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# **Education and Conflict: Border Schools in Western Uganda**

**by**

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**DECLARATION**

This thesis is my own work, and no part of it has been presented for examination to this or any other university.

## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis considers how the delivery of primary education might be maintained in developing countries during armed conflict. The study is located in western Uganda, a region with a history of iterative conflict. The most recent armed conflict, and the focus of the research, was that perpetrated by the ADF, a mixture of guerrilla warfare and terrorism.

The research is conceptualised as an interpretive case study of the delivery of primary education in formal settings affected by iterative armed conflict. Data were collected by observation, documentation and through semi-structured interviews held with primary teachers who had experience of working in schools during recent armed conflict as well as with respondents in other key positions within the national education system of Uganda.

The analysis indicates that the work and lives of teachers (seen as essential in affecting the delivery of primary education) in this area of Uganda are located within a complex network of influences which include the demands of the national education system as well as the social contexts within which teachers both live and work. The intrusion of armed conflict interacts with these influences to make the professional lives of teachers even more problematic.

Given such competing influences, how should teachers respond? The study considers how a revised model of professionalism, based on autonomy, responsibility and reflection might be of relevance. Such a revised model could help teachers to make decisions in conditions when direct managerial control is not available, thereby contributing to the maintenance of primary education.

**ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS**

ADF	Allied Democratic Front (or Forces)
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCT	Co-ordinating Centre Tutor
CFS	Child Friendly Schools
CHE	Complex Humanitarian Emergency
CMR	Crude Mortality Rate
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CoU	Church of Uganda
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CPE	Complex Political Emergency
DCI	Development Cooperation Ireland
DDMC	District Disaster Management Committee
DEO	District Education Officer
DFID	Department for International Development
DMO	District Medical Officer
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EFA	Education For All
EFAG	Education Funding Agencies Group
EPI	Education Performance Index
EPI	Education Performance Index
EPRC	Education Policy Review Committee
ESIP	Education Strategic Investment Plan
GoU	Government of Uganda
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons/People
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
LC	Local Councillor

LRA	Lord’s Resistance Army
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NURP	Northern Uganda Reconstruction Project
PCC	Parochial Church Council
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PLE	Primary Leaving Examination
PSRC	Poverty Reduction Support Credit
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
PTC	Primary Training College
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
PWD	People With Disabilities
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status
RC	Roman Catholic
RDC	Resident District Commissioner
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SC	Save the Children
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SDR	Special Drawing Rights
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SFG	School Facility Grant
SMC	School Management Committee
SUPER	Support for Uganda Primary Education Programme
TDMS	Teacher Development Management System
TEP	Teacher Emergency Package
UPDF	Ugandan People’s Defence Force
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development



**MAP PAGE 1**

**MAP 1: Overview of Uganda.** In the west, the border districts of Kasese, Kabarole and Bundibugyo can be seen between Lake Albert to the north and Lake Edward to the south.



MAP PAGE 2



Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

Fort Portal

Kasese

Much of the border between Bundibugyo, Kabarole and Kasese with the DRC is formed by the Rwenzori Mountains. The overall area is sometimes referred to as Rwenzori

The attacks of the ADF were from the DRC , across the Rwenzori Mountains and into the districts of Bundibugyo, Kabarole and Kasese

The general location of the schools taking part in the research is indicated by the cross-hatching.

MAP 2: Detail of Western Uganda’s border with the Democratic Republic of Congo





**MAP 3:** The cross-hatched area indicates the approximate range of the Rwenzori Mountains.



## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### Personal statement

Ten years ago, when reading a newspaper, I was struck by a photograph produced by an aid agency. It depicted a young African boy lying in a gutter apparently in a state of despair. The caption stated that his intense suffering had arisen as a result of armed conflict, not only because the fighting had caused the loss of his parents and his home but - and this was the emphasis of the aid agency's appeal - because it had destroyed his education and, by implication, his future. As I studied the photograph, I realised that it appealed to me not only through its emotional call to alleviate suffering but also in an almost technical sense to my beliefs as a teacher. As a teacher, I believed education was essentially a beneficial process and I saw access to education as a right for every child, yet here it was being prevented by armed conflict. Any loss of education, I rationalised, had an effect not only on the individual child but also on society, and not only on local or national society but also on global society. Such an opinion is highly value laden, but I believed (and believe) that education leads to the betterment of society through its utilitarian functions, through its induction into a culture of values and through its ability to liberate individuals to recognise their autonomy set within an awareness of social responsibility. In essence, education is both provider and challenger. It provides knowledge, skills and values, and then challenges their construction, purpose and use.

My experience as a teacher has been largely located within the state education system of the UK, and it was by reference to this experience that I initially analysed the photograph. The photograph emphasised that armed conflict could disrupt education through its destruction of infrastructure, resources and personnel. Self-evidently, children could not attend a school if it had been razed to the ground; learning would be seriously compromised if there were no buildings, no books, no scholastic materials, no learning aids and if there were no teachers. The effects of armed conflict

on education could also extend well beyond the confines of schools whilst still affecting their work. For example, it could destroy the education and training of new teachers as well as the decision making, management and administrative apparatus of education at all levels.

I regarded the armed conflict portrayed in the photograph as a negative influence not just because of the humanitarian suffering it could cause but also because it disrupted the education of individuals<sup>1</sup>. I saw this disruption of education as a negative influence for two reasons:

1. Disruption of education means that any society, and the individuals within it, are robbed of the potential beneficial contribution of education to society at that time. This 'robbery of the now' might well affect future generations through the subsequent inability to build on previous education.
2. As education is potentially a major factor in learning how armed conflict arises and how it might be prevented (and promoted), armed conflict disrupts a potent challenge to its own perpetuation.

Lack of education provision under conditions of armed conflict therefore promotes a negative spiral. Armed conflict disrupts education, and the lack of education is inculcated in:

1. allowing armed conflicts to perpetuate, which will militate against the provision of education in the future.
2. the lack of an 'educated' generation, with concomitant effects not only as regards the perpetuation of armed conflict as in '1' above but also as regards a lack of people informed for the teaching and learning of subsequent generations.

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<sup>1</sup> The views expressed here are not referenced to literature. They are offered only as an identification of personal values.

It therefore seemed important to me that education should be maintained, no matter whether the country is so-called ‘developed’, ‘developing’ or ‘transitional’ (distinctions made in the EFA Monitoring Report 2004, UNESCO, see footnote page 5). In the developing country highlighted by the photograph, however, an additional factor was poverty and the photograph underlined that armed conflict and education (especially primary education) were somehow enmeshed with poverty. The circumstances of the boy were somehow rendered even more helpless through the inequality of poverty. The image of life conjured by the photograph appeared unfair and unjust, especially to children and especially in developing countries and especially during war. I wanted to take action, but what was my capacity to do so, and what action could I take?

I entered primary school teaching in 1975. At that time, the Great Debate (initiated by James Callaghan’s Ruskin Speech of 1976) was soon to align the purposes of education in the UK more precisely with national economic productivity. Keith Joseph (education minister under Margaret Thatcher) was largely instrumental in bringing education into the public and political arena, linking it to national rather than personal aspiration. For me as a class teacher and then as a curriculum leader, this change of emphasis was reflected in a change of agenda. Personal priorities became the need to negotiate, agree and write curriculum documents and to gain a consensus of approach between colleagues sufficiently robust to meet a growing external scrutiny. These priorities were formalised and extended when the Education Act (1988) was introduced. At this time, I was headteacher of my second school and the Act required the management *inter alia* of:

1. curriculum reform, including the introduction of statutory assessment.
2. changes to the legal governance of schools.
3. a new funding mechanism that was related to pupil numbers and indirectly to performance.
4. new formal processes for reporting to parents.



## 5. accountability through OFSTED publicly reported inspections.

In addressing these changes, I became involved as manager and teacher in a variety of reform debates and attendant actions (largely involving change) centred on school effectiveness, school improvement, inclusion and quality, each element reflecting a shift in the emphasis of function and accountability.

After moving into higher education in 1991, I have been continuously involved in curriculum development, assessment, funding, inspection, debates - including those with government - over models for Initial Teacher Training (ITT) and Continuing Professional Development (CPD). I have worked as both teacher and manager, taking on roles such as Head of CPD, Deputy Dean, Associate Dean and Acting Dean. This work has included an ongoing link with schools, not only through managing the development of partnership with schools required by ITT/CPD legislation, but through the supervision of ITT students in schools, as well as through my role as a Section 23 Inspector. The School of Education has been regularly inspected, and I am fully aware of the pressures inspection can create, not least because my management and my teaching have both been directly scrutinised by Ofsted.

What I have written reads like a cv, but what I am attempting to do is to show how, having viewed the photograph, I believed I had the capacity to do something about the challenges I thought it represented. I had experience of teaching and of management in schools and Higher Education, from teaching primary children to teaching on ITT and CPD courses, from attending a meeting of school governors to sitting on a university ethics committee. I had experienced the growth of political involvement in education and how this could, through its hegemony, legitimise links to national economic concerns and thence to global neo-liberalism. I had felt the personal pressure on me as teacher and manager to respond to initiatives concerning

effectiveness, improvement, accountability and the restructuring of funding and work-forces, and I had been inspected in my turn. In short, reviewing my experience, I felt I had some capacity to address the issues I perceived as being represented by the photograph. However, I was unsure whether I was merely transferring my conceptualisation of educational issues in an affluent society to the context of a developing country. Were those issues that my experience identified as significant also significant in the conditions displayed in the photograph or was I responding to no more than the ploy of an aid agency?

In order to address this concern, I undertook preliminary reading.

#### **Rationale for the research arising from the preliminary reading.**

Around 1.3 billion people (approximately a quarter of the world's population) live in extreme poverty (taking a definition of poverty as a person living on less than \$1 per day) and some 125 million children (of whom approximately two thirds are girls) receive no education at primary level (Oxfam, 2002). Twelve million children die each year (Watkins, 2000). Yet the distribution of such apparent ills is not globally equal. There are (as at the year 2000) an estimated 14.9 million adults who cannot read or write within both more developed and transitional<sup>2</sup> countries, but 847.1 million adults who cannot read or write in developing countries<sup>3</sup> (UNESCO 2004, p87). In the more developed countries, the infant mortality rate for the period 1995-2000 was 8% whereas in developing countries it was 65% (UNESCO 2004).

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<sup>2</sup> Within the 'EFA global monitoring report, 2003/4' (UNESCO), the authors used the term 'developed countries' and listed them as 'North America and Western Europe; Australia, Japan and New Zealand' (p294). Authors of the report used the term 'Countries in transition' and listed them as 'Central and Eastern Europe (minus Turkey); Central Asia (minus Mongolia)' (op.cit. p294).

<sup>3</sup> Authors of the report used the term 'developing countries' and listed them as 'Arab States; East Asia and the Pacific (minus Australia, Japan and New Zealand); Latin America and the Caribbean; South and West-Asia; sub-Saharan Africa' (op.cit.p295).



Education is now identified as a human right and has been enshrined in a series of development goals (White and Black 2004). The World Education Forum held in Dakar, 2000, determined six goals within its 'Education for All' framework (building on similar resolutions passed at the world conference held in Jomtien in 1990). Of the six major goals articulated at Dakar, two became Millennium Development Goals, including the achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2015. The provision of primary education assumes a particular importance because access to secondary education is often severely restricted in developing countries. For many children in such locations primary education will provide the only experience of school based learning they have but even the achievement of UPE is still beset by difficulty.

