Challenges for all

*Education in the young nation of Uganda*

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Abstract

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The overall purpose with this study is to analyse the challenges, it’s causes and effects, in the Ugandan education sector and the national education policies. In order to do so there is a need to describe the socio-political background of the current situation in Uganda, and in particular the northern region. The development of Uganda as a country is important to contrast with the northern region and it’s special circumstances, which is done through out the theses. It has been necessary to emphasise both social (cultural) and formal (academic) education in order to get a complete picture of the distortion and challenges in the education policies and it’s implementation as well as challenges in the overall development of the country.

Nationally, it appears that Uganda is struggling to find policy, practice and methods, and it seems clear that Ugandan educationists will have a lot to do. The Education policy makers and implementing technocrats are yet to develop a real plan of action for both quality world-class social and academic education.

The broader challenge for Uganda, however, is the central one: Uganda will need an education plan that will address itself to the fundamental activity of “Making the Nation”. It will mean investing correctly and efficiently in human resource development to produce national intellectuals and efficient work force dedicated to values and aspirations of the country, instead of production of tribal intellectuals, politicians and semi-skilled labour force.

The key words for this research is Uganda, education, challenges and war affected children.
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Part I - Introduction

“The only way we can survive is with education”¹

The quotation above was one of the first statements that I came across in my research. It came to guide and rule my ambition throughout the process. My project idea was to investigate the challenges in the Ugandan educational sector and it’s policies. I used the northern Uganda as my case study due to the prolonged armed conflict in the region and it’s effects on the social and formal education.

As I received a Minor Field Study scholarship from SIDA, I was able to conduct the study in Uganda in late 2006, mid 2007 and in the beginning of 2008. This report gives a background of the settlement, political and social development of the country in order to reflect on the challenges that has arose in the education sector over the years, especially in the north.

The education in Northern Uganda is crucial for the future of the region. At the same time the future of Uganda is a global concern. I therefore strongly believe in the relevance of this study, and any other report that puts education and development in focus. In relation to my major, religious education, the relevance lays in the impact of religious and social believes and norms in armed conflicts as well as in the education policies and implementation.

Northern Uganda has a long experience of armed conflict. In Sweden we face a very different context with different challenges. We don’t have the context of war and displacement, but we do have children with these experiences who are in need of a fair treatment, something that can only be offered if we have the knowledge of their original context. Also, I believe that any attempt to analyse and understand a different scenario will give you a better comprehension of your own context and reality. Perhaps an insight into a different reality will enable us, in Sweden, to make a more contemporary and advanced analysis of our own challenges, however different. My ambition with this report is to bring attention to the struggle of a young nation and the ideological and social challenges within it. I also wish to acknowledge something that can bring perspective to the teaching profession and at the same time highlight the importance of education in general.

1 The Basic equation and Study Disposition

This initial part will give voice to the local elders of the largest northern tribe, the Acholi. In interviews, these elders give the current situation, their attitudes and opinions of the problems, challenges and the way forward. Knowing their perspective, needs and convictions one can try to analyse how this situation arose and what it takes to meet the future challenges, for the community as a whole and for the education sector. The disposition in the end of this chapter is meant to give the reader an overview over the thesis and its’ chapters.

Culture Loss- and the Future Challenges for the Acholi People

Almost any research or study about Uganda will eventually address the twenty years of armed conflict in the northern region. This struggle has marked every process of development of the society and of individuals. The twenty years of internal population displacement has particularly been disastrous in the up-bringing of children in Northern Uganda. Because the whole community of Acholi people were removed and placed into camps far outside family land and away from their immediate cultural environment, a lot of social and cultural education was suspended all these years. The situation of the abducted children (by the guerrilla movement) and those born in the camps will certainly present a major challenge in terms of normal cultural education. In an interview with a local council three Chairman (LC III) of Bobi IDP Camp in Gulu District the challenge of the youth is clear:

“We regret that they (the children) lost what we learnt. Values are lost! They should be in the village with local settings. Fire place, and get social education as before. In camps, (there is ) no space, therefore it did not take place. (…) I would teach my children about my origin, my father, my grandfather and their work. (…) We have to begin to work hard”\(^3\)

In contemplating the future of the region, the elders first refer to the cause of the conflict. In the beginning, some quarters suggested that the elders sanctioned the rebellion, something that is strongly objected by Chief David Nicola Opoka, a member of Acholi Paramount Council;

\(^2\) For interview methodology please see p. 14. For presentation of the respondents please see p. 20.
\(^3\) Interview with Local Council III Chairman of Bobi camp, Gulu District, 2008-05-31. The interview material is in possession of the author. For Gulu district, please see the map on p. 10.
“No Acholi elder blessed Kony to go to the bush. That is a lie. That is propaganda. Kony is also spoiling Acholi. The war is not only in Acholi, it is in all of Uganda, and it is political. In 1995 and 1999, I went to the bush to talk to Kony. Now I don’t want to go, because they are not talking right. This is pure politics. Museveni is doing politics, Kony is also doing politics. Everybody else is supporting politics. They are simply using that pretext to sustain themselves in positions; fame, but it is full of lies.”

An elder interviewed in Bobi area near Gulu was emphatic on the cause of conflict saying: “Power sharing. Other regions take lion’s share, leaving peanuts for us. I do no longer support Kony. The bad spirit has taken over.”

The view of Paramount Chief of Acholi, David Onen Acana II, is that “The senior commanders of the LRA were probably abducted themselves. We failed to stop them being taken and being turned into what they are today.” Bishop Odama of Gulu Diocese, Northern Uganda, has a broader perspective on the peace path. In his Monitor article the Bishop pleads;

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“The people have always been demanding that they want to live in peace. For all leaders, their mission is to unite people and enable them live in harmony with one another. You cannot lead a divided nation. The biggest challenge is the lack of listening to one another. The lack of openness and readiness to talk to one another over issues. I have always said to the 65 tribes of Uganda: we are one people. Our flag is one(...). But the people in Government should be the first to ensure that we move in the right way. We must have a nation that has a principle of acting according to justice and promotion of peace. This is what a nation should aim at.”

War and displacement is a threat to the social and cultural education, and therefore a threat to the cultural identity of the northern people. The LC III talks about a starting recovery to regain strength. The comment of the Paramount Chief David Nicola Opoka may be political, but also shows the crisis in governance of the state. There is a north and south division in the nation, affecting the quality of life and education for children. The Bobi elder agrees that there is a power struggle keeping the northern population down, and that is has gone too far. The Acholi Paramount Chief gives a community perspective to the northern situation and reflects over the responsibility that the community have towards it’s children. The rebel group, it’s leaders and the atrocities are all examples of how the community failed in their social and

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4 Interview with Chief David Nicola Opoka, a member of Acholi Paramount Council, 2008-05-31. The interview material is in possession of the author. Kony is the leader of Lords resistance army.
5 Interview with local elder of Bobi Camp, 2008-05-31. The interview material is in possession of the author.
7 Odama, “We suffer because of not listening”, The Daily Monitor, 2008-03-09.
cultural education of its children as their community was under pressure. Bishop Odama, in a very neutral way, also recognize the division of Uganda, and call for peace. The history of migration and settlement is there as a fact, but the wish of Odama and others is that there will be a way to overcome the challenges of this young nation and still let the cultural institutions play their significant part in the upbringing of their children.

Study Disposition
From the quotations above we are able to circle some, for the study, crucial areas. The first area of importance is the historical and political background that can indicate the root of the current situation. Part II will therefore offer a contextual background dealing with the history from migration and settlement to the source of the current conflict. This chapter will then be wrapped up with a summary. A second chapter on the contextual background will discuss the history of cultural and academic education in Uganda and give an understanding of social components of the up-bringing of children and then the formation of the academic education sector. A summary of this chapter will end part II.

When the broader contextual background is given, it is now possible to penetrate the specifics of the Northern region more effectively. In part III the circumstances that are significant for the North will be addressed, starting with the displacement that has affected the majority of the northern population. The findings of questionnaires will be discussed here and the chapter will be concluded with a preliminary analysis. The next focus will be the trauma, rehabilitation and reintegration that is a reality in present day Northern Uganda. This chapter will start with a case study of a rehabilitation centre and a councillor that works there, then two cases will be used to exemplify trauma and the way back to regular life for formerly abducted children. A preliminary analysis will conclude this chapter. The last chapter of part III will address formal/academic education in the North, and discuss the circumstances and challenges both in a transitional school for returnees and a regular primary school. This chapter will also be ending with a preliminary analysis.

The summaries and the preliminary analysis along the text will at last be stitched together in a concluding discussion in part IV.

But before we take part of the empirical material of this study, let us set the framework and conditions for it first. In the concluding section of Part I will declare the research questions, limitations, previous research and methodology used for the study.
2 Problem Description, Limitations and Tools of Analysis

The overall purpose of this study is to analyse the challenges, its causes and effects, in the education policies and implementation, with special focus on the North. In order to do so there is a need to describe the socio-political background of the current situation in Uganda, and in particular the northern region. The development of Uganda as a country is important to contrast with the northern region and its special circumstances, which is done throughout the thesis. It has been necessary to emphasise both social (cultural) and formal (academic) education in order to get a complete picture of the distortion and challenges in the education policies and its implementation as well as challenges in the overall development of the country.

Applying aspects of gender and ethnicity will be of importance in each part of the process, although it is not the main focus of my thesis.

In this theses I will focus on the following questions:

1) In what way has the history of Uganda shaped the social and formal education of today?
2) What are the significant circumstances for children and youth in contemporary northern Uganda?
3) Which are the challenges in social and formal education in Uganda, and particularly in the northern region?

The first question will be discussed in part II, the second question in part III, and the third will be discussed continuously throughout the study as it is the overall emphasis of this thesis.

The geographical limitation for the physical study is the Gulu and Lira district in Northern Uganda. This is where the study was conducted. However, the other northern districts faces similar challenges and will therefore be fairly represented by the data collected in these two districts.\(^8\)

The focus is on primary education, as it is a part of the UPE\(^9\), a fundamental right of the child according to the constitution of Uganda and the Convention on the rights of the child (1989).\(^10\) The secondary education is effected in similar ways, but there is not yet a

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\(^8\) Please see the Map of Uganda on p.7.
\(^9\) UPE, *Universal Primary Education*.
constitutional guarantee for Ugandans to receive secondary education, even if such is suggested in parliament.

A natural limitation of the targeted group would be those of the age 18 years and below. However, I have decided not to make such limitation, because of the nature of the conflict. Many children spend many years with the rebels, and may be older than 18 by the time they escape. Furthermore, the Ugandan educational system is not based on age but on performance, and some of the pupils in primary schools are above 18 years of age and some are even unsure of their date of birth. I choose to limit my study to primary education, but not to be restricted when it comes to age.

When starting the research for this study I constantly came across the term *Child soldier*. At first I applied the term to my own study, only to find out that it was difficult to find a suitable definition to the term. This term sometimes exclude the girls who do not necessarily participate in direct combat, but still are used as wives, or the small children used as carriers for supplies, or the children born in captivity. Also the children who are not abducted or kept with the rebels, suffer from war related trauma and a dysfunctional society due to the conflict. I therefore chose to use the term *war affected children* as a broader definition of the group targeted in the study.

In my opinion it is both easy and uncreative to theorise about the sceneries in Northern Uganda. This young nation is yet far from what most people would recognize as a democratic or developed nation. This study is not an attempt to compare Uganda’s educational challenge with an utopia, but to try to see the possibilities of development in the educational system and in Uganda as a nation. However, what is essential in development is for a government to guarantee the rights of its’ citizens, and foremost its’ children. The United Nations convention of the rights of the child\textsuperscript{11} is not only a fundamental universal goal, but also a tangible obligation which the Uganda government is signatory to, and has ratified.\textsuperscript{12}

In this convention a child is a person of 18 years of age and below. To some of my respondents, this convention is no longer applicable, as they are above 18 years. But their experiences are examples stated of the consequences of a childhood without these fundamental rights guaranteed. With article 28, the right to education, as a starting point, the other articles are crucial in order to achieve this article alone.

\textsuperscript{12} Uganda Ministry of Gender and Social Development, publication, Kampala 2006, p. 6.
The UN Convention of the Rights of the Child- for the study relevant articles:  

Art. 19 Right to protection of the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury, abuse or neglect.

Art. 24 Right of access to health care

Art. 28 Right to education

Art. 33 Right to protection from the illicit use of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.

Art. 34 Right to protection from sexual exploitation/ sexual abuse.

Art. 35 Right to the prevention of abduction, safe and trafficking in children

Art. 38 Respect of rules of international humanitarian laws applicable to states in armed conflicts, which are relevant to the child. This article also refers to ensuring that persons who have not attained the age of fifteen years do not take direct part in hostilities.

Art. 39 All parties shall take all appropriate measures to promote physical, psychological recovery, social reintegration of a child victim of any form of neglect, armed conflict.

These relevant articles in the convention will, as a vision set by Ugandans, work as a measurement of progress and success in the analysis of this study.

Map of Uganda¹⁴
3 Literature Review

The key words for this research are *Uganda, education, challenges, war affected children.* These words, and fields, are separate subjects well researched and theoretically used. For this thesis the linkage between them is the focus and the perhaps even the conclusion. But as for the literature overview, publications of relevance on the particular area of education in Uganda, and northern Uganda, are reviewed below.

**History and Development of Education in Uganda**¹⁵

Ssekamwa’s book on the development of education in Uganda is the only one of its’ kind. The book gives a deep insight in the different actors and their roles in the development of the education sector in the country. The author has covered every education policy change in the history of this young nation up to today. That means that he also included the Universal Primary Education Policy from the present government.

The book gives a good background of the education sector of Uganda, and how it has been affected by the different actors, such as the religious missionaries. By understanding the history of education in this young nation, one gets a very good idea of the potential and real problems of today. The author does not consider ethnicity as a component in a broader analysis. It doesn’t have an ambition to look at the northern region as a particular case and an exception from rule in terms of the education practices in Uganda today.

**Education for All in the Conflict Zones of Northern Uganda**¹⁶

In defining or unpacking the trauma of northern Uganda, Martha Bragin, an American researcher made a solid attempt in 2004. In her research *Education for all in the conflict zones of northern Uganda- Opportunities, challenges and a way forward,* she is breaking the trauma into physical discomfort, fear, great sorrow or un-mourned losses, hopelessness, exposure to extreme violence, participation in murder and atrocities, sexual abuse and multiple pregnancies.¹⁷ All or some of these circumstances have been the reality for the people of the conflict zones in the north for the past 20 years.¹⁸

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¹⁷ Bragin, p. 10-11.
Martha Bragin also describes how a child’s cognitive and affectionate development can be distorted due to traumatic events. She states that witnessing and participating in violent events, affects all people but that it affects children differently depending on age and stage of development. She means that constant exposure to violent events, continually stimulates their own aggression, and they will become excited by the event and feel aggressive themselves. The anger will make the child unable to settle down.¹⁹

These fears and preoccupations will according to Bragin affect children’s ability to concentrate, participate and learn in class. When this mental situation is combined with personal and family problems connected to poverty and displacement, it will be an overwhelming task for the child to put his or her mind on academic work. The bare attempt to calm down and master the aggression takes a lot of mental space and energy. And trying not to think about the bad things, often makes it hard for the child to think about anything at all.²⁰

This should then mean that when events that are violent or unnatural occur, the child finds it difficult to make use of it. It makes it hard to think in general. Bragin makes the conclusion that this makes it hard for teachers to teach and for students to learn. Therefore violence will have a great impact on grades, results and school performances of those over-exposed to it and so the impact on creative thinking and reflective functions in a child. This can make a child frustrated with their own inability to comprehend and understand. Bragin’s observations suggest that children tend to fall back and react as per the violent experiences when they fail to develop another thought, and a crowded class where they feel excluded from the learning session will make them feel stupid and simply give up their attempt to learn.²¹

Millennium Development Goals – Uganda’s Progress Report 2007²²

This report, released by UNDP in 2008, gives the latest data on Uganda’s progress in the struggle to fulfil the UN Millennium Goals. Sector by sector the report deals with the different goals set and then the current situation on the ground. In this report both challenges and potentials are given. In this study, the whole report as such is of great interest, but the parts used for contrasting my findings are the chapters concerning Universal Primary Education and Internally Displaced People (IDP’s). UPE is covered as a goal on it’s own, while IDP’s are discussed as a challenge in the goal of poverty reduction. As UN is an authority on the field of Human Rights and it’s challenges, I find this report neutral and quite broad.

