolished during the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-79).

Concerning the relationship between education and economic development in Cambodia and Uganda, this dissertation's premise is twofold. The first is that the low level of economic development in both countries is due partly to their inappropriate educational development. The second is that their slightly different trajectory of economic development can also partly be explained by their different degrees of
inappropriate educational development, rather than their different degrees of good governance and business-friendly environments, as most prominent economic studies have claimed (Benhabib and Spiegel, 1994; López et al., 1998; Easterly, 2001).

This argument is reflected in the fact that according to good governance indicators, Uganda scores consistently higher in voice and accountability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption, as compared to Cambodia. Only in terms of political stability does Cambodia score slightly better than Uganda, as seen in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Good governance indicators in Cambodia and Uganda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governance indicator</th>
<th>Cambodia</th>
<th>Uganda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice and accountability</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government effectiveness</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulatory quality</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule of law</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control of corruption</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political stability</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Higher values indicate better governance ratings.


In terms of a business-friendly environment, Uganda also has been ranked consistently higher than Cambodia until recently. For instance, the number of days required to start a business in Cambodia was reduced from 94 in 2003 to 85 in 2010. This is substantially longer than Uganda, which was reduced from 34 to 25 during the same period. Although in Cambodia the percentage of firms engaged in informal payment to public officials declined from 82.4 in 2003 to 61.2 in 2007, this figure is still higher than Uganda that saw informal payments rise from 39.2 in 2003 to 51.7 in

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4 The informal payments to public officials made by firms are expected to 'get things done' with regard to customs, taxes, licenses, regulations, services, etc.
2006. In general, the rank on the Ease of Doing Business Index⁵ in Uganda improved from 129 in 2009 to 122 in 2010, while Cambodia increased from 145 to 147 during the same period.⁶ Yet, Uganda still has a higher percentage of the population living below US$2 per day and has a lower GDP per capita compared to Cambodia.

Arguably, the slightly divergent level of economic development can be explained by the slight difference in the quality of education and level of educational attainment by students. For instance, the adult literacy rate in Cambodia was 78 percent in 2008, which is slightly higher compared to Uganda, which was only 73 percent in 2010. However, the adult literacy rate in both countries is still below the world average of 79 percent in 2004. Further, Cambodian educational provision is relatively more equitable and better distributed among different social groups, boy vs girl, urban vs rural, and rich vs poor, compared to Uganda. Furthermore, Cambodia has a slightly higher skilled workforce compared to Uganda, as measured in terms of the percentage of labour force with technical and vocational educations and training qualifications, and a relatively more highly skilled workforce in science and engineering, manufacturing and construction, health and welfare, and agriculture.⁷ However, the overall level of human resources measured in terms of the above-mentioned qualifications is still low compared to successful countries in East Asia (as seen in Table 1.2). This is the key to why the economic performances in both countries are still low in absolute terms and in comparison to the world average and other successful countries in East Asia.

⁵ The Ease of Doing Business Index ranks economies from 1 to 183, with first place being the best. A high rank means the regulatory environment is conducive to business operation. The index ranks the simple average of a country's percentile rankings on 10 topics covered in the World Bank's Doing Business. The ranking on each topic is the simple average of the percentile rankings on its component indicators.


⁷ These disciplines are classified by UNESCO in its statistical data base. This system is adopted since it is best suited for comparative purposes, as the national data classification systems between Cambodia and Uganda are not comparable.
Table 1.2 Quality of the labour force in terms of relevant skills in Cambodia, Uganda, and selected East Asian countries (2007-2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% of labour force with TVET qualification</th>
<th>% of enrollment in TVET among new entrance labour force</th>
<th>% of tertiary student enrollment in science and engineering, manufacturing and construction, health and welfare, and agriculture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19.78*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>9.39</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>14.91</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>12.48</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>53.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Excluding student enrollment in science.


Concerning the role of the state in educational development, the stagnation of educational development can be observed in some parts of the world, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, as a consequence of the withdrawal of the state's intervention in social service provisions such as education during Structural Adjustment Programmes, and has contributed to slow economic development. In contrast, the advancement of educational development, accompanied by the economic miracle in successful East Asian countries as a consequence of state intervention in social services such education, highlights the important role of the state in strategically designing its education system to deliver a balance between each sub-sector and different aspects of the educational provision. This success in educational development requires the state to intervene at two levels: one is educational policy design and resource allocation, and the other is policy and resource implementation.

This dissertation argues that the overall low levels of educational development in Cambodia and Uganda are due to each state's ineffectiveness in policy design and resource allocation, and especially in policy and resource implementation. And the difference in the degree of educational development between these two countries is
due to the different degrees of each state's effectiveness in policy design, resource allocation, and policy and resource implementation.

### 1.2 Research question

The return to peace and security in Cambodia and Uganda after their civil wars provided new opportunities for both states, through their ruling elites, to provide social services such as education to their citizens. At the same time, with assistance from donor communities, the governments of Uganda and Cambodia have implemented institutional reform such as decentralization and capacity building programs to address the issues that their education sectors are facing.