In 1997, the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) pointed out in a white paper that half of the world's developing countries were engaged in or emerging from serious conflict (para. 3.48). In Africa alone, war is a part of the daily lives of over 100 million people (Oxfam: 2002b) and service provision of all kinds is adversely affected. Under such conditions the very skills required for sustainability are lost through the 'out migration of skilled and educated persons' (Vargas-Baron and McClure, 1998, p281), infrastructure is damaged and destroyed. Resources are lost. The support of central and regional management may be removed, requiring teachers to assume responsibilities for which their training has not equipped them. Such events make the achievement of Education for All by the target date of 2015 seem remote.

### **Towards research**

Viewing the photograph and undertaking preliminary reading made me reflect further on my world view, on my views of conflict, development, the role of education and of relationships between wealthy countries and poor countries. Human beings, I felt, may be subjective, but they also form social organisations, globally interconnected. The roots of these social organisations may well be biological (Hinde, 2002, Ridley, 1997) but I would agree with authors such as Kung



(1995) and Nussbaum and Sen (1993) that an ethical approach to relationships between people is founded on the recognition and articulation of a shared humanity. The picture of the boy appealed directly to this sense of shared humanity. The picture, combined with my preliminary reading, reinforced the conclusion that suffering is a shared human experience and indicated that responses to alleviate suffering might also be shared, even if tentatively. I also felt that my reading confirmed there was a shared perception that education was valuable. The suffering and the loss of education depicted seemed amenable to action but I realised that although I might have some experience relevant to that action, I did not have the necessary breadth of knowledge needed to take action. I had never studied armed conflict or development theory and I had only a scant knowledge of issues surrounding education in developing countries and did not know in any detail the current concerns of educators in developing countries. In addition, what action could I take?

In the event, I decided that completing a PhD would provide not only the guidance necessary to extend my knowledge but, through its opportunity to disseminate knowledge, would constitute a form of useful action. Such an approach would be research led, and required an initiating focus. I therefore formulated a primary research question in response to the photograph and shaped by my preliminary reading, 'How might primary education in developing countries be maintained during times of armed conflict?'

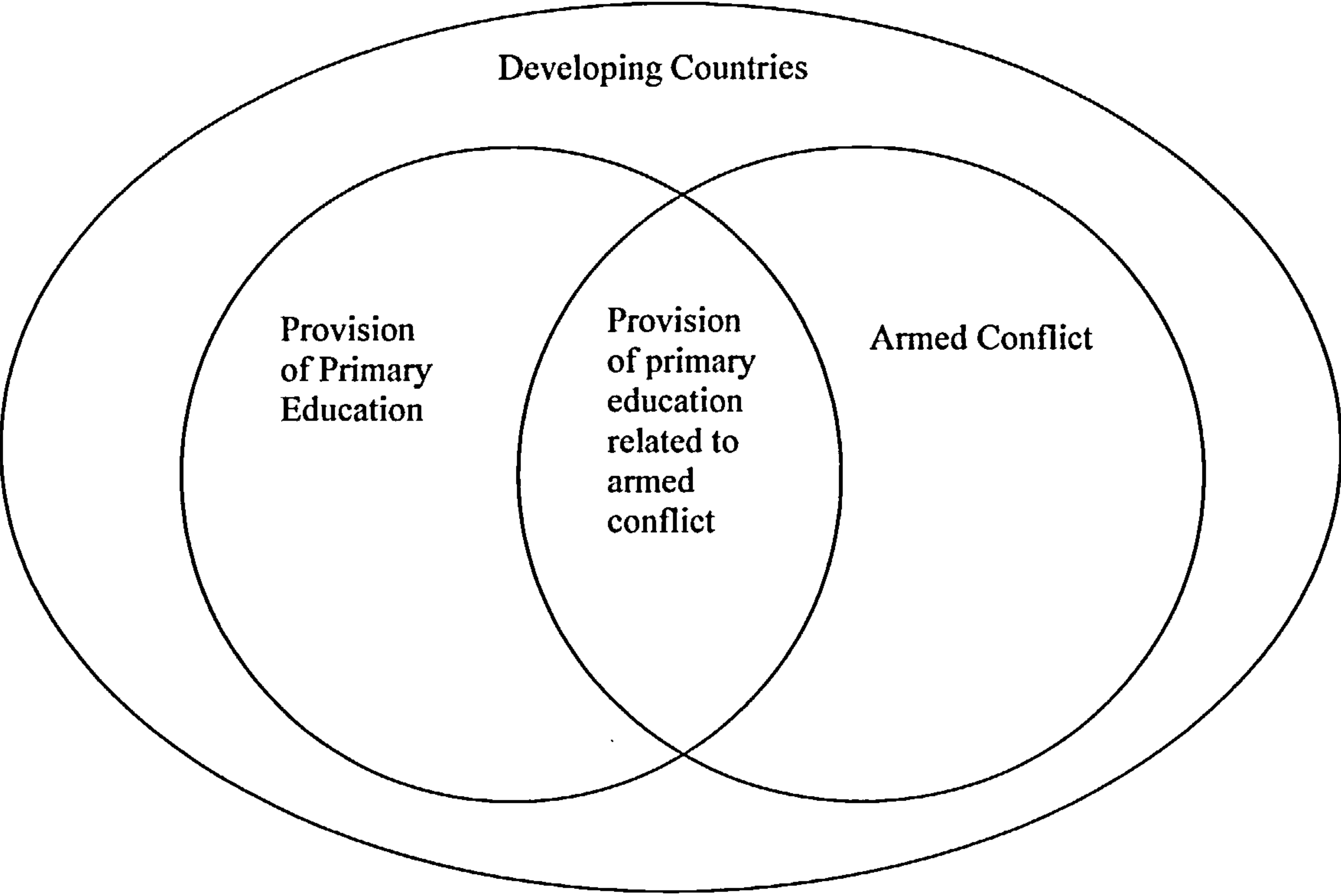
### **Focusing the review of scholarly work**

The next stage in the thesis is to review the scholarly work surrounding the concepts of particular relevance to the initiating question. Articulated as it is, the initiating question generated two further questions and identified one context to guide the next stage of the research. The context was that of developing countries, including their relationship to the global context. The two questions were:

- 1. What are the significant features of current primary education provision in developing countries?
- 2. What are the significant features of armed conflict as perpetrated in developing countries?

As indicated in the figure below, these two questions intersect to form a third question, namely:

What are the relationships between armed conflict and the provision of primary education?



*Figure 1 : to show the relationship between the initiating research question and the three foci for the review of scholarly work*

The next stage of the research was therefore to undertake a review of scholarly work around the three questions identified in order to generate an initial awareness of possible categories of significance.

## **How the thesis is organised**

**Chapter 1** provides an introduction to the study. It charts the progression from the initiating stimulus towards the articulation of an overarching research question. It draws on initial reading around the effects of armed conflict on the provision of primary education in developing countries. Based on this reading and reflection upon it, I formulate a rationale and a focus for a review of scholarly work. I identify certain personal values and experiences, both to begin the process whereby the reader can make judgements and to consider my suitability for undertaking the research.

**Chapter 2** is a review of scholarly work and is in three sections. The aim of the chapter is to identify possible significant features affecting the delivery of primary education in developing countries in armed conflict and thereby to inform the research design. Part 1 focuses on the features of the current delivery of education. Part 2 focuses on the features of armed conflict. Part 3 focuses on the product of parts 1 and 2.

**Chapter 3** begins the design of the fieldwork. Drawing on Chapter 2, it is suggested that conditions of iterative conflict could provide access to respondents whose experience could contribute powerfully to answering the originating research question. Secondary questions are raised and a research location suitable sought for their answering. I chart how my attention was drawn to western Uganda. The remainder of the chapter is a review of Uganda as a potential site for the field-work and concludes that western Uganda, not least by virtue of the iterative nature of armed conflict, might well prove suitable.

**Chapter 4** builds on the acknowledgement that western Uganda might well prove a suitable site for the fieldwork. The argument is made that the delivery of education within formal settings should be considered as the primary function of the national education system but that delivery



needs to be contextualised in order to provide as holistic an interpretation of the influences acting on it as possible. The teacher's role in delivery is taken as a focus (and also a limitation) of the research. A variety of levels of influence on delivery are postulated and related to the research design. The chapter charts my pilot visit to Uganda to ascertain whether the field work is feasible. It describes discussions with significant gatekeepers concerning later access to research sites. The study is conceptualised as a non-generalisable case study of delivery within a particular geographical area and as affected by a particular experience of armed conflict.

**Chapter 5** examines method, charting my re-entry into the field in western Uganda and the further negotiation of access. The nature of the sample is reviewed against the need to focus on delivery (and hence the need for observation and interviews of school-based colleagues), but placing this within an holistic context (with its attendant need of access to other key respondents). The approach to data collection by semi-structured interview, observation and scrutiny of documentation is considered, including a recognition that categories of significance used to guide data collection, whilst further informed by reference to the pilot visit to Uganda, remained tentative and alert to change in the field. I outline the approach to be taken to analysis, noting the interplay of data collection and analysis in the field and the issues of representation surrounding the recording of data and their subsequent interrogation. I conclude by outlining the ethical concerns of the study and how I will try to ensure that the potential vulnerability of the interviewees will be respected.

**Chapter 6** presents an account of the findings from the fieldwork, arranged in relationship to the phases of conflict. It is in four sections. Part 1 considers the current provision of primary education (indicating the aims, policies and implementation of provision likely to obtain if armed conflict were to return). Part 2 considers the effects of armed conflict on the provision of education (indicating the conditions under which provision would have to be maintained in any

future conflict of this nature). Part 3 considers the current legacies of armed conflict (illuminating both constraints on current education provision and probable effects on future provision if armed conflict were to return) and Part 4 considers preparedness for provision of education in any future conflict.

**Chapter 7** reviews the emerging constructs from the previous chapter. The teacher (as an essential contributor to delivery) is seen as subject to an array of influences that potentially affect the maintenance of education provision in a future conflict. It is suggested that teachers in the case study are currently subject to managerialist control that does not enable them to operate effectively under the uncertain conditions of armed conflict as experienced in their region. The discussion suggests that a revised view of professional autonomy might help teachers to maintain primary education should armed conflict return.

### **CAVEAT**

The focus of this thesis is primary education. In order to prevent an excessive exercise in differentiation between primary and secondary education provision within the text, please regard all references to education as implying/including primary education unless otherwise stated.

## **CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF SCHOLARLY WORK**

### **SECTION 1: EDUCATION PROVISION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

#### **Introduction**

In reviewing the provision of education in developing countries, the section begins with an overview of resourcing issues. The review then moves on to look at major influences which have shaped current approaches to curriculum and pedagogy and concludes by reference to the 'Quality Debate' and certain implications for the identification of the 'good teacher'. The section reflects those issues of significance raised by the EFA Global Monitoring Reports of 2004 and 2005 (UNESCO).

#### **Resourcing of current primary education provision**

Models of provision of primary education, if by this is meant formal attendance at school, typically share certain characteristics, namely teachers, infrastructures, teaching/learning resources, funding systems, management and accountability systems, a curriculum, approaches to pedagogy and approaches to discipline and class management, access to school and community involvement. This core of common issues applies even if the aims and purposes of education systems differ. Walsh (1993) observes, when talking of the 'use of contentious terms such as education':

..any two competing uses will be seen as like different super-structures built on similar foundations or paths that diverge only beyond a certain point... competing uses will have some features in common (p25).