¹⁹ Bragin, p. 11.
²⁰ Bragin, p. 12.
²¹ Bragin, p. 12
4 Research Methodology

A method is a procedure, a technique, a way of doing something. Fieldwork is a way of doing something. This is stated by Harry F. Wolcott in his book *The art of fieldwork*. Fieldwork includes several standard techniques, such as participant and non participant observations, questionnaires and interviews. These methods together with journal keeping are the methods used for this study.

For the contextual background most of the material was available in literature and articles, and the method used for this part was mainly a literature study. The social and cultural upbringing and education was however not available in publications, and I found thematic interviews with an elder to be the best method for this section. I have used questionnaires for a broader picture of the IDP situation, and interviews for a more subjective example of the realities of individual children at the rehabilitation centre. In order to build trust in that vulnerable situation with formerly abducted children I chose to conduct participant observations at the rehabilitation centre. For the transitional school, where the focus was on the classroom management and the bigger picture rather than the individuals in the classes, I conducted non participant observations. Dealing with the regular schools, an interview with a teacher gave me facts about the management of the school as well as the challenges of this profession in the area. The interesting contrast between the local cultural leaders’ concerns and the reality of the affected children and youth is best witnessed through interviews with cultural leaders, such as the Rwot.

**Interviews**

The qualitative research interview is often called “unstructured”. According to Steinar Kvale, most of these interviews demand the researcher to make analytical decisions during the interview process, and he/she must also adopt very well to the particular situation. Very few analysis structures can be made prior to the qualitative interview. It is therefore important for the researcher to know the subject well and remain flexible in the situation. This I have tried to consider. As Kvale recommends in his book *Den kvalitativa forskningsintervjun* I have tried to remain focused, clear and at the same time to be very sensitive to the mood of the respondent.

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24 Rwot means clan leader. In this case the person is also a member of the Acholi council.
I have performed a number of in-depth individual interviews, of which nine will be presented in the study in one way or another, (please see the presentation on p.20). These interviews were semi-structured, and three interviews were recorded in full and transcribed. The interviews that were not recorded on tape, in respect to the wish of the respondent, were recorded in writing and summarized. Direct quotations will only be made from those interviews recorded on tape. All respondents could chose to stay anonymous if they wished. In those cases there will be a fictive name given.

In the interviews held with Rwot and with the girl referred to as Lucy, there was a need of an interpreter, so I used a female interpreter in the interview held with Lucy, and a male interpreter for the interview with Rwot. The fact that these were not professional interpreters resulted in some confusion of what was expected of them. They did not translate the exact words that the respondent said, and often summarized their response. I can not quote direct from the interviews that they translated for me. The information given is to be valued as genuine, but not given in exact same words as the respondents gave. The one quotation from the Rwot, was given to me direct, in English, and can therefore be used direct.

One interview was conducted together with a fellow student from Lund. This was recorded and the material was available to me as well. As we conducted some interviews together we were familiar with the other persons thesis and area of research, and the respondents always gave their permission for us to share the information during and after an interview.

In situations when conducting an interview it stood clear that most respondents expected to be paid for the time spent answering questions. I made a decision not to offer my respondents money. However, in some situations where I wanted to make a personal contribution, I did so on a different occasion, and not as a payment for the interview.

The chapter Cultural and social education is based on a series of thematic conversations with a local (Lira) elder, Mr Opio, familiar with the cultural aspects of upbringing in Uganda. These conversations were guided by thematic subjects and not specific questions. The respondent talked freely around a given theme, and then there were questions asked based on that information. These questions were thereby not prepared or structured in advance. The summery was made after each theme, and reconfirmed by the informant.

27 Kvale, p. 13. For an example of an interview sheet used, please see appendix A. The recorded interview material were destroyed soon after being transcribed, on request of the respondents. The interview material is n possession of the author.
Questionnaires

Runa Patel and Bo Davidsson, in their book “*Forskningsmetodikens grunder*”, discuss the variety of questionnaires and suggests that their structure is modified after the nature of the research. The questionnaires in this study were given individually in three parallel groups as the respondents were directed in Lwo (their local language). The questions given at the questionnaires were semi-structured, open questions where the respondent could choose to stay anonymous. A field assistant had arranged these three groups of respondents as I arrived in Bobi camp outside Gulu town where the questionnaires were conducted.

Each respondent group contained five people who shared either that they were still living in the camp, that they had resettled in their home villages, or that they never moved but received the camp in their home area. A second field assistant helped to fill the questionnaires which were in English as the respondents answered in Lwo. This of course leaves a risk of complications in the translation, and an impossibility for me to control the authenticity of the answers. However I am of the impression that the questionnaires were conducted in good faith and for the respondents, in a good atmosphere, without misunderstandings or misinterpretation. As the questionnaires were conducted, there was a relative peace in the area, and there seemed to be no threat against the respondents to answer as they wished. For the complete tables with the overview of findings please see appendix C-E, as I, in the text only present a summary of the findings. The final analysis of the questionnaires is of a qualitative nature.

Observations

When gathering information concerning behaviour and course of events, observation is a key technique. This technique gave me the opportunity to study behaviour and events as they occurred on the ground. This was crucial for identifying the special needs of the children at Laroo and GUSCO. However I used different observation techniques for these two places due to the circumstances, which will be presented in the following chapters.

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28 Patel, Runa, Davidsson, Bo, *Forskningsmetodikens grunder ,att planera, genomföra och rapportera en undersökning*, tredje upplagan, Lund 2003, p. 69
29 Patel, Davidsson, p. 69,72. For an example of the questionnaires given, please see appendix B.
30 Kvale, p. 68.
31 Patel, Davidsson, p. 87.
Participant Observations at GUSCO

The material from GUSCO mainly consists of journals and observations (except for one interview with a social worker). These observations conducted at the centre were not structured in advance. I did not look for certain behaviour according to a schedule. The observations were unstructured participant observations.

I took part in the everyday life at the centre. This of course affected my observations. The positive sides to participant observations are the fact that the researcher is exposed to situations, people and information that he or she would not be exposed to as a stranger to the group. This positive aspects can also become the downfall of the method, as the researcher might fail to do some observations due to a too familiar observation scene. There is also an emotional aspect of participant observation. When establishing a relationship with a person or a group, this relationship and the feelings related to it might colour the observation. I am aware of the risks of participating at the centre, however the character of this thesis favours a broader tone, and my participation at the centre will not affect the overall result of my findings. As I participated in the daily life, I kept notes as I observed. These notes did not cover every move and event in the group or at the centre, as that would have been impossible to achieve. The notes were later organized and summarized. At all time I conducted the observations from two questions; What were the behaviour of the children, and what does their behaviour tell me about their needs. It should be stated that I didn’t conduct observations every time I visited the centre.

The observations conducted at GUSCO are somewhat narrow, because of the small number of children attending at the time of my stay. This also affects the representation of this study. The study doesn’t aim to present more than an example of behaviour and needs. This study cannot be viewed as representative. The observations made at the centre are however deep due to the amount of time spent on the ground, and also due to the close relationship with children and staff, and the trust that was built over time.

Non Participant Observations at Laroo

The observations made at Laroo Boarding School for War Affected Children (SOWAC) was structured and non participant observations. I had scheduled observations at this school at three different occasions. I conducted the observations on the basis of following questions;

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32 Patel, Davidsson, p. 89.
33 Patel, Davidsson, p. 95.
34 Patel, Davidsson p. 95.
What are the activities in the classroom, and what is the behaviour of the pupils. The pupils at Laroo were informed in advance that I was about to visit, and why. The leading questions of my observation were not shared with the pupils.

During the observation I tried to document as much activity as possible in the room, as they occurred. These observations was later summarized as I looked specifically for material concerning the two questions presented above.

The observations were carried out on the sixth, eighth and eleventh of December 2006, all at the first class given at 08.30 in the morning. Each lesson lasted for approximately thirty minutes. The first observation was carried out during an English class. The second observation was carried out in a different class of social studies. The last observation made at Laroo was during a session in mathematics.

I observed and took notes of the activities in the room, and the behaviour of the children as they occurred. After each observation, I had a short chat about the class given (not a recorded interview) with the teacher in charge. Notes were taken during all three occasions. The conversations afterwards were all based on the observations made on the ground. The three teachers were very different in character and personality, which of course is reflected in their work, and perhaps in my study. It should be noticed that the teacher and his personality and training could affect the pupils in the class in different ways, and that the needs of the children might have been more visible during some classes than others, due to those factors.

Again, the study doesn’t aim to present more than an example of behaviour and needs. This study cannot be viewed as representative, but will indicate challenges and perhaps their causes and effects.

Journals

Another method used in this study was journal keeping. A distinction can be made between journal writing that is sporadic and without a specific focus, and the more organized journal keeping. The sporadic journal was written for my own use, often to résumé the day, the activities, and the experiences of a particular meeting. Because of the purpose of these notes (for memory and personal use) their nature is not scientific. However it gives a unique opportunity for me to go back and remember different situations and environments, which gives body and perspective in the writing process of this report. These sporadic notes were taken to document environments, moods and circumstances, often a complement to the other

35Patel, Runa, Davidsson p. 63.
methods. This gives me the opportunity to enrich the academic framework with some observations often connected to social, emotional or psychological settings and environments. It has put some colour mainly to the analysis.

The more organized journals were kept as a consistent element in situations where I in advance knew that it required notes and when I had a structure already set for the situation. This method was mainly used in situations where I had a conversation with members of the staff at GUSCO or Laroo, or when I visited a refugee camp. In some situations, however scheduled, one will find it inappropriate or impossible to carry out a proper interview or observation. Then this type of notes offered an alternative. In this study I used both types of journal keeping, but despite their difference in character they should be considered as private documents.36

Ethical Considerations
Due to the character of this fieldwork, and the sensitive thesis, there are many additional ethical considerations. Before engaging in the study I sought permission from relevant Ugandan authorities and from the respondents. However, due to the current situation in Uganda, it is not always obvious where to seek permission.37 This study has it’s focus on primary education, which most often includes children below 18 years of age. To interview a child one needs permission from a parent or a guardian. In the case of Northern Uganda today, this is a delicate question as many children are separated from the parents and perhaps in care of an institution or totally without guardian.

I held only one interviews with a child under the age of 18 years, the interview with “Dennis”. The centre, as his guardian, gave their permission based on “Dennis” own approval. Dennis himself was keen on telling his story. With this exception, those younger than 18 were only participants on the observation scene, to save them from any further exposure. The observations with underage children were always approved by their guardian. The anonymity was guaranteed to each respondent,38 and it was important to assure that the respondent felt comfortable with the situation and the questions. A respondent will only be referred to by the real name when approval was given. The respondent will also be offered to read the study.

36 ibid.
37 Kvale, p. 107
38 Kvale, p. 109.
When interpreter was used, I tried to consider the respondents sex and age, not to let a male interpreter translate for a girl and the other way around. Prior to all interviews I introduced myself, my field of research and in general what kind of questions I would present.

The consequences for the respondents should never shadow the potential benefits, and the importance of the study.\textsuperscript{39} In a study of this kind, in a conflict zone, with sometimes traumatized people, it is very difficult be sure of both the consequences and the impact of your presence. There are times when questions will not be appreciated. A population which has been studied and theorized about for many years in their struggle for survival, will at some point object and demand their peace and dignity in restoring their lives. Most of the time, I felt welcome in Northern Uganda, but there were occasions when I was embarrassed by my position of yet another researcher, with very little impact on the ground.

Though the study is not representative, and only aims to present an example of behaviours, needs and challenges, the analysis is broad enough to pinpoint the mainstream challenges exemplified.

\textsuperscript{39} Kvale, p. 110.
Presentation of the Respondents and Observation Sceneries

(In order of appearance)

Jim Carmichael Opio
Lira based consultant in mass communication and development. Mr Opio gave thematic conversations on social and cultural upbringing of the Ugandan child at several occasions in May 2008.

GUSCO Gulu Save the Children Organization
Reception centre in Gulu town for formally abducted children. Observations were carried out here over a period of three months November-December 2006, July 2007.

GUSCO Social worker “Anthony”
Social worker by profession. Staff at GUSCO. Mr “Anthony” gave an interview on war related trauma in 2006-11-11.

“Dennis”
16 year old boy rehabilitated at GUSCO reception centre. First at the centre, and later reintegrated with his family. “Dennis” participated in interviews regarding rehabilitation and integration during November-December 2006, July-August 2007.

“Lucy”
19 year old girl rehabilitated at GUSCO. “Lucy” gave an interview on rehabilitation and reintegration in 2006-12-10.

Laroo SOWAC school
School of War Affected Children in Laroo, Gulu District. A school offering special education for those affected by war related trauma. Observations carried out here at three occasions, on 2006-12-06, 2006-12-08, 2006-12-11.

Laroo deputy teacher Onen Richard
Secondary school teacher trained in special needs. Responsible for the activities arranged for me at Laroo Boarding School, and respondent in an interview about special needs education at Laroo in 2006-11-28, 2006-12-06.

Bobi Camp, Outside Gulu
Internally displaced peoples camp. Questionnaires carried out discussing living conditions in the camp, at one occasion in 2008-05-31.

Bobi primary school teacher Mrs Okela-Kwo Mary Grace

Bobi LC III Chairman and Elder
Local Council III chairman in Bobi was responsible for the set up of the questionnaire groups. Interviewed together with local elder on the matter of the future of Acholi people. 2008-05-31.

David Nicola Apoka, Chief of Omoro clan, member of Acholi Paramount Council.
Part II – Contextual Background

5 Historical and Political Background

In this second part I will address the historical and political background in order to give a necessary context and understanding for the influences since migration throughout history and the cultural inheritance. The migration and settlement chapter will show the ethnical undertones of Uganda, something that plays a major part in politics, economics, culture and ultimate in the lives of children in present Uganda. Religions and colonial powers has formed the minds and policies of this country since the early 18th century. These aspects as well as the political development and the current conflict will be briefly discussed to enable a complete analysis of the challenges of education in present Northern Uganda.

Migration and Settlements

The present day Uganda as a country, and as a nation, is a product of the area’s local internal settlement and interaction with external forces over the last six centuries. The settlements in the area occurred in phases during early 15th century. Communities came from two main directions: from the north following the river Nile basin and from the west from Cameroon through present-day Democratic Republic of Congo.

A community of Nilo-Harmites forming a variety of ethnic linguistic groups later referred to as River-lake, Highland and Plains Nilotes started migratory movements around 1520 and continued until 1770. These migrants moved down south from Ethiopian mountain foothills and the low lands of present day South Sudan.40

The present day Uganda has some 25 tribes, basically divided up linguistically into four groups: The Bantu occupying Lake Victoria basin; the Banganda and Basoga, with splinter groups; the Bagisu, settled around Mount Elgon, and the Bakenyi, Bagwere and Baluli working the southern shores of Lake Kyoga for peasant living. The pastoralist Hermits, whose ancestors were the Ethiopian highland Hermits who migrated south into south western Uganda, are today; Banyankore, Banyoro, Batoro, and the splinter group, the Bakiga , all located on the southern tip of Uganda. The Nilotics, the Luos; the Acholi and the Langi, who trace their origin to the Lake and River Nile basin Hermits in southern Sudan, are now occupying mid-north and northern Uganda neighbouring the Sudanic splinter tribes in the North West region of West Nile. And finally, the Plains Hermits families of Karimojongs

and Itesos, whose ancestors migrated as one people from Ethiopian lowlands areas centuries ago, now occupying East and North Eastern Uganda.41

These four groups have as they entered the area fought over land and resources. But they have also interacted in peaceful activities and therefore integrated through cross tribal marriages. Today these groups are therefore linked and have some aspects of relation.

