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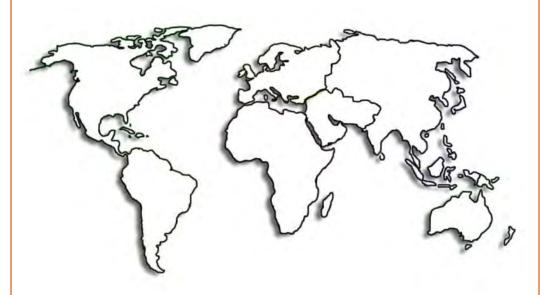
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Education and Fragility in Northern Uganda

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Districts Affected by Conflict

Source: Allen and Schomerus (2006), originally obtained from UN OCHA

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ACRONYMS

FAWE-U	Foundation of African Women Educationists-Uganda
GOU	Government of Uganda
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IRC	International Rescue Committee
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OTI	Office of Transitional Initiatives (USAID)
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PIASCY	Presidential Initiative on Community of Youth
PTC	Primary Teachers College
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
UPDF	Ugandan People's Defense Force
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	World Food Programme

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For the past three decades, conflict has plagued northern Uganda. The last two decades have witnessed a particularly brutal civil conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Government of Uganda (GOU). Thousands have lost their lives, millions have lost their homes, and only the very fortunate few have escaped the resulting crippling poverty. Northern Ugandan children have suffered the brunt of much of these problems. Children were targeted for abduction into the LRA and the vast majority of northern Ugandan children have either missed out on their education or had it severely disrupted. Peace talks have led to greater security in the region as of late, but as greater Uganda moves toward peace, stability, and development, the north still faces disproportionate hardships.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate whether fragility has affected education and whether education has contributed to fragility in northern Uganda. The report also proposes key recommendations that government and donors can develop in the education sector to help mitigate both the consequences and the drivers and sources of fragility. Utilizing the USAID Education and Fragility Assessment Tool (2005), patterns of fragility were identified as corruption; exclusion; elitism and factionalism; insufficient capacity; transitional dynamics; organized violence; and public disengagement. These patterns were analyzed within the social, economic and cross-cutting domains of Ugandan society. Links between these patterns and domains of fragility were explored through issues of access, quality, relevance, equity, and management of the education system.

The report first analyzes the concept of fragility and education and then examines the historical background and educational context of Uganda to discover root drivers and sources of fragility. The report then investigates key findings and proposes recommendations throughout. It is hoped that this study will inform and guide the education sector by investigating its links to fragility and proposing recommendations in northern Uganda, as well as expand education and fragility as a critical area of inquiry.

1. INTRODUCTION

Can education contribute to or mitigate the patterns of fragility? Can education lessen the negative impacts of a fragile state? These questions framed the study which took place in northern Uganda, principally in Acholi, Lango, and Teso regions. In the context of this study, fragility refers to the capacity of the state and the degree to which the state provides effective governance and services to its citizens, and protects the human rights of its people. Fragility can emanate from political, social, and economic drivers and states in conflict or post conflict conditions are considered to be "fragile." The degree of fragility is relevant to the potential for reducing fragility, which has been illustrated as a continuum ranging from "weak" to "collapsed" with "fragile", "failing", and "failed" falling between the two extremes (Francois & Sud, 2006).

Various definitions attempt to characterize what it means to be a "fragile state." The United Kingdom Department for International Development claims generally that fragile states are those "where the government cannot or will not deliver core functions to the majority of its people, including the poor" (DFID, 2005, pg. 7). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development classifies a state as fragile when it "lacks political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations" (OECD, 2007). USAID further distinguishes fragile states between those who are vulnerable and those who are already in crisis (USAID, 2005). While these characterizations attempt to clarify multiple factors relating to fragility, a critical lens is needed to view to the various institutions that are both affected by, and can mitigate, fragility.

This study uses a definition of "education" as government and non-government sponsored primary and secondary formal schooling in a classroom setting. This report makes references to other educational approaches such as informal adult education, special accelerated courses, and literacy and vocational training. However, the research in this study focuses on formal classroom settings in northern Uganda.

The study investigated root causes of conflict in the north, paying attention to which groups have been excluded in ways that act as drivers of conflict. The team examined the education system in the north for the existence of factors within the system that might have contributed to conflict and that may mitigate conflict. This process was carried out by interviewing teachers, school directors, teacher training institutes' directors, students and parents. The findings unearthed multiple issues which will be explored in this report. For example, problems with the security of both students and teachers arose. Did the system fail communities because it could not adequately protect students and teachers? What are the long range effects of such failures within the education system?

The findings from this study hope to inform the education sector, as well as other sectors such as economic growth, democracy and governance, and health, to provide a bridge

with which to explore such critical linkages as the relationship between child soldiers and the work force, the role of education in promoting stability and security in the region, and the role of civil society and the foundations of democracy. Finally, it is hoped that this work, by adding to the body of literature on education and fragility in other countries, will help illustrate the trends and how certain interventions have mitigated conflict and aided processes of peace building.

2. THE CONFLICT AND ROOT CAUSES OF FRAGILITY IN NORTHERN UGANDA

2.1 Root causes

The economic, political, and social marginalization of the northern population by the government of Uganda underlies all aspects of the conflicts in northern Uganda. The instability in the north has little effect on the overall stability of the central government (U.S. Department of State, 2008) and as a result garners limited political will to end the conflicts. The disparity between the north and the south in Uganda is pronounced. While Uganda has substantial natural resources, 35% of the population lives below the poverty level compared to 41.7% in the north. Many other indicators of well-being are considerably worse in northern Uganda (UNDP, 2005).

2.2 Historical Background

Though Britain granted autonomous government to Uganda in 1961, the road toward self-governance was not smooth. Uganda gained full independence in 1962 and suffered under a string of corrupt and often ruthless leaders. The first prime minister after independence was Dr. Milton Obote, a northerner from the Lango tribe. Obote, an ordained minister, filled government positions with people from his ethnic group and supporters, many of whom were religious compatriots. His actions drew strong objections from the southern Bantu tribes who were repressed by waves of violence throughout the Obote rule. In 1971, General Idi Amin—a northern Kakwa tribesman— deposed Obote and began one of the worst periods of violence and brutality in Ugandan history. Amin carried out tribal massacres and political killings in retaliation to Obote. Amin was particularly aggressive against the northern Lango and their neighbors, the Acholi. Amin's rule brought intense hardships, namely economic decline, social disintegration, and massive human rights violations (U.S. Department of State, 2008). In addition to the Acholi and Langi ethnic groups of the north, other groups such as the Karamoja cattle raiders were targeted by Amin. It is estimated that approximately 300,000 people were killed in the eight years that Amin ruled. Following Amin's deposal in 1979, Obote returned to power and again brought a horrendous wave of violence, this time against anyone loyal to Amin. The Baganda were brutally persecuted by Obote. Within two years various factions formed, including one led by Yoweri Museveni who drew his support from the southern Bantu tribes.

It took five years of civil war to overthrow Obote. In 1986, Museveni seized power through a military coup with the help of his forces, the National Resistance Army (NRA). The NRA seized control after defeating the national army (then called the Ugandan National Liberation Army – UNLA), which was comprised of an unequal portion of northerners, particularly in the officer corps. Many UNLA soldiers fled to the north and were pursued by NRA soldiers who committed massive human rights abuses in their wake.