The main 'deliverer' of formal schooling in developing countries is typically seen as the teacher, trained and qualified to undertake the role. However, several authors cast doubts on the quality of Initial Teacher Training (ITT) even if it is available. The EFA Report



(UNESCO 2004) draws attention to the lack of trained teachers in many developing countries, noting that fewer than two thirds of teachers are trained in certain countries of the Asia and Pacific region (p11) and Watkins (2000) notes that such training as there is might not provide teachers with sufficient subject knowledge to teach competently. Abadzi (2002), talking of education sector development in India, comments that one of the issues facing ITT is the lack of properly trained tutors and that they might be unversed in primary methodologies.

The lack of ongoing support for teachers after their training is also noted, though Monk (1999) draws attention to programmes for Continuing Professional Development (CPD) in sub-Saharan Africa. As Abadzi (2002) points out, attendance at CPD during school time might well reduce the contact hours available to each child; a situation, along with teacher absenteeism, compounded by a lack of supply teachers. Teacher absenteeism is noted as a persisting problem, perhaps arising from economic necessity (particularly the need to undertake additional work in order to earn sufficient money to meet family commitments) but might also be linked to poor motivation and job satisfaction, though links between motivation and job satisfaction are not automatic (see, for example Everard et al 2004). As Garrett (1999) points out, the position in the South as regards teacher motivation is unclear and development projects which increase resourcing might demotivate teachers as such changes represent challenges to currently employed methodologies, increased planning, increased time expenditure and increased responsibilities, probably without additional salary. Garrett (op.cit.) suggests that the role played by stress in the lives of teachers in developing countries is little understood.

A general view that emerges from the scholarly work reviewed is of the typical teacher being ill-prepared to face the challenges of the work, perhaps of low status within the community, living in poor accommodation, with difficult travel to school and rewarded by a meagre salary which may need supplementing through other activities (Watkins 2000). However, the teacher might also be seen as of almost heroic stature, working with professional concern (Peacock



1999) in the face of huge adversity and challenge. The role of the headteacher is recognised as having a strong influence on the effectiveness of schools and the motivation of teachers (Everard et al 2004, EFA 2005).

Pedagogy is often regarded in this body of literature as being stultifying, passive, mechanistic and unchallenging, depending largely on rote learning, not using available contact time productively and with scant regard for individual learning needs (Sheaffer et al, 1999) including special educational needs. King (1991) draws attention to pedagogy becoming no more than a control measure when faced with large numbers of children. The EFA report (UNESCO, 2004) notes that pupil teacher ratios continue to be high, the ratio in sub-Saharan Africa being greater than 70:1 in some countries. Many teachers are thus working in adverse conditions, faced with classroom environments (or no classroom at all) that are hot and noisy, too full, even, to walk between the rows of children, devoid of text books, writing implements, paper and so on. As Abadzi (2002) points out, participation by children in such conditions becomes largely ‘voluntary’.

Although primary schooling is typically an integral part of a national system of education provision, local conditions appear to be particularly significant in promoting effective schooling. Talking of educational reform projects, Abadzi (2002) notes that ‘local processes greatly influence project success’ (p.v). Such local influences range from the community involvement in the management of schools to promoting the motivation of teachers and a knowledge of micro- corruption practices. In any event, ‘radical reform is unlikely to be implemented in a sustained way if it runs counter to the expectations of local people’ (Monk, 1999 p4 drawing on Miti and Herriot, 1997). With the paucity of trained teachers and problems associated with teacher attendance, several education reform projects have developed the use of local people, training them to act as teachers (see Marcus and Crumpton, 1999). Other projects have adopted community approaches to education whereby children are

taught alongside parents, implying that the role of adult learning may be seen as crucial to development (see Rogers, 1992) and a recognition that education does not just happen in schools: much of it takes place in the community or family, via peers or through the media (Sheaffer et al 1999). Local people, perhaps through the agency of Village Education Committees (or similar), can become directly influential in the local management of schools (Molteno et al, 1999, the SIDH project). Programmes such as COPE (Complementary Approaches to Education) are being used in areas of armed conflict in Uganda (see Chapter 3).

### **Approaches to the provision of primary education**

#### **Education as a contested term.**

Education is a contested term, despite many commentators sharing a conceptualisation of education as involving a period of formal immersion within the influences of a state-designed apparatus intended to bring about changes in pupils which are claimed to be beneficial. Globally, the provision of formal education is deemed important and attracts huge sums of money. Education in this sense is largely equated with the business of ‘going to school’ but is invariably a value driven process. As Davis et al (2002) remind, drawing on the work of Freire, education is always *for* something and its provision will typically be designed to achieve the agenda of those agencies providing or controlling the educational process itself; the enterprise of education is never politically neutral (Harber, 1997). So, for a writer on economics such as Pritchett (2004) the supposed lack of education in developing countries is seen as a global challenge, but only in so far as it is a ‘failure to master the many cognitive competences....necessary to thrive in a modern economy and society’ (p178), whereas for Watkins (2000) education is linked (*inter alia*) to notions of development, child health and empowerment of women, and for Apple and Beane (1999) it is to promote democracy.



As stated in the introductory chapter, this thesis adopts the stance that education *per se* is beneficial. However, despite education's position as an identified human right and as a goal enshrined in the Millennium Development Goals (White and Black 2004), the different conceptualisations of education, its aims and purposes, are often highly contested. Indeed, the globally high importance and high profile afforded to education render its provision vulnerable to the influence of those wishing to shape global economic, political and social climates. This notion of education as a battleground of warring ideologies is well rehearsed and well established (Taylor and Richards, 1985), but the scholarly work reviewed below identifies three particular areas of focus relating to the aims and purposes of primary education in developing countries and of particular relevance to this thesis. The first centres around the question as to whether education is (or should be) a force for control or empowerment within a global context. This concern then links to two subsidiary foci relating more specifically to the relationship between education and conflict, namely:

1. Whether education should promote democracy.
2. Whether a main focus of education should be its responsiveness to children's needs.<sup>1</sup>

### **Education within the global context: control or empowerment?**

Developing countries are subject to current, global neo-liberal orthodoxy. As Thomas (2000) identifies, all people, even if they inhabit supposedly pre-industrial societies, exist in some relation to global, industrial capitalism (p20). Indeed, many developing countries have a particular vulnerability to neo-liberal global influences through their reliance on overseas aid and development funding, a vulnerability in part perpetrated by the actions of the World Bank and the IMF, both largely under the domination, via their voting systems and funding, of the 'rich industrialised countries' (Allen and Thomas, 2000). Allen and Thomas note that the

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<sup>1</sup> These concerns are far from being confined to the provision of primary education in developing countries. In the UK, for example, one could cite the reforms of the Education Act (1988) as a response to global influences, not least by reference to the apparent intentions of the act to improve national competitiveness within a global, neo-liberal context through education.

Presidency of the Bank is given to a citizen of the USA and the Managing Director of the IMF is 'always a western European' (op. cit. p204). Given their foundation and constitution, and the pivotal role the Bank and the IMF have in the current ordering of the world economy upon development - not least through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) - one can appreciate the opportunity for both the World Bank and the IMF to exercise a control that favours the global economic status quo. Morrow and Torres (2002), focusing the discussion on globalizing effects on education, are clear:

...given the insurmountable obstacles to raising sufficient capital internally, there is no other choice than adapting to policies that systematically undercut the capacity of governments to construct educational policies that enhance educational quality...bilateral and multilateral organizations (most importantly in education the role of the World Bank and UNESCO) have a strong presence in the formulation of educational policy, more so under contexts of financial austerity and structural reforms of the economies. (p43)

Furthermore, in linking education and SAPs, Rist (1996) highlights that the 'budgetary austerity and market liberalization involved in adjustment policies often mean *drastic cuts* (my emphasis) in the public services, in subsidies of all kinds, and in health and education benefits' (p173). For Parfitt (2002), there is little evidence that SAPs have stimulated the growth in the economies of developing countries claimed for them at their inception.

In addition, Freund (1998), when commenting on structural adjustment, emphasises the criterion of *democratisation* as a condition of aid, including aid relating to the provision of education. There is every indication within the literature that the global penetration of capitalism has led to the growth of neo-liberalism, legitimised by a version of democracy, as the dominant economic ethic. Though challenges to this economic orthodoxy exist, such as statism and/or the critical perspectives offered by collectivities (collectivists) such as Marxist, or feminist or environmentalist theories (see O'Brien and Williams 2004) or religious orthodoxies, post-colonial and neo-imperialist power distribution allows the status quo (in effect, a power imbalance) not only to be maintained but to be promoted. For example, the United States has the largest vote (17.5 percent) in the IMF because of its Special Drawing



Rights (SDR – the IMF unit of account) and the largest single vote of any member country (16.52 percent) in the World Bank (Sanford 2003 p14). As Nath (2003) points out, the resultant policies of the World Bank are a ‘reflection of the interplay of political and financial interests’ (p65) of its main shareholders. As Hickling et al (2004) observe, ‘the “post” in postcolonialism does not imply that colonialism has ended, but rather that its aftermath is contested’ (p 2) and one might argue that this contest is based on ideology that supports an hegemonic drive by those ‘competing to capture power’ (Thomson 2000, p90).

It might seem that education is only ever an instrument for control, and in particular an instrument for control employed by donors wishing to use such an opportunity for the imposition of an ideology. However, the literature also poses a view of education as empowerment.

Burbules and Torres (2000) draw attention to the possible role of education in addressing issues arising from the conceptualisation of community as having global dimensions and the individual’s relationship to that community. Watkins (2000) charts not only the positive association of education in helping the poor to participate more equitably in global markets but that education might enhance:

the capacity of poor people to influence institutions, processes and policies that affect their lives. Educated women and their children enjoy better health than their uneducated counterparts, partly because they have better access to information; but also because they are more confident and assertive in demanding services (p17).

Other authors stress that education is a right (Smith and Vaux 2003), though this position also illustrates a contention surrounding education provision. Freeman (2004) charts the development of human rights awareness since the end of the Second World War noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was drafted by states with colonial empires, that it was unexamined at a philosophical level<sup>2</sup> and that it was presented to a constituency of UN membership very different from that of today. Building on the Universal Declaration, the UN

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<sup>2</sup> Unlike Locke’s 17<sup>th</sup>. century notion of human rights, for example, which was predicated on the argued position of ‘Natural Rights’.

Convention on the Rights of the Child (the CRC, 1989) identifies in Article 28 that children have a right to education. Acknowledging the noticeably high ratification rate, Rasheed (2000) commenting on both the CRC and the World Summit for Children observes, 'Contemplating these milestones, one cannot but admire the astonishing strides towards advancing the well-being of children'. Nevertheless, Pupavac (2001) offers a trenchant critique, arguing that children's rights are 'conceptualised by proponents as embodying a universal morality beyond state borders.' (p96) and that (drawing on Robertson, 1999) '... today, international human rights provisions are now trumping national sovereignty and national law.' The nub of Pupavac's argument, as I interpret it, is that what is being proposed and institutionalised is a model of childhood typical of advanced industrialised societies. She concludes her article by stating:

White, nineteenth century missionaries spoke of the need to civilise the nations, today human rights campaigners and international peace counsellors speak of the need to promote children's rights and create tolerant cultures. The presumption underlying the children's rights paradigm is that the people and their child rearing and their other cultural practices are the problem. As a consequence, international organisations assume that external actors are required to intervene to define social norms and ensure their institutionalisation (p109).

In this commentary, Pupavac is raising two spectres of power, namely imperialism and neo-imperialism. It is perhaps not necessary to revisit well rehearsed arguments as to how power differentials between donors and receiving governments can lead to the imposition of educational ideologies other than to highlight that, as King observed in 1991:

Strapped by external debt and the conditionalities of structural adjustment programmes, countries are finding that donors are increasingly concerned with the shape, direction and financing of their educational systems (p9).