Religion and The Natives

By early 18th century, Buganda kingdom42 had emerged as the strongest monarchy with well-organized political, administrative and economic systems. But this position of Buganda kingdom quickly attracted external forces. Arabs came first, in 1844. Encouraged by Kabaka Mutessa I, so that his people would acquire new ideas so as to be able to deal with foreigners who were coming to his country. He also, through Henry Morton Stanley, asked the British Queen Victoria to send British teachers to his Kingdom. The first batch of British Protestant missionary teachers arrived in Buganda in 1877. Soon afterwards, in 1879, these were followed by French Catholic Missionaries who belonged to the White Fathers Society. Muteesa welcomed them all warmly.43

So, by 1879 there were three groups of foreigners in Buganda. Each group had a new way of worshipping God. The different religious beliefs confused the people and caused conflicts among followers. The native people developed divided loyalties to Islam, Protestantism and Catholicism and also sustained arguments and hatred among themselves.

Kabaka’s rule that had started off with warm reception of foreign religious groups into the Kingdom, ended with a new chapter of power rivalry between the kingdom and religious factions that eventually lead to colonization of the territory.

The religious wars that followed in the second half of the1880’s got the protestants into control of Buganda Kingdom. In 1892, the Catholics were defeated by the Protestants. The Catholics were finally locked out from all the administrative positions in the Kingdom got the protestants into control of the Buganda Kingdom. In this way, the long struggle for power between different religions finally culminated into a de facto situation where the Buganda Kingdom officials would, from then onwards, always going to be mainly Protestants.44

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41 Pazzaglia, p. 33-37.
42 Buganda is the oldest Kingdom of present day Uganda, and gave the country its’ name.
43 Ssekamwa, p.25-36.
44 Ssekamwa, p.25-36.
Colonial Power Establishment

The British first made an agreement with Buganda in 1900. This agreement defined Buganda as part of Uganda. The powers of the Kabaka were defined and he became an employee of the British colonial power because they gave him a salary. His chiefs were given chunks of land and the ordinary subjects suddenly became squatters on their ancestral land. After this agreement, the British then used Buganda to conquer other kingdom areas.

After installation of native governments in kingdom areas, the British colonial authority simply conquered and stitched the remaining areas into districts and appointed colonial district commissioners to oversee their administration.45

The remaining areas of the then emerging Uganda were left to practice clan communal land ownership and use. But the struggle for land and the different land use practices, broke Uganda into two; the North and South. The North was a labour reserve. Their sons and daughters began to dominate the colonial forces, the King African Rifles, the Uganda Police and Uganda Prison service. In the south and, especially Buganda, the Eastern region and to some extent the Western region were high value cash crop growing areas, where roads, schools and hospitals were built to facilitate cash crop movement. The North was largely underdeveloped. The economic imbalances was bound to have impact in the future political development of Uganda.46

From 1945 to 1949 there were serious disturbances in Buganda. This was a result of the marginalization of people in the sharing of power and resources. Although Catholics and Moslems kept a low profile during the beginning of colonial period, they were bitter about being excluded from power positions despite their education, and finally came to enter the political stage, where all the political parties were based on ethnicity and religion.47

So, by the close of the colonial era, Uganda had a recipe for future problems as a result of four different ethnic, linguistic groups, entrenched dominance of one religion over the others, an economic arrangement that favoured the south and undermined the North, the Southern Kingdoms always seeking separation from the larger Uganda, and governance culture premised on military force.

46 Ibingira, p. 22.
47 Ibingira, p. 25.
Basic Survival Struggles of Tribes in a Young Nation

So here emerges key players and issues always providing the dynamics of the “realpolitik” of Uganda. The issues are: the struggle for power and acquisition of resources, mainly land. In a fast growing population everybody is living in a hurry, trying to get a piece of land. In 1969, Uganda population was around 9 million. It is now fast approaching 30 million. The internal wrangles for land have now started.

Since its independence in 1962, there has been a constant struggle for power in Uganda. The first two presidents; Apollo Milton Obote and Idi Amin, both from Northern Uganda were only keen to access power and to offer members of their tribes access to resources in the south. The long lasting power control by the Lake River-Nilotes triggered the formation of the Baganda alliance with a group of fighters led by Yoweri Museveni. These formed a guerrilla, a fighting force, the National Resistance Army which entered the bushes in Buganda region and started a military campaign in 1981 to oust the descendants of the Lake-River Nilotes from power.

Because of the massive Baganda population support, the rebel army outfit - the National Resistance Army, quickly dispatched off General Tito’s junta from office, removing for the first the time the northern military and political power presence in Uganda. Yoweri Museveni, took the presidency in 1986, and has been firm on his post ever since.

The Source of the Current Conflict

When National Resistance Army, the NRA, overthrew the government of General Tito Okello in early 1986, the forces quickly got involved in Acholi civilian atrocities and rough handling of Acholi civilians. Acholi had to respond. First came fighters led by self proclaimed priestess, Alice Lakwena who lost out in her war against the government and ran into exile in Kenya. Young Acholi men and some former soldiers immediately formed themselves into a new anti-government armed rebel group, The Uganda Peoples Defence Army, precursor to the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA).

This new group, LRA, soon killed civilians in Atiak area of Gulu as a warning of the rebel leader, Joseph Kony, who wanted to punish the Acholi people for refusing to support them. It

was a revenge on this community because it had resisted recruitment of their children into the rebel ranks.\textsuperscript{51}

From early 1990’s, the conflict then took a more intensive protracted war path between the government forces and this rebel group, and has caused a lot of resentment against the army and the government.

But this scorched earth military action, which President Museveni himself declared was intended to bottle up the Acholi, did not break the back of the Lords Resistance Army of Joseph Kony, who claims he knows well why he is squaring up Museveni and his government.\textsuperscript{52}

The National Resistance Army changed it name to Uganda People’s Defence Force (UPDF), and Government then set up a peace negotiation program with the rebels, but it finally failed and the army returned into field action.

The war started to puzzle observers who began asking one question: How can a rag-tag ill-trained and ill-equipped group persist? But it soon became clear that there was a second enemy; corruption in the army. The rumours of serious corruption within the army in the northern conflict zone has recently been confirmed by the arrest of the then top commanding officer in the north. So the scenario was, as UPDF commanders enriched themselves, the rebels, with backing from Khartoum, were given almost free rein to terrorize people of Northern Uganda.\textsuperscript{53}

The government later on enacted a law branding the rebels as terrorists and went ahead to invite the International Criminal Court, (ICC), to issue warrants of arrest of rebel commanders on charges for war crimes against humanity. A low intensity conflict with deep tribal roots had dragged on since 1987 with some of the worst horrors in recent history.

The latest attempt to find a peace agreement in northern Uganda, \textit{The Juba Peace Talks}, was in reality more a medium for cessation of the bush war that kept the conflict alive. The Talks, therefore, could only do three things; For the first time, It gave the rebels a platform to air their grievances through an organised political real issue presentations. Also for the first time, it allowed Northern and North-Eastern parts of Uganda to experience some resemblance of peace as a result of cessation of hostilities agreement, the only item signed. This agreement was the only tangible action that brought some bit of the much-needed peace to about 2 million people who have lived in camps for 20 years. For the first time, Juba talks made the

\textsuperscript{51} Mutaizibwa, Emma, ”Uganda's weak Parliament rooted in its post-independence history”, \textit{The Daily Monitor} 2006-08-30

\textsuperscript{52} Otunnu, Olara A, “SOS Northern Uganda: Profile of a genocide”, \textit{The Daily Monitor} 2006-01-09.

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{The Daily Monitor}, 2008-01-20, p. 8-9.
reluctant Uganda Government talk about wanting peace talking which is what Ugandans have been calling for in the last twenty years. But the talks became riddled with suspicion as Uganda Government plugged money inside the rebel ranks and got them killing themselves. Surviving LRA leaders dragged their feet on signing a peace agreement paper rejecting articles proposing threats to apply local and ICC court actions on them afterwards.\textsuperscript{54}

So, Uganda which had pursued a military strategy all along had openly argued it had simply suspended it to give peace a try. The rebels on the other hand had clearly used the period to re-organize. So, Joseph Kony and his enemy Yoweri Museveni, Juba was an extension of military-political strategy. But the media also missed key issues. They had focused more on the talking in Juba and less on the military problem at the core of the talks.\textsuperscript{55}

Summary – Historical and Political Background

There are four major ethnic groups who throughout Ugandan history have fought over land and resources. These ethnic differences have been strengthen and used on and off for political strategies of divide and rule.

By 1879 there were another dimension of identity, the religious identity, brought by the missionary groups. Three groups of foreigners, Catholics, Protestants and Muslims, each group with a new way of worshipping God. The different religious beliefs confused the people and caused conflicts among followers and the native people developed divided loyalties to these groups and sustained arguments and hatred among themselves.

The colonial era entrenched dominance of one religion over the others, an economic arrangement that favoured the south and undermined the North. This larger struggle for power and resources between the North and South will certainly remain in the politics of Uganda. The present circumstances also seem not to address escalated economic and political disparities among tribes and regions. The armed conflict in the north has ultimately made it impossible for the people of this region to benefit from any of the constitutional rights, among those, the right to education.

The impact of all these factors has brought on a challenge for Uganda as a state to, not only find a common identity as such, but also to find a common national aim for education policies. The lack of such national goals will have a negative effect on the education as a totality.

\textsuperscript{54} Ojul, Martin, “Why the LRA don’t trust Machar”, The Daily Monitor, 2007-03-17.
6 Social/Cultural and Academic Education in Uganda

In this section I will address the two different types of education or training, namely the informal education such as social and cultural education, and the formal education as in the Anglo-Saxon education system brought on by the British. A combination of these two types of education is needed for a successful upbringing of young Ugandans. In the following chapters I will briefly give a picture of the two, and their influences on the lives of Ugandan children today. The information on cultural and social education was given in thematic conversations with respondent Mr Opio during two occasions in May 2008.

Cultural and Social Education among Northern Ugandan Tribes

According to Mr Opio, a holistic education is what creates a civilization. It is an education that sets ideology and philosophy for meaning in life. So, total education is a social cultural activity. The academic program is simply training. Total education starts with focus on a child, its early social growth and development. Cultural, social education is therefore paramount here.

The respondent argues that in all societies, there are social capital institutions that work together to provide social education to a child. In the advanced post industrial societies, parents and the state provide programs for the child’s cultural education and academic training. In pre-industrial states, cultural education is the responsibility of the tribe, where grand parents, parents, cousins and the clan all combine to shape the child in their community’s image.

In many parts of Africa, for example, children are put through oral education programs that include grand parents fireplace stories, legendary tales, myths, songs, proverbs. Parents nurse the children into the mother tongue, teach them roles required of them as girls and boys as they grow up. The clan leaders perform the naming rituals and any other rituals related to patterns of life accepted by the clan and by the tribe. The tribe re-emphasizes these roles and duties and oversees their implementation. Any deviation, will attract rebuke and punishment from elders of the tribe. Mr Opio is of the opinion that this socialization program, unlike in western civilization where a child mostly relies on parents and the State for it’s rights to development, focuses more on making a child belong to the community by training the child to take up responsibility for the family, the clan and the tribe.

The following text is based on thematic interviews with Mr Jim Opio, May 2008. The interview material is in possession of the author.
Roles Assigned to Children

Almost all the tribes traditionally tend to favour boys to girls. This essentially fulfils a function of family resource maintenance and inheritance concerns. Traditional fathers have consistently barred girls from inheriting family property, be it land, house or family animals. For these fathers, a girl is supposed to be married away and start a complete new family which will build its own family resources. Today, even the educated fathers, still have problems about a girl being part owner of family assets, leave alone building up her own property in her own right while she is with her parents. Even when she is married and has acquired property there, these parents tend to feel they can have access to her property.

The major factor therefore that determines the methods for raising of children is the roles to which children are assigned by traditional and cultural resource management practices and rules. Boys are directed to what fathers do; hunting skills, grazing family domestic animals, cultivating crops and playing together with fellow boys. The father will soon be telling the boy of his property, the property he will have to inherit.

Among the Luo Communities in Northern and Eastern Uganda, boys are also important in terms of family property and power inheritance. An Acholi boy will be helped to learn instruments of traditional music. The Acholi have elaborate music playing and dancing. Its common to see little boys and girls dressed in traditional costumes and performing Larakaraka, Acholi traditional music exclusively played and danced by the youth. The boys decorated with feathers on their hairs and beads around their necks, while the girls dressed in colourful skirts and lots of beads around their waists and around the arms will vigorously get involved in their tunes.

The boys will do a lot of farm work. Grand fathers and fathers are quite keen on proper development of boys as property inheritors as well as future bread winners for their parents and cousins. The Acholi girl child, as we have seen earlier, is close to the mother where she is taught hands-on household activities. She will be taught by grand parents and aunties to behave well as a future woman. Codes of good dressing acceptable to the family and tribe will be enforced by the mother and grand mothers. She will have a right to identify apayi mere, her boy friend, but must report about him to the mother as soon as possible before she elopes porro, with him, to experience wife-husband relation. This varying Ugandan traditional family unit formation form the basis upon which each tribe provides social/cultural education to its children.

57 The following text is based on thematic interviews with Mr Jim Opio, May 2008. The interview material is in possession of the author.
The Elders’ Place

Elders are clan members highly respected by Ugandan tribes. They form the essential social capital institution that provides cultural and social education; points of constant reference in matters of traditional justice whenever families or clan members are seeking redress for any problem. Because they hold wisdom and traditional authority in matters of the whole clan and tribe, elders will always gather regularly to monitor their communities’ conduct in upholding the traditional values and culture of the tribe.

In the Luo group, elders are quite central in the work of the Paramount chiefs. The Acholi have had a long history of power revolving around clan chiefs. These clan leaders struggled among themselves until the Payira clan of Attiak emerged victor. For two thousand years now, the Payira continue to produce Rwot for the Acholi people. But the Rwot powers are defused and leaders only seek his advise in matters that concern the Acholi people as a tribe. Otherwise each clan operates autonomously in dealing with its members.

The Acholis are culturally quite pragmatic in terms of survival as a group: in war and in peace making methods. Elders will set the strategy for war and rituals to appease the dead and to reconcile the victors and losers. An elaborate peacemaking ritual referred to as Mato-put, have been used for centuries for settling clan and inter-clan conflicts. The Elders are quite central in planning and execution of this peace ritual. Sacred sites will be located where the warring parties will be brought before the elders who will conduct interrogations. They will get the parties involved in the conflict to perform Mato-put rituals as a means of cleansing and reconciliation. Today, the elders’ authority is facing challenges as a new mode of production where individual success is worshipped is taking shape and the community collective effort is no longer part of the economic practice now.

Traditional Lango, another member of Luo group, was originally a segmentary society. They were without any single authority. But they soon developed individual leadership, which later became the key to the Lango political system. Lango developed social and political organization based on clan leader membership determined by the male line of descent.