As education is considered not an end in itself but a means to achieve development in general and economic development in particular, this dissertation examines the role of the state in Cambodia and Uganda in fostering economic development via deliberate provision of skilled human resources through their education systems since the end of their civil wars. This examination involves the analysis of two related issues. The first issue of analysis in this dissertation is the examination of the relationship between education and economic development. It does so not by employing a statistical method with large cross-country studies, but by examining the change in educational progress and economic development in both countries through qualitative analysis. The second issue of analysis examines the role the states played in their interactions with the donor communities in reforming their education systems since the end of the civil wars, focusing on policy design, resource allocation, and policy and resource implementation. Therefore, this study asks two main questions:

1. **What is the relationship between the educational outcomes and economic development in Cambodia and Uganda after the end of their civil wars?**

2. **What roles have the states played in education reform in the post-conflict context of Cambodia and Uganda?**

Furthermore, the following sub-questions will be examined empirically in relation to the role of the state in education reform, the relation between education and economic development and will be answered in Chapter II, III, IV, V and VI respectively:
1. What are the educational policies' priorities in terms of policy statements and resource allocation in Cambodia and Uganda after the civil wars? And who are the actors who influence adopting policy priorities and resource allocation?
2. What are the educational outcomes of basic education in terms of coverage and distribution in Cambodia and Uganda from the end of the civil wars to the present? And who are the actors and what are the factors that influence the implementation of the education policy to expand the coverage and distribution of education in both countries?
3. What are the educational outcomes in terms of the quality of education in Cambodia and Uganda since the end of the civil wars to the present? And who are the actors and what are the factors that influence the implementation of education policies to improve the quality of education in both countries?
4. What are the educational outcomes in terms of technical and vocational education and training (TVET) and higher education in Cambodia and Uganda after the end of the civil wars to the present? And who are the actors and what are the factors that influence the implementation of the education policies to provide a balance between TVET and higher education in both countries?
5. How well do the educational outcomes in Cambodia and Uganda since the end of their civil war respond to the local labour market and economy? And what is their impact on economic development in both countries?

I.3 Theoretical framework: State, education and economic development
Based on a review of the relevant literature, this section will first show the relationship between education and economic development and then demonstrate the critical role of the state in education reform. There are two levels of the state's intervention in education reform. The first level is policy design and resource allocation, and the second level is policy and resource implementation. This literature review also discusses the characteristics of the states under study that led to successful or less than successful educational reforms. As external assistance plays a critical role in financing development in developing countries, this section also discusses the relations between the governments of developing countries and donor agencies in the policy process.
I.3.1 Education and economic growth

Since the publication of Adam Smith's 'The Wealth of Nations' in the eighteenth century, numerous studies have attempted to explain the causes of development in general and of economic growth in particular. Economic growth is considered the key as it affects every aspect of human development. Economic growth not only provides the resources for tackling poverty, social exclusion, and poor health, but also expands the range of human choices (OECD/UNESCO, 2003). Therefore, economic well-being flowing from economic output should be recognized as an important component of human well-being. From a macro perspective, the basic model to explain the source of economic growth (an increase of output in terms of GDP) is a function of factors of inputs: physical capital and labour. However, when only changes in labour and physical capital are accounted for, a large percentage of growth in output cannot be explained (Baffoe-Bonnie, 2003). Neo-classical economic theory attributes this to the improved process of technological production and defines it as 'Total Factors Productivity'.

Since the 1950s, economists such as Gary Becker, Jacob Mincer, T. Z. Schultz, and recently Robert Barro and Robert Lucas have turned their attention to education and its role in facilitating the changes in technological production that eventually led to the birth of the 'Human Capital Theory'. Lucas (1988) argues,

Indeed, for me the development of the theory of human capital has very much altered the way I think about physical capital. We can, after all, no more directly measure a society's holding physical capital than we can its human capital. The fiction of "counting machines" is helpful in certain abstract contexts but is not at all operational or useful in actual economies – even primitive ones. (pp. 35-36)

This is because physical capital can be productive only if someone with appropriate skills and knowledge makes it operational and works in an efficient manner. Later economists attempted to include human capital theory into growth accounting models leading to the birth of the 'Endogenous Growth Theory'. Romer (1986), one of the founders of this theory, proposes a model in which economic growth in the long run is driven by the accumulation of knowledge, as human capital has an increasing rate of return while physical capital has a diminishing rate of return. A study by
OECD/UNESCO (2003) also notes that 'while financial capital investment is most strongly associated with growth at the early stages of industrialization, the role of human capital increases with industrial development and overall level of educational attainment and eventually becomes the strongest driver of economic growth' (p. 8).

During the last two decades, numerous studies have attempted to empirically prove endogenous growth theory. Some studies show that the evidence of a positive effect of education on a country's growth rate is tenuous. These studies emphasize the role of economic institutions and business-friendly environments (macro-economic stability, a well-defined system of property rights, an openness of the economy, and right incentives), and good governance as the fundamental causes of differences in economic performances, rather than the differences in human capital (Benhabib and Spiegel, 1994; López et al., 1998; Easterly, 2001). Although economic institutions, business-friendly environments, and good governance are necessary, they are not sufficient conditions to ensure a prosperous economy. Economists of education argue that a nation's prosperity, especially in the era of global trade depends on its competitiveness, which is based on the productivity of goods and services (Thoraxy, 2006). This competitive capacity depends on the human capital, as physical capital and natural resources are passive factors in production. As Economist magazine argues 'the last lesson is probably the most important: investing in education pays in spades. The tiger's single biggest source of competitive advantage is their well-educated workers' (Economist, 1991).