..... and, as Burbules and Torres (2000) assert, whilst not specifically indicting education as neoimperialist, the version of globalization both imposed and defended by:

bilateral, multilateral and international organizations, is reflected in an educational agenda that privileges, if not directly imposes, particular policies for evaluation, financing, assessment, standards, teacher training, curriculum, instruction and testing (p15).



In part, current education provision in developing countries would seem to be determined by donor pressures. However, many aspects of current educational provision in developing countries owe much to the legacy of colonial influence on the formal education systems of previous colonies (Mangan 1993, Comby 1992, Smith 1998, Kawashima 1998). A brief overview of this history is useful in furthering understanding of the knowledge, skills and values enshrined in current national educational policies and promoted by schools. It in part explains current approaches to curriculum content, pedagogy and assessment in developing countries and also illuminates the tensions and concordances between current donors and recipients of educationally focused aid. I would draw attention to three themes in particular, all of which gather around the core theme of certainty:

1. The influence of ‘certainty’ arising from the European Enlightenment, particularly the ‘certainty’ of scientific knowledge.
2. The influence of ‘certainty’ in defining worthwhile knowledge to be taught/learnt in schools.
3. The influence of ‘certainty’ arising from religious faith.

### **Colonial influences on current educational provision in developing countries.**

#### **The ‘certainty’ of the European Enlightenment**

To begin, one might chart how the European Enlightenment, with its confidence of certainty linked to science, imposed upon the schools of the European colonial empires of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (a time of significant consolidation of European Empire and period of capitalist expansion, Bernstein 2000) a view of worthwhile knowledge (Rist 1996, in this translation 1997) that has shaped current education provision in developing countries, not only via the content of curriculum with its apparent top-down imposition of epistemological values but via the use of the colonial language as the means of instruction (Watkins 2000). For many children, the language of instruction was that of the colonising power. The inculcation of the English language in British colonies began with children of a young age. Focusing on Uganda between 1894 and 1939, for example, Okoth (1993) notes that English was the compulsory



language to be used within the school bounds, even for children of nursery age. Later, English became the official language of Uganda.

This issue of language assumes particular importance, not only because insistence on the continued use of a non-indigenous official language maintains the memory of colonial imposition but also because of language's control of discourse (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, Howarth, 2000). At the practical level of an educator, Oghado (1999) points out that not only are children enabled to engage with the educational process by the use of mother tongue but mother tongue instruction helps to include parents in the educational process as well as contributing to children's learning and attainment (Webely, 2006) In addition, one might argue that, given the global conditions under which we supposedly live, any education system that did not introduce its pupils to globally useful knowledge (see Pryer and Ampiah, 2003 for a discussion on the impact of ICT in an African village) nor offered them the chance to learn English (as being the current *lingua franca*) would stand accused of disadvantaging them. In addition, the adoption of a *lingua franca* might prove valuable in those countries where several primary languages exist or are associated with ethnic divisions and tensions. Certain countries have adopted compromise solutions to this, for example, Uganda, where both English and mother tongue are used as media of instruction depending on the age of the children (Uganda National Curriculum, 2000)<sup>3</sup>.

### **The certainty of 'worthwhile knowledge'**

A parallel analysis of colonial legacy relates to worthwhile knowledge and considers the tension in status between procedural knowledge and propositional knowledge. (See, for example, Gould, 1993, p118.) An example of this tension is the continuing contentious nature

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<sup>3</sup> See commentary on the introduction of Swahili in Ugandan primary schools in chapter 3

of the place of vocational knowledge in school curricula. In considering the historical foundations of this debate, Natsoulos and Natsoulos (1993) point out, with regard to 'colonial Kenya', that certain so-called industrial schools offered a technical training which consisted of, 'carpentry, masonry work, agriculture, saddlery, coach and wagon building, brick and tile works, general building, telegraphy, hospital dressers, tailoring, printing, gardening and road construction' (p115). Obviously, this provision could be seen as an attempt to match education to the needs of those students not suited (so runs the argument) to an academic career but who might benefit from learning useful crafts and trades. (See, for example, Iber Der Thiam, 1984, for an impassioned advocacy of this approach.) Yet such vocational education could also be interpreted as a means of subjugation by denying access to knowledge in any way linked to power and would thus provide an example of reproduction theory in practice (Apple, 1979). Again the argument is well rehearsed (though pertinent) and in the event, many developing countries at the time of writing do include a vocational emphasis in their primary curricula (see Uganda National Curriculum, 2000). This inclusion would seem to result from a recognition that primary education is likely to be the only formal educational experience of most of the children and that this experience must therefore serve not only as a route to secondary and tertiary education - for those selected and able to pay - but as an introduction to economic productivity. As an example of how to achieve a balance between the demands of foundational, vocational and propositional education, Desmond et al (2004) outline a possible route to achieving reconciliation between the competing demands, namely, Garden Based Learning (GBL). GBL<sup>4</sup> is an approach which draws in part on Gardner's concept of multiple intelligences (Gardner 1999) and offers experiential engagement by pupils not only in meeting food survival and sustainability conditions but also in meeting the needs of what the authors term 'basic education'. This latter includes 'language, science, maths, social studies and visual/performing arts' as well as

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<sup>4</sup> Desmond et al draw on data from GBL programmes running in Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ethiopia, India, Jamaica, Mexico and Micronesia.



‘personal, moral and social development’ and ‘life skills education’ (p19), in this case, the management of gardens as a sustainable source of food.

### **The ‘certainty’ of faith**

A third dimension of the European colonial legacy is that relating to the Christian religious foundations of schools in developing countries. Whilst recognising that the actions of many missionaries of the 19<sup>th</sup>. century period of European colonial expansion (a period seen as critical by Bernstein (2000, see above), might have been driven by the entirely altruistic interpretations of their faiths and an assumed ‘divine command’ (Holmes 1993), their actions led to an emphasis in colonial schools on the gospels which in turn emphasised Christian ideals, beliefs and customs with apparently little consideration for prevailing indigenous religious beliefs (Mangan, 1993, p113).

The legacy of Christian missionary activity of the time includes, firstly, a large number of schools in the developing world that have Christian religious foundations (Obura, 2003, for example, estimates that 70 % of primary schools in Rwanda are founded by either Catholic or Protestant churches. See Chapter 3 for detail on the foundation of primary schools in Uganda, including that by non-Christian faiths.). Secondly, there is the emphasis within such schools between the foundational aims, values and tenets and how these are reflected in the curriculum and ethos of the school. Thirdly, although the motivation of many missionaries might have been one of conversion to the ‘true’ faith, the nature of the knowledge they were able to ‘impose’ on indigenous peoples via the education systems they established would also have suited the ambitions of the colonising state, both by creating useful ‘servants’ of that state, i.e. equipping indigenous peoples to undertake useful administrative/functional duties on behalf of the colonising state (see *inter alia*, Mangan, 1993) and by reinforcing values that would also be useful, e.g. respect for authority. Indeed, Comby (1992) comes to the conclusion that missionaries were also often nationalists and came to be seen by indigenous peoples as being engaged on the same task as the soldiers and administrators of the ruling



power. There is therefore an extant link between the identification of worthwhile knowledge and the religious foundations of schools in the developing world.

### **Authoritarian/Democratic education**

The debate surrounding the notion of education as empowerment or control gives rise to an examination of the link between education and the promotion of democracy. I have taken the links between democracy and education as a particular focus because:

1. Democratisation is seen as being a significant, current, global trend, not least through its linkages to notions of ‘good governance’...and... ‘accountability as a condition of aid and loans’ (Waylen, 1996. p115), including those to support education.
2. Within the global political economy ‘...institutions lacking in democratic features are held to be illegitimate, and by extension, unjust’ (O’Brien and Williams, 2004).
3. At the time of writing, democracy appears to be held in stark opposition to other forms of political governance, particularly those founded on religious fundamentalism (particularly that of Islam) in the so-called ‘War on Terror’. Democracy is urgently related to current world tensions.
4. Several authors draw an explicit connection between democracy and education and peace. (See, for example, Harber, 1997, Davies, 2004.). This relates directly to the initiating research question of the thesis.

The following discussion centres around the promotion of democracy in schools, in particular the opposition of democratic education to authoritarian education, an argument expounded by Harber, 1997.

Many authors draw a connection between education and the promotion of democracy (*inter alios* Kelly 2004, Apple and Beane 1999, Watkins 2000), seeing the promotion of democracy as an essential aim of education. However, Harber (1997) is careful to draw a distinction between education's involvement in promoting a system of democratic government and what he refers to as a 'civic culture' of democracy. As I interpret the nub of his argument, Harber sees the necessity for education to 'reject authoritarianism ...to contribute to the creation of a political culture of democracy which upholds values of tolerance and mutual respect' (p3). Within this model of education, schools would model democratic values including:

respect for evidence in forming political opinions, a willingness to be open to the possibility of changing one's mind in the light of such evidence, the possession of a critical stance towards political information and regard for all people as having equal social and political rights as human beings (Harber, op.cit. p3)

In other words, schools themselves should demonstrate democratic principles and processes within their everyday practice, not only as regards the civic functions of democracy (such as tolerance and the respect for the opinions of others) and the 'explicit examination of social and political issues and structures' (p64) but also through the processes of their internal organisation of learning and teaching. Harber sees peace as a goal of education and explicitly identifies a democratic education as an education for peace, achievable through the processes identified in the quotation above. He most explicitly rejects the notion that this model of education is intended to form particular adherence to any political party. Olssen et al (2004) echo Harber's position, seeing deliberative approaches to democracy as the preferred way to resolve difference and that 'education is pivotal in the formation of a contestatory deliberative democracy' (p273).

Schools which run counter to the ideal of the democratic school are identified by Harber as authoritarian. Authoritarian schools are characterised by features such as the valuing of examinations that 'test memorisation of knowledge....teaching and learning methods which remain didactically insistent on transmitting the facts rather than developing skills or



transmitting values' (Harber, op.cit p49), a position that resonates with Kelly's (2004) notion of curriculum as content and education as transmission. Schools in which there is bullying, harassment and violence towards children (Leach 2003, Davies, 2004, Harber, op.cit.) would also be identified as authoritarian in that they countermanded and/or prevented the development of democratic values by such practices. This violence in 'authoritarian' schools in developing countries is acknowledged as a factor in determining children's attendance and completion of primary schooling. The subjection of both girls and boys to violence is noted by Boyle et al (2003), observing that girls might be subjected to levels of sexual harassment and abuse that would deter them from attending school and that boys might be subject to measures of corporal punishment that would deter them likewise. Schools might also be identified as authoritarian because they are places within which the teacher's position is derived only from authority and not from expertise.

### **Responsive/unresponsive education**

The next theme addresses issues of access and inclusion. The use of the term 'responsive' indicates the continuing 'child-centred' approach of much of the literature as opposed to 'product' or 'content' approaches to the provision of primary education (Kelly, 2004).