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58 The following text is based on thematic interviews with Mr Jim Opio, May 2008. The interview material is in possession of the author.
Death Rituals

In many African communities, life and death rituals are inter-related.\textsuperscript{59} The sense of death is felt right at the moment of birth. The giving of a name of a dead member of the clan to a child links the child to his spirit and the value the clan attaches to the ancestor’s soul. Women will sit in groups only, crying and sobbing a lot. This is to emphasize first the great loss they as biological mothers of the community are going through and, second, to make all clan members feel the pain of this loss of their fellow member. In other words, the women are crying for the clan as a whole. All this represents a sense of a disturbing period in the minds of the clan members and the entire community of the tribe affected by the loss of a member. On this day, food and drinks will be made available and guests will talk of the good things that the departed person has done for the clan community.

Introduction to Formal Education in Uganda

An education cannot happen outside the cultural parameters of a given community. The social program as we have seen in Uganda is applied by various local nationalities, tribes. The external spirituality has also shown its potentials and limitations. And the political practices have had impacts. All these have had profound effects on the Ugandan ideology, practice and value of education.

Before looking at the introduction of what is referred to as formal or academic education to Uganda, it would be good to define the term education and its purpose. It suffices to define education as a given community’s effort to part knowledge and skills known and used by a generation and new forms of knowledge to the next generation. The purpose is to retain tested skills and values and add-value to them to meet demands for changing needs of a given community. It is about causing progressive change for better life. A given community will set the ideology and philosophy guiding its education objective and goals.

To do this, government is responsible for providing; education framework (policy), a basis for that education (curriculum), style for delivering that education (methods), the practitioners (teachers), infrastructures (schools) and overseers, (institutional implementers; parents and inspectorates).

How has Uganda developed education objectives then? The Ugandan tribes all had their policy, methods, practice and supervision systems for social education (socialization) of their children. This native informal education was suddenly exposed to academic or formal

\textsuperscript{59} The following text is based on thematic interviews with Mr Jim Opio, May 2008. The interview material is in possession of the author.
education programs introduced by foreigners; the Arab, the British and the French-led missionary groups.

The Schools and Teacher Colleges

The Missionaries, local chiefs and their subjects played a key role in establishing Western formal schools and in financing them. From 1898 they began establishing proper schools. Each mission stations had what was called “Mission School, or Parish school.” Each had a church and small teacher training centre. The settings were intended to be the institutionalised places for teaching local pupils the Bible, reading, writing numeracy, a new approach to basic agriculture and some technical skills. By 1922, missionary schools expanded so much that a variety of schools had sprang up, e. g The “Vernacular schools”, the “Central Schools” and the “High Schools”. For over 100 years, the religious missionary groups continued to construct and expand all these categories of schools and finally spread out in this higher education models. But there was no way these missionary groups could design co-ordinated academic curriculum with clear expected national education goals. It was therefore impossible for these groups to set a co-ordinated education policy vision that should have reflected Uganda cultural values developing in an organic manner. This type of random teaching was bound to produce a crisis of identity for the beneficiaries.60

The Missionaries were again the first to get involved in early establishment of teacher training colleges. So, at one time, the so called pupil-teachers were pupils of the missionaries and at another time they took time off to teach their colleges what they themselves had already mastered. The training of teachers has passed through stages up to the present day. From 1963 though, only holders of the Ordinary level School certificate could train as primary school teachers.

Historically, from the time the Missionaries began producing teachers, Uganda teachers have been held in high esteem from colonial period up to late 1970s. However, over the last 30 years, Ugandan teachers have continued to face problems in terms of steady decline in their incomes, in their quality of life and bad public attitude towards the professional.61

61 Allwar, p.119.
Protectorate Government and Education

The colonial administration which until then showed less involvement, apart from token support to protestant education school programs, was soon to take a curriculum policy directive from the Colonial office; the first education policy for Uganda was being put together by the British Crown government. In its first Uganda Protectorate education policy instruction in 1925, the Colonial Office in London stated that educational use of vernaculars was of primary importance. By the 1927 Education Ordinance the government took responsibility of directing and financing education affairs of the country.

The Third critical education policy position was then made in 1942 meant that government would fund and run government secondary, technical schools and Teacher Training Colleges while local governments were to take responsibility for funding and running primary schools. The third aspect of the new policy was the introduction of Boards of Governors for each school. The purpose of this was to involve parents and the public in the management of schools. These policy positions quickly caused concern to other education management partners.

The missionaries felt that their hold on education was now being invaded by government. The government finally accepted that all dominations would continue their schools separately, and also backed down from including parents in missionary school management boards. This decision was unfortunate because it continued to strengthen religious differences. And also, the local governments, with their narrow tax base, were unable to run primary schools and the burden returned to central government.

The exclusion of the public in school affairs, the problem of lack of funds to invest in education and the failure to provide technical skills to the youth, seemed to be the major challenges in Uganda education policy framework, curriculum development, financing education and management of institutions of education.

The period between 1940-1962 has been referred to as a period during which the British Colonial policies from London were now directed in preparing Ugandans for self-rule responsibilities. The early part of this period was marked by effect of second world war and budgets for protectorate education was reduced and also, the introduction of technical and agricultural education was going through problems of acceptance by the population.

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62 Ssekamwa, p.131
63 Ibid.
64 Ibid.
65 Ssekamwa, p. 136.
The last effort of the Protectorate Government in making unified education system was the Fifth Ordinance, in 1959. The ordinance allowed any child regardless of his or her race and religion to attend any school in Uganda.\(^{66}\)

Post Independence Education Policies and Practices

The sixth Education reform which was the first policy of the new government came in 1963. By this new education structure, many primary schools were then built all over the country, existing secondary schools were enlarged. There was an educational expansion between 1962-1970.

In curriculum development effort, practical subjects such as agriculture, woodwork, metal work, technical drawing and secretarial courses were introduced in some secondary schools. To create an “African Identity” and “African personality”, subjects began to be taught stressing he Ugandan background and situation. This was known as the “Africanization of the curriculum.”\(^{67}\)

By the 1963 Education Act, The Church of Uganda, the Catholic Church, the Uganda Muslim Education Association and the various Asian communities lost control over the schools which they controlled. The government took over and ensured it being in a position to direct education policy and management.

Government had, at last, gained a contract for the development of education, with a view to securing a secular education where it would be able to set a single dominant Ugandan national ideology. The next challenge was the content nature of Education to be provided to meet set national goal for education.\(^{68}\)

Once this new unified education policy position was taken, education implementation programs immediately faced challenges in both the education activities implementation process and the expected education goals. First was the curriculum problem. Both primary and secondary schools continued to prepare pupils and students academically for white-collar jobs. The result then was appearance of many school leavers who had no practical skills in any trade. The government was forced to try an alternative approach and sought to re-introduce a variety of practical subjects like agriculture, crafts and metal work skills on top of academic subjects right from primary through to secondary and tertiary institutions.

\(^{66}\) Ssekamwa, p. 140-141.
\(^{67}\) Ssekamwa, p. 147.
\(^{68}\) Ssekamwa, p. 147-172
Government invited UNESCO to fund this basic education integrated rural development, but the program failed the teaching continued to be and is still today, heavily academic.  

Probably the most enduring program of the first Ugandan government was the Parent Teacher Association. It was an education cost-sharing education program. The history of cost sharing in education is old in Uganda. From the very beginning the missionaries practised cost-sharing in education. The parents offered free land on which schools were built, free labour in constructing schools, gave financial donations for running the schools and also paid school fees for their children. The Parent Teacher Association (PTA), became an organic and prized parent/teacher school management system because it was born out of the enthusiasm and sense of responsibility for proper school development and better education for pupils/students.

But the program began to face challenges when the economy declined midway Amin’s rule. This weakened parents’ financial support to schools. From 1980 to today, the Parent Teacher Association has failed to function and schools are being run by what is now called School Management Committees which consist of less representation and minimum participation of parents.

Even the functional education program of 1960s that had provided sustained adult literacy and functional education to family households also began to have problems due to this economy decline.

The period between 1971 and 1980 experienced several dramatic incidents in the education sector. First of all, many education programs which were going on from 1960s ceased. These programs were being supported by Britain and the United States. But these countries lost faith in the military regime of Idi Amin.

The current government education reform from 1987 is the eighth in the history of Uganda’s policy position, and includes the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Policy and the program implementation in primary schools.

But key Challenges in the implementation of this recommendation still stand. The Universal Primary Education was initiated by the Government of Uganda, with the main objective of increasing access to quality primary education. The government committed itself to subsidise costs at primary school level by paying school fees, providing textbooks and

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69 Ssekamwa, p. 147-172.
70 Ssekamwa, p. 207-238
71 ibid.
other instructional materials for both pupils and teachers, to meet the costs of co-curricular activities, school administration and maintenance.\textsuperscript{72}

The introduction of this program in 1997 as a new education policy instrument led to a substantial increase of 132 per cent in gross enrolment from the pre-UPE total of 3.1 million in 1996 to 7.2 million children in 2006. Uganda is therefore on the right path to achieving the \textit{Millennium Development Goal} (MDG) target of 100 per cent by 2015. In addition, the gender enrolment gap in terms of primary school level has narrowed tremendously.

Financing of the education sector as a whole subsequently increased significantly from 2.1 percent GDP in 1995 to 4.8 per cent of GDP in 2003/2004. The share of education in the national budget went up from 19 per cent in 1995/96 to 26.8 per cent in 1998/99, before dropping to 18.8 per cent in 2003/2004. Despite the positive developments in the education sector, the Universal Primary Education scheme still faces a number of challenges and constraints which continue to undermine the full realisation of the expected benefits on the quality and efficiency of education service delivery. These, include socio-economic and regional disparities, armed conflicts, the continued prevalence of poverty, high drop-out and repetition rates, and limited participation of the local communities. Although the current enrolment data for primary schools signify the existence of near gender parity in access to education it masks a lot of socio-economic and regional disparities in education. For example, about 7 per cent of children aged 6-12 years had never attended school in 2004. There are noticeable imbalances in gross enrolment ratios between rural and urban areas.

There has been a halt in primary school teacher recruitment since 1995. At the moment, one of the problems facing the education system of Uganda is the presence of so many untrained teachers especially in primary schools.\textsuperscript{73}

This problem has been clearly noted in the Millenium report in this manner: the substantial increase in enrolment after the introduction of UPE has not been matched by an equivalent increase in teachers, classrooms and textbooks. This has negatively impacted on the quality of education all over the country. In 2003, the pupil/teacher ratio (PTR) and pupil/ textbook ratio for P3-P7 were 58:1 and 3:1 for P3 and P4, respectively (MFPED, 2004). There are also indications of leakages in the textbooks distribution system that should be investigated. These ratios should be compared to 40:1 and 1:1 which is the long-term desired position. Pupil/classroom ratios are still high, thus underscoring the need for improvement in infrastructure development. There are imbalances in the quality of teachers and their distribution; teachers

\textsuperscript{72} Ssekamwa, p. 207-238

in primary schools serving in rural and hard to reach areas are largely not well trained while others are not trained at all compared to teachers in urban areas.\textsuperscript{74}

Drop-out and repetition rates in primary schools are still high. This is largely due to financial constraints at the household level, lack of interest, poor health and long distances to school. According the household survey of 2006, 43 per cent of the girls dropout of school due to cost considerations as compared to 35 percent of the boys. Extra charges and fees imposed by schools namely, examination fees, interview fees, building funds, milling fees, etc inhibit access to primary education. Provision of preferential treatment to boys as opposed to girls in accessing education promoted by a traditional, social and cultural setting is also partly responsible for some girls dropping out of school prematurely.\textsuperscript{75}

The result for the last 15 years or so therefore continues to be poor performance at Primary level examinations year after year. Even those who pass at Primary, secondary schools and even at University level, the content of what they have learnt is not enough.

Parents continue to seek purely academic education for their children and show little interest in practical technical education. It is here that the Ministry of education has the biggest challenge.\textsuperscript{76}

It seems that there is a continuous crisis in both early child development and higher education approaches. The problem is centred around the upbringing of a traditional community person and the development of an individual. In Uganda, the child’s contacts are multiple; mother and father, extended family relatives and grand parents. The concerns of parents in the traditional set-up are immediate and consist of providing nutrition based mainly on family local traditional staple food, providing healthcare and initiating the child into talking the mother tongue and absorbing tradition. The relatives and grand parents engage the child in cultural education and initiation into adulthood. The child development pressure model below presents the problem.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{75} ibid.
Formal education system is expected to provide continuous social education as it offers academic training, from primary schools through to University. Parents are expected to support, act and follow the process keenly.

But the parents put the child through rigorous cultural, traditional and economic demands, as figure 1 proposes. The elders and the community still often see the development of a child purely through the Value-return system for the ethnic and family grouping.

The National education institutions, on the other hand, see education of a child as an individual who has to be shaped up for the good of himself/herself so as to become an active and productive citizen of the country. There is certainly a disconnection among the institutional players in Ugandan early child development as shown in this social capital disconnectivity figure 2 below. 

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78 Opio, 2006.
79 Ibid.
Today, there is difficulty in linking players in this kind of education delivery system since each player tends to operate within a rigid mandate. There is minimum interfacing. The grand parents no longer have access to grand children to tell them stories by the fire place because poverty has ex-communicated them from mainstream family setting, they are too old, or sick, or have been trapped in internally displaced peoples camps for the last 20 years as is the case for north and north-east areas of Uganda. Poverty and diseases have either killed many parents or caused separation between mothers and fathers so that there is very weak linkage with the child. The community is aloof. The formal education institutions are struggling to provide resources to support the Universal Primary Education, UPE. It is an enormous task demanding a lot of resources. But again, like during first independence era, this education program is heavily dependent on foreign donor funds where the United States has remained involved since President Clinton’s first pledged financial support to it.\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{80} Opio, 2006.
\textsuperscript{81} ibid.
Summary – Cultural/ Social and Academic Education in Uganda

In Uganda as well as in many other parts of Africa, the clan and the tribe is responsible for the upbringing of a child. The clan is then very present throughout a life span. It is a community based upbringing, which is first evident in the naming of a child, then the disciplinary actions of the children of the clan. Even the loss of a clan member signifies the community dimension, as it is considered to be a collective loss. Elders are clan members highly respected by Ugandan tribes. They form the essential social capital institution that provides cultural and social education. This socialization program, unlike in Western civilization where a child mostly looks up to parents and to the State for it’s rights to development, focuses more on making a child belong to the community by training the child to take up responsibility for the family, the clan and the tribe. This social or cultural education is best given by the own community, in informal settings, and it is crucial for the clan identity, the personal identity and in extension for the national identity.

This native informal education was suddenly exposed to academic or formal education programs introduced by foreign missionary groups, who could not design co-ordinated academic curriculum with clear expected national education goals or a policy vision that reflects Uganda cultural values.

The first independent Ugandan government ensured it being in a position to direct education policy and management. But there has been a lack of funds, strategy, political stability and true effort over the years to prioritise the education sector. So is the case in the realisation of the Universal Primary Education Policy from the present government, which has undermined the quality and efficiency of education service delivery.

The formal education institutions are struggling to provide resources to support the Universal Primary Education, UPE. It is an enormous task demanding a lot of resources. But again, like during first independence era, this education program is heavily dependent on foreign donor.