Still, there are empirical studies and theoretical debates that place some doubt on the human capital theory. Schooling just serves as a ranking and screening in the process of job recruitment, which credentialist Weiss (1995) calls a sorting model. For the credentialist, there is no direct link between education and increased productivity that leads to the economic growth (Bill, 1988; 2003; Weiss, 1995). However, this credentialist theory focuses on more advanced developed countries rather than on poor developing countries. Therefore, it is not applicable in the case of Cambodia and Uganda in this study. In fact, there is a general agreement, especially in the context of post-conflict countries where human capital stock has declined, that investment in education is the key not only to bringing about economic development, but also to
effectively implementing the development plan. Positively, studies have found that a country that reaches a critical mass of human capital can experience a high growth rate, while those that have not, not only experience slow growth, but also stalled development and persistent poverty (Lucas, 1988; De Menlemeeester and Rochat, 1995; Alhas, 2005). On average, countries that improve literacy rates by 20 to 30 percent have seen increases in GDP of 8 to 16 percent, especially in the low and middle-income countries (Basic Education Coalition, 2004, p. 7). Empirically, Ramirez et al. (2006) also found that the relation between education and economic development is strong in low-developing countries.

This does not, however, mean that education in general will automatically boost economic growth. A more refined empirical analysis as discussed in the following section shows that variations in the impact of education on economic growth depend on the nature of its provision, quality, accessibility, and orientation. In other words, to reap the greatest potential from an investment in education, it is important to ensure that educational provision corresponds to a country's economic and labour market conditions and structure, and level of technological development. If the labour market and economy are unable to absorb the graduates, they will remain underutilized or, even worse, unemployed; or if the education system is not able to produce the appropriate mix of human resources for the labour market, the economy will continue to perform below its potential (World Bank, 2006, pp. 94-95). This led me to focus on three aspects of educational provision that contribute to the sustainable economic development: level and distribution of educational provision, quality of educational provision, and relevance of educational provision in relation to the structure of the labour market and economy.

**Level, quality and distribution of education**

**Level of education**

Cross-country studies suggest that the growth effect of each educational level differs among countries with different economic maturity. Since 1980s, empirical studies consistently confirm that the role of primary followed by secondary education is more important in developing countries, especially at the early stages of development. For example, studies of East Asian success stories noted that before the growth, primary
education was the largest single contributor to economic growth rates and the most important factor in the difference between the East Asian economic boom and the slow growth of Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank 1995, p. 5; Basic Coalition Education, 2004, p. 7). For developed countries and for East Asian countries at their later stages of development, economic growth depended mainly on higher education.

The results actually reflect the availability of human capital and the nature of the economy and labour market of a given country. Solmon (1985, p. 274) argues that in a country where a large proportion of the working population depends upon agriculture and where the rate of illiteracy is very high, investment in primary then secondary education provides opportunities that ought to be high priority on economic grounds. For developed countries, higher education should be given more emphasis because these countries have not only achieved near universal primary and secondary educations, but also they require higher skilled labour as they have already reached a high level of development, moving from agriculture to industry and service sectors.

Further, the studies reveal that primary followed by secondary educations have a high rate of social return compared to higher education, which has a high rate of private return (for more details see Psacharopoulos, 1994; 2004; Petrakis and Stamatakis, 2002; Self and Grabowski, 2004). For developing countries, the priority given to primary then secondary educations is not only limited to their current economic benefits and higher (social) rate of return, but also lays the foundation for further higher education as their economies continue to grow. This correlation was observed in developed countries in general and in the East Asian successful model in particular.

**Quality of distribution of education**

Reviewing studies that found a negative correlation between education and economic growth reveal that their conclusions were based on the analysis of years of schooling as the measurement of education, neglecting qualitative differences, and issues of equitable access to education. This negligence seems even more severe in cross-country comparisons than in analyses of an individual country. Who would sensibly assume that average pupils in schools in Cambodia and Uganda would gain the same amount of knowledge in any year of schooling as average pupils in schools in
Singapore, the USA, or Western European countries? Or that poor rural children have access to at least a basic education as compared to rich urban children within Cambodia and Uganda? Therefore, rather than counting how long students have sat in school, it is crucial to focus on how much students have learned while in school and how equally education is distributed when estimating the effect of education on economic growth.

The different level of economic development rises dramatically when quality of education is taken into account. Studies suggest that 'one country-level standard deviation higher test performance would yield around one percentage point higher annual growth rates. The effect of years of schooling is greatly reduced by including quality, leaving it mostly insignificant. At the same time, adding the other factors leaves the effects of quality basically unchanged' (Hanushek and Wößmann, 2007, p. 41). Further, the effect of educational quality on economic growth seems to be significantly larger in countries with effective institutional framework so that good institutional and educational quality can reinforce each other in advancing economic development (Hanushek and Wößmann, 2007, p. 41).

Other studies show a positive correlation between educational and institutional quality improvements in the long run (Mamoon and Murshed, 2009). This provides even stronger incentives to improve the quality of education, especially for developing countries because, according to newly developed data on international comparisons of cognitive skills (also employed in the analysis of growth), education deficits in developing countries are larger than previously appreciated (Hanushek and Wößmann, 2007). It is within this context that Hanushek and Wößmann (2007) argue, 'The magnitude of change needed makes clear that closing the economic gap with developed countries will require major structural changes in schooling institutions in the developing countries' (p. 41).