Molteno et al (1999) reported a set of case studies<sup>5</sup> that clustered around themes that illuminated children's educational disadvantage. Case studies included disadvantage wrought by lack of school, disadvantage caused by children being required to work for poverty reduction and disadvantage attendant on children caught up in armed conflict. The authors took the responsive nature of the school providers as the linking critique, concluding that:

'...one of the main things to be done to improve schooling for disadvantaged children is to encourage school providers to be more responsive to the particular needs of children

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<sup>5</sup> The Report 'Towards responsive schools' was produced for Save the Children and case studies were set in India, Mali, Lebanon, Liberia, Mozambique, Pakistan, Mongolia, Ethiopia and Peru.



in each situation, to the challenges of changing external conditions and to the community of school users who have much to offer to the educational processes.’ (piii)

A major feature of this responsive model of education is the valuing of individual children and the need for an education system to respond to children’s particular situations and to involve children in matters which concern them. The model of education proposed is one that is inclusive, appropriately resourced (‘as a proportion of national revenue’ p17) and of quality (see later). There is a clear recognition of the under-representation of certain populations e.g. children with special educational needs, and of the potential tensions arising from their inclusion (Molteno et al, op.cit p21).

Molteno et al (op. cit.) are not alone in identifying barriers to the access to primary education for many individual children. Amongst the most formidable of these barriers as identified in the literature is the cost of education related to income, an imbalance which ‘limits the ability of poor households to take advantage of educational opportunities’ (Watkins, 2000 p38).

Penrose (1998) remains critical of cost-sharing initiatives and Boyle et al (2003) reinforce Molteno’s plea for flexible systems capable of responding to local need ‘but without compromising standards of provision’ (pxi). Boyle et al also note that although costs are a major factor in determining access to education, other socio-cultural factors also play important roles in affecting the educational opportunities and attainment of individual children. Such determining factors include levels of nutrition (Watkins, 2000) and health, including HIV/Aids in its multitude of social ramifications ranging from the infection of a child, which might prevent the infected child from attending school (Kelly and Bain 2003, drawing on experience in the Caribbean) to the death of a breadwinner. These scenarios might also require a girl (typically) to assume additional domestic responsibilities. Similarly, the creation of orphans within an extended family may cause disturbance to the economic regulation of a household, most probably creating concomitant additional burdens on girls and their subsequent absence or dropout from schools. The EFA Report (2004) notes that total enrolment in primary education ‘rose from 596 million in 1990 to 648 million in 2000’ but

that an estimated 104 million children of primary-school age were not enrolled in school at the turn of the millennium... ‘Girls comprise 57% of all out of school children’ (p6) though this is subject to regional variation. As Boyle (op. cit. p1) observes, ‘Where there are “trade-offs” between schooling for different children – girls usually suffer.’ In addition to domestic work, girls might also drop out of primary school through early marriage (with the typical lure of its attendant dowry) and pregnancy. A lack of facilities in schools for girls who are menstruating might also affect completion of primary education (see, for example, EFA 2004). The issue of sexual violence as another factor affecting completion of primary education by girls is mentioned above. However, as regards supposed connections between poverty and attendance at school, it should not be assumed that impoverished families do not value education, and many make sacrifices to ensure that their children attend school (Boyle op.cit).<sup>6</sup>

### **Quality of educational provision**

In several respects, many of the issues outlined above resonate with the debate surrounding the quality of primary education in developing countries. ‘Quality’ is recognised as a slippery concept (Ribbins and Burrige 1994) though the EFA Global Monitoring report for 2005 identifies two strands of quality, namely the cognitive development of learners and ‘education’s role in promoting values and attitudes of responsible citizenship and in nurturing creative and emotional development’ (UNESCO, 2005 Summary Report p2). This EFA Report also identifies a number of factors associated with providing the quality it seeks, including a call for more and better trained teachers, sufficient instruction time for the children, a concentration on reading, a pedagogy that is child friendly and not reliant on passive learning, initial instruction in the learners’ own language(s), accessibility to learning resources such as text books, facilities that include adequate buildings, access to clean water and sanitation and effective management, particularly at school level. (See also issues of

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<sup>6</sup> The reasons for non-attendance and drop out of pupils are complex, ranging from the economic to issues of security. They are generally well rehearsed and therefore not laboured in this review.



gender highlighted in the EFA Report, 2004.) The 2005 Report also recognises that ‘despite a growing consensus about the importance of quality, there is much less agreement on what the concept means in practice’ (p5). An example of lack of consensus noted in the report would be continuing debates over pedagogy, such as that between the relative merits of structured teaching approaches as opposed to constructivist approaches (p11).

The call for primary education to be of quality is not confined to the EFA Report of 2005 (see, for example, The Human Rights Reporter for 2001/2, Rasheed 2000). Several authors identify a link between the quality of education and participation by children in formal education systems. Based on case study findings in Pakistan, Molteno et al (1999) state, ‘Poor quality of education is a higher deterrent to enrolment than availability’ (p159). (See also Harper and Marcus, 2000.) One possible analytical framework for linking teachers to educational quality is that of professionalism and its attendant notions of the ‘good teacher’.

### **The good teacher**

No matter what one’s aims for education, potentially the strongest influence on a child’s learning is the teacher (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2005). Other stakeholders of a national formal education system may directly or indirectly control educational policy, the curriculum, the assessment, the training of teachers and accountability, but as Carron and Chau (1996) observe, ‘The quality of education depends on the quality of teachers’ (p116). The interaction between teacher and learner is the crucial link between the aims of formal education and their realisation. This is not to suggest that other factors are not important in promoting children’s learning but it does maintain that the teacher/pupil interface is a unique context where all those influences meet and through which they are channelled. In addressing education provision in developing countries, Avalos (2002) underscores the link between teachers and quality, ‘In relation to this crusade to meet basic educational needs and to foster quality in education, teachers re-emerged as key players’ (p181).

## CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF SCHOLARLY WORK

### SECTION 2: ARMED CONFLICT

#### Introduction

The initiating research question is ‘How might primary education be maintained in developing countries during armed conflict?’ and the preceding section has considered the first dimension of this question, namely the current preoccupations surrounding the delivery of primary education in developing countries. This next section considers the second dimension of the research question, namely, armed conflict. The aim is to provide a *contextualising review of the literature relating to armed conflict, concentrating on generic issues though with a concentration on armed conflict in developing countries*. This section does not attempt to consider the specific and detailed provision of primary education under conditions of armed conflict nor to provide a detailed consideration of how education provision and armed conflict relate (this forms a focus of the third dimension of the research question and is considered in the next section) but rather attempts to provide information on the contextual parameters and additional preoccupations of such provision.

In Africa alone, war is a daily part of the lives of over 100 million people (Oxfam Policy Paper, 2002, *Africa at the Crossroads*). Allen (2000) draws attention to the intra-state dimension of current conflicts with most of those that have occurred since 1990 located in Africa and Asia. The rise in intra-state conflict has been linked by several commentators to the end of the ‘Cold War’ in 1989, and the subsequent tilting of global balance and the removal of the ‘super-power restraints on client states’ (Commins, 1996, p9 and Duffield et al 2001). Intra-state conflicts are characterised by very high CMRs (crude mortality rates), social, political and economic breakdown, displacement, the emergence of civilians as primary targets, rape and the involvement of children as soldiers. The terms Complex Humanitarian Emergency (CHE) and Complex Political Emergency (CPE) have become associated with these conflicts in an attempt to indicate something of their character, a



complex emergency being defined by the UN as ... 'a major humanitarian crisis of multi-causal nature ... protracted' (Adams and Bradbury, 1995 p9).

The foregoing paragraph indicates that the conceptualisation of armed conflict as a readily identifiable action invariably contested *between states* is outmoded. This realisation is charted in chronological revisions to taxonomies of war as noted by Wallensteen (2002) who comments on three projects, namely the Causes of War Project, the Correlates of War Project and the Upsala Conflict Data Project which chart the evolution from a conceptualisation of war as an action between independent states to the use of violence linked to the recognition of an 'explicit issue of contention, defined in political terms' (op. cit. p24). This distinction underscores the need to distinguish between 'political violence and sheer banditry, mutinies and other forms of collective violence' (op.cit. p25). The Upsala Project identifies that in the 110 armed conflicts it has recorded since 1989 the state was only one of the actors and that more than 150 non-state actors were involved. Few of these non-state actors were recognized by the states themselves 'and certainly not by the states against which they are fighting. They are instead defined variously as terrorists, gangs, bandits, criminal groups, etc.' (op.cit p68). Nevertheless, Wallensteen contends that consideration of such bandit (and similar movements) must be taken seriously and extends the study of armed conflict to include 'all parties that have armed forces under their control, have a central command and explicitly pursue political goals..' (p51/2).

### **The aetiology of armed conflict**

No matter the identification of the parties, Suganami (1996 p62) considers there to be three logical pre-requisites for wars. Firstly, there is what he refers to as the discriminatory sociability of human beings, through their capacity to kill their fellow human beings. Without this capacity, there could be no armed conflict. Secondly, there is the requirement for a grouping of human beings to feel the need to resort to arms and to 'demand the co-operation of society members' to that effect (op.cit. p62). Finally, there is an absence from the

international system of ‘a perfectly effective anti-war device’ (op. cit. p62). Nye (1997) emphasises this notion of a lack of effective higher authority, commenting that this renders international politics anarchic in this literal sense at least, and other writers comment on the flouting of such international law as there is (see, for example, Bryer and Cairns, 1998).

Other authors have sought to identify more meso-level factors that contribute to armed conflict. *Inter alios*, Smith and Vaux (2003) emphasise that wars are not irrational but are ‘deeply embedded in struggles over resources or adaptation to change’ (p9). Klugman et al (1999) focus on economic factors, relating conflict to perceived inequality but cautioning that inequality is not in itself a sufficient cause of conflict. Smith and Vaux (op.cit.) echo this position by observing that the prevalence of armed conflict in poor countries is not proof that poverty itself is the inevitable cause of conflict, pointing out that conflict is not ‘restricted exclusively to low income countries...’ (p9). A useful framework is provided by Adams and Bradbury (1995) who isolate the following possible contributory factors as part of a political analysis of conflict. Even if the state is not a direct protagonist, it might yet be inculpated in the promotion of conflict:

1. The state as being weak or ‘defective’, perhaps arising from a colonial legacy (see below). Strong central structures which could prevent or at least ‘police’ conflict are absent or readily withdrawn under pressure.
2. A ‘predatory state’ that feeds off its population via, for example, taxes, particularly those levied on peripheral people. Another feature might be what Adams and Bradbury refer to as ‘dominance of the political landscape by the military’ (p16).
3. The unsatisfactory resolution of previous conflict, as with the imposition of inadequate structures to manage potential conflict between ‘contending political parties’ (p16).



4. Poverty and the vulnerability of societies changing to a market economy where a benefit system is not yet in place, i.e. the traditional systems of security have not yet been adequately replaced.
5. Conflicts induced by development, through a development model that 'ignores power differentials or heightens economic disparities ... Sustaining such a model sustains endemic violence'(p18).

Conflicts are potentially multi-causal in nature. Duffield's (1991, 1994, 1996) analyses of conflict in Africa demonstrate links between famine, poverty, global influences and conflict. He proposes a theory of 'reciprocity' arguing that subsistence economies (such as those in pre-colonial Africa) relied on reciprocity between peoples, and between people and land, in order to function. These relations of reciprocity also encompassed armed conflict as part of a normal social fabric but, under subsistence conditions, warfare followed rules that ensured there were not too many raids, fatalities were kept to a minimum, the arms used were limited, who took part was defined, and so on. (See also Fukui, 1994.) Duffield contends that the balance of this reciprocity has been broken and that it has become a destabilising rather than a stabilising force. He cites several possible contributing factors, noting that during the colonial period conflict was policed by the imperial powers but that in Africa there has been a decay of governance since the 1970s, coupled with ease of access to automatic weapons. Flows of people might also affect social balance, as might links with forces in other countries. He notes that asset transfer during a conflict might result in the creation of an informal economy beyond state control, which would benefit certain individuals and/or groups, provided the armed conflict continued. Armed conflict need not therefore be temporary. It could be actively prolonged in order to maintain the vested interests of certain of the participants.