This constituted the beginning of rebellions in the north during the 1980s. Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army was the strongest of these rebellions and while based in Sudan in the early 1990s, received support from the Sudanese government. The LRA, unlike earlier resistance movements, quickly became unpopular because of its attacks on the local civilian populations. Civilian populations suffered atrocities including pillaging and destruction of villages, murder, rape, and abduction. Attacks in the Acholi region intensified in the 1990s and spread to the Lango and Teso sub-regions. An estimated one million seven hundred thousand people were displaced (U.S. Department of State, 2008) and many were pushed into internally displaced persons (IDP) camps. These camps, though originally intended for people's protection, soon became targets for LRA raids and kidnappings. As many as fifty thousand "night commuter" children left their homes every night to sleep in larger towns for fear of LRA abductions. The level of protection provided by the government of Uganda has been inconsistent at best (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008).

Additionally, long-standing tribal conflicts in the region were intensified due to the LRA, especially cattle-rustling by the neighboring Karamoja tribes. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Karamajong rustled ninety eight percent of the Acholi's cattle (the Acholi's main source of livelihood and wealth), in addition to large numbers of goats, sheep, and poultry (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008). While the conflict between the LRA and the GOU is usually considered the 'main' conflict in the north, the insecurity caused by Karamajong cattle rustling is also perceived as one of the greatest threats in the region, particularly in the Kapchorwa district.

The tumultuous period from the time Obote first came into power, through the Idi Amin period, Obote's second term, and followed by his overthrow by Museveni, paints a sad picture of how a society can move from a relatively prosperous and peaceful state into chaos. Violence became almost endemic in Uganda but particularly in the north. Clearly the long period of political unrest brought on by a series of power-hungry abusive leaders established the context within which conflict flourished and fragility emerged not only in education but also in every social sector. Museveni's rise to power brought increased security everywhere except the north, which continued to disproportionately bear the brunt of conflict in an environment that increasingly became fertile ground for further social upheaval and unrest. Therefore, we can say that the instability and insecurity were drivers of the ensuing conflicts.

These conflicts have had devastating consequences on the north. The death and displacement of population in combination with cattle rustling has obliterated the north's sources of income, mainly livestock and agriculture. Women's workloads increased both inside and outside the home because many men were killed in conflict. Unemployment increased significantly. As a result of conflict, many rural schools were destroyed, although the exact number is difficult to ascertain due to poor documentation. Young girls, in particular, began dropping out of school to either work at home or to become married, often at a very early age. Such marriages brought much needed income to families in the form of dowries. The conflicts caused the destruction of infrastructure, including health facilities. Diseases spread rapidly in the harsh and congested living conditions of the camps, including HIV and AIDS. Protracted conflict resulted in a scarcity of judicial structures and government accountability. Few in the north have escaped without psychological trauma and many returned LRA abductees, in particular, suffer from social and behavioral problems that limit their access to and participation in society. Since 2006, the relative cessation of hostilities and attempted Juba Peace Talks have increased perceptions of stability and freedom of movement, although no formal peace agreement has been signed. Even as displaced people return to their homes, uncertainty lingers as recent reports point to a new wave of child abductions along the northern Ugandan borders and the digging up of weapons caches ("Ugandan rebels," 2008). While the hostilities in the region have recently ceased, northern Uganda cannot be fully classified as post-conflict since the pending peace agreement between the GOU and LRA has not been signed.

2.3 Northern Uganda Educational Context

The indicator of focus in this report is education. Since the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1996, the numbers of children enrolled in school have more than doubled. However, while the national completion rate of primary school is forty eight percent (Government of Uganda [GOU], 2007), the completion rate in the north is only twenty percent (UNICEF, 2007). Secondary school statistics are even worse—few secondary school-age children in the north actually attend secondary school.

In response to the urgent need to provide education to IDPs, the Ugandan government mandated establishing makeshift schools called "learning centers" inside the camps. Such learning centers, along with most village schools struggled to stay intact while facing discouraging challenges. These overcrowded facilities lacked basic hygiene, including water and latrines, along with collapsed school management systems, inadequate instructional materials, and widespread trauma among students, teachers and parents (Lynd, 2007). Additionally, the total enrollments of pupils tended to fluctuate in pace with variable degrees of insecurity at any given time (GOU, 2007). Weather and the labor demands of harvest seasons also affected enrollment fluctuations, as the economic hardships in the north pull children out of school to work.[1]

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[1] Interviews with teachers

These hardships faced in the north are impelled by various drivers of fragility. They include: exclusion of the north, corruption in varying levels of government and among local populations, insufficient capacity in local government and leadership positions, public disengagement from the community and even the family, desperate lack of resources, apparent lack of political will to end the conflict, lingering insecurity, and psycho-social trauma from violence.

The intent of this report is to analyze how conflict has affected education and how education has contributed to conflict as well as proposing interventions to mitigate the patterns of fragility and conflict identified in the report. Patterns of fragility and conflict occurring in the social, economic and cross-cutting domains specifically stem from corruption; exclusion; elitism and factionalism; insufficient capacity; transitional dynamics; organized violence; and public disengagement. Links between these patterns and domains of fragility and education can be explored through access, quality, relevance, equity, and management of the education system (USAID, 2005). However, it is important to distinguish between two different categories of patterns—those that were drivers of conflict at the time when the conflict started, and those that are a consequence of the protracted conflict. The current potential drivers of further conflict of fragility derive from both. This report refers to these distinctions throughout.

The following analysis will investigate the context and background of northern Uganda and assess key findings in the education sector as they relate to the drivers and mitigation of fragility.

3. DATA COLLECTION AND METHODS

The authors used qualitative research methods to collect data in Uganda in June and July 2008. The research team collected data using structured interviews, group discussions, and observations. Interviewees included community members, students, parents, teachers, teacher trainers, principals of teacher colleges, district education officials, police officials, religious leaders, non-governmental organization (NGO) workers, and donors, including from the USAID offices of Investing in People (HIV/AIDS/Health/Education) and Peace and Security programs. The researchers conducted interviews in the Acholi, Lango, and Teso regions, namely in the Gulu, Apac, Amuru, Oyam, Lira, Soroti, and Kapchorwa districts. These districts were chosen based on the availability of schools to visit and known effects of conflict upon the population. The research team also collected data through facilitation of focus groups with students, parents, and teachers. These focus groups were conducted in the Gulu, Lira, and Soroti districts, based on the availability of participants. Participants were not randomly selected and, therefore, do not represent the population as a whole; but rather characterize some current perspectives in northern Uganda.

Interview with the Head Teacher at Lapainat Primary School.

The authors also drew from a body of literature that focuses on conflict in northern Uganda, with emphasis on education and various other special issues including child soldiers, forced marriage, poverty, internally displaced persons and refugees, and gender. Qualitative methods were used to analyze the data, including the identification of patterns and themes and the triangulation of data to ensure accuracy, validity, and consistency. All data was managed by the authors.

4. EDUCATION AS A DRIVER OF CONFLICT AND A MITIGATING FORCE IN NORTHERN UGANDA: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The following sections describe the research team's findings. As elucidated above, the findings are organized according to the various patterns of fragility and conflict, both in consideration of how fragility affects education and how education can both contribute to and mitigate fragility.

4.1 Exclusion in education

Northern Ugandans have long suffered the politics of exclusion from the nation of Uganda as a whole. Northern Ugandans are chronically poorer than other regions and the region's poverty levels are not declining as in other areas of the country (Lwanga-Ntale, C. & McClean, K.). Many human development indicators of well-being are considerably worse in northern Uganda than in the southern areas (UNDP, 2005). Northern Ugandans have also suffered disproportionately from conflict and human rights abuses, as both the conflict with the LRA and the cattle rustling of the Karamajong have affected the northern and eastern areas of the country (International Crisis Group, 2004). But

exclusion is not just a symptom of conflict, it is also a driver. As discussed earlier, Uganda's path to independence was littered with human rights abuses stemming from political leadership (Idi Amin, in particular) and the military incursions employed to seize power by President Museveni. These abuses, in combination with unequal distributions of ethnic groups in military and government exacerbated tensions and fueled rebellion.