Other studies found out that education can have negative effects on overall economic growth when formal education is unevenly provided. Such uneven provision perpetuates income disparities/inequality (Adams, 2002, p. 1; Thomas et al., 2000). Samoff (1990) argues that sustained economic growth cannot be achieved by
increasing inequality. A study by Thomas et al. (2000) also reveals that a common feature among countries experiencing slow economic growth is the unequal distribution of education attainment among their populations. The logic of this argument is twofold. First, the unequal distribution of education attainment among their populations excludes a large and more diversified population from participating in economic activities. Second and consequentially, it reduces investment rates. Lower investments will lead to a lack of economic diversification, which in turn not only limits the growth rate, but also puts the economic foundation at risk as it has a narrow base. On the contrary, providing education for all, especially for the poor, not only helps to reduce income inequality, but also improves market efficiency and productivity because of the rising number of educated workers in the labour market (Romer, 2002). Therefore, as Castelló and Doménech (2002, p. 199) recommended, educational policies formulated with an objective of promoting sustained economic growth should not only take into account the level and quality but also the equitable provision of education at different levels of education.

Type (Relevancy) of Education
The Asian Development Bank (ADB) argues that the external efficiency of education can be measured, namely, 'whether an education system prepares the young generation in an appropriate, relevant and economic way for the requirements and necessity of the [present and] future' (As quoted in Koo 1999, p. 71). Within this context, the level, quality, and provision of education cannot explain the types of knowledge that graduates learn. In addition, one must raise the issue of education as linked to the needs of the present and the future labour markets and economic growth at the macro level. Therefore, the idea of relevancy of educational content and focus to the structure of the economy and the labour market of a country must be assessed in order to see the direct linkages between education and economic growth.

During the past two decades, empirical evidence has shown a strong relation between science achievement and economic growth. The estimated effect implies that a one-standard-deviation increase in science test scores — by 1.0 — would raise the growth rate impact by 1.0 percent per year (Hanushek and Kimbo, 2000; Barro, 2002). Also, empirical studies reveal that countries with relatively more enrollment in technical
and vocational training and education and with relatively more natural science, engineering, and technology college majors grow faster and are better able to transform their economic structure to more economic development more rapidly than countries with higher enrollments in general education and countries with relatively more law, business, social sciences, humanities, and art (Hanushek and Wößmann, 2007; Wolff and Gittleman, 1993; Mason and Ark, 1992; Haq and Haq, 1998; World Bank, 1999; DFID, 2007).

The successful economic development of East Asian countries was grounded in education systems that focused heavily on technical and vocational training and education, and higher education that emphasized the natural sciences, engineering, and technology (Rapley, 2007; Woo, 1991; De Menlemeester and Rochat, 1995; Morris, 1996; Lin, 2004). For example, Koo (1999) points out that Singapore's early growth strategy was formulated along two lines. The first is the concern over the development of its human resources, while the other is an emphasis more on a technical method of accelerating the expansion of the manufacturing sector in an attempt to restructure and diversify the economy. Consequently, the school structure in Singapore has been diversified in favor of technical and vocational educations, and admission into tertiary education institutions is merit based; and the central goal was to build a highly skilled workforce in science, engineering, manufacturing, construction, and technology rather than a supply-driven and bloated tertiary education system. This restructured the formal education system in Singapore in 1968.

This policy linking the economy, the labour market, and education into an integrated policy/practice has underscored the importance Singapore has given to the investment in middle and highly skilled manpower (Koo, 1999 p. 72). In this sense, these skills are closely oriented towards labor market need. Further, these skills help to accelerate the expansion of the manufacturing and industrial sectors, thus speeding up development processes. For example, it took Britain and the United States about 50 years to double their real per capita income, while it took South Korea and Singapore only about a decade because the latter countries' education systems emphasized vocational and technical training and education and natural sciences, technology, and engineering education at the higher education level.
I.3.2 The role of the state in educational development: Modern rational legal bureaucracy vs neopatrimonial bureaucracy

Analysis of the role of education in promoting sustained economic growth through improved technological production offers hope — other factors being equal — for the developing countries to catch up with advanced developed countries once they increase the level of education among their labour forces (De Menlemmeester and Rochat, 1995, p. 351). Emphasis on the role of education in economic growth, especially in the East Asian countries leads to a review on how their education systems were developed. Lewin (1993, p. 84) argues the problem is not to demonstrate the link between education and development, but the real question seems to revolve around the efficiency of the educational delivery system.

The stagnation of educational development in Sub-Saharan Africa during the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of the 1980s and early 1990s, which resulted from the withdrawal of the state's intervention in educational provision and the advancement of educational development in East Asia through state intervention, brought back the centrality of the state in the debate on educational provision and development among academic as well as multilateral and bilateral development agencies. Further, countries with strong market-based economies have a functioning and capable state in many policy areas including educational provision. In developing countries, state intervention in educational provision is even more crucial, not only limited to facilitating economic growth, but also as a response to calls for human rights and social justice as the population and especially the poor depend heavily on services provided by the public sector and less on the private sector (Psacharopoulos, 1991; Bray, 2002). Therefore, the question arises: What are the characteristics of the state in cases where such educational interventions have been successful or less successful?

In answering why during the last several decades some countries have been able to develop their economies while others have not, many scholars such as Atul Kohli (2004) and Francis Fukuyama (2005) argue that a state's capacity/strength is the key to success as evidenced by the emergence of effective states, especially in the field of
educational provision within the developing world, which have generally preceded the emergence of industrializing economies. Joseph E. Stiglitz, in his 2001 Nobel Prize Lecture, notes, 'There is no prescription for how a country creates such a culture [of knowledge] … But government does have a role – a role in education, in encouraging the kind of creativity and risk taking that the scientific entrepreneurship requires in creating the institutions that facilitate ideas being brought into fruition' (World Bank 2007, p. xiii).