Allen (2000, p172) points out that a reason often given as to why contemporary wars seem so abhorrent is that they are 'characterised by what the 1994 *Human Development Report* calls "interethnic strife" '. Eller (1999) offers an analysis as to how the ethnic component might

contribute to armed conflict. He notes that there are two types of states, those that are coterminous with nations<sup>1</sup> and those that are not. This situation arises in part because the delineation of country boundaries by colonial powers was often without reference to the social groupings and relationships of the indigenous people (Thomson 2000<sup>2</sup>). As a result, there has arisen the potentially misguided notion that the peoples located within a state (as opposed to a nation) are homogeneous in significant ways. In addition, the colonial legacy has created/ informed/defined the structural relationships within countries. For example, the pre-conflict leadership imbalance between Hutu and Tutsi and Twa as dated by the 1994 war in Rwanda was created and confirmed by the previous colonial authority, with the minority Tutsi seemingly appearing more congenial to the racial stereotyping and preferences of the colonial power and consequently being given authority within the state (Eller, op.cit.). Obura (2003) claims that this preference between Hutu and Tutsi was represented in the allocation of school places at Rwandan independence, an allocation that was biased in favour of the Tutsis. In other colonial situations, specific groups might similarly have received preferential access to resources such as education, health and to power (see Chapters 3 and 6 for examples from Uganda). One group within the nation might therefore see itself as essentially different (superior/inferior, unjustly treated and so on), identify itself by reference to this difference and be considered 'ethnic' in character. The Hutu and the Tutsi (and the Twa) were historically from a common ancestry, namely the Banyarwanda, sharing indeed a common language, yet further social subdivisions between them negated that previous common identity for a more dominant one, rather loosely described as their ethnicity.

What binds an ethnic group together might be any characteristic so desired, such as language or an appeal to shared history, but Eller (p9) would contend that a mere consciousness of difference is not sufficient for ethnicity. For him, the distinguishing feature is a *mobilization*

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<sup>1</sup> Eller (1999) citing Connor (1994) defines nations as the 'largest human grouping characterised by a myth of common ancestry' (p18).

<sup>2</sup> Thomson also draws attention to the fact that not only were the boundaries imposed, there was also an imposition of statehood itself.



around the difference. In addition, drawing on Barth (1969), Eller comments that it is not merely the content, the list of traits, which distinguishes one ethnic group from another but rather their boundaries and relations. Thus, the content of the group might change over time through assimilation, for example, but the boundaries of the group remain.

However, such apparently shared identities around common historical cultures are in some sense mythical and susceptible to manipulation. History can be invented, events interpreted to suit a particular cause and demands made on the present to advance noble causes from the past. Thus Eller, drawing on Malinowski (1961), points out that what is interpreted currently as somehow ethnic is ‘not a simple continuation of a traditional culture into the modern political world. It is, rather, an emergent and original social phenomenon in itself’ (p63).

Although ethnicity provides a possible explanation as to how particular, large critical masses of peoples exist who can draw upon strong senses of sameness and otherness it does not explain why such differences should mobilise into conflict. It is one thing to harbour a sense of historical grievance, it is another to act upon it by taking up arms. One should avoid the assumption that ethnicity *per se* is a cause of conflict. As Mackintosh (1998) describes (in the conflict in Rwanda) the term ethnic is profoundly inadequate:

Regional, economic and party-political divisions were also part of the dynamic. And there does not ... seem to be a consensus as to what exactly is meant by “ethnicity”. Is “ethnic group” just another word for “tribe”, but one which is deemed more politically correct? (p101)

### **The displacement and vulnerability of civilian populations**

Another typical feature of much current armed conflict is that of displacement, either internally or across state borders. Such movements of people not only create issues of access to food, health, education and so on, but also have a bearing on the possible continuation of the war. Ethnic identity can be reinforced as a result of common hardship, and, as has been

pointed out, even if the traits of a group might change as a result of assimilation, their cultural boundaries might still remain. Mohan (2002) notes that features of diasporas include:

1. 'A collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history and achievement
2. An idealisation of the putative ancestral home and a collective memory of its maintenance, restoration, safety, prosperity, even its creation.' (Mohan, p81/2 citing Cohen p26)

Robinson (2002, p9) notes that while identities such as nation-state exist and with them a sense of legal rights and status, many refugees will find themselves in a new state without 'formal citizenship entitlements'. Turton (2002) suggests that liberal democratic states can only protect the rights and lifestyles of their own citizens by denying access to others, even though they may in principle wish to see such rights extended to all. Displacement thus moves from an issue of escape to one of containment.

As Duffield (1991) reminds us, the majority of internal wars fought in Africa do not consist of pitched battles between soldiers, with civilians protected as far as possible from harm. Current inter/intra-state armed conflicts are characterised by civilians, and particularly children, becoming the direct targets and not merely the 'collateral damage of military strategy during armed conflict' (Maslen and Shazia 2000). Indeed, O'Hanlon and Singer (2004) claim that, when combining war and war-related famine and disease, 'almost 90% of the dead are innocent bystanders' (p77). Within the civilian population, women and children remain particularly vulnerable. The vulnerability of children is returned to later, but a consensus of opinion within the literature reviewed (see, among others, Adams and Bradbury 1995, Porter, Smyth and Sweetman 1999, Gell 1999, Khaw 2000 drawing on Shoham 1996) is that the vulnerability of women is significant and might be increased because of the following factors:

1. The lack of a male interlocutor may render the voice of women in decision making less potent, and the acquisition of resources more difficult.
2. Women may be less mobile than men, because of their reproductive roles, and thus not able to escape the fighting.



3. Women may need to assume the male role as head of household during conflict, a role for which they may be unprepared and in which they may be unsupported.
4. Women are subject to sexual violence during conflict. Women become victims of the conflict as a function of their sex. Rape has become a weapon of war with its subsequent social isolation of victims.
5. Cultural norms regarding the role of women might be employed as a measure of control (e.g. the erstwhile requirement of the Taliban in Afghanistan that women should not involve themselves with education, should remain largely confined to the home) severely restricting women's contribution to society.
6. The impact of disaster and displacement is often felt via women's reproductive role. Camp environments may be hazardous for children, access to resources might involve potentially dangerous practicalities such as fetching water.
7. Food distribution in camps (including that determined by aid workers) might be subject to sexual favouritism.
8. Women required to demonstrate true refugee status in a camp, through evidence such as building a shelter, may be physically unable to do so without access to the physical labour of men. Such women become vulnerable to sexual coercion by men willing to offer such labour.

Several writers have noted, however, that the change of roles virtually forced on women as a result of conflict also presents opportunities. Thus women may gain a political voice that they did not have before and an involvement in power that is new, including positions of military power. However, as Gell (1999) points out, once the conflict is over, women may have difficulty in retaining the social gains they have made.

### **The phases of conflict**

Certain authors draw attention to the phases of conflict, a consensus seeming to be there is no longer an accepted notion of conflict as passing through an orderly, sequential and linear

series of stages. The very notion of CPEs is that they are messy and unpredictable or, as Roche (1999 p166) terms it, fluid. Although several stages in a conflict might be discerned, the order in which they occur, the time which each stage occupies and the results are indeterminable. The entry, exit and re-entry points into any one phase or phases are unpredictable and fluctuating. Indeed, Obura (2003) claims that there is no accepted definition of each or any phase. However, descriptive terms such as ‘reduction, resolution, rehabilitation, reconciliation, reconstruction and peace’ occur regularly in the literature.

Agencies actively involved in development projects may well find themselves caught up in armed conflict, and such agencies might typically include NGOs, both national and international. As Helton (2002) cautions, ‘NGOs are a customary feature of humanitarian responses. They must be taken into account in such operations. Decision makers ignore them at their peril’ (p210). However, the involvement of NGOs raises questions. First is the question of NGOs’ relationship to those in power and in whose service they act (Turton 2002). Goodhand and Chamberlain (1996) consider the gap between the rhetoric of neutrality and the politicisation of aid. Talking of Afghanistan they comment, ‘It may be asked whether NGOS were indeed strengthening civil society, or rather attempting to shape it in ways that external factors considered desirable’ (p43). A second question is whether NGOs should align themselves to particular sides in a conflict or remain somehow detached. Riak (2001 p300) points out that international assistance during a time of conflict ‘not only becomes part of the conflict but also has the potential to feed into and exacerbate it.’ (See also Slim 1998.) The third issue is the irony that the interventions of NGOs can bypass important opportunities, as when societies under stress have highly sophisticated mechanisms for coping with conflict (or other emergency), and it is becoming recognised that the existing coping mechanisms of populations are likely to be highly effective. The picture of apparent helplessness seen at refugee camps might well have been preceded by intense activity between the victims themselves to allay the tension (Crow, 2000). This points to the need for NGOs to be aware of the context in which they find themselves, and to work with local



capacity and not against it. Pushpanath (1999) comments on the empowering effect such involvement and sharing of decision making can have on local communities. Summerfield (1996 p62) comments 'Every culture has its own construction (*sic*) of traumatic events and recipes for recovery ... Local workers can also feel undermined by imported concepts and "experts" who implement them.'

Agerbak, (1996), though referring specifically to NGOs, offers a model of how agencies' roles might change in response to the changing phases of conflict, beginning with a reduction in the development programme as it is overtaken by the conflict. She sees the next stage as moving from development to relief but recognises a consolidation phase of 'doing development in conflict'. She sees the final stage as being one of planning for peace. Addison (2003) in talking of Angola also notes the blurring of the distinction between humanitarian assistance, reconstruction and development co-operation but goes on to comment on how this blurring raises difficulties of co-ordination between government, donors and NGOs especially in a country with weak institutions. Jeong (2002) echoes the need for the synchronisation of strategies at different levels ('inter-personal, group and society' p160) for the successful implementation of a peace plan. Obura (2003) also notes the importance of interagency co-operation within the context of Rwanda. Indeed, effective co-ordination is a recurring issue in the literature, (see particularly, Sommers, 2004), and extends to conflict prevention, preparedness and early warning. White and Cliffe (2000) view 'prevention, preparedness and early warning' (p323) as positive steps and Klot (2000), focusing on children, considers that 'early warning and preventive action can help deter human rights violations and defuse situations that may lead to armed conflict' (p62). Maslen and Shazia (2000) call for contingency planning to be already enshrined in 'programmatic procedures before hostilities break out' (p30). However, even if accurate, such early warning would have to be heeded and there is evidence that, although given in the past, such warnings have not been heeded by the international community (Bryer and Cairns, 1998). The interest of the international

community in conflicts is variable, perhaps requiring apparent threat to the global economy before action is taken (Bryer and Cairns, 1998).

### **Responses to the different phases of conflict**

Once a conflict is underway, there is merit in trying to bring about its reduction as a way of mitigating vulnerability (Adams and Bradbury, 1998). However, the resolution of a conflict does not necessarily remove that which caused it in the first place, (Adams and Bradbury). At a later point, there is a phase of reconstruction during which it is crucial (as it is in all phases of intervention in conflict) that all agencies are aware of the specific context within which the conflict is located. This requires careful analysis of the social and political situation. As Pearce (1998 p73) points out, 'Failure to understand the socio-economic context of conflict seriously weakens the emergency effort, as well as the prospects for post-conflict peace building.' Pearce (op.cit.), revisiting the theme of the multi-causality of war, comments that conflicts develop over time and are rooted 'in some way in the interactions between identities of class, ethnicity, and sometimes religion ... and structural socio-economic factors' (p74). She suggests that conflict analysis in reviewing these interactions needs to consider how senses of injustice, rivalry and inequalities are historically located. This point is emphasised by Addison (2003) who claims that conflict's historical roots are too often ignored. Drawing on five case studies in sub-Saharan Africa he notes that each country had 'complex histories in which domestic factors interacted with international ...to produce years of conflict' (p26). Nor should post-conflict stages be seen as static (Simpson, 1998 p105), for here, too, the social patterns will take on new forms and manifestations.