Socio-economic and regional disparities, armed conflicts, the continued prevalence of poverty, high drop-out and repetition rates, and limited participation of the local communities, all contribute to the continuous crisis in education. Today, parents, communities and the state put the child through rigorous cultural, traditional and economic demands. There is certainly a disconnection among the institutional players in Ugandan child early development as they all have different expectations a and demands of a child.
When Ssekamwa, in his book about the history of education in Uganda, discusses the being of indigenous education before colonial time, I find that he is romancing about a common African indigenous social and cultural education, and even talking about a syllabus in this context. A syllabus, to me, is a written document and obviously not existing in the pre-colonial time. The author gives a hint that the colonial powers with their formal education replaced an advanced cultural and social program already existing. Nothing in my findings strengthen that idea. However, there was a local training of children in all tribes of Uganda in pre-colonial time. This to set and keep the ideals and social functions of the clan. This is true, I would say, in every civilization and community, and it doesn’t mean that there is a policy and syllabus for it. Also, Africa, with all it’s varieties of people, culture and societies cannot have had a common practice of social upbringing and training of their youth. Even for Uganda that is an exaggeration, despite the similarities.
Part III - Case Study: Northern Uganda

With the previous context given, the northern case can now be addressed properly. In order to do so, it is necessary to look at the particular circumstances of this region. One of them is displacement, where millions of civilians have been forced to leave their homes and become refugees in their own state for many years. In chapter six the issues of displacement will be discussed, and concluded with an analysis.

Another particular circumstance of the area is trauma, due to the many abductions of children (and adults) by the rebel forces. Trauma, rehabilitation and integration will be addressed in chapter seven. The perception of trauma will be issued in the interview with a social worker at a reception centre. Then, two cases will be used to exemplify the challenges, of rehabilitation and reintegration. The seventh chapter will too be concluded with an analysis.

Obviously there are a rather unique parameters in the education sector due to all these unique circumstances in the north. This will be discussed in the eight chapter. The first section will address education in general in the north. This will then be exemplified by one transitional school called Laroo, and one regular school called Bobi P7. Also this last chapter will be tied together in an analysis.

7 Displacement

The consequences of the twenty years of armed conflict has been traumatic. Almost two million people in the north got displaced and finally herded into what came to be called Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) Camps.

The total camp population was 1 842 501 people in 2005. In November 2007 the camp population was 843 538 people. Of the people who has moved, 23% are in transit areas, and only 30% have returned home to their original home villages.82

According to Nobert Mao, the Local Council Five Chairman, and Chief Executive Administrator of Gulu District Local Government, about 1.7 million people were displaced in his region and the people became totally dependent on emergency relief. and generally the villages were abandoned by the civilian population and agricultural production collapsed.

“(…)So the benefits of the juba peace talks are obvious. Our people are learning to stand on their own rather than depending on relief. The dignity that comes with producing your own food and

feeding your own family is being recaptured by our people. The camp school enrolment has reduced. We found that because of return of parents, many of the children left the schools which were in the IDP camps and not all schools in the villages are fully operation for a variety of reasons. We don’t have the money to renovate the schools.”

In resettlement however there are new challenges. Mr. Mao notes that there is high level of alcoholism because of the trauma of war. This is undermining their ability to be productive. Land disputes have also become many as people are resettling. But there seems to be camp syndrome. Improved security, assured food in some camps coupled with fear of the future back home have delayed departure of some people. The situation for the affected people are different due to circumstances, but it is not an easy change and adjustment for anybody.

Government re-settlement plan, first released in July 2006, Emergency Humanitarian Action Plan – LRA Affected Areas, consisted of Continuing military pressure on LRA in cooperation with regional partners, continued facilitation and cooperation with activities of the International Criminal Court (ICC), strengthening government presence in the region through more police posts, magistrates local courts. This plan had more funds going into government law-enforcement structures than to programs for helping displaced persons returning home. The police and the army was funded for the protection of the returnees. The plan here was to increase the number of police constables and enhance police presence in LRA affected areas. This would according to the plan bring internal security, law and order. But funding gaps were simply too many. Full budget was supposed to be found in the area of Reinsertion packages, business skills training and school sponsorship for reporters. These activities were to be sponsored by NGO’s. For food accountable institution (WFP) no estimated budget cost was given in the plan. In fact World food Program stopped it’s usual food relief by beginning of 2008. In the field of education, the plan offered to supply science chemicals and science kits. But there was no plan for renovation or putting up structures such as classrooms, toilets, or teachers quarters. The Ministry of Education is the institution accountable for it’s implementation, but the available budget was less then half of the budgeted cost for this activity. A new Peace Recovery and Development Plan, PRDP, intended for re-settlement of internally displaced persons was again released in January 2008, but up to August, 2008 no implementation activities could be seen on the ground.

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83 Matsiko, Grace, IDPs “Shy away from returning home”, The Daily Monitor, 2008-03-08.
84 ibid.
Findings on the IDP Situation

The following is findings from questionnaires made in Gulu District in May 2008. There were three groups represented at the occasion, with five respondents in each group. The first group consisted of those who are still living in the camp, the second group represented by those who have resettled in their previous homes, and the last group were those who never were direct displaced, but had the entire camp set on their land. The respondents were all addressed individually. This population displacement chapter will be closed by a general analysis. The following text will summarize the findings in each group. For full details of the findings please see respective appendixes (C-E).

People Still in Camp

The reasons for staying in the camps in this time of relative peace, where others rush back to their villages, is often age, poor health and fear for an unstable political situation. It is also shown in the questionnaires that a status of a widow might put, if not psychological then physical boundaries, and prevent resettlement. The majority (60%) of those still in camp have no plan of action for their resettlement and there is a paralysing hopelessness in their answers. The respondents in this particular questionnaire have lived in camp between four and twenty years. The obstacles presented in the answers are many, such as age, child headed family, problems with basic needs etc. The facilities in the camps grew better in time, and at the occasion of the questionnaire the water and sanitation situation was fair. The food supplies were mainly coming from World Food Program, which 60% of the respondents completely relied on, but some of the respondents (had odd jobs (20%) or cultivated their land (20%) in order to extend their food capital.

The majority (60%) of the respondents have had family members being born in camp, and also, a majority (60%) of them have lost one or more members of their families in the camp. The questionnaires indicates that schools were available in the camps, but the quality of education in those schools were poor. That the cultural values seems lost is acknowledged by all the respondents (100%) in this group, but most of them (80%) have no idea of how to address this issue. What this group wished for in their attempt to resettle in their original villages was free education (20%), job opportunities (20%) and help in constructing their houses (40%).

88 Please see Appendix C for a detailed table.
People Resettled in the Villages

The main reason for leaving the camp, among the respondents in this second group, was the urge to cultivate their own land (60%) and to return to some kind of normality in the time of relevant peace (40%). Some of the respondents (20%) pinpointed the low moral in the camp as a major reason for resettlement at the time. Some of them (40%) left with their families at once, while others (40%) chose to send one family member in advance to prepare for their return. The group recognizes some land disputes (20%) in connection to their return home, but most of them have had free access to what is their land (80%). Clearing of landmines is ongoing and the conditions of living in their origin villages is now fair. However, they do stress the importance of good facilities of basic needs such as food, shelter and education. Four out of five in this group can find health centre and schools in their area and the majority (60%) also grow their own food instead of relying on the World Food Program. The entire group (100%) agrees that values cultural values are lost and that the camp life was damaging to their children. They now feel proud of being able to raise their children well, and have seen a change in the behaviour of their young ones. This group (60%) have some idea of how to go about the cultural erosion, and mentions the importance of basic needs, good education and also the community as a force in the up bringing of the child. In the villages the clan, elders and the parents can have a greater influences than in the camps. This, they believe, is of significance in restoring the cultural loss. The wishes that this group had was for the government to assist them in their struggle with basic needs (60%), and for the two conflicting parties to sign and respect the peace agreement (20%).

People who Remained in their Home Villages

All of the respondents (100%) in this group stayed in their original villages, and saw the camp arise on their land. This gives a unique situation whereby many of them found it obvious to help the squatters, but are now paying a great price by their land being totally destroyed (80%). These people (60%) also found relative security in the camp that was guarded by the UPDF Ugandan People Defence Forces and special constables. There was, eventually, clean water, and some of the respondents (40%) in this group kept cultivating their land, took odd jobs (20%) to buy food or relied completely on World Food Program (40%). As these families were on their original base, it seemed a bit easier for them to keep their social pattern in raising their children. They seem to put the blame on those who brought their children to their

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89 Please see Appendix D for a detailed table.
90 Please see Appendix E for a detailed table.
land for the cultural erosion. In this group they saw the camp as the major obstacle for cultural rehabilitation. What they wish to see from the government was; successful resettlement (20%) so that they could return to normal life, compensation for the forced overpopulation (60%) that degraded their land, and free education for their children (20%).

Implications of Questionnaire Findings – a Preliminary Analysis

The people of Northern Uganda were forced to live in camps for many years. All the three groups acknowledge that time in camp has made their life difficult in many ways. The majority of the respondents in the three groups all find that the cultural values are lost, though the camp provided some protection, free education, clean water and health care.

The down sides of the camp life are many, and to all the respondents the negative effects of the displacement are great and they all wish to be on their own land. Those who have not yet returned home have not done so because of age or sickness, making them unable to cope with resettling. There is also a tendency of a learnt behaviour of helplessness. These people have been unable to have an impact on their own life to such extent that they in this situation are unable to take own initiative, but are only waiting for someone to assist them.

The majority of the respondents were relying on food from WFP as they were unable to cultivate their own land. Many of them felt that the amount of food given were not sufficient for them and their families. Therefore some of the respondents have tried to solve the food situation with petty jobs. In this there is a risk for some to go into prostitution, and lawless activities.

Although the children of camp communities have had access to improvised schools, this did not mean quality education to the children. The consequence has been low quality academic education, and erosion of cultural values because of lack of social control from parents. The entire structure of camp establishment where civilians were guarded by soldiers, who were supposed to protect them but in some cases failed to stop abductions of people by rebels, made life difficult for the camp population.

The IDP’s want resettlement packages which include free education, job opportunities and support in reconstructing their homes, and rehabilitation of services in their home areas. This depends on actions of both the government and the rebel group to bring about a comprehensive peace agreement. But with the flattering situation where simple signing of agreement today is unlikely to provide permanent long term peace, a sizeable number of the IDP’s will continue to fear insecurity at home and in the sub region.
For those who have ventured to get back home there is a shy of relief. For now, at least, they are able to grow their own food, get access to clean water, bring their children back to their old schools, and to raise their children culturally and academically well. This gives them the courage to demand that government should provide for basic services for their area and should guarantee total peace. A safe citizen will seek his or her place in society by demanding for participation in national development.

While those who hosted the IDP’s, on their land, have been able to retain some quality education for their children, receive health services, and to maintain some control of their children and their social values, their displaced visitors caused damage on their land because of overcrowding in the area.

Because their land has been degraded, they have a right to demand that the camp on their land be closed and they be compensated so that they work to restore quality to their land in the long term, to be able to re-pick their lives peacefully and return to giving good cultural education to their children.

The life in camp brings about a very unstable situation for children particularly. The abnormal setting might call for radical life strategies and extreme behaviours. As parents lose control of their lives, they also lose control of their children’s future. Values are lost as they are almost impossible to maintain in camp. Schools are there, but cannot guarantee quality education and children who lives under the pressure of poverty and displacement are unable to put their mind on academic work. As Bragin stated, the mental activities of a child will be centred around survival and anger suppression. In this analysis we should keep in mind the extent of this displacement and the long term damage that it causes. The situation puts a lot of pressure on future policies and demands urgent attention.

In respect to all that we have observed, there is the fact that has been emphatically brought out by the IDP respondents. Peace is paramount, and must be comprehensive so that the communities in the region can resume normal life and address all the challenges connected to raising the next generation.

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91 Please see p. 16-17.
The nature of the northern Uganda conflict has cost the population a great deal of pain and misery. Children are in a very vulnerable situation as the adults, their security, have been unable to provide for them answers, sense and protection. In this armed conflict with abductions, displacement and civil chaos, children have been unprotected and so have their human rights. This seventh chapter will, mainly through two cases, discuss trauma, rehabilitation and resettlement. These cases are built on the stories of two respondents, one boy “Dennis” and one girl “Lucy”. The reception centre which they both passed through is called GUSCO - Gulu Save the Children Organization, and will be presented in the first section. The social worker, from this very centre, will in the following section give us an example of the perception of trauma at this kind of reception centres. The chapter will be analysed as a whole in the end.

The Rehabilitation Concept – GUSCO Counselling Centre

As presented earlier in this document, the intensity of the war in the early 1990’s produced a lot of the so-called child soldiers escaping, or being captured at the war front. Many children are affected by this conflict. This caused a group of local people to create Gulu Save the Children Organization (GUSCO). The objectives of the group was to provide a centre to rehabilitate these returning children before they are reintegrated with their families and close society. The organisation states that their centre provides support to restore physical health, psycho-social counselling for psychological recovery, peaceful environment for the returning children and advocacy.93

On arrival the child is registered by the caretaker for the purposes of establishing contracts for family tracing and building relationship with the child. Then the briefing is carried out by the Reception Centre Administrator. He or she explains the purpose for which the child is at the reception centre. The Administrator explains further all the activities that take place at the centre and their importance for the well being of the child. Then the child is introduced to the services and places within the centre, for example, the sick bay, toilet, kitchen and others. The Centre Administrator also introduces the child to his or her social worker.94

On arrival the child is medically examined by the nurse or at the hospital. In case the child shows a medical condition that needs urgent attention, the child is immediately referred to the

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93 Ibid.
hospital. According to the centre, their rehabilitation program they are provide the child with basic needs such as clothing, beddings, feeding and cleaning items, and this is part of their rehabilitation since they come without any personal belongings from captivity.95

The centre claims to have a basic education program within the centre, where there is suppose to be a therapeutic teacher and a class teacher in charge of the education program. And that they conduct education at the centre. The also say they have integration program where they reunite the child with his or her parents or relatives, provide the child with basic scholastic materials intended for onward education, and they make follow ups on the child integration in the family. For those who do not have a fair chance to rejoin formal schools, GUSCO states that they provide them with a vocational training and a starting capital for income generating activities.96

The Perception of Trauma - GUSCO Councillor

Anthony is a social worker at GUSCO.97 He has been working there since 2004. Anthony, who has a diploma in social work, where he received additional training concerning war affected children. Anthony is familiar with trauma as a consequence of war and describes the symptoms seen in the children at GUSCO as aggression, nightmares that may result in children running out at night, falling out of bed or shouting at night and pure fear. He also describes forgetfulness in the children as they are told something and after a few minutes cannot recall what they were told. Some children develop odd eating habits, and some tend to over eat.

Furthermore, Anthony describes cases of isolation, where the child is not willing to interact with other children and not even to answer when spoken to. These cases of isolation also tend to keep the child from sharing past experiences and to open up to social workers. He also mentions laziness as a potential symptom of trauma. When to identify the important networks surrounding a child, he mentions the family, relatives, local leaders, religion, NGO’s, schools, traditional institutions and the district. Anthony express further the importance of the local leaders in the community. He refers to different networks between NGO’s like GUSCO and the local leaders to support the war affected children in the communities. The local leaders can be elders, religious leaders or opinion leaders and, according to Anthony, they still have an important role in the Acholi community.

97 The following text is based on interview with “Anthony”, 2006-11-11. The interview material is in possession of the author.
Anthony describes how GUSCO works together with these local elders to bring children for traditional cleansing rituals outside the centre. Most often, these happenings are planned by the teachers, whose understanding of the specific needs of the child is of great importance. But it is for the child to decide if he or she wishes to participate in these rituals, if they can be helpful for them or not. Anthony describes how GUSCO works with educating the local leaders, the affected families and even teachers in psycho social support. About the schools as an important network for the children, Anthony recognizes the difficulties. He states that the children might not want to go back to school as they feel they are too far behind, or their memory is too weak. Anthony emphasises that the training of the teachers, and their understanding of the specific needs of the children who suffered from war, is of great importance.98

The Experience of Trauma, Rehabilitation and Reintegration - Case I

Dennis was born in a village called Odek in northern Uganda.99 He was abducted by the rebels at the age of six. After ten years with the rebels, he escaped and ended up at GUSCO centre, in August 2006. Dennis has physical injuries from the time spent in the bush, several marks from bullet injuries on his right leg. One of the wounds has still not healed yet, and he uses crutches in order to move. At the time of my arrival at GUSCO centre, he was accompanied by another boy of his age. But shortly afterwards, this other boy was re-united with his family, leaving Dennis to be the only one in his age at the centre.