The education system has also not received the same levels of attention and success as the rest of Uganda.[2] Access to quality education has been adversely affected by the lack of infrastructure development in the northern region partly due to insecurity (GOU, 2008). The education system in the north also suffers because of loss of livelihoods, displacement of populations, and the general disruption of education services during conflict.[3] Within the education system itself in the north, the patterns of exclusion are also intensified. Thus, the education system contributes to this pattern of fragility by serving as an institution that is excluded from the rest of the country. Education can help mitigate this pattern of fragility by improving services for girls, creating a safer and more secure learning environment, and improving school infrastructure for those displaced.

Recommendations

- ➢ Ensure girls access to education through hygiene infrastructure improvement and economic development programs, which could target either the families' economic situation or provide scholarships to girls.

- ➢ Implement infrastructure improvement grants, particularly to those schools destroyed or damaged in the conflict.

- ➢ Conduct Participatory Vulnerability Analysis with communities to map the impact of the conflict in order to identify activities to mitigate the causes and consequences of exclusion practices

- ➢ Develop safety and inclusion programs in working with PTAs and larger school communities

4.2 Education and the loss of social cohesion and well being

Social cohesion is the foundation of a collective identity and customary laws and as such, is a factor for mitigating tensions and conflict in society. The conflict is northern Uganda has deeply traumatized the populations and shattered traditions and social cohesion, destabilizing the old and new generations, shifting social values and profoundly affecting the psycho-social well being of northern Ugandans. These factors act as drivers of future conflict but also hold promise of conflict mitigation if addressed through the provision of education services.

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[2] Gulu Education Summit, June 2008.
[3] Ibid.

4.2.1 Trauma as a consequence of conflict

That conflict brings long term trauma to affected populations is well documented. Ugandans scarcely had time to recover from the horrors of Idi Amin's regime when they were faced with the brutal LRA. UNICEF estimates that more than thirty two thousand children were abducted by the LRA between 1986 and 2002 (UNICEF, 2005). The impact on families of having their children abducted and, in many cases, subsequently turned into combatants, led to social disruption and public disengagement. Since 2006, peace talks between the LRA and the government have brought a period of fragile peace, but fear and insecurity remain in the hearts and minds of people who bear the psychic scars of a traumatized population.

This study found evidence of serious societal changes shown in the ways parents treat their children and other family members. Children living in crowded IDP camps were exposed to harsh lifestyles such as domestic violence, prostitution, and other behaviors that contradicted traditional (Acholi) beliefs and practices, including respect for parents and elders. Similarly, adult values were also affected by social changes brought about by the conflict. Values such as how parents protect their children, sacrifice their own welfare for them, and give unconditional love have been eroded in many communities. Several IDPs mentioned that parents were either not able to provide oversight and guidance to their children in the camps, or did not make attempts to. Interviewees described how at first, returning abductees were welcomed but when their behavior proved aberrant, parents could not manage them and many forced their children to leave home. For female former abductees with children born during captivity the situation was even worse. In many of those cases, the patriarchal beliefs influenced parents to reject the babies and to force their daughters to live with the father of their children or with the former abductor's family.

Such manifestations of the changes in societal values that caused parents to reject children who were former captives of the LRA were all too common. Parents of formerly abducted children expressed very negative sentiments during focus group discussions about their children and their behavior. In some ways, the parents have begun to identify more with other parents of returning children than with being a family trying to accept a child back into the household. The parents showed sympathy with other families and seemed to gather strength through association with others facing the same problems. This stands in contrast to some literature which asserts the prevailing resilience of children and families and the ease of abductees' reintegration into society.[4]

The majority of children who were victims of the LRA's abductions were accepted back into their families, but according to one report about twenty seven percent needed special intervention to assist their integration back into normal family life (UNICEF, 2008).

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[4] See SWAY reports

Children who were rejected by their families usually resorted to living on the streets. Many are subjected to abuse, including rape, malnutrition, and trafficking, among other risks including being recruited into rebel groups or criminal gangs.[5] Without family and community support, these children face grim futures. Few services are available for rejected children. The overall impact on the society probably will never be known, but findings from this study suggest that the trauma in northern Ugandan society caused extensive social disruption and continues to present risk factors for future conflict. Engagement with the community decreased as a *survivalist mentality* increased. Social values shifted away from respecting elders and village leaders because of the pressures of conflict and the disappearance of many former cultural values and practices. Young people were left without social models that represented acceptable values and practices. These are often replaced with a tendency for people to adopt an "each person for themselves" attitude.

4.2.2 Shifting Social Values as a pattern of fragility in education

The shifting social values can be viewed as symptoms of fragility that are a consequence of and a contributing factor to the conflict. They affect the status and role of education in terms of how education is valued within communities and, importantly, in terms of the potential for education to mitigate conflict. A principal of a PTC noted that before the war, "Clan members owned the school and there was no room for misbehaving. Parents had a sense of pride and care for their children and their education. Now, the animals in the parks are better than our parents."[6] This quote exemplifies the breakdown in social norms of the traditional community and the resulting shift in the value of education. Many NGOs have worked to sensitize communities to the long-term value of education, but the reigning hardships in the region often seem to be overpowering these messages.[7] Many other teachers, students, and PTC and district education officials also commented on this very issue. While before the war more parents urged their children to attend school, now many parents in northern Uganda generally see very few links between education and quality of life.[8] The consequences are stark. Not only have the physical manifestations of the conflict (i.e. injury, abduction, displacement, rape, etc.) disrupted education, but the resulting shift in social values has also disrupted education. Thousands in northern Uganda have been left without adequate education. The education system, however, can contribute much toward the mitigation of this pattern of fragility. It can be leveraged as a tool for social and community cohesion and a source for a rebirth of community values.

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[5] Interviews with parents, teachers, students, PTC workers, NGO workers
[6] Interview with L.S. Opoio-Omara, Loro PTC
[7] Ibid.
[8] Interviews with parents, teachers, students, PTC workers, NGO workers

Recommendations

> ➢ Integrate a community participation component in all education aid programs to strengthen PTAs and give communities a voice through such activities as "town hall" meetings, school "show-and-tell" events, and other cultural performances that can serve to directly engage community members and elevate the status of education.

> ➢ Program interventions should include sensitization activities for leaders to stress the value and long term benefits of educating children in the community.

> ➢ Include parents and community leaders in the development of reintegration and support programs within the education sector.

4.2.3 Psycho-Social and Behavioral problems as patterns of fragility

As previously mentioned, many children returning from abduction by the LRA, were victims of severe trauma. The table below shows the violence witnessed, experienced, and/or committed by those abducted into the LRA.

Violence Ever Witnessed, Experienced, and Committed, Disaggregated by Sex

Violent acts witnessed or received	Male	Female
Someone took or destroyed your personal property	81%	90%
You heard gun fire regularly	77%	71%
Another family member or friend disappeared or was abducted	66%	88%
You witnessed beatings or torture of other people	70%	46%
Another family member or friend was murdered or died violently	56%	46%
Someone shot bullets at you or your home	46%	16%
A family member received a serious physical injury from combat or a landmine	39%	21%
You witnessed a killing	55%	35%
A parent was murdered or died violently	30%	18%
You witnessed the setting of houses on fire with people inside	39%	26%
You received a severe beating to the body	39%	18%

You witnessed a massacre	38%	19%
You were forced to carry heavy loads or do other forced labor	45%	19%
You were tied up or locked up as a prisoner	31%	7%

Source: SWAYII, April 2008.