Several authors put forward their preferred approaches to reconciliation and peace-building, and these cluster around:



- Technical approaches to conflict resolution, reconciliation, peace-building and recovery
- The role of politics in the above, particularly the role of democracy
- The role of formal education in the above. (This forms the particular focus of the next chapter and is not considered here.)

Peace is seen as a problematic term, Adams and Bradbury (1995 p58) raise the theme of imbalance and observe that ‘the empowering of losers may be a solution to one conflict, but create another.’ Pearce (1998) notes that most peace agreements do not take account of the social structure of the country but are rather political deals and the absence of wars does not guarantee the absence of violence. The very issues which provoked the conflict in the first instance are unlikely to have been resolved through the political deals she envisages. A concomitant of this may well be the challenge of reintegrating fighters into a peace-time society, a process typically perceived as requiring an element of reconciliation..

Reconciliation may be seen as an essential element of peace, and several authors consider culturally sensitive approaches to achieving reconciliation, including the use of local cleansing ceremonies and reconciliation committees (Chirwa 1998, Chicuecue 1998, Thompson 1998) though Mackintosh (1998) is scathing in her comments:

“Reconciliation” in Rwanda has been used to mean many different things: the return of the refugees, peaceful cohabitation between killers and survivors, public naming and punishment of the main offenders, forgiving and forgetting, atonement. Within the international community, it too often appears to signify “getting back to normal” – and ceasing to be a drain on its political and financial resources. As a team, we in Oxfam came to regard “reconciliation” as a dirty word and agreed not to use it (p103).

Lerche and Jeong (2002 in Jeong ) argue that reconciliation will involve the three steps of acknowledgement - ‘when oppressors publicly acknowledge what they have done, knowledge becomes, in a sense, truth, and victims are assured ‘ (p106) - contrition and

forgiveness. Isenhardt and Spangle (2000)<sup>3</sup> offer a framework for conflict resolution. There is a focus on negotiation but contextualised within what the authors term collaborative power, which:

involves power *with* others to resolve differences and achieve interest. If we can create conditions in which others are highly motivated to share information, engage in give-and-take, and believe that our intentions for settlement are genuine, then there will be less need for them to retaliate or fuel conflict spirals (p25).

Such claims make a direct appeal to political systems (and to education: see later). Klugman et al (1999) recognise the need for a political system that allows non-violent change, also recognising that such a system might also appeal to potential protagonists for no more reason than being less expensive than an armed conflict. For many authors, the political system of choice is democracy. However:

1. the conceptualisation of democracy differs within the literature, ranging from a form of governance empowered by voting to a community acceptance of a set of values.
2. the practical realisation of so-called democracy is often some distance away from its theoretical conceptualisation.

Arnhold et al (1998) note that an internationally agreed definition of democracy is not without difficulty, commenting that at one four powers meeting after the second World War the 'British representative remarked that the only way to reconcile different interpretations of democracy was to define it as what four powers could inflict on a fifth' (p12). As mentioned above, Harber (1997) is helpful in drawing a distinction between what he categorises as the civic functions of democracy, i.e. the underlying elements of democracy (such as tolerance, respect for the opinion of others) that support the formation of a democratic form of governance and the processes of democratic governance itself. Jeong (2002) acknowledges

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<sup>3</sup> This work does not deal specifically with armed conflict but with conflict in its widest sense, including interpersonal conflict.



that for many people involved in peacebuilding operations the link between democracy and peacebuilding ‘comes down to “organising elections” ’ but that the link between elections and peace is uncertain. He cites elections in Namibia (1989) as helping to establish peace whereas those in Cambodia (1997) merely served to exacerbate divisions between parties ‘and set the stage for violent confrontations’ (p34) and those in Liberia, through a process of monopolisation of political resources, were used merely as legitimisation for the forced consent to the actions of a former warlord (Jeong, *op.cit* p8).

Wallenstein (2002) writes, ‘The West remains committed to promoting democracy, even with military means, and other actors pledge to resist this, or argue for the right to make counter-actions (even justifying terrorism)’ (p74). David (2002) identifies three ideas which converge ‘to form a foundation for peacebuilding built on liberal principles and the Western tradition’ (p26) . These are :

1. ‘take the democratic road...proceed quickly with elections
2. move towards a market economy....quickly adopt capitalism
3. commit... to solutions put forward by international institutions (primarily the UN, NATO, the IMF, the World Bank and NGOs)’ (p26)

Citing Roland Paris (1997), David argues that the export of such a model of ‘liberal democratic polity and a market oriented economy’ (*op.cit* p27, Paris p56) is problematic, not least because of issues of asymmetric power between negotiators and the relative capacity to enter into post-conflict negotiations (Spector, 2002 in Jeong). Negotiation skills become a subsequent focus of Jeong’s approach to peace-building, combined with an emphasis on a synergy that sees any attempt to change conflict dynamics needing to move beyond ‘a small number of beneficiaries’ (p155) and to consider impact at grass-roots level. Harber and Davies (1997) adopt the position that democracy is not ‘an endpoint, a Western imposition or an ideal state, but a term for a *process*’ (p5, *my italics*).

Despite variations in conceptualisation, the promotion of democracy is firmly linked to conflict resolution and prevention in the minds of many authors, theoretically allowing

through its deliberative and participative functions, the expression and valuing of contrary views and their non-violent resolution. Klugman et al (1999) sum up a dilemma between democratic reality and rhetoric:

Policy recommendations for outsiders – neighbours, aid donors, NGOs, etc. – include....crafting any political conditionality with sensitivity to the potential for conflict, and supporting democracy in politically vulnerable societies only in ways which include strong protection for minority rights and the outlawing of discrimination. Democratic forms alone will not resolve and may even cause political violence.... As political vulnerability extends to more and more countries, governments and external agencies need to give conscious priority to policies that will lessen the likelihood of conflict. It does not suffice to assume that policies promoting economic efficiency and political democracy will automatically achieve this (pp105/6).



## **CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF SCHOLARLY WORK**

### **SECTION 3: PRIMARY EDUCATION AND ARMED CONFLICT**

#### **Introduction**

The relationship between the experience learners receive in schools (and other ‘learning’ locations) and conflict is complex. The discussion below considers first the provision of primary education during conflict and then considers how education might itself affect conflict, particularly in the latter’s prevention and in reconciliation phases. The chronological relationship between varying aspects of education and the varying phases of conflict is made for the sake of clarity, but the issues do not reside in one phase or another but interconnect and the reader is asked to bear that in mind.

That education is now seen as a function of an emergency response - albeit a position not universally accepted (Maslen and Shazia, 2000, p30) - as well as being considered by and embedded within development policies (Retamal and Aedo-Richmond, 1998, Save the Children Policy Paper, 2002) - is to be welcomed. The Machel Report (1996) considered the effects of armed conflict on children. Section ‘H’ of the report was dedicated to education and conflict, the report offering specific recommendations on education at para. 203. 6. Certain organisations continue to provide specific planning guidance for education in emergencies, e.g. UNESCO (2003). In consequence, a variety of humanitarian responses have been promulgated in order to ensure the continuance of at least some form of education during the crisis of conflict even if whatever is instituted remains vulnerable to further conflict (Molteno et al 1999, p135).

#### **Overview of armed conflict and primary education provision**

If education is disrupted for prolonged periods of time, it becomes more likely that children will themselves perpetuate the cycle of violence, not least because they will be taught through

what McKee (2000) calls the ‘unexamined belief systems within families or wider cultural belief systems within communities to fear and hate the other side’ (p84). Drawing on examples from Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia, McKee points out that conflict situations lasting for prolonged lengths of time might mean that the children may become teenagers before even *meeting* people from the other side. The Machel Report (1996) is clear in its opinion that ‘education is vital during armed conflicts’ (Smith and Vaux 2003 p37) and Lowicki and Pillsbury (2000) are likewise adamant:

Education is an essential stabilising force during emergencies, bringing normalcy during times of crisis and opportunities to build self-esteem and confidence. It is also a primary means to psychological and social healing, skills building, training for “livelihood”, peace-making, community-building, social reintegration, good health practices and protection (p75).

Children are particularly vulnerable during conflict and so is the educational process itself. As noted in Chapter 1, the advent of conflict might cause the out-migration of skilled workers and the momentum of development may be lost (Vargas-Brown and McClure 1998). Vulnerability is increased, not least, through the dislocation and destruction of school infrastructures and the unwillingness of teachers to work in insecure areas (Duffield, 1991). The enrolment of children may reduce dramatically and for many children, the loss of even a fragmentary education (Pearce, 1998) means that all that awaits them is a life of violence. Addison (2003) draws attention to the economic effects of the chronic uncertainty that is likely to beset a community during armed conflict, one result of which is that:

investment by households in education falls since its expected (long-term) return declines as labour markets contract and as private discount rates rise (an effect that is additional to the increasing inability of households to meet the cost of schooling (p5).

Opportunities to gain access to education (and healthcare) might collapse as cash strapped governments re-direct budgets to their war effort (Harper and Marcus, 2000). Addison (2003) notes that households that:



...retained their assets during the war years, and those that received education, health-care and training in addition or food aid (either in situ or elsewhere as IDPs or refugees) were able to rebuild more easily (p265).

Such provision of education as there is during armed conflict may well require support from other sectors, for example those agencies supporting the provision of food and water, shelter and health care, and in these roles, NGOS may well make significant contributions (Obura 2003). The debates that arise from the analyses of these conflicts and their dynamics do not reside solely in local conditions. In this regard, it should be recognised that education is a site of ideological struggle, not least that perpetrated by the global community (Smyth et al, 2000).

### **Education provision as a target**

Dislocation of education provision during armed conflict is increased by its identification as a direct physical, military target:

...the education system has become a prime target in many civil wars since schools are seen as representing political systems and regimes, and as symbols of peace. They irritate warlords, rebels and militia whose aim is to destroy systems and terrorize people, including children (Obura, 2003 p29).