I was told that Dennis had had anger problems in the beginning of his stay ay the centre. At the time of my arrival, there were no longer any signs of uncontrolled anger in Dennis. The boy is obviously a very sensitive person, and is sharp in terms of sensing other people’s moods. The activities that he took part in at the centre were not many. Most of his time were spent sleeping or sitting under a mango tree chatting to the staff. However Dennis proved to take great interest in the two months old boy who also were staying at the centre. Frequently, it was Dennis to walk around with the younger boy, feeding him from a bottle or just playing with him. It was never clear if this was his own initiative or something that he was instructed to do.

As for schooling, Dennis took part in some class activities, where he was the only pupil since the other boy left the centre. There was no schedule for these activities. Most of the

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99 The following text is based on interviews with “Dennis”, in the period November- December 2006, July - August 2007. The interview material is in possession of the author.
time, Dennis was told to do mathematics, and did so from a book. Then he went with the book to the person in charge of the educational section and got it marked. The person in charge of Dennis education at the centre, introduced himself to me as a teacher. However it was apparent that this person did not have any training in the teaching profession. Many times, there were no activities for Dennis to participate in. Each day, it appeared that classes were given when I asked about it. Dennis was keen on learning, and often went for his books on his own. When there were no class activities for him to participate in, he often came to me for tutoring. Dennis wanted to become a teacher in the future. His level of education was not known for a fact. Since he spent ten years with the rebels, he could not have attended school for more than primary one. But because Dennis now had reached the age of sixteen, he was not keen on starting primary one with much younger pupils, so he preferred to be placed at primary four level. My observation, however, while tutoring him is that his ambition here was too high. At the centre the discussion was around the proposal for Dennis to go for vocational training instead of going back to primary school. Dennis was not interested in this proposal.\textsuperscript{100}

The fact that Dennis parents were no longer alive, he was concerned about his reintegration. The uncle who was supposed to take him in up, did not show up at the centre at the time scheduled. Dennis wished to stay with his uncle who lived in town rather than to go back to the village where an auntie had the custody of his younger sister and older brother. The phone numbers to Dennis relatives were not in use as he tried to reach them in order to sort out where to go after GUSCO. Dennis told me about the stress that he felt about the reintegration. But when I consulted a centre staff member about this and asked her on what procedure that was taken she assured me that she had not seen any worry in Denis. Denis himself again contradicted himself in my presence saying he was not worried at all when asked by the staff.\textsuperscript{101}

My observations tells me that Dennis was more concerned about his future than he told anybody. Several times, whenever I left the centre, he was sitting on a table looking out over the fence, just to be found at the same spot the morning after. He told me he had trouble sleeping. As time went by, Dennis told me more about his concerns. He told me how he felt about the staff, and some routines at the centre. I witnessed some of his belongings being taken from him which upset Dennis a lot. In the end, he started to hide his belongings, and it was clear that he did not discuss his concerns with the staff. Dennis often proved to be bored

\textsuperscript{100} Interviews with “Dennis”, in the period November- December 2006, July -August 2007.

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
at the centre as he was alone with much younger children. He was eager to go to school and to live with his uncle. The wounded leg was what kept him at the centre.

The case of Dennis, when I visited him in his uncle’s place in Aywer near Gulu town, where he is finally supposed to be integrated, is even disturbing. This was seven months after my first meeting with him in GUSCO. Dennis was now in P3 in a primary school nearby the uncle’s home. He had never been given any starting kit for rejoining school, it was all provided for by the uncle. At the time of my follow up on him, there was not enough money for examination fees and scholastic materials. Dennis’ uncle had instead left him with his three young children to take care of as he himself had gone to the garden in their home village to dig, and here was not enough food or soap for any of these children. Dennis was relieved to be settled in the civil society, but found a lot of responsibilities on the ground. At the time of my visit, he was in a stable mood. His sleep was still disturbed by nightmares, but he seemed at ease with having returned to a somewhat normal setting.102

An NGO (Non Governmental Organisation) operating in the area had offered Dennis a sponsorship to take him through primary level education. As the school fees were already a problem to him He was very keen on this offer. The problem was that it would force him to change schools and travel a long distance to reach the new school. Dennis health was a problem, as his leg was not healing properly and causing him a lot of pain when walking. He needed a bicycle in order to travel the distance to the new school. This money was of course, not there. Even if there was money for a bicycle, his problems would not be solved. Serious health issues, and the fact that his academic performance were very poor, would sooner rather than later prevent him from pursuing his dreams.. There had been no follow up from GUSCO for the seven months since he went home. Dennis was in great need of x-ray to confirm why the wounded leg did not heal properly. When confronting GUSCO on their failure of follow ups, they stated that the boy was problematic and should just learn to get on with life – there are many children much more affected than him. Even in the tenth month while I was still in the area, there was still no follow up on Dennis from GUSCO.103

103 Ibid.
Lucy came to GUSCO at the age of 19\textsuperscript{104}. At that time, she had a small child and was three months pregnant with her second child. Lucy recalls being abducted when working in the field. She was eleven years old when she was abducted by the LRA. The life before the abduction, Lucy recalls as a life of routine despite the war. She began primary one, but as her father passed away, and she was left with her uncle, the boys in that family were sent to school and she was held back home.

In the bush the children were told a lot of things. Lucy recalls that they were made to believe that if they ever returned home their food was to be poisoned, and they were going to die by eating it. When she came to GUSCO she was therefore scared to eat the food served. After some time at the centre, Lucy started to realize that they had been told lies in the bush, and that she was actually safe at GUSCO. She explains that she recognized the lies from the LRA because she is better taken care of at the centre.

At the centre, Lucy took part in some everyday activities such as cooking, sweeping the compound and looking after the younger children. When asked about different class activities, and whether she took part in such, she recalls some debate that was held, concerning the life with the LRA and the life after. There were no class activities in terms of formal education. Lucy tells me that classes were only held for those who had been to primary five to primary six before abduction. Lucy herself does not know how to read or write, though she can copy a written text if needed.

Lucy had no family to return to after her time at GUSCO. After her rehabilitation at the centre, GUSCO located a house for her to rent. The rent is 5000 Ugandan shillings per month, which she has to come up with her self. Lucy tried to get money for rent by baking bread and selling it to the students in Gulu. The rent was the biggest concern. Before she left the centre, she took a course in micro finance so that she could be able to set up her own business. The children who did not have any family to return to, all took micro finance the training. They were each offered 300 000 Ugandan shillings as starting capital to begin their business. The starting capital for Lucy had already been taken by a staff. Lucy told me that this person who took her money was later dismissed from GUSCO and this is the only thing that she did not like about her stay at GUSCO.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{104} The following text is based on an interview with “Lucy” in 2006-12-10. The interview material is in possession of the author.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
At her new own house, in a village completely new to her, Lucy had nothing but some flour and a bucket. When asked about her children, and who’s looking after them as we were doing the interview, Lucy explained that she left them in the house. She told me that she missed someone to consult about her children when they are sick. She explained that she felt insecure because there was nobody who could sit with her to consult her on that. Lucy did not see her self ever going to school. She told me that her children had nobody but her, and that she had to work to support them, and that her children one day would go to school and study on her behalf, so that they could help her later on. Instead of going to school, Lucy wanted to continue with the bread baking. She was confident that if she was able to buy an oven, then she would be able to support her self. She explained how she would like to put money aside for rent each month, so that she didn’t need to get stressed out at the end of the months.  

Preliminary Analysis of Trauma, Rehabilitation and Reintegration

The objectives at GUSCO is to work towards physical health and psycho-social counselling for the affected children there. Martha Bragin has earlier presented different aspects of the multi trauma that abducted children often are subjects to. In the two cases presented here we can identify all of these traumatic experiences. The physical discomfort, fear, great sorrow or un-mourned losses, hopelessness and exposure to extreme violence is a fact in both the cases. Participation in murder and atrocities has been a fact for Dennis, as sexual abuse and multi pregnancies have been the case for Lucy. It becomes clear that the characteristics of trauma is different for boys and girls. And again it is of great importance not to label a returnee as a former child soldier, as girls might be discriminated and excluded in such definition.

These two cases establishes a picture of total violation of each of the relevant articles in the UN convention on the Rights of the Child, as presented earlier. As we now recognize the level of trauma in both cases, the need of proper care and rehabilitation is obviously of great importance for a successful reintegration into society, and even covered by article 39 in the same convention.

On GUSCO Centre however, the emphasis in their practice was on the physical needs, to provide for food and shelter. The respondent, Anthony, proves to have some knowledge about

\[106\] Interview with “Lucy” in 2006-12-10
\[107\] Please see p. 16-17.
\[108\] Please see page 7.
\[109\] Ibid.

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trauma, it’s causes and effects. The level of training is however surprisingly low in respect to the gravity of the task he faces. A diploma such as the one he has might not necessarily been obtained from a recognized institution. In addition to that, his training from different NGO’s, might again have come from staff with inadequate training themselves. In my talk with him, he remained theoretical, and I never saw, at any time, a counselling session, and no therapeutic and guiding activities at the centre.

The consequences of trauma in a child is perhaps straight forward to identify, but it takes a senior professional to deal with the counselling and rehabilitation in order not to fail or even harm the child further. My observation is that the random, often spontaneous activities seem to show disorganisation and inability to address their proposed core activity of providing psycho-social support.

It becomes visible in Dennis inability to trust the staff in his healing process. There is a tendency among these children not to trust, to feel threatened and insecure in their relations to others. It is my opinion that unfortunately the staff at GUSCO failed to relate to Dennis in a way that would favour his rehabilitation fully. Another crisis in trust related errands, is when Lucy’s starting capital gets stolen but not replaced.

The physical need were quite well taken care off in both cases. Dennis injury however was in need of a follow up, x-ray and perhaps surgery. This was never issued by GUSCO, and follow up as per their project objectives, were not conducted at all.

The objectives concerning education at the centre is a bit vague, and without a serious plan by educated teachers or educationists. Even the executive so called teacher had no teacher’s training or pedagogical knowledge. Nor did he have training in special needs and war related trauma. There is also an interesting perspective to the two cases and how they are gender based. Lucy was a low priority as a girl in an extended family, something that we have stressed in the cultural background. It is a cultural phenomena. She only got to finish primary one before she was set aside. She cannot read or write, and got no basic training at GUSCO. Instead her rehabilitation was centred around domestic tasks as she is a girl. She never expressed any future ambitions of her own, but only to bake bread in order to support her children and send them to school, which in the end will be her ticket to future support. Again that is matching the pressure model presented in the educational background. The child will have pressure from the parents to support them financially. What we see is a spiral, trapping children in future generations in this dependency and pressure. Lucy’s entire situation is

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110 Please see page 34.
different from Dennis’ due to involuntary pregnancies and the motherhood she was forced into. Her academic opportunities are non existing, and she will rely on her own practical skills of bread baking or perhaps charity. This makes her very vulnerable for alternative income generating activities such as prostitution. Another vulnerability of hers is the fact that she seems to be disconnected from her family and clan. This could be rejection due to her circumstances.

In Dennis case he had an ambition of his own, to become a teacher. He received some sporadic lessons by a non qualified teacher, and his academic opportunities were at least discussed. Dennis had a sever trauma to deal with, but not two children to support. He was welcomed by his extended family, even though he seemed to be put in charge of raising the younger children of that family. This is also a pressure component.

In their different trauma there are components that are similar and that will be dominant in the analysis of their needs. Both of them need a fair chance to rehabilitation. The social workers at the centre have quite a short training compared to the task they are facing. Different private institutions or NGO’s give training in social work, which can be useful for everybody in the region to have, but insufficient in the professional work of rehabilitating traumatized children. Despite that the social worker presented earlier, was able to identify some symptoms of trauma, the centre had no exercise of real counselling or therapy. The rehabilitation and social reintegration as secured in the Convention of the Rights of the Child, will be most difficult to achieve. It is likely that the staff at the centre also, in one way or another, were affected by the conflict and suffered from some kind of trauma themselves. This could be one reason why they seemed overwhelmed by the task of rehabilititating and reintegrating these children.

There is a community dimension to the process of rehabilitation and the reintegration of returnees. The community is addressed both in the cultural background given earlier, in Bragin’s previous research on children and trauma, and in the pressure model. Normally this community has necessary institutions or individuals to handle a traumatized person or a crisis. But in this case there is a collective crisis and a collective trauma affecting the entire community. I personally believe that the community, the traditional and religious leaders have a great role in healing their community, but they need time, and they need peace in order to succeed.

111 Please see page 35.
112 Please see p. 7.
9 Education – The Northern Reality

When the Chairman of Gulu District Norbert Mao reflects on the north, their poor performance in education and the huge challenge that lies before them, he states; “If you are not organised, you can be ignored with impunity.” He also comments on the situation analysis done by Betty Odongo, a West Michigan University PhD student, where she claimed that it will take northern Uganda another 45 years to attain the same level of education and development like the rest of the country, due to the fact that education in the region has been neglected in terms of access, equity and quality.

“Ms. Betty Udongo presented a startling interpretation of her data on the decline of education in the region. It did not make for very comfortable hearing for the government officials present.”

Providing education in conflict areas is a serious challenge to government. An estimated one and a half to two million pupils were affected by conflict during 2003 in northern, north-eastern and some parts of western Uganda. Education delivery in northern Uganda remains heavily reliant on humanitarian agencies including UNICEF, World Food Programme (WFP), NGOs and faith-based organisations. Schools have been destroyed, supplies looted and there is a shortage of teachers.

Many teachers and children have moved to more secure districts where they have further strained over stretched facilities and resources. This has created a shortage of accommodation for teachers and students, scholastic materials, classrooms, drugs, water and sanitation, and recreation facilities. In addition, the learning and effective participation of children in the classroom is also affected by their traumatic experiences. Moreover, UPE is not matched to the curriculum needs of traumatised or displaced children. The skills of teachers in particular are not suited to coping with such children.