These experiences undoubtedly had powerful effects upon the abductees. Parents and teachers alike indicated the abductees' troubling behavior upon return. Parents spoke of fear of their own children; and for those living in IDP camps, fear of other children who lived near them.[9] Within the education system, teachers described fear of their own students, particularly those who were returned LRA abductees. The teachers depicted the bizarre behavioral problems of the students, including aggression, disassociation, vulgar language, and low academic performance. Some cited extreme examples of these children killing family members and fellow students, and others setting fire to schools and in one case, detonating a grenade in the classroom.[10] This can further traumatize other children and teachers and deter them from participating in the education system. More broadly, this pattern of violence and trauma is a destabilizing factor for the current generation of young people upon whom reconstruction of the north and the stability of the country depends.

Education can be both a contributing and mitigating factor to psycho-social trauma, which is a major source of fragility in northern Uganda. On the one hand, education can contribute to fragility by providing a space and time for traumatized children to act out their behavioral problems, as indicated above by examples of children becoming violent in the classroom. On the other hand, education can mitigate this source of fragility by providing a space and time for the provision of psycho-social support that the traumatized would not otherwise receive. While this support is not provided by the government, several NGOs have instigated psycho-social support programs in the school environment that prepare teachers to recognize and identify aberrant and aggressive behavior and take appropriate action. The programs also provide the students an outlet, whether through guidance and counseling or performance arts, to channel their experiences through peaceful and non-aggressive means.[11] In this way, education services can act as mitigating factors to conflict.

Recommendations

> ➤ Strengthen and expand programs that provide psycho-social support in the classroom.

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[9] Interview with parents at IDP camp
[10] Interview with teachers
[11] The REPLICA program is a key example of these interventions, and will be discussed in depth in the "Interventions and Collaborations" section.

> ➤ Expand non formal education programs to include and rehabilitate children with severe psycho-social problems instead of excluding them from the education sector. These programs could target out of school and street children who are often representative of those with severe psycho-social problems and little to no family or community support.

4.3 Insecurity and violence as patterns of fragility in education

4.3.1 Insecurity as a pattern of fragility and conflict

Insecurity is both a root cause of fragility and a consequence of the conflict. Teacher retention is strongly impacted by the lingering insecurity, particularly for teachers who have returned to their schools. Teacher absenteeism, dropout, retention, and well being are affected by insecurity, which in turn affects student retention, dropout, and well being. Of course, insecurity kept many teachers out of school during the waves of conflict; teachers comprised both those who were displaced and those who were injured or killed. But in the recent years, the growing stability in the region has increased the numbers of people returning home, and thus teachers returning to their teaching jobs. Many factors however make this transition difficult, including the lingering perception of insecurity. Some teachers simply do not feel safe returning home, many commenting that there is a continual fear of attack by LRA rebels.[12] Nor do they feel safe displaced, as conditions in the camps are often wrought with violence.[13] As mentioned previously, other teachers described fear of their own students, particularly those who are returned LRA abductees. The insecurity around and within schools is one of the main factors that has a negative impact on the supply of education (access) and the quality of education (fear and anxiety combined with trauma).

4.3.2 Insecurity and gender inequality as a pattern of fragility

Teachers' vulnerability to violence, especially female teachers', is detrimental to pupils, especially girls. With fewer female teachers as role models and mentors, girls have few resources in school. Many girls have to rely on their female teachers to provide support and encouragement with the onset of adolescence and menstruation, the possibility of early marriage and/or pregnancy, and household chores and responsibilities. Several female students noted that the support of their female teachers helped them stay in school. Without this support, many female students drop out.[14] The dropout rate for girls is higher than for boys.[15] This disparity is widespread throughout northern Uganda. Insecurity severely impacts access and equity of education, particularly for women. Education becomes a source of fragility and contributes to the vulnerability of the population when teachers and students are placed in vulnerable and insecure positions,

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[12] Interview with teachers,
[13] Interview with camp primary school teacher, Lapainat Primary school
[14] Ibid.
[15] In 2002, 26,602 girls dropped out of primary school; 23,623 boys dropped out (GOU, 2008).

where no reliable security forces can be found inside and outside the schools, no protection is available from and to the school, and no housing can be found for teachers. Education services can be developed to easily mitigate this pattern of fragility by helping communities rebuild the teacher housing infrastructure that was destroyed in the war.

Recommendations

> Where infrastructure rebuilding programs exist, include teacher housing.

> Include extra incentives for female teachers, such as establishing affirmative action plans or providing priority housing, would also enable the education system to mitigate the consequences of fragility.

> Provide programs with psycho-social support to both teachers and students.

> Include community based safety programs with school communities and local government representatives and local leaders to ensure safety of teachers and pupils, especially girls

> Gather data about attacks on teachers and use as a sensitization campaign to support the rebuilding of the teaching force in northern Uganda.

4.3.3 Violence and HIV/AIDS

The spread of HIV/AIDS in the north is a serious concern. Uganda has been seen as the poster-child of Africa in combating the disease, but it has been on the rise in the north due to conflict and the resulting displacement of the population. Its impact on the social domain of the population is seen in the continued spread of the virus due to the movement of populations and the lack of health resources, including condoms and treatment facilities. The social and living conditions in the camps have also encouraged the spread of the virus. The crowded living conditions have changed sexual behavior. In particular, the poverty of the camps has furthered the spread of the virus due to the exchange of sex for food or money. Additionally, the camps increase the vulnerability of women to violence, including rape. The national HIV prevalence rate is 6.4%, but it is estimated at 9% in the north (GOU, 2007). Most northern Ugandans know how to protect themselves, but condoms are not always readily available. Women and girls expressed concern about their lack of ability to convince men to use condoms. With the movement of populations on the rise again as many families return home, the HIV/AIDS rate has the potential to continue to rise (Perlman Robinson & Young, 2007). While the GOU has implemented anti-AIDS measures in schools, namely the Presidential Initiative on Community to Young about HIV/AIDS (PIASCY),[16] the realities in the north strain the ability of such programs to succeed. Increasing numbers of orphans and vulnerable

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[16] See: http://www.aidsuganda.org/response/priorities/piascy.htm

children (OVC) and child-headed households are likely to follow. Education could mitigate this pattern of fragility by strengthening PIASCY and implementing various other programs through schools that focus on HIV/AIDS education.

Recommendations

> Donor programs should ensure coordination with current GOU PIASCY programming.

> Include programs such as Anti-AIDS clubs in schools and peer education programs.

4.4 Poor provision of education and health infrastructure and services as a pattern of fragility

4.4.1 Lack of health care facilities and access to health services as risk factors that contribute to fragility in education

Health care facilities were destroyed during the conflict causing a scarcity in northern Uganda. Not every village has a health clinic, and where clinics exist, the services and supplies are limited. Access to health services has long been a problem to northern Ugandans but the situation was greatly exacerbated by the years of conflict. Lack of transportation further limits many people's access to health services. Others simply cannot afford to pay fees for health services. This is especially problematic in the case of violence or rape, when the victim cannot obtain health care. Lack of health care and access to services became drivers of conflict.

Health services in the schools are similarly lacking. Many schools lack a safe water source and thus children are at risk either by drinking unsafe water or by suffering from dehydration. Lack of access to safe water causes vulnerability to diseases that result in absenteeism from school. Poor sanitation and hygiene also plague schools and also contaminate water supplies. Every school visited in this study reported insufficient latrines to service the number of pupils. Teachers reported that the lack of latrines for girls kept them out of school especially during menstruation. Adolescent girls face a multitude of challenges to remain in school including having to care for siblings and perform household chores, and the inability to practice good hygiene during their monthly periods often results in 5-6 days each month of absenteeism. Girls fall behind in their school work and become discouraged. According to teachers interviewed, when girls drop out of school their vulnerability to a host of negative influences increases markedly. They are more vulnerable to early marriages, pregnancy, and also to gender based violence. In the case of former captives of the LRA, out of school girls are more likely to return to live with their captors for lack of other options.