The state's strength/capacity to create this kind of institution can be achieved only through a modern Weberian rational bureaucracy. As Fukuyama (2005) argues, this modern Weberian bureaucracy provides the state with, 'the ability to formulate and carry out policies and enact laws, to administrate efficiently …, to control graft, corruption, and bribery, to maintain a high level of transparency and accountability in government institutions, and most important, to enforce laws' (p. 12). In other words, this formal structure is a blueprint for activities which includes, first of all, the table of organization, a list of offices, departments, positions, and programs. These elements are linked by explicit goals and policies that make up a rational theory of how, and to what end, activities are to be fitted together. The essence of a modern bureaucratic organization lies in the rationalized and impersonal character of these structural elements and goals that link them together. (Meyer and Rowan, 1997, pp. 341-342)

Officials in such modern rational bureaucracy and their relation within it are characterized by a high degree of administrative competence, meritocracy, impartiality, salary-based compensation, full-time employment, a set hierarchical chain of command, and rule-based procedures. Consequently, officials in this rational bureaucracy will not engage in politics or act under political influence, but will run their institutions according to their technical and professional capacity with long-term career outlooks that generally bring about positive service delivery (Laking, 2010, p. 42; Fritz and Menocal, 2006). In sum, this success in education development is brought about by the state's strength/capacity on two levels; first, on the level of policy design and resource allocation adopted through technical/professional capacity, and, second, on the level of policy and resource implementation.
Getting the right policy formulated and then allocating resources accordingly is the first priority. The educational successes of East Asian countries did not happen by accident, but through state intervention, especially at the early stages of development (Seng, 2008, p. 39). The Weberian state had historical precedents in Asian societies where the political elites — aiming to achieve rapid economic development — not only were able to effectively appoint competent officials to key positions to form a meritocratic bureaucracy, but also gave power and authority to the bureaucracy to plan policies (Fukuyama, 2005, p. 40; Akyüz et al., 1998, p. 28; Amsden, 1993; Abe, 2006, p. 8).

In the case of Taiwan, the Ministry of Education set enrollment distributions across levels and types of education, eventually leading to enrollment quotas and allocated a budget accordingly through 'the science (or art) of education planning wherein limited resources of a country are marshaled to develop most effectively its human resources' (Woo, 1991, p. 1029). In the Singaporean case, subsequent to the initial growth of the economy, educational expansion was largely sequential, with first priority given to primary, then later to secondary education and, most recently, to higher education. At the same time, the school structure of Singapore was diversified in favor of technical and vocational training and higher education that emphasized science, engineering, manufacturing, construction, and technology (Morris, 1996; Seng, 2008). Further, strategies to improve the quality of education were also adopted.

The second priority, but of great importance, is the implementation of the policy and resources. Experiences from East Asian countries reveal that the success of education development is not only due to the right intervention at the level of policy design and resource allocation, but also of policy and resource implementation. The meritocratic bureaucracy in East Asian countries resulted in two positive states' actions which led to successful policy and resource implementation. 'First it rationalizes the organization of social relations, which is necessary for the transfer of information and resources that makes possible effective and coordinated action, and second it controls over state actors, which is necessary for actually getting state agents to act as required for the goals pursued' (Lange and Rueschemeyer, 2005, p. 7).
This does not, however, mean that East Asian countries could develop themselves without external assistance, especially at their early stage of development. What the developmental state of successful East Asian countries did was to direct the external assistance towards achieving their development objective through their meritocratic bureaucracies, and not have development objectives dictated by external actors.

Except in the few countries where foreign aid is effective, many poor developing countries that receive substantial aid flows have not seen any significant improvement in either the socio-economic or political fields. The interactions between the governments of developing countries and international development agencies generate a lot of debate on who actually has power over policy design, resource allocation, and implementation that enables or hinders efforts to bring about development such as in the education sector. The most common critiques in aid effectiveness point out that much aid through international development agencies comes with imposed agendas that can ultimately shape policy decisions and processes. King (2007) notes that since 1990 the multilateral agencies have played a dominant role in the construction of a series of goals and targets for development, including the education sector. This process undermines local initiatives in formulating their own goals and targets on how their education system should be developed.

The issue is complicated by different agendas and implementation units among different donors. On the international level, Fritz and Menocal (2006) note that during the last 50 years, the number of international donor agencies has increased dramatically, recently reaching over 90. This increase, they claim, 'has created significant problems, including a multiplicity of agendas and purposes, poor coordination. … Fragmentation also creates collective action problems among donors and contributes to a degree of irresponsibility, as no individual donor can really be blamed or credited for the overall development of a country or even a sector' (Fritz and Menocal, 2006, p. 20).
Since the late 1990s, in response to the criticism over aid ineffectiveness, the Sector-Wide Approach (SWAp)\(^8\), a new aid approach to policy processes, whose key words are 'partnership' and 'ownership', was introduced by the donor community. The introduction of SWAp leads to a renewal of the role of the state in policy design and resource allocation, while limiting the role of international development agencies to only financial support of the developing countries' development plans.