Participation of local leaders and communities in the UPE programme is still limited; which impacts negatively on its sustainability. There is insufficient technical capacity at the district level to cope with the new budgetary system and delays in release of funds that constrain revenue utilisation. The poor rate of absorption of UPE funds has affected primary education outcomes in several ways. For example, in some districts fewer classrooms have

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113 Mao, Norbert, “Northern Uganda can rise from the ashes!”, The New Vision 2008-07-01.
114 Ibid.
115 Ibid.
117 Ibid.
been built and fewer teachers have been recruited than were targeted within the planned period. As in several government departments, there is concern that UPE funds including grants are being mismanaged at the district level. There are also concerns that local governments fail to account in time for funds released to them, in contravention of guidelines provided in the *Public Finance Act.* Supervision, monitoring and evaluation of programmes have been inadequate. The linkage between schools inspection and Education Standards Agency remains weak.\footnote{UNDP, *Uganda progress Report*, 2007, p. 22.}

Taking the national picture in consideration, including the north, there is poor school performance in Primary school completion rates. Attainment target of getting all children to complete a course of primary schooling requires all children who join Primary One to complete Primary Seven. However, the completion rates recorded in Uganda are far lower than the impressive enrolment figures that have been recorded since 1997. The completion rates have been far from 100 per cent and have actually fluctuated between 48 per cent in 2006 and 60 per cent in 2004. The low completion rates imply that the investment in primary education has not translated into real gains due to the high dropout rates. The low completion rate in 2006 and the declining enrolment ratios observed during the same period (according to the household survey data of 2006) calls for a more detailed investigation.\footnote{UNDP, *Uganda’s Progress Report 2007* p. 20-21.}

**GRAPH PRIMARY SCHOOL COMPLETION RATES: 2000 – 2006 (000 PUPILS)**\footnote{ibid.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Currently Attending</th>
<th>Attending P 1 in 2000</th>
<th>Attending P7. 2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>National</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampala</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td>226</td>
<td>477</td>
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<td>Eastern</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>187</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>203</td>
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<td>Western</td>
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<tr>
<td>National</td>
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<td>907</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 2005/06 household survey data was analysed to determine the completion rates. Assuming that all pupils who joined Primary One in the year 2000 progressed through all the grades, findings from the household survey of 2005/06 show that only 38 per cent reached
Primary Seven. In absolute terms, The above table shows that overall, about 1.8 million pupils enrolled in Primary One in 2000, only 685,000 pupils were estimated to be in Primary Seven in 2006, meaning that the rest dropped out of school along the way or repeated a grade.\textsuperscript{121}

But in comparing the Northern Uganda sub-region with the rest of the country, this household survey puts the northern education decline very clearly. While the North, which is almost half of the country registered the least number of only 379,000 primary school pupils in primary class one in the year 2000, only 137,000 reached and sat for Primary 7 leaving examination in 2006. Most of these children ended up with lower grades. There has been continued accumulation of high dropout rates and pupils performing poorly since then as per records available in most of Northern districts.\textsuperscript{122}

Nationally, there are serious political concerns about UPE. An article in The Daily Monitor called; Parliament wants national education system reviewed,\textsuperscript{123} there is widespread criticism of the current national curriculum by members of parliament. Government has been directed to draft a new bill, seeking to recognise skilled Ugandans in the informal sector. About this The Business, Technical, Vocational and Training Bill 2007, Mr Akbar Godi, a representative of Arua Municipality in parliament insisted;

“We should stop deceiving ourselves that we can industrialise without enough skilled labour. The government should redesign our education system to push the country forward.”\textsuperscript{124}

Transitional Schools – Laroo Primary Boarding School

\textit{Laroo Primary School for War Affected Children} (SOWAC) is a government founded school established in July 2006.\textsuperscript{125} The school which is the only one of its kind in east Africa, was partly financed by Belgian Technical cooperation, but run by the Ugandan government. As mentioned in the vision of the school, the overall objective is to ensure and deliver high quality education to war affected children, considering the special needs of the targeted group. Shortly before the official Christmas break in December 2006, I conducted observations in Laroo boarding school for war affected children. The SOWAC vision is to prepare war

\textsuperscript{121} UNDP, \textit{Uganda’s Progress Report} 2007 p. 21.
\textsuperscript{122} ibid.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} The following text is based on interviews with Laroo Deputy Teacher Onen Richard on 2006-11-28 and 2006-12-06. The interview material is in possession of the author.
effected children for a successful reintegration into community and normal life. The Deputy Teacher described the targeting group as follows:

“So this is a school which is handling several cases of trauma. One, those who have been abducted, formerly abducted children. Then also we have children who are born in captivity, they are also here. Then we have the child mothers, the wives of the commanders of the bush, plus their babies they are also here. And we have total orphans who’s parents were affected because of war, they are also here. We also have children who are infected with HIV/AIDS, maybe they have got it from the bush, they are also here. These are basically the characters of the children that are here.”

The school is not operating as an ordinary primary school, as it does not offer P1 to P7. The classes offered are level 1 to level 3. Level one is for pupils who never gone to school, level two is for those who were in P1 to P3 at the time they were abducted, and level 3 is for the pupils who were in P4 to P6 when abducted. The character of accelerated learning is to remind the students of what they learned before their education was interrupted. This will imply pupils of varied ages in the same class. The school is for both boys and girls, even though girls are supposed to constitute 60% of the total number of pupils. The total number reaches somewhat 673 pupils, but the listing of students is incomplete since the child mothers with children below three years of age were sent back to the camps, due to lack of resources to nurture those young ones.

Including Accelerated Learning, the school offers the following programmes; Psycho-social Support, a one year programme for those with serious psychological problems. The program is meant to lead to reintegration into the community. The Vocational Skills programme is for those whose priority is personal survival and for supporting dependents. This one year programme is meant to prepare learners to start their own business. The accelerated learning is designed to fit those with a realistic potential for returning successfully to the formal education system. This programme is for one to three years depending on the needs of the child. Peace education is offered and available to all learners at Laroo. Early childhood development is a programme offered to the children three years and above. The participants of this group could be the children of the young mothers of any other programmes offered at the school, or children born in captivity who are now orphans.

126 Interview with Deputy teacher, Laroo, 2006-11-28, 2006-12-06.
127 Ibid.
128 Ibid.
During my observations at Laroo Boarding School, the special needs of the pupils were not instantly visible to me as an observer. In each class, there were in general between sixty and eighty pupils, and the first impression that I got from the observations was the highly focused and engaged children, in this somewhat crowded classroom environment. During the first observation, the pupils were silent and quite active in the lesson held\(^{129}\). Because of the lack of supplies, such as textbooks, the typical lesson is entirely led by the teacher who is writing using markers on “manilla” papers on the wall because there is no black board. Those pupils who have a pen will take notes. This teaching environment, sets a scenario where children are requested to repeat what has been said by the teacher, which at first gave my a faulty impression of active pupils.

The teacher-pupil-relationship was authoritative and the amount of respect given to the teacher during the classes that I observed was quite high. The movement of the pupils in and out of the classroom though, were extremely frequent and seemed to indicate that the children left the classroom when they lost interest or concentration.\(^{130}\) The movement of the pupils is perhaps what represents Laroo classes best.\(^ {131}\) According to the three teachers interviewed, the movement was allowed and a policy whereby the school try to meet the needs of the pupils. However, the deputy teacher claims that this is not the case, and that the movement should be restricted.\(^ {132}\) During my three observations, the movement in class remained a great distraction, and the restlessness of the pupils always was obvious. Some of the children in class had difficulties with staying awake. Some pupils even were always totally asleep. In one class, at the time of my observation, I found one child fast asleep over the desk. Many others were stretching and fussing.\(^ {133}\) On the contrary I found that the fact that approximately 12 students out of 83 did not take part in the exercise was due to lack of pens and exercise books, more so than due to lack of interest or energy.\(^ {134}\)

In an interview with the deputy teacher, he mentioned that the stress symptoms or the bad spirits attacks the children at night.\(^ {135}\) And in the same interview he confirmed that the symptoms shown could be anxiety, fear, anger outbursts and violence.\(^ {136}\) My observations were made during class, and I had no possibility to schedule observations during night time, to observe a potential change of moods or increased stress in the pupils.

\(^{129}\) Observation, Laroo, 2006-12-06.
\(^{130}\) Observations, Laroo, 2006-12-06, 2006-12-08, 2006-12-11.
\(^{131}\) Conversation with teacher, Laroo, 2006-12-06
\(^{132}\) Interview with Deputy teacher, Laroo, 2006-11-28, 2006-12-06.
\(^{133}\) Observation, Laroo, 2006-12-06.
\(^{134}\) Ibid.
\(^{135}\) Interview with Deputy teacher, Laroo, 2006-11-28, 2006-12-06
\(^{136}\) Ibid.
Concerning the educational environment the most obvious impression were that the seize of the classes, 60-80 pupils, are very large even for pupils with no special needs. None of the three teachers on duty during my observations knew the names of their pupils, their background or their special needs in class.\footnote{Observations, Laroo, 2006-12-06, 2006-12-08, 2006-12-11.} There were a general understanding of the special needs among the pupils, but no individual evaluation was possible due to the number of pupils in each class.\footnote{Ibid.} Still the teacher is supposed to assess and evaluate the academic development of the child, like in regular schools. Each of the teachers on duty were aware of the difficulties connected to the over size of the class.

**Regular Schools- Bobi Primary School**

The challenges in education in the north can clearly been seen through a single case study conducted in Bobi camp in June 2008.\footnote{The following text is based on an interview with Primary School Teacher Mrs Okela-Kwo Mary Grace, Bobi IDP, Camp Gulu District 2008-05-31. The interview material is in possession of the author.} Bobi P7. It will constitute an example of how policy failure and internal conflict has impacted on the region and, on the out look of it’s young generation.

Bobi P7 school in Gulu District is government school. Founded in 1935 by the church of Uganda, it is a grade II school hosting 610 primary pupils in 2008. One year earlier, in 2007, Bobi P7 hosted four additional displaced schools. These schools could no longer operate in their initial areas. At that time the school had 778 pupils apart from those hosted schools with their own population. In early February 2008, the four schools returned to their original locations. Meanwhile, a secondary school still hosted by Bobi primary school is now seeking to put up its school structure on their old land in Bobi area, since their original secondary school buildings were destroyed during the conflict, leaving Bobi with only one secondary school on it’s land. This secondary school is waiting for reconstruction of their school building.

As Bobi P7 is covered under the UPE program, their recurrent budgets are provided for by the Ugandan government. The budget is divided into four quarters to form a full budget year for the school. In each period the school, receives 233,000-350,000 Uganda shillings which is supposed to cover the total expenses for a term. This includes scholastic materials, administration, management and contingencies.
Mrs Okela-Kwo Mary Grace, the deputy teacher of the school is very concerned about the funding as she claims there are no books or chalks available because of the strained budget. Although the salaries in governmental schools are higher than in the private schools in the area; the workload in government public schools is too much for the few teachers.

The average number of children per class is 80-85. Mrs Okela-Kwo Mary Grace is sad because the high number of pupils is too high and that makes her job very difficult. The discipline of the children, in her opinion, is very poor these days. Due to camp life and poverty, the traditions of Acholi culture has not been kept, and it effects the discipline in and outside school. However, the respondent gives a broader dimension to the situation and adds- “But teachers are also stubborn! Others just neglect some practises”. She gives an example of two teachers who have unnecessary absence. Both teachers are chronic drinking staff. But otherwise, the spirit and moral values among the teachers is described by the Deputy Head Teacher as good: “We just cooperate and work” she claims.

Eleven returnee pupils are registered in the school. The number is low here, because many of the children who returned to the area, chose to go to technical schools. The fourteen teachers active at Bobi P7 do not have any training in special needs education. Apart from the eleven returnees, whom are not considered to be special needs pupils, there are ten to fifteen children with different special needs. Some of them are blind, others are lame. In the discussion about special needs, there were no consideration of physical, mental or emotional needs. When asked about any special training for dealing with war affected children in their education, Mrs Okwela-Kwo referred to a work shop that was given 4 times in Opit, in cooperative learning, how to work as a group, and child to child learning.

The dropout rate in the school has reduced a bit, but girls are the most affected due to marriage and pregnancy.

“Some parents want their girls to get married so they can get money. We try to tell the girls that when they get married they will go to the garden with a baby on their back, to dig. – Now you see how easy that is! (...)They are starting to get it. On parents day we try to talk to parents about this issues.”

Otherwise Mrs Okwela- Kwo states that the pupils of Bobi P7 are performing fairly well. As the government introduced UPE and thematic teaching. After one week workshop on thematic approach, se noticed that work load for here and colleagues had changed. The amount of

140 Interview with Mrs Okela-Kwo Mary Grace, 2008-05-31.
141 Ibid.
pupils increased as UPE was introduced and the quality of education provided was affected by that number. At the same time, when thematic approach had been introduced in P1-P3, there was supposed to be a weekly assessment of each child, something that Mrs Okwela-Kwo finds challenging, but that she claims to do weekly. Learning aids and teaching materials have been received for P1-P3, from UNICEF. These materials consists of books, cards, drawn pictures, pens and rubbers. They have also received materials for the weekly assessment.

While UNICEF provides the school with scholastic materials, World Food Program has been providing food within their school feeding program. In the first term of 2008, WFP delivered food to Bobi P7 for one and a half months before the deliveries stopped. The Deputy head teacher had no information on why WFP had stopped their deliveries to the school. The cooks are not working since there is nothing for them to do. Instead the children go to pick mangos to eat at lunch time, when it is season for it. Normally the cooks are the ones to fetch water from the community bore hole. Now, the deputy teacher tells me, they send the “good girls” to get water. As Bobi P7 hosted the four displaced schools the latrines were over used. Other schools, no new latrines were drugged, and the old ones are now full. Another issue that the Deputy Head Teacher raises is the problem of having no teachers quarters to stay in. That means very long travels for the teachers. Mrs Okwela-Kwo stays in a small rented hut between Monday to Friday, then she goes home over the weekends. This is because the work place is very far from her home.142

Preliminary Analysis of Education- The Northern Reality

The symptoms described earlier by Bragin as typical for trauma, such as tiredness, restlessness and nightmares were all described or witnessed in Laroo.143 These children were offered a transition before returning home. The school however is not operating as a regular school and will only allow the pupils to rehearse what they once learnt, and try to get them used to a normal class setting. The crowded environment, overfull classes made teachers task in tracking of their pupils names, let alone, tracking of their performance and academic progress impossible.

It appears that the school was set to offer a transition point and psycho-social support to war affected children. However, this support will not be effective unless there is a personal relationship and trust established between the child and the tutor. This, in the Laroo setting, is impossible, although there was an exhibition of high intention in some of the staff.

142 Interview with Mrs Okela-Kwo Mary Grace, 2008-05-31.
143 Please see p. 16-17.
As Laroo on one hand shows an attempt from the Ugandan Government to acknowledge the problems and their responsibility stated in article 39 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child\textsuperscript{144}. Laroo also represents a great example of what challenges there are for children with trauma who seek to be refocused for quality academic work. The cognitive inability illustrated earlier, presents- as seen in the Laroo classroom environment - a huge challenge for the child as well as the teacher.\textsuperscript{145}

The bad spirits that strikes at night, gives us an idea of the perception of trauma as something external that hits a clean spirit. As the bad spirits have entered a body or mind, they can be chased away almost physically. Again this perception will explain why in northern Uganda people are talking more about physical health or ill health than emotional or mental. Nights are very difficult periods to handle. The night time is the most vulnerable time for a child. It was during these dark hours when most of these children experienced abduction.

As Bobi Primary school hosted four displaced schools, the stress on the institution and it’s facilities was too much. At a time of relative peace, and resettlement, Bobi now faces the consequences of over population. This situation is unique for the northern case, and has affected the academic performance of the children of the region negatively.\textsuperscript{146}

UPE is another proof of the Governments attempt to live up to their responsibility of offering all children education, as stated in article 28 in the Convention of the Rights of the Child.\textsuperscript{147} But UPE as a policy has also provided great challenges for the teachers and the teaching institutions. The budget is small, like the number of teachers compared to the number of pupils. As a result of failure in implementation of the UPE, WFP has been responsible for providing food to the school. Again, another failure is a fact as the food has not been delivered the last six months.

Another direct consequence of UPE is the over sized classes, which has a great impact on the quality of education provided. On top of that challenge, the government has pushed ahead a policy frame work for thematic approach compulsory for all government schools, class P1-P3. This again increases the work load on the teacher as he or she is supposed to develop his or her own materials and do weekly assessment on an unreasonable number of children.

In this kind of environment, the discipline will be poor among pupils and teachers. It will be equally hard for the teacher as for the pupil to perform well and feel satisfied with that performance.

\textsuperscript{144} Please see p. 7.
\textsuperscript{145} Please see p. 16-17.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{147} Please see p. 7.
The circumstances of war and displacement creates special needs in everyday life as well as in education. In Bobi P7, none of the 14 teachers are trained or qualified to handle special needs pupils whether those needs are physical, mental or emotional. These teachers also face personal losses and tragedies which they might have problems in handling.

In this context of conflict, displacement and poverty, the girls are proven to be very vulnerable. This is shown as they are over represented in the drop out statistics.