Donors, through international organizations and local organizations, have provided assistance by funding the installation of wells and water pumps; however, the research team found that over time, many of the installations no longer functioned because of the lack of maintenance or spare parts. In some cases, the affected community did not feel ownership of the pumps because they had not participated in the decision-making or construction. This study found little enthusiasm or interest among people affected by the broken pumps and wells and consequently the students suffered from lack of water. In this way, education contributes to the fragility in the social and health domains. Schools often act as a source for the spread of diseases and improper health and hygiene conditions. The education system could easily mitigate this, however, with the adequate resources.

Recommendations

> Provide proper water and hygiene facilities at schools. Instigate School Health & Nutrition (SHN) programs in schools that emphasize good hygiene and safe water.

> Ensure the school and surrounding communities take ownership over SHN programs, so they are sustainable and effective.

4.4.2 Hunger in school and poverty as a pattern of economic fragility

Even now as northern Ugandans begin to enjoy a time of relative peace, education facilities remain in poor states of repair. Many of the schools within the camps and in semi-settled villages are barely functional due to the lack of proper furniture, windows, doors and equipment. The research team observed several classes held under trees. Teachers complained to the study team about the severe lack of teaching materials and texts. Some children remain in IDP camps with relatives to attend school when parents return to their villages because many village schools have not been repaired or rebuilt.

Hunger in schools also exacerbates fragility in education. Poverty and the aftermath of drought and severe flooding that destroyed crops and animals in northern Uganda resulted in widespread food deficits. Teachers reported that hungry children do not learn well. Parents tend not to send children to school when the household lacks adequate food supplies. School feeding programs, on the other hand, increase school attendance in areas experiencing food insecurity. The attendance of teachers increases as well when schools supply meals. Until recently, donors funded the World Food Programme to distribute meals in schools, especially in the "hunger" months between harvests. In 2008, just one month into the school feeding program, USAID funding stopped. School attendance abruptly dropped dramatically—in some schools by as much as fifty percent. Moreover, children and teachers who normally go home for a midday meal often do not return to school in the afternoon when food is scarce. That practice does not show up in school records as an attendance issue because attendance is taken in the morning.

However, interviews with school headmasters and teachers describe 'noon leavers' as a common practice in communities with inadequate food supplies. Support could be given to the education system to mitigate these economic patterns of fragility.

Recommendations

➢ Reinstate school feeding programs to increase retention of pupils. Successful sustainable models have included School Gardens and school poultry or goat-rearing projects to raise funds for school feeding.

➢ Reinvigorate the GOU's school infrastructure grant programs dedicated to improving school infrastructures and supported by grants.

Recipients of school lunches in Kapchorwa District. This was the only school feeding program observed and the food was donated by parents, who gave a portion of their WFP donation to the school.

4.4.3 Infrastructure and its impact on teacher retention and performance

The poor economic situation affects teachers and schools in the same ways it affects the general population. Notably, insufficient teacher housing due to the conflict has had a dramatic impact on education. In many areas, it is impossible to attract and retain good teachers unless housing is provided on or near the school grounds. Most schools are intended to provide housing for teachers in Uganda. However, due to the damage to infrastructure and lack of economic resources in the north, providing teacher housing in the north has become very difficult. Teachers who live at home generally have long commutes to their teaching jobs. Most lack means of transportation except for hiring local bicycle or motorbike taxis (*boda-bodas*) which are costly for teachers and unreliable

in the rainy season. Because of transportation difficulties, many teachers arrive late and leave early—further compromising the quantity and quality of instruction for students.

Mentors and principals interviewed in this study at PTCs commented on the use of outdated and ineffective teaching methods, including lecturing and rote memorization.[17] Another phenomenon affecting the quality of education are so called "ghost teachers" who collect their government paychecks, but never, or rarely, report to their schools to teach. This practice is a reflection on a number of factors brought about, or largely influenced, by the years of conflict. The lack of economic support to the north from the central government results in insufficient funds for the district education officers to pay for transportation to visit schools for monitoring. Another reason relates to the lack of motivation and dedication among some teachers given their low salaries. Students suffer when teachers don't show up to teach, often sitting in their classroom all day doing nothing.[18] Thus, the quality of education is lessened simply by teachers' insufficient access to their schools.[19]

Crowded Classroom in Gulu District.

Another consequence of the lack of housing for teachers is the gender imbalance among teachers, i.e. ratio of male to female teachers. Many women indicated an inability or a lack of desire to teach at schools deep in the villages. This was mostly due to the fact that they live very far from the school and the difficulties of transport deep into the village make teaching in these schools unfeasible. Women traveling alone long distances are vulnerable to violence along roadways, including possible LRA attacks. Teaching positions in these schools are also undesirable because women are usually heavily outnumbered by men. This disproportion contributes to the vulnerability of women to

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[17] Interviews with PTCs
[18] Observation made at multiple schools in Gulu, Lira, and Soroti districts.
[19] Interviews with teachers,

violence and mistreatment in schools as well.[20] The shortage of female teachers has a negative effect on the success of female students who need role models and mentors.

Thus, the education system is contributing to fragility by exacerbating the effects of the conflict. While the conflict destroyed infrastructure of teacher housing, the failure of the education system to provide this basic need has contributed to the continuing patterns of fragility within the economic domain. This has impacted both the access to and equity of schools. However, the education system can mitigate this pattern by intervening and providing these infrastructural resources.

Recommendations

> Support a regional or national policy to provide housing to teachers where none is available and improve current teacher housing, with emphasis on female teachers' housing. This could be in support to a government initiative or through a donor initiated grants program, for example.

> Provide a government or donor supported incentive program (transportation allowances, for example) to teachers in rural villages and establish a recognition award practice that will reward and encourage teachers willing to teach in remote areas.

4.5   Inequity in the distribution of resources as a driver of conflict

The economic situation in the north can be viewed as one of the drivers of the conflict. Northern Uganda has received less resources overall than the south which is thought to be partly related to the conflict.   Many northern Ugandans believe that Museveni's government deliberately neglects the needs of the north. This view engenders a great deal of hostile sentiments towards the government. Regardless of political beliefs regarding the government's disproportionate allocation of funds, it is well accepted that conflict has severely affected the economics of education supply and demand in the north.

4.5.1 Destruction of livelihood as a root cause of fragility and conflict

The conflicts with the LRA and the Karamajong have severely debilitated the economic livelihood of northern Ugandans. Looting and destruction of villages by the LRA destroyed people's homes and land, and cattle rustling by the Karamajong obliterated most northern Ugandans' main source of income and wealth. The death and abductions of thousands broke apart family units and thus traditional family methods of generating income, which were mostly agricultural, were also destroyed.

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[20] Ibid.

This reinforced the survivalist mentality, in addition to the social factors discussed earlier. Families, who before conflict may have been able to generate enough income to support their family and send their children to school, are now often unable to feed everyone in the household. This has dramatically affected gender equity, as well. Women's workloads increased as they bore responsibility to work both inside and outside the home. Unemployment increased as well. Many rural schools were destroyed and young girls, in particular, dropped out to either work at home or to engage in early marriage, which brought dowry income to the girls' families. Numerous parents and teachers noted that a girl child was seen as a blessing to the family, as she is a source of income. Many interviewees noted that girls are often married early for the dowry to pay for their brothers' school fees.[21]

Thus, in the economic domain, the destruction of livelihood serves as a source of fragility in education. Children are kept out of school by their parents and communities, and even those who progress to higher levels of primary school, often drop out before secondary because of the inability to afford secondary school fees. While UPE has provided "free" universal primary education, there are 'hidden costs' that many families cannot afford including uniforms, materials, and extraneous fees (*e.g.* volunteer teachers' fees). Many families also have the perception that education is detrimental because it keeps children away from the home when they could be earning money for the family. In this sense, education contributes to fragility.