Still, a critique states that behind the curtain of country 'ownership' and donor alignment with recipient countries' priorities and frameworks, the donor still plays a critical role in agenda setting. Regarding this, Little (2000) notes that the role of international development agencies is not limited to only financing the education reform in developing countries, but also attempts to correct the shortcomings of their policies through technical assistance. In the education sector, considerable donor assistance has been directed recently towards building the central strategic and decision-making capacities of poor developing countries, with an emphasis on achieving universal primary education. This followed the international agenda set at the International Conferences on Education for All in 1990, 2000, and the Millennium Development Goals (Laking, 2010, p. 42). For example, the establishment of the Educational for All-Fast Track Initiative Fund was designed to support only low-income countries that show a strong political commitment towards implementing basic education.

Others conclude differently, that this 'forced consensus' has not always been able to bend the commitment of governments and bureaucracies that sometimes opposed the reforms they were supposed to implement, leading to frequent instances of policy reversals that undermined long-term development efforts. Fritz and Menocal (2006) also conclude that the stagnation of development in poor developing countries, particularly in Africa, is contingent on Africans 'getting their policies right', rather than on donor agencies. This is the result of the absence of capable institutions or a modern rational bureaucracy in Weberian terms to effectively align donor and state

\(^8\) SWAp is generally defined as all significant funding for the sectors from international development agencies that support a single sector policy and expenditure, under the leadership of developing government.
incentives for strong development performances based on their own countries' situational analysis.

As discussed above, the historic experience of successful East Asian countries teaches us that a meritocratic bureaucracy is able to direct external assistance toward its developmental goals. Within this context, Fukuyama (2005) argues, 'A critical issue facing poor countries that blocks their possibilities for … development is their inadequate level of institutional development' (p. 162). Therefore, the question should be raised why poor developing countries are not able to develop adequate levels of institutional capacity.

Max Weber distinguished two types of institutions. The first type is modern rational legal institutions that serve as an impersonal source of individual power under which meritocratic bureaucracy often flourishes. The second is the patrimonial institutions that are the expression of power relationships involving individuals or groups, and who use 'personal ties' to perpetuate their domination of these individuals or groups. Meyer and Rowan (1977) note that the formal legal rational institutions are usually subjected to the existing pattern or social structure that uses formal institution to legitimatize or secure its survival and strengthen its support. The existence and prosperity of such a phenomenon in modern societies is called 'neopatrimonialism'.

A neopatrimonial state is a 'hybrid regime', where rational-legal institutions and traditional patterns of rule co-exist. As with classic patrimonialism, the right to rule is ascribed to a person rather than an office, and the appointment is based on the giving and granting of favours rather than on merit. The pattern stretches from the village level to the highest reaches of the central state. Consequently, the distinction between private and public interests is purposely blurred (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1994, p. 458; Van de Walle 2001, p. 51). These are the central themes in policy process that hinder the ability to formulate policy, allocate budget, and implement the policies and resources to optimize the public good (Ndulu and O'Connell, 1999).

In a neo-patrimonial state, as observed by Cammack (2007), the real power and real decision making 'lie outside formal institutions. Instead, decisions about resources are
made by "big men" and their cronies, who are linked by "informal" (private and personal, patronage and clientelist) networks that exist outside (before, beyond and despite) the state structure' (p. 600). Consequently, policy-making in a neopatrimonial state has taken on a purely political direction. These policies are no longer driven by logic to yield development but rather are intended to yield benefits for a limited group with ultimate concern of building clientele networks to maintain themselves in power and acquire personal wealth (Fritz and Menocal, 2006).

Sindzingre (2010) argues that one factor that hinders the neopatrimonial states from strategically developing their education is that their political consolidation and personal wealth acquisition often rely on the allocation of rents from natural resources that do not require skilled workers, rather than from an industrial base that requires human capital to succeed. Within this context, among others, educational policy making in neopatrimonial states is characterised by two important problems: inconsistency of policy and lack of policy revision based on situational analysis. Education policy changes by bureaucrats get support from ruling elites, or sometimes ruling elites themselves would initiate education policy only when it provides them with political support, especially to win elections.

Even in some cases where a common agenda can be found among stakeholders, which leads to the adaptation of the strategic policies to address the local issues, and resources are allocated accordingly, the empirical case studies and cross-countries comparisons of neopatrimonial states during the last two decades reveal that the intended outcomes are often not materialized. The idea of taking implementation seriously is that 'Even if the state elites make a correct diagnosis of the kind of intervention that is indicated and have the political will and command over material resources necessary to undertake the action, they may not be able to carry it out simply because the required bureaucratic machinery cannot be created in time' (Rueschemeyer and Evans, 1993, p. 51). In some other cases, bureaucrats are not able to act independently from political influence. There is a growing consensus that implementation is constrained not only by technical capacity and resources, but also by neopatrimonial politics.
As discussed above, the ruling elites in a neopatrimonial state are dependent on the support of their clients both within the state and the society. Therefore, ‘it is no accident that neopatrimonial states are burdened by bureaucracies whose appointments are made according to tests of loyalty’ (Cammack, 2007, pp. 601-602), and licenses, contracts, and projects are awarded by public officials as personal favours, rather than on ‘legal-rational’ mechanisms such as the rule of law, meritocracy, and political accountability.

When legal rules are absent, states lack effective mechanisms for the control of a large number of state actors. This, in turn, promotes rampant rent-seeking and unstable hierarchies of power dominated by individuals. Such personal rule frees state actors to use their coercive power to indiscriminately prey on others for personal gain and aggrandizement (Evans, 2005). This frequently leads to inferior implementation, undermining development possibilities that are already restricted by social and economic constraints (Cromwell and Chintedza, 2005). In everyday experience, it is probably the notion of corruption that is most comprehensible as the visible result of the described neopatrimonial system. This is because first, ‘public funds [are] siphoned off to spend on political projects [personal gain]. Second, such public servants are generally poorly paid and demoralized; they learn that corruption goes unpunished and they act accordingly’ (Cammack, 2007, pp. 601-602).