Bragin gives a natural understanding of the trauma of war affected children and its’ implications on the education system in her rapid assessment. And she also, mentions the importance of the community in a healing process, but does not emphasise the importance of social and cultural education as such. Nor does she give a historical, ethnical or political context to her assessment. The author strictly focuses on the symptoms of war related trauma in children, and it’s affect on their education. This has given me a good understanding of these disturbing psychological factors in the development of a child, while the findings on the ground gave me good examples of the importance of the cultural/social education by the local community. The failure in academic performance of the children in the North, is an immediate result of the social and cultural trauma of the region. When the social institutions are no longer functioning, the child is isolated, and without guidance in their academic training.
Part IV – A Concluding Discussion

10 Challenges for All

This thesis was built around the main objective, and third research question; the challenges in the education sector in Uganda, with special notice of the northern region and its unique circumstances. In the process there were two other questions to be addressed before that, namely; the impact of the history on the social and formal education of today, and the significant circumstances for children and youth in contemporary northern Uganda. Each of the chapters given have been summarized or analysed separately. The following chapter is where these pieces will be stitched together for a concluding discussion.

In the first chapter of migration, settlement and the political history of Uganda the first challenge appears. The different ethnic groups with their diversity in cultural and language has throughout history struggled over territory, recourses and power. Over time this ethnic diversity has been used politically in a classic strategy of divide and rule. The fact that the colonial era entrenched dominance of one religion over the others, resulted in an economic arrangement that favoured the south and undermined the North. This larger struggle for power and resources between the North and South is still very central in the politics of Uganda. The ethnic and religious identity being used and often emphasised politically, has brought on a challenge for Uganda as a state to, not only find a common identity as such but also to find a common national policy. Bishop Odama raised this issue as he stated that “You cannot lead a divided nation”, and continues to argue that the Government of Uganda should be the first to ensure that the people move in the right way. This division among tribes is significantly affecting the education sector as a whole but especially so in the north. The armed conflict in this region has ultimately made it impossible for the people to benefit from any of the constitutional rights, among those, the right to education. All this is summarized in the statements of Chief David Nicola Opoka and the Gulu elder, who both argues that politics and power sharing has come in the way for positive development for the Northern region.

The second challenge arises in the religious history of the territory, and the effects that the different dogmas and believes have had on politics, education and life in general. This aspect adds on to the challenges already established by the early settlement and power struggles, as these religious institutions were unable or uninterested in finding the Ugandan national concept of education.
Education is a result of a common policy and perception of prosperity. In Uganda the social and cultural institutions have a great part in the upbringing of a child. The elders are highly respected and form the essential social capital institution that provides cultural and social education. This socialization program, unlike in western civilization where a child mostly rely on parents and the State for it’s rights to development, focuses more on making a child belong to the community by training the child to take up responsibility for the family, the clan and the tribe. This social or cultural education is best given by the own community, in informal settings, and it is crucial for the clan identity, the personal identity and in extension for the national identity. Due to the northern situation this part of the education has been impossible for the northern tribes. These people have not been in their normal setting for over twenty years. There has been a great pressure on them collectively.\textsuperscript{148} When their very survival has been threatened they have been unable to protect their cultural inheritance, institutions and also, it have been impossible for them to be actors on the political arena and work for any policy, including the one needed for education. The LC III Chairman of Bobi IDP camp stated that “\textit{Values are lost}” and he regrets that the younger generation lost the social knowledge and up-brining. The Paramount Chief of Acholi took this question a step further as he argued how the Acholi community failed the children who later became rebel leaders. The collective responsibility of the up-bringing of the Acholi child is very strong in here.

The formal education institutions are struggling to provide resources to support the Universal Primary Education, UPE. It is an enormous task demanding a lot of resources, and heavily dependent on foreign donors.

Socio-economic and regional disparities, armed conflicts, the continued prevalence of poverty, high drop-out and repetition rates, and limited participation of the local communities, all contribute to the continuous crisis in education. Today, parents, communities and the state puts the child through rigorous cultural, traditional and economic demands. There is certainly a disconnection among the institutional players in Ugandan early child development as they all have different expectations and demands of a child.\textsuperscript{149}

On top of the different pressures that children are experiencing, different trauma is also a fact for many of the northern children. We have seen earlier on how trauma affects the cognitive ability in children and how this brings new challenges to an already strained education system.\textsuperscript{150}

\textsuperscript{148} Please see p. 16-17.
\textsuperscript{149} Please see p. 34.
\textsuperscript{150} Please see p. 16-17.
In respect to all these challenges there is a need to resolve the insecurity problem of the north and to establish a post-war remedial plan to reverse the process of educational retrogression. Such a plan must include a psycho-social recovery component, a continuation of a paid school fees programme, in-service training of teachers in methods suited to handling traumatised children, reconstruction of infrastructures, reconstitution of management organs for educational institutions and special affirmative action for the traumatised children, those with learning impairments and other marginalized groups.

There is also a need for a national robust legal policy framework to combat the problem of corruption. There must be a mechanism to enforce a strict regime of legally sanctioned penalties for say, embezzlement of UPE funds, examination malpractices, or for punishing those who default on submission of accountabilities and submission of progress reports.

A long term funding plan for UPE is essential. Despite requests for increased allocation, the issue of absorptive capacity in priority areas should also be raised. In addition, the efficiency gains that are possible within the existing resource envelope need to be tackled as a priority, if not, there is a danger that additional funding to education could result in inefficient investments.

In this study there are examples of great failure of providing and protecting the rights of the child. The Ugandan child, especially the northern Ugandan one, is disconnected from it’s community, without security and therefore also without a chance to enjoy their universal rights as a child.

For Northern Uganda, the biggest challenge remains the fact that a big development period has been lost. Two decades of instability has produced a lost generation of youth. And the education challenge seems to remain very big looking at the findings of the research in areas of policy, curricula, teacher quality and supervision of education in the sub-region. And at the same time the needs are enormous, and the dependency a fact.

Nationally, it appears that Uganda is struggling to find policy, practice and methods, and it seems clear that Ugandan educationists will have a lot to do. The Education policy makers and implementing technocrats are yet to develop a real plan of action for both quality world-class social and academic education.

The broader challenge for Uganda, however, is the central one: Uganda needs an education plan that will address itself to the fundamental activity of “Making the Nation”. It will mean investing correctly and efficiently in human resource development to produce national intellectuals and efficient work force dedicated to values and aspirations of the country, instead of production of tribal intellectuals, politicians and semi-skilled labour force.
With this broader understanding of the making and formation of this young nation it would now be very rewarding to give attention to some of the more narrow but peculiar research areas. For further studies on the northern Ugandan case, I would now find it very interesting to look into the role of religion in the conflict, in the rehabilitation and in the reintegration processes. Religious beliefs and practices are very present and distinguished here, and there is a very interesting scenario of a double religious identity where traditional beliefs meets Christianity and Islam. As such research might be my next personal challenge, the struggle for quality education and life for the next generation continues in Uganda, and it is a challenge for all.
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Interviews

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Questionnaires


Group I; people still in camp 5 respondents
Group II; people resettled in their home villages 5 respondents
Group III; people who remained in their home villages. 5 respondents
APPENDIX A

Example of Interview Sheet

Interview Sheet 16: An Elder in the Vicinity

Rehabilitation of the social education program

1. When you grew up, what cultural values were being practiced, and how useful were they to the Acholi community?
2. In your family then, how were children treated then, boys and girls, in terms of cultural social education?
3. Were the treatments of children fair at that time?
4. What aspect of the Acholi cultural norms and rituals did you enjoy the most as a child?
5. How was the relationship between a parent and a child in the Acholi community when you grew up compared to today?
6. The Acholi seems to have now suffered so much, and how has the war and displacement affected the Acholi culture and it’s values?
7. Do You think that your people are undermined?
8. What do you think must be one between the LRA and the Government to bring peace to Acholi land?
9. The old cleansing rituals like Mato oput are being suggested as a reconciliation in this peace process, what is your view on the matter?
10. What do you think, as an Acholi elder, is necessary in the long term to assist the Acholi children and the Acholi community to cope and regain the cultural values and dignity?
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE
Study of families remained at their homes

Head of the family:
(Name):
Age:

Sex:
Education:
Occupation:
Location

Family members:
(Names):
Age:
Sex:
Education:
Occupation:

1. How did you decide to remain and why?
2. Did any other member of your family go to the camp? If so, how many and why?
3. What was the advantage/disadvantage for your family to stay outside the camp?
4. Did you experience land disputes, if so explain how it was resolved?
5. Have your land been cleared from land mines and explosives?
6. What administrative structures were there for the family security?
7. Did your family have access to clean and safe water?
8. How was your family coping with the food situation?
9. Did your family have access to health service?
10. Did your children have access to schools and to trained teachers? If not what actions did you take for their education?
11. What happen to the children in terms of discipline and Acholi cultural values?
12. Does your family now have access to clean and safe water?
13. How is your family coping with the food situation now?
14. Does your family have access to health service?
15. Are your children going to school? If yes, how are they performing?
16. What have you noticed in behaviour and Acholi cultural values in your children today?
17. If you have realized a serious Acholi cultural erosion in your children, what steps are you taking to correct it?
18. What is the biggest problem for you and your family as of now?
19. What measures would you like to see government take to improve your situation?
## APPENDIX C

### BOBI CAMP, QUESTIONNAIRE TABLE I

#### PEOPLE STILL IN CAMP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content of question:</th>
<th>Total nr of respondents</th>
<th>Answers in percentage</th>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Reason for not leaving camp</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>60% Age and poor health, 20% widow, 20% Insecurity fear</td>
<td>80% unable to move.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Plan for resettlement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>40% waiting for building materials, 60% yet no plan.</td>
<td>60% simply have no tools or plans for resettlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Time spent in camp</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>40% five year, 40% four years, 20% twenty years.</td>
<td>The larger population only came to the camp when the war intensified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Family members who have left the camp</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20% one son went back, 60% none</td>
<td>Majority fear insecurity at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Problems with resettlement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>20% age, 20% child headed family, 20% problem of basic needs, 20% school fees, 20% widow fears in-laws</td>
<td>60% have a problem of basic needs, 40% are vulnerable, unable to provide for themselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Land disputes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>60% no disputes, 40% yes</td>
<td>60% are sure of their land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Land mines</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>40% no mines, 20% not sure, 20% mines in the area</td>
<td>40% think their land is safe from mines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Administrative structures</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% UPDF, camp leader, special police constable</td>
<td>100% presence of security forces and legal infrastructure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 water and sanitation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% have clean water</td>
<td>Water and sanitation improved.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Food source</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>60% WFP, 20% work odd jobs to get food, 20% cultivates hired land</td>
<td>60% dependent on WFP. 40% petty sources of income for food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Amount of food</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>60% not enough, 20% enough</td>
<td>Not enough food for majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Family members born in camps</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>60% had family members born in camp, 20% had no family members born in camp</td>
<td>Higher demographic change in the camp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Family losses in camp</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>60% have lost family members in camp</td>
<td>High death toll in the camps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Health care</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% has access to health centre</td>
<td>Improved health services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Access to schools</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>80% access, 20% no access</td>
<td>Majority has access to schools in camp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Optional education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td>All camp children were in school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Camp life -discipline and values in children</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% acknowledge values are lost</td>
<td>Proof of loss of culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Steps to correct cultural erosion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20% to talk to children, 20% no idea</td>
<td>Confusion n the approach of what to do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Main problems as of now</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>See results for question 5</td>
<td>Main problem is basic needs, vulnerability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 16 Actions wanted from government</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20% free education, 20% job opportunities, 40% help to construct</td>
<td>Need for resettlement package and development strategies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### People resettled in the villages

#### Content of question:  
**Total nr of respondents** | **Answers in percentage** | **Answers** | **Remarks**  
--- | --- | --- | ---  
1 Reason for leaving camp | 5 | 100% | 60% to cultivate land, 20% low moral in camp, 20% relative peace | Majority wants just to return to better life.  
2 Who went, and who remained behind | 5 | 80% | 40% all went at once, 20% older children went first, 20% respondent went alone | A half of them moved home at once. Shows the urgency to return.  
3 Problems in returning | 5 | 80% | 60% acknowledge problems, 20% had no problems | Problem of getting basic needs.  
4 Land disputes | 5 | 100% | 80% no dispute, 20% dispute | Few disputes due to local courts presence.  
5 Land mines and explosives | 5 | 60% | 20% yes, 40% none | Clearing of mines is ongoing.  
6 Administrative structures | 5 | 80% | 80% special police constables, UPDF | Improved security.  
7 Clean and safe water | 5 | 80% | 60% yes, 20% no | Improved water sanitation.  
8 Food situation | 5 | 80% | 60% grow own food, 20% have limited land | Relieved to grow their own food and improve their diet.  
9 Health care | 5 | 80% | 80% health centre near by | Good access to health service.  
10 Schools and education | 5 | 80% | 80% schools available | Access to schools in the area.  
11 Camp life -discipline and values of children | 5 | 100% | 100% camp life damaging children | Negative impact on children.  
12 Changes in cultural values after returning | 5 | 100% | 100% quality change in children | Proud to be able to raise children well.  
13 Factors influencing the change (question12) | 5 | 80% | 100% contrast | Clan, elders, parents, peer control  
14 Steps to correct cultural erosion | 5 | 60% | 60% better active plan for the children | Basic needs, social, academic education  
15 Main problems as of now | 5 | 80% | 60% basic needs problem- food, health and education, 20% children wants to go back to camp | A better development and rehabilitation program needed.  
16 Actions wanted from government | 5 | 80% | 60% wants support in basic needs, 20% wants a peace agreement signed. | Provision of basic services and guarantee of peace.  

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## BOBI CAMP, QUESTIONNAIRE TABLE III
### PEOPLE REMAINED AT THEIR HOMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content of question:</th>
<th>Total nr of respondents</th>
<th>Answers in percentage</th>
<th>Answers</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Reason for remaining</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% camp came to them</td>
<td>Camps imposed on land owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Family members who went to camp</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40% none,</td>
<td>Camp came to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Problems, advantages with remaining at home</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>60% security or clean water was an advantage, 20% no advantage, 60% land degradation a problem, 20% no problems</td>
<td>Security provided for, but land totally destroyed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Land disputes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td>They are sure of their land ownership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Land mines and explosives</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sure of security, because no landmines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Administrative structures</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>60% UPDF and special constables</td>
<td>Increased security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Clean and safe water peak of displacement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% access to clean water</td>
<td>Improved water sanitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Food situation in the peak of displacement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>40% cultivate land on distance, 40% rely on WFP, 20% takes odd jobs in order to buy food</td>
<td>The degraded land can no longer feed these families. Rely on other food sources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Health care peak of displacement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% access to health centre</td>
<td>Access to health care.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Schools and education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% access to primary education</td>
<td>Problems with hosted pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Camp life - discipline and values of children</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100% acknowledge values are lost</td>
<td>These families could remain a bit focused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Clean and safe water after resettlement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>60% access to clean water</td>
<td>Services remained good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Food situation after resettlement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20% small scale farming</td>
<td>Overpopulation degraded their land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Health service after resettlement</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20% access to health services</td>
<td>Still access to health care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 School going children and performance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20% fair performance, 20% good performance</td>
<td>They have been able to maintain some quality in education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Discipline and values of children of today</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20% acknowledge values lost, 20% values still ok</td>
<td>They were able to maintain some control of their children and their social values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Steps to correct cultural erosion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40% teaching to restore culture, 20% no steps until camp is out</td>
<td>Able to continue cultural education once the camp closes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Main problems as of now</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>80% Land degraded, 20% lack of income</td>
<td>Long term challenge for land to recover for them to grow crops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Actions wanted from government</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>60% compensation for land, 20% free education, 20% resettlement</td>
<td>Compensation for damage on their land and their services.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>