Education can, however, mitigate this pattern of fragility. Various NGOs and GOU interventions have attempted to increase vocational training programs through the educational system that help prepare students for various careers and income generation. See below for a snapshot of youth receiving vocational training.

Summary Statistics for Youth Aged 16-30

	Males(2005/06)	*Females(2007)*
Received vocational training (if 16 or older)	*19%*	*8%*
NGO paid for vocational training (if ever trained)	*8%*	*29%*
Received adult education	*0%*	*1%*
NGO paid for adult education (if ever received)	*n.a.*	*8.7%*
Ever attended university	*0.6%*	*0.3%*

 Source: SWAYII report April 2008.

As we can see, these percentages are quite low. Vocational training and economic assistance programs for former abductees are urgently needed. Those who spent years in the bush with the LRA have returned to find themselves completely behind in the formal education system. To help them become productive members of society—and even to prevent a return to conflict—vocational education, workforce development, and adult education programs could be better utilized to target this important segment of the

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[21] Interviews with Parents and Teachers

population. In this way, education can play a key role in mitigating fragility and mitigating the possibility of returning to conflict. Participants in these current programs, however, complained that existing vocational educational programs were useless because they were not contextualized to the population. An example commonly discussed by interviewees was the use of tailoring training for women, when women are not traditionally tailors in northern Uganda and are unlikely to find employment as tailors after training. Many such programs provide no direct connection to the job market nor do they help trainees obtain startup capital. Vocational education programs with job placement assistance and provision of start-up capital are urgently needed but they must be designed and implemented correctly with full engagement, ownership, and participation of northern Ugandan actors.

Women and girls who missed years of their education due to the conflict need special programs of practical accelerated education to prepare them for employment, or to start entrepreneurial businesses. Research findings suggest that virtually all girls and women who were abducted by the LRA were raped; many were forced to marry and bear children within captivity (Carlson & Mazaruna, 2008). These women face enormous hardships in supporting themselves and their children. For many, attending formal schooling is not a viable option due to lack of funds and lack of child care.

Recommendations

> Provide *relevant* vocational education and/or training programs that respond to market demands such as modern agricultural techniques, veterinary care, etc., and include access to start-up capital and job placement services.

> Establish "Catch-Up" accelerated programs for out of school youth, especially those who are returned abductees who have missed opportunities for formal education.

> Provide programming for young women and girls that will prepare them to support themselves and provide for their children, such as practical courses that teach skills that will lead to employment or entrepreneurship, while being sensitive to the realities and demands of child care.

> Increase funding for programs to train youth in trades such as electricians, plumbing, construction, auto mechanics, small appliance repairs, and hairdressing for example.

> Closely link economic growth programs with the education sector to reassert the connection between the utility of education and the quality of life.

4.5.2 Access to land as a pattern of fragility in education

Northern Ugandans face serious problems with the ownership and demarcation of individual and collective property rights to land. Returning displaced populations who were forced to leave their homes find squatters or other families occupying their homes and land, thus limiting their access to agriculture and livestock as sources of income. Major disputes over land have caused increased tensions in social relations among communities. Many head teachers, particularly in community schools who are reliant upon community support rather than the government, have had land disputes with families whose own children attend the school that is built upon the disputed land. Prior to the conflicts, communities highly valued education and many landowners were willing to donate their land for schools. This tendency has given way to landowners reclaiming land, without concern about the future of schools situated on that land. This indicates both the shift in community values and the resulting effects of the conflict on education.

Thus disputed property rights over land is a source of fragility in the education system to the extent that access to schooling facilities is at stake and the government's role in resolving these issues is weak. The weak perceived legitimacy of the government in northern Uganda further compounds the issue. Education contributes to fragility by merely using the highly valued commodity of land. The driver of the conflict over land is not the land itself, but rather the survivalist mentality resulting from conflict, displacement of populations, and scarce resources. Education could mitigate this source of fragility if it could serve as a tool to rebuild community norms that value education. The government could play a decisive role and strengthen its legitimacy if such conflicts over school land could be addressed in collaboration with the school community and community leaders. Several NGOs are using schools as mechanisms to rebuild community values through PTAs, community "town hall" meetings, school "show-and-tells", cultural performances, and so forth. While such efforts have excellent potential to influence communities about the benefits of education, they have not yet succeeded in overcoming the survivalist mentality that puts individual needs over communal.

Recommendations

➢ Support the government's role in addressing the issue of access to land where schools were built.

➢ Strengthen participatory resolution of the issues by involving PTAs, communities, leaders and government.

➢ Sensitize leaders to stress the value and long term benefit of educating children in the community, including the potential benefit of mitigating future conflicts.

4.6 Insufficient capacity as a pattern of fragility in education

4.6.1 Capacity, will, and perception of government legitimacy

The Peace, Recovery, and Development Plan for northern Uganda (PRDP) is a strategy developed by the GOU to address the welfare of people in northern Uganda. A response to the continuing and disproportionately low levels of human development in the north, the PRDP aims to bring northern Uganda up to the level of the rest of the country. The PRDP stands as a commitment by the GOU to recover the north between 2007 and 2010 through a cohesive set of programs which all stakeholders will adopt. This effort is key to reinstate the perceived legitimacy of the government to restore peace and provide equitable services to the North.

Curiously, while the PRDP recognizes education as a stimulant to human development, it says little about addressing the needs of the education sector in the north. Other government reports, including the "Report on Education Needs Assessment for Northern Uganda" and the "Education Sector Strategic Plan (ESSP)" address these issues more fully, but cannot generate the funding and attention that the PRDP can. In response, a Regional Leaders' Summit on Education in Northern and Eastern Uganda was held on June 19 – June 21, 2008 in Gulu. This was a landmark event[22] that brought together education leaders from all over the region to discuss the greatest needs in their respective districts. The summit attracted exemplary attendance from the districts and won the attention of both the Prime Minister and the President, who both spoke at the Summit and reaffirmed their commitment to supporting the development of northern and eastern Uganda.

The conclusions of the three day summit were summarized in a charter that expresses the communal and regional needs of northern and eastern Uganda and subsequent Education Blueprint in the Greater North, Eastern and North Bunyoro Districts under the PRDP Framework. Namely, these documents discuss the historical imbalance of education performance between the north and the south and demands that children of the north and east: have access to quality education; be educated effectively; have equity in girl child education; have teachers who uphold professional ethics; attend safe and child-friendly schools; and gain support from the local, regional, and national communities. These stakeholders now await the GOU's evaluation of the disaggregated needs of the north and east and their implementation into the current budget review.[23]

Few citizens at the community level understand or even know about the PRDP.[24] While these northern and eastern district education officials have demonstrated genuine political will, it is still unclear how this will be implemented and turned into tangible results. The

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[22] The Summit was supported by the MOES and USAID and implemented by The Pincer Group International

[23] President Museveni claimed the charter would be reviewed in a three month time period.

[24] See: http://northernuganda.usvpp.gov/humanitarian.html

PRDP and the Gulu Education Summit have great promise to mitigate the patterns of fragility through dedicated government intervention in the education system. At the same time, corrupt practices by education authorities combined with a weak capacity to provide services to teachers and students all contribute to disappointment and community distrust and disengagement vis-à-vis government's capacity and legitimacy to respond to the needs of its constituents.