Awarding licenses, contracts, and projects that provide key services and utilities to corporate cronies can lead to primacy of commercial interests over public services. These activities are well categorized anti-development behavior, or lack of development-oriented policies. Consequently, the quality, predictability, and delivery of public services suffer; not only are the core services and functions disrupted, but inequitable access is also reinforced (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1994, p. 458).

However, assuming that all politically motivated projects impede development per se is unjustified. One should bear in mind that in some instances political elites/ruling parties that have the objective of promoting political legitimacy and sustaining themselves in power, especially via elections, would pursue development projects rigorously. In some cases, they are even more creative in financing projects (in
accordance with the prioritized needs of the country) as long as the projects help them win elections, while projects that would not help them gain legitimacy are not be pursued. In this sense, there is also another mechanism by which the state's responsiveness to national development projects can be demanded from within the state. Francis Fukuyama (2005) also notices that ultimately it is the people whom government supposedly serves who are responsible for monitoring its performance and demanding responsive behavior. Society organized into cohesive groups – whether in the form of parent-teacher associations, watchdog groups, or advocacy organization – is much more likely to demand and receive accountability than consisting of disorganized individuals. On the other hand, civil society can degenerate into rent-seeking interest groups whose goal is not greater accountability but an increase in the scope of government subsidies or the substitution of government for civil society. (p. 41)

1.4 Research methodology
1.4.1 Timeframe of the study
The period of the analysis of this study is from the end of their respective civil wars, 1993 for Cambodia and 1986 for Uganda, to the present. There are a number of factors underlying the selection of this period. First, after the end of the civil wars and social upheaval, the governments of both countries officially considered the education sector as one of the most important sectors in their efforts to rebuild their countries. Second, donor communities have contributed significant resources to the education sector in both countries. Third, as far as the Cambodian case is concerned, I could relate this research to my own personal experiences, first as a student at high school and then as a university student from 1992 to 1999. In early 2000, I was also engaged in pedagogical training with three months at the faculty of pedagogy, recently renamed the Institute of National Education, before I left the country for post-graduate study. After returning to Cambodia in 2003 upon the completion of my post-graduate training in the Philippines, I volunteered to teach at the Royal University of Phnom Penh until 2005 when I officially became employed as a full lecturer. Since 2003, I have actively been involved in social development work, serving as a trainer and curriculum developer for local NGOs, and as a youth empowerment coordinator.
working with students from various higher education institutes. My work has taken me to almost every corner of Cambodia where I observed and discussed many development challenges, especially educational problems. Therefore, my experiences contribute to in-depth observations, reflection, and analysis regarding these periods.

I.4.2 Scope of the study
This study, besides its policy-oriented objective, aims to contribute in-depth empirical analysis to the study of the relationship between education policies and economic development in the least developing countries. In order to produce a nuanced empirical study on education policy processes, this dissertation incorporates qualitative methods. The qualitative research processes consisted of focus group discussions, interviews, personal conversations, and desk-based research. This type of method can help us understand the different influences among specialized ministries, political ruling elites, and donors in the process of education policy design, resource allocation, and implementation.

I.4.3 Fieldwork and data collection
This study uses data from interviews gathered from one year of fieldwork in Cambodia (August 2008-March 2009) and Uganda (March-September 2009). To augment data collected from fieldwork, this study incorporates a number of sources published by multilateral institutions, government ministries, international and national non-governmental organizations, and scholarly journal articles and books.

Interviews, personal conversations, and group discussions
Interviews were conducted with people from different sectors of the countries. From the education sectors, interviewees included representatives of government in the education sectors, school administrators, university administrators, professors, teachers, and students. From the international institutions, the interviewees included officials who worked in the education sectors as technical advisors to the government, and project managers. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured format. In addition, teacher and student group discussions are also conducted in order to generate more insights into the issues from the stakeholders' perspectives. Further, this study also incorporates personal conversations that were crucial in helping me
gain access to sensitive information related to phenomenon known as neo-patrimonial politics and corruption within both countries.

**School selection and observation**

Five Cambodian provinces and the capital city (Kampong Cham, Prey Veng, Svay Rieng, Pursat, and Sihanouk Provinces, and Phnom Penh, the capital city), and five Ugandan districts and the capital city (Mbarara, Wakiso, Ntungamo, Mbale, and Jinja Districts and Kampala, the capital city) were selected. This selection constitutes representative samples in terms of geography (urban, rural and remote areas), educational accessibility, and level of economic development. After consulting knowledgeable informants, this study randomly selected one rural primary and secondary school from each province/district for visits during school hours in order to observe teaching and other school activities. This process was also adopted in two urban areas in both countries. In addition, as post-basic-education institutes in Cambodia and Uganda predominantly exist in urban areas, this study randomly selected two tertiary education institutions, one private and one public from each urban area for school observation.