Insufficient capacity of the government to provide basic services necessary to the functioning of education is a threat to the perceived legitimacy of the government and thus a cause of fragility and conflict, especially during the rebuilding phase. On the community level, most teachers and PTC workers commented that local government fails in its oversight of education in their districts. Many reported that local education inspectors provided little to no monitoring and evaluation and many schools commented that they had not received a visit from a district inspector in years. When asked, district education officials explained this inspection deficiency as a result of lack of transportation to hard-to-reach rural village schools.[25] Policies for oversight exist at the national and local levels, but this study's findings indicate a serious breakdown in implementation.

Furthermore, it was noted by interviewees that corrupt practices negatively affect the quality of schooling as government resources that should be allocated to schools are diverted by the local government. When receiving UPE funding, many schools complained that they saw little of the funding arrive as it should from the district government officials. Parents also complained that they saw little of the funding received by the schools directly benefiting their children.[26]

The inequality of opportunities for male and female teachers has been both a cause of fragility and a consequence of the conflict. The established structure of the Primary Teachers Colleges itself is a case in point. At every PTC visited,[27] the ratio of men to women averaged around two and a half males to every one female. The infrastructure of the PTC itself was the main driver of this inequality because, in several cases, it was originally built to accommodate about one female for every four males.[28] While the PTC enrolled as many females into the limited infrastructure as they could (most far exceed the original capacity), they also claimed that limited female enrollment is due to lower test scores and thus fewer applicants. This further demonstrates the historical and ongoing inequality between male and female education. As noted elsewhere in this report, the unequal gender dynamics in the north and the negative impact of the conflict on girls and women significantly affect educational outcomes and potentially influence peace processes or the tendency to engage in future conflicts. The gender imbalance in

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Focus group with parents
[27] Gulu, Loro, Soroti, and Kapchorwa PTCs
[28] The PTCs board their students for the length of their training (2 years) and the dorms were originally built to house this ratio.

teachers in the north is significant with more men (2845) than women (558) teaching (GOU, 2008). In the Gulu District, out of a total of 1149 teachers, only 302 (30%) are female teachers.[29] This imbalance has a widespread effect on female students completing their schooling. Moreover, the unequal number of female teachers contributes to the lack of schools' capacities to respond and prevent gender-based violence within the schools. Girls interviewed by this study's research team noted that they did not confide in male teachers, in fact some male teachers sexually exploited girls—some by using their positions of power to obtain sexual favors from female students, and some forcing girls to clean their houses and perform other domestic chores in the teacher's home or at the school.

The weak capacity of government authorities to provide services combined with corrupt practices in the governance of education resources and the system as a whole, exacerbate the vulnerability of the school community, making grievances more acute and potentially posing a risk to social stability. The education system is often used as a tool to take advantage of key players, whether student, teacher, or parent. By supporting government's efforts to restore or increase access, equity, and good management of education services the perceived credibility of the government will be enhanced, which in turn will positively impact the stability of the region.

Recommendations

> Strengthen capacity of the communities to advocate for more funding for schools.

> Promote the formation of local discussion to support efforts like the PRDP.

> Renovate PTCs to accommodate more females and initiate an affirmative action policy to incorporate more females into the PTCs.

> Support government's effort to provide oversight over individual schools, particularly in rural areas.

4.6.2 Education policies contributing to fragility

Several education policies contribute to exacerbate fragility. Universal Primary Education (UPE) and its hidden costs have become a cause of fragility of the education system with profound social and economic ramifications for the population of northern Uganda. The GOU introduced UPE in 1996 and as a result, the number of children enrolled in primary school has certainly risen. But while UPE claims to be free, the reality is that there are hidden costs that many families simply cannot afford. Some schools charge a fee for materials or the payment of "volunteer teachers", and most require a uniform. While these costs can be difficult to cover throughout the whole of the

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[29] Head Count Data, 2008.

country, the economic destruction in the north has made these costs often impossible for many families to send their children to primary school.

The GOU also enacted Universal Secondary Education (USE) in 2007, but this policy has yet to benefit more than a select few. Children must have completed primary school in the previous year and it only partially covers fees, again making it very difficult for most families in the north to send their children to secondary school, both due to economic constraints and the frequent disruption of children's education due to both conflict (such as LRA abduction) or the need to work inside or outside the home to provide income for the family. If students make it through primary school, most drop out before secondary because their families cannot afford the remaining fees.[30] The GOU needs to recognize the unequal burden of poverty and destruction of livelihoods carried by northerners due to the conflict and provide support to compensate for the loss of years of schooling for a generation of children. Alternative financing mechanisms need to be identified and reviewed in a transparent manner with local and regional authorities to mitigate corrupt practices though school fees as well as promoting ownership of the school by communities.

Recommendations

> Support a revision of the flat salary structure, teacher career development plans and management of the teaching force with special emphasis on the north. Explore alternative financing mechanism to compensate for the imposition of school fees. Grants to PTAs for rebuilding and maintaining infrastructures and supplies, or scholarship programs could be initiated to allow both vulnerable and promising children the opportunity to go to school.

> Support the organization of local discussion for a to address these issues collectively and share responsibilities

> Review the prioritization of education investments on primary or secondary education in the context of conflict transformation and promotion of social and economic stabilization.

5. INTERVENTIONS

5.1 USAID funded projects

USAID's Approach: Revitalization of Education Participation and Learning in Conflict Areas (REPLICA)

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[30] Interview with IDP Camp Leader Jimmy Nyeko, 24 June 2008.

As a response to the demonstrated needs of northern Uganda, USAID funded the REPLICA program to assist in the restoration of quality education services for the region. REPLICA falls under the UNITY project and is in line with the objectives of the Teacher Development and Management System (TDMS) of the MOES. The REPLICA program consists of six components: (1) Guidance and Counseling/Psycho-social Care and Support; (2) Performing Arts and Learning in Schools (PALS); (3) Girl Child Education; (4) Community Integration Program (CIP); (5) Peace Education; and (6) Leadership and Management. These interventions are currently in more than 12 districts in the most war-affected areas of northern and northeastern Uganda, including Gulu, Oyam, Lira, Apac, Pader, Kitgum, Soroti, Katakwi, Amolatar, and Amuria districts. Each of the above components was implemented through training and materials distribution for teachers and head teachers through the PTCs. REPLICA is implemented in full partnership with MOES and other stakeholders to ensure ownership by the government and the local populations.

Support for the REPLICA program at the Gulu PTC

Various NGOs implement other education programs throughout the region, but few, if any, have as far of a reach and as strong a relationship with both the MOES and local stakeholders.[31] For this reason alone, REPLICA is achieving success in the region and taking the needed baby steps toward recovery and by engaging local communities. It is also clear that REPLICA's six program components are addressing real and valid needs by attempting to mitigate the patterns of fragility. In particular, parents, teachers, PTC workers, and students, note the positive changes resulting from the guidance and counseling component. Many teachers commented that the students' behavior is better and their ability to pay attention in class has increased. Many teachers note being able to identify warning signs in students that signal deeper psycho-social needs and behavioral problems. The teachers are then able to take the student aside and provide psycho-social support they need. REPLICA stands as an example of how education interventions can

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[31] Interview with PTC Principal

be successful in northern Uganda and serve to mitigate the previously discussed patterns of fragility.

5.2 Donor Coordination

Since the inception of UPE and the increased funding for education in the GOU budget, donor support has also increased. In addition to USAID and its funding, multiple other funding agencies operate in northern Uganda, including the World Bank, Irish Aid, Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands, UNICEF, World Food Programme, and GTZ. These donors have partnered and created the Education Funding Agencies Group (EFAG) and meet on a monthly basis to collaborate on current and future interventions and strategies. Along with the GOU, they represent some of the key stakeholders in the education sector in Uganda.

There are abundant NGOs operating in northern Uganda as well. A short list of key players includes: Save the Children Uganda, Invisible Children, WFP, UNICEF, American Refugee Council, Creative Associates International, Echo Bravo, World Vision, AVSI, ACDI/VOCA, CARE, PLAN, IRC, DENIVA, OXFAM, Concerned Parents Foundation, and the Norwegian Refugee Council, to name a few. These organizations often work in conjunction with the numerous local NGOs to implement their programming and they are doing critical work in the region by offering services that the GOU is not providing at this time. Interventions include: PSS, adding peacebuilding into curriculum, providing mentors to students, health and infrastructure development, teacher training, capacity building of school management and local officials, community sensitization toward education (especially for the girl child), and increasing community participation.

The impact of donor support and NGO programming has garnered mixed reviews. Donor support and NGO interventions are necessary as the GOU is simply not providing the necessary resources to the north. Most, if not all, NGOs attempt to connect with local communities and partner with local government to increase engagement, ownership, and sustainability. The REPLICA program is a key example of this, and its components are exceptionally well received by its recipients. With so many different organizations at work, it is difficult to avoid duplication. Many teachers and community members expressed concern that the education sector needs to be addressed in a larger scale fashion, with fewer small programs overlapping each other.[32] However, recent movements like the Gulu Education Leaders Summit, have fostered enthusiasm and unity among local government officials and also set a key example of a positive working relationship between NGOs and local government. There is clearly a demand for the increase of education resources and support in the north, but it will be telling whether the GOU provides the type of support the north is calling for in response.

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[32] Interviews with teachers and community members

Recommendations

➢ Expand REPLICA components to all 40 districts in northern Uganda. Expand current districts to include more schools as well. Extra emphasis should be placed on sustainability. Expand PSS component to ensure the availability of guidance and counseling for all targeted students.

➢ Ensure better NGO coordination both among the NGOs and with local government and community members.

➢ Correct aid dependency by ensuring future programming has focus of sustainability and local ownership

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether fragility has affected education and whether education has contributed to fragility in northern Uganda, while providing recommendations to mitigate these findings. The study investigated the root causes and drivers of fragility in northern Uganda and found that exclusion, corruption, and insufficient political will and capacity impelled years of conflict in the north. Through structured interviews, focus groups, and observation, the research team discovered that the education sector both suffers from *and* contributes to fragility. An illustrative example includes the impact of the conflict on psycho-social health and societal norms. Conflict negatively affected the education system by creating traumatized teachers, students, and parents, and altering traditional values on education. The education system exacerbates this by putting extra strain on the community and by providing a risky space and time for psycho-social and behavioral problems to surface, often putting people at risk. The team provided recommendations throughout the report to mitigate such effects.

The GOU as of late has taken serious steps toward addressing the severe inequalities between the north and the rest of the country through the PRDP and the subsequent Education Blueprint in the Greater North, Eastern and North Bunyoro Districts under the PRDP Framework. As this study indicates, applying the lens of fragility is necessary to fully address the needs of the education sector in the north and it is hoped that the recommendations provided herein can support the work of both the GOU and the donor community.

APPENDIX 1: PERSONS MET

NGOs

Nina Papadopoulos	Project Director, LEAP, IRC
Patrick Odele	Operations Manager, OTI/Uganda
Amanda Willett	Chief of Party, OTI/Uganda
Mariko Kagoshima	Chief, Field Office, Gulu, UNICEF
Sammy Poro	Lead, Education Cluster-Amuru, UNICEF
Sarah Hartley	Schools for Schools Program Coordinator, Invisible Children
Patricia Okwir	Mentor, Invisible Children
Bai Mankay Sankoh	Head of Office – Gulu, World Food Program
Victor Avasi	Education, IT, and Finance Specialist, Pincer Group International
Winnie Lawoko-Olwe	Coordinator, FAWE-U
Paul DeLucco	Chief of Party, SPRING Project
Florence Ringe	Economic Security and Social Inclusion Advisor, SPRING Project
Lissa Coggin	Missionary to Uganda
Jeoung Hong	GBV Coordinator, American Refugee Council
Renuka Pillay	Chief of Party, UNITY/REPLICA Project
Hon. Betty Udongo	Science & Technology Consultant for Africa, Vadium
Kent Noel	Director, Anglophone Africa Regional Center, EDC
Stephen Lawoko	Senior Lecturer/Researcher, Karolinska Institutet
Moses Cik	Regional Manager, Gulu, Save the Children
Evelyn Anena Pakech	Associate District Manager, Gulu, Save the Children
Joe Lakony	War Child Holland
Laz Ocira	War Child Holland
Frank Velthuizen	Field Location Manager, War Child Holland
Moses Udongo	Soroti NGO Forum
Regina Arionget	Regional Child and Family Protection Unit, Soroti Police
Stephen Makumbi	Program Coordinator, Teso Initiative for Peace
Beatrice Omese	Director, Teso Widows Initiative
Grace Oode	Program Officer, Teso Widows Initiative
George William Okwaput	Manager, Action Against Child Abuse and Neglect (AACAN)
Geoffrey Sandy	Desk Officer, Reproductive, Educative, and Community Health (REACH) Program

US Government

Christine Gottschalk	Northern Uganda Advisor, USAID/Uganda/Gulu
Deborah Grieser	Acting Mission Director, USAID/Uganda
Randolph Harris	Team Leader, Peace & Security Programs, USAID/Uganda
Thomas LeBlanc	Senior Education Advisor, USAID/Uganda
Sarah B. Mayanja	Education Specialist, USAID/Uganda

Other Donors

Sarah Margiotta	Irish Aid
Kevin W. Murphy	Assistant Regional Security Officer, US Embassy

Government of Uganda

Isa Mbooge	Chief Administrative Officer, Yumbe District
Samuel Okot	Deputy Chief Administrative Officer, Arua District
Paddy Kitiyo	Principal, Kapchorwa PTC
Priscilla Mugibog	Deputy Principal, Kapchorwa PTC
Alfred Chelangat	Deputy Head Teacher, Chepsukunya Primary School
Albert Chemwajar	Kirwoko Primary School
Sophie Chepkwurui	Kirwoko Primary School
Patrick Okello	Deputy Principal, Gulu Core PTC
Wilson Sangayay	Chair, School Management Committee, Kirwoko Primary School
Mike Cheptoek	District Education Officer, Kapchorwa
George Ocan	Head Teacher, Lapainat Primary School
Jimmy Nyeko	Jakeloneka IDP Camp Leader
Bosco Bwonyo	Head of Outreach Support Activities, Loro Core PTC
L.S. Opoio-Omara	Principal, Loro Core PTC
Lucy Langol	Head Teacher, Jimo Primary School
Francis Ojok	Deputy Head Teacher, Loro Primary School
Samuel Oyom	Deputy Head Teacher, Loro Primary School
Santo Olup	Head Teacher, Agulurude Primary School
John Ogwang	Aculbanya Primary School
Bernard Etin	Head Teacher, Nancy School for the Deaf
Bernard Odyek	Head Teacher, Ongica Community School
Simon Oumo	Head Teacher, Okunguro Primary School
Simon Odwilo	Deputy Principal of Outreach, Soroti PTC
James Ocana	Head Teacher, Awoja Bridge Community School
Marsiale Asau	Chair, School Mgmt Committee, Awoja Bridge Primary School
Julius Oile	Chair, Parent Teacher Associate, Awoja Bridge Primary School
George Omoding	Head Teacher, Awoja Bridge Primary School
Francis Amuron Egadu	Mentor, Gweri Coordinating Center
Rev. Robert Olupot	Anglican Reverend Education Advisor, Gweri Coordinating Center
Richard Orwanga	Mentor, Gweri Coordinating Center

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