**I.5 Significance of the study**

Although currently there has been an increasing number of comparative studies between Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, so far, to the best of my knowledge, there is only one comparative study between Cambodia and Uganda, 'Poverty and User Fee for Public Healthcare in Low-income Countries: Lessons from Uganda and Cambodia'. In this comparison, Meessen et al. (2006) demonstrate how different policy initiatives aimed at improving access for the poor to healthcare can be achieved and implemented. Further, it should be noted that this rare comparative study between the two countries was carried out by foreign scholars. So my study will form an endogenous effort to contribute to the literature on the comparative study between the two countries by focusing on educational policy initiatives that both countries pursue with the objective of promoting economic development.

There are a number of single case studies on Cambodian and Ugandan education respectively; however, most of these studies focus on the specific issues faced by the
sub-sector in the field of education, rather than addressing the whole education sector. Further, there is no study linking education and economic development in a holistic approach that discusses the responsiveness of coverage, distribution, quality, and type (relevancy) of education to the local labor market needs and level of economic development in order to generate recommendations for the educational policy formulation process. In addition, many of the studies in Cambodia and Uganda seem to focus on educational policy implementation at the sub-sector level rather than on why such policies are pursued and who influences the policy making.

This study also aims at understanding how educational policy processes (policy design, resource allocation, and policy implementation) occur in modern Cambodia and Uganda. Using the concept of neopatrimonialism, this study aims at contributing empirically to the analysis of the influence of different actors and factors on educational policy design, resource allocation, and their implementation in Cambodia and Uganda after the end of their civil wars to the present and its implications for economic development performance.

The impact of neopatrimonial practices that is involved in the formulation and reform of educational policy has not been systematically studied. In his study on Cambodian education and development, David Ayres (1999; 2000a; 2000b) argues that since independence, the educational policy in Cambodia has suffered from political interference and patronage politics. His study ends in the year 1998. Since the turn of millennium, the situation in Cambodia has changed dramatically in terms of economic, social, and political aspects. As far as the education sector is concerned, the Cambodian government has adopted many new policy initiatives. At the same time, donor investment has also increased with some modified strategies. Therefore, this study will supplement previous studies by examining evolution in policy formulation and implementation in the education sector.

Further, this study's comparative dimension might shed light on past policy failures and shortcomings. As such it will provide policy-relevant analysis to policy makers and other stakeholders in Cambodia and Uganda. Findings from this study will contribute to policy formulation processes aimed at improving overall responsiveness
of education to the local labour market and economic needs. As such it will contribute to the economic development and welfare for the people of Uganda and Cambodia. This study might also reveal other interesting issues for further research so that more knowledge can be exchanged to meet the desire for alternatives in development intervention in the education sector.

I. 6 Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation is structured as follows:

Chapter II analyses education policy and finance in Cambodia and Uganda. This chapter focuses on four major points. First, it reviews the historical background of both countries, focusing on two aspects, political development and educational development from the end of colonialism to the end of civil war. Second, it reviews the commitment of the Cambodian and Ugandan governments to rebuild their education systems from the resources allocated to the education sector out of the total public expenditures. Third, it examines education's priority investments in terms of its sub-sectors — level, type, and subject content of educational provision — as reflected in education's policy statement and resource allocations. Finally, it assesses the different influences among specialized ministries, political ruling elites, and donors in the policy process of prioritizing education sub-sectors and resource allocations.

Chapter III examines educational outcomes in terms of coverage and distribution of basic education. This chapter focuses on two major points. The first point is to briefly present the educational outcomes and factors affecting Cambodia between 1993-1999 and Uganda between 1986-1997. Then it presents the educational outcomes in basic education in both countries from the end of the previous century to the present as the educational reforms reached a momentum in both countries, as reflected in increases in budget allocations to basic education, although to varying degrees. This compares the changes in basic education in each of the two countries over time. Then it analyses the different influences among specialized ministries, political ruling elites, and donors in the process of educational policy implementation to expand the coverage and distribution of educational provisions in both countries. The second point is to compare the educational outcomes in both countries. Then it identifies the factors that led to different educational results in Cambodia and Uganda.
Chapter IV examines the educational outcomes in terms of quality of basic education. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section presents quality of education in both countries. It also shows that the quality of education varies not only between countries but also within both countries. The second section explores the factors that determine quality education in both countries. It shows that quality of education is a result of the impact of the education system as well as exogenous factors. This section is divided into two parts. The first part examines the wider socio-economic and political environment that affects the quality of education. The second part examines the different influences among specialized ministries, political ruling elites, and donors over the quality of their education systems. The quality of the education system is examined through the use of the official instruction hours and the quality of teaching. The third section compares quality of basic education in Cambodia and Uganda. Then it identifies the factors that led to different qualities of basic education in Cambodia and Uganda.

Chapter V examines the relevance of educational provision to the needs of the local labour market and the economy in Cambodia and Uganda since the end of the civil wars. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section examines the structure of labour markets and economies in Cambodia and Uganda and their implication for skilled requirements. The second section analyses the situation of technical and vocational skill provisions in both countries and the factors that affect such provisions. The third section analyses the situation of higher education in both countries and the factors that affect such provisions.

Chapter VI examines the relationship between these educational outcomes and economic development in Cambodia and Uganda. This chapter first reviews in a comparative perspective the key economic development indicators in terms of poverty, inequality, and GDP (per capita) in both countries since the end of the civil wars and the prognosis for their futures. It then discusses, based on the existing literature and fieldwork, the role of education in contributing to economic development in both countries after the end of the civil wars.
The conclusion, Chapter VII, draws the lesson learned from the analysis of educational policy processes in Cambodia and Uganda, focusing on analysis of the positive contributions of education to sustainable economic development and recommendations on how best to pursue educational reform.