Such a targeting of education is not only directed at general dislocation of schools, but also at children themselves, and includes their abduction and enforcement into the militia, typically as soldiers or to act in a sexual capacity. This brutal abuse is well documented (see, *inter alios*, Briggs, 2005). The uncertainty and terror created by such possibilities not only affects the children and their families but also, potentially, the behaviour of armed forces. Briggs (op.cit.), for example, recounts how a British military patrol on deployment in Sierra Leone in 2000 'was taken hostage by a militia composed essentially of children, because the commander'.. (British).. would not open fire on them' (the children, p153). Children variously subjected to the strain imposed by the recognition that they are potential targets and/or subjected to witnessing the death, injury, violence and loss of war may well become traumatised. A UNICEF/Govt. of Rwanda (1996) survey of trauma amongst children

in the Rwanda genocide found that 80% of children had experienced death in their family, 79% had heard someone screaming for help, and 91% believed they would die (Obura, 2003). It is perhaps little wonder that, if education is considered part of the humanitarian response to conflict (Retamal and Aedo-Richmond, 1998), part of that provision should address the trauma of the children. The role of the teacher of such children is rendered additionally difficult not only by the potential loss of trust by children in adults (Obura, op.cit.) but also because they, the teachers, might not be trained in psycho-social counselling yet might be exposed for the first time 'to issues of trauma in the classroom setting' (p68). Frater-Mathieson in Hamilton and Moore (2004), commenting on Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in displaced children (more precisely, refugee children), observes that teachers have the potential to provide support for refugee children 'in a way that increases protective factors and fosters resilience' (p33/4). She notes that the needs of such traumatised children, demonstrated in the classroom, will make demands on the training and continual professional development of teachers in order to ensure an effective response to such needs. On a cautionary note, although it might be assumed that the suffering of children who have witnessed massacres, seen their parents abused and murdered leaves them with emotional problems (Buwalda, 1996), it is necessary to interpret concepts such as trauma with care and to realise that they might not be globally applicable, defined instead by Western European or US culture (Summerfield, 1998). It is interesting to note that Joseph et al (1997) consider a list of diagnostic criteria for Post Traumatic Stress Disorder that is offered as part of an International Classification of Diseases with its implication of universal applicability, though they do note that the perception of events as traumatic is likely to depend on the individual concerned. Views of the suffering of children are linked to views of 'child' and 'childhood'. In contemporary Western Europe and the US, publicly accepted notions of childhood view the child as vulnerable, weak and in need of protection. Such conceptualisations of childhood are in stark contrast to those views of Mozambiquan childhood identified in Gibbs (1994). In her perception, Mozambique society views childhood, and not adulthood, as embodying resilience and strength. Children are more able to resist destruction and to recover from



danger than adults. Briggs (2005) cautions that ‘the most successful programs working with the mental health issues of children are those most culturally sensitive’ (p18). Nevertheless, Bird (2003) emphasises that school is an ‘effective method of healing psycho-social trauma’ (p15) and that this emphasises the need for education in situations of emergency to be rapidly established. Obura (op.cit.) notes that the Ministry of Education/UNICEF Trauma Recovery Programme in Rwanda trained 8200 primary and secondary teachers in basic trauma alleviation techniques.

Conflicts are of different types and each type promotes correspondingly different challenges to the provision of primary education. Thus, interstate war may allow the planned evacuation of children to ‘safe areas’ with an attendant planned relocation to schools, such as happened in England during the Second World War whereas inter/intrastate guerrilla tactics may render such planning untenable. In any event, many children may find themselves relocated to camps, either internal or external to their country of origin, and in which such education provision as there is will be subject to multiple constraints, particularly of resourcing. The length of displacement also affects educational provision. Such provision may be intended as short term but certain conflicts, although seen as temporary are, in fact, long term. For example, the education of some Palestinian refugee children has been on-going for more years than the primary educational phase of any one individual (Gilkes et al 1999). Gender, too, has its effects. As Oxfam point out (1999 Education in Conflict, p1) ‘Action Aid’s research in several war-torn societies found that girls in refugee camps rarely participate in educational activities, because of lack of security, and the girls’ workloads.’ (See previous section on armed conflict for comments on the vulnerability of women in armed conflict.)

The education of displaced children places obvious strains on provision, not least because of the disorientation of the teachers themselves. There would seem to be merit in a deliberate consideration of preparation for teaching in emergency contexts as part of Initial Teacher Training and Continuing Professional Development Programmes, and Retamal and Aedo-

Richmond (1998) consider that in-service training should be a priority in refugee education, but that this requires the identification of suitable teacher trainers. They suggest that the in-service should include not only a revision of 'basic subject matter' (p317) but should also include health awareness (including AIDS), mine awareness, environmental awareness and peace education, seeing these as potentially useful additions to the children's curriculum. Obura (2003) echoes the need for teacher capacity building, as does Cohn (2000 p48) who notes that NGOs and others have frequently turned to capacity-building to ensure 'sustainability of service provision' (including education) yet recognise that it is often exceedingly difficult for a local community, including local people who have received training, to ensure the continuation of such provision if funding is withdrawn. The need for funding to continue well into 'reconstruction' phases is clear and Buckland (IWGE Report 2003) stresses the need for those working for education provision to maintain links with both humanitarian relief communities and the development community as being 'one of the keys to successful reconstruction' (p78). This thesis focuses on formal education systems but fully recognises that local educational capacity might also be enhanced through the training of lay people and through non-formal approaches to education. Adult education might also be profitably developed, not least since literacy is closely linked to child health (Watkins 2000), so that during times of emergency, parents might be able to continue some form of literacy education, as well as becoming more empowered themselves.

### **Education provision in conditions of armed conflict**

When considering the content of the education of displaced children, certain authors argue for what they term the continuation of a 'basic curriculum' - i.e. literacy and numeracy - as a necessity (Talbot in IWGE 2003). Aguilar and Retamal (1998, see above for comment on extending curriculum to include health awareness, etc.) however, advocate a graduated approach, firstly a recreational/preparatory phase, followed by a period of non-formal schooling and finally the re-introduction of the formal curriculum (p9). The initial phase of recreational activity is justified by a claim that a focus on play allows children to adjust, to



‘relate to events around them and to express these events in their own simplified way. Their participation in community activities can raise their spirits and occupy them in meaningful ways’ (p11). In order to achieve each of the three phases of this graduated approach, Aguilar and Retamal (op.cit.) advocate the use of ‘kits’ of resources, which can be distributed during periods of emergency. Central to this notion is the Teacher Emergency Package (TEP), a collection of resources for use by the children accompanied by pedagogic advice and materials for the teacher. Aguilar and Richmond (1998) commenting on the Rwandan crisis note that the contents of the TEPs were designed to be delivered after a two day training programme for ‘underqualified or untrained teachers’ (p130). Obura (2003), in commenting on Rwanda, acknowledges the importance of the rapid distribution of supplies as a major factor in getting schools functional after dislocation, but notes that as soon as the reconstruction phase of the conflict was reached in Rwanda, the Ministry asked that the name Teacher Emergency Package be changed to reflect the fact that the reconstruction phase had been reached. Obura notes this as being:

exactly the sort of situation to be avoided ...since it distracted from priorities at the time and demonstrated how agencies could be sidetracked by internal interests and away from the best interests of the partner they were serving (p59).

In addition, TEPs were seen as offering a curriculum that was imported and that Rwanda would use its own curriculum in preference. Buckland (IWGE Report 2003) notes that in Cambodia:

After 20 years of conflict, the country needed 15 years of reconstruction to regain control over its curriculum because of the competition between several donors in the “education market” (p87).

A further point made by Obura (op.cit.) is the need for a distinction to be made between supplies that will be sustainable and ‘unplenishable imported supplies’ (p80).

The Academy for Educational Development in conjunction with the Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2003) draws attention to the changing demands on

education provision vis-à-vis the changing phases of a conflict. The authors advise that provision changes from recreational programmes and/or basic numeracy/literacy in the acute phases of conflict (the authors describe this as ‘just after fleeing’) to more formal schooling as conditions become more stable. In stable conditions, pupils will receive a curriculum from the country of origin in the case of refugees or from the host country in the case of either refugees or Internally Displaced People (IDPs). The authors also underline the need to re-establish the education system after the conflict is over, as far as this might be achieved. Talbot (2003, IWGE Report)<sup>1</sup>, whilst recognising the tension between the need to resume schooling in an emergency within existing resources and the desire to introduce changes to the curriculum as part of a reform measure to address supposed shortcomings of the past, advocates that the introduction of kits and/or changes to the curriculum might confuse teachers (as well as creating dependence on external agencies) and that it is better to avoid innovation at this acute stage (and in the early stages of reconstruction). Rather, teachers should continue to deliver the curriculum that is already known well. Obura (op. cit.) acknowledges the issue, stating that:

teachers do not take easily to initial-phase games and activities sessions with which they are not familiar. They know formal schooling, they are familiar with their old curriculum and they prefer to go into class and start teaching what they know best (p66).

Indeed, if teachers find themselves teaching in refugee camps and therefore external to their own country but where the host policy is one of continuation of the curriculum of the country of origin, such knowledge of curriculum and assessment demands may well assume additional importance.

### **The relationship between education provision and conflict.**

Smith and Vaux (2003) consider how educational provision might directly promote conflict prevention, reconciliation and reconstruction or how, conversely, it might be ‘part of the problem and a potential cause of conflict’ (p10). As they claim, there are many examples of

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<sup>1</sup> Talbot draws on case studies in Burundi, Honduras, Kosovo, Palestine, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Timor-Lester



conflict affecting countries with highly developed education systems and that highly educated people ‘are just as capable of turning to violence as the “uneducated”’ (p10). They organise their concerns over provision, broadly, under the headings of curriculum, language, religion, culture (including history and geography) and peace education. For reasons of space, it is not possible to cover each aspect in detail and so what follows is an attempt to draw attention to underlying principles.

## Curriculum

Curriculum can be either ‘content and product’ or ‘process and development’ or a mixture of both (Kelly, 2004). Smith and Vaux (2003) echo this when they view curriculum as an instrument for control or empowerment. Curriculum not only defines worthwhile knowledge, it also defines worthwhile attitudes, skills and values, not least through its processes of assessment. Curriculum is therefore an extremely powerful tool in promoting political ideologies, religious practices ‘or cultural values and traditions’ (Smith and Vaux, op.cit. p28). Obura (2003) quotes Romain Murenzi, the Minister of Education for Rwanda in 2002 as saying:

It is generally felt that the education system, and specifically the school curriculum, failed the nation in 1994. It is felt that the curriculum was both silent in areas where it should have been eloquent and eloquent where it should have been silent. For instance, there was too much about human differences and too little about human similarities. Too much about collective duty and too little about individual responsibility. Too much about the past and too little about the future (p86)<sup>2</sup>.

Smith and Vaux (op.cit.) extend the discussion to identify what they refer to as a modern trend in defining a curriculum in terms of learning outcomes ‘and not solely in terms of the syllabus identified for each academic subject’ (p28). They identify the approach using learning outcomes as offering ‘considerable potential for the development of skills that may be helpful in averting or preventing conflict’ (p28). Kelly (2004) would presumably rejoin vehemently that learning outcomes (and objectives) are defined prior to a lesson, and that

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<sup>2</sup> The mission statement of the education system of Rwanda in 1996 stated:

To prepare a citizen who is free from ethnic, regional, religions (*sic*) and sex discrimination (Obura 2003, p94).

therefore they are a product of the teacher or of the teacher interpreting the demands of the formal education system. The mere presence of learning outcomes/objectives does not guarantee any potential for anything other than what the teacher has prescribed. However, Eisner (1975 - initially working in the area of art education) developed a form of learning objective that he termed 'expressive', in which only the encounter between pupil and learning is outlined and the learning remains non-prescribed. The potential for an individual learner's response to remain autonomous is promoted by this approach.

### **Language, culture and religion**

Mention has been made in the preceding section on primary education in developing countries of the educational debate surrounding instruction in mother tongue or in another language.

Here, however, the discussion is not about pedagogic efficiency but over the politicisation of language, particularly when the languages of minorities are bypassed by the formal education system. Smith and Vaux (2003) note that it is relatively straightforward to mobilise political dissension around the denial of linguistic rights and thus feed ethnic tension. However, the issue is not just one of linguistic rights but of the manipulation, intentionally or otherwise, of text. Phillips and Hardy (2002), for example, in considering discourse analysis, discuss how text might contribute to the 'constitution of social reality by *making* meaning' (p4). (See below.)

Similarly, approaches to the teaching and content of history and the arts may be used not only to foster a particular identity, but might be used as weapons in vaunting one view of history or of worthwhile art at the expense of another (see Smith and Vaux 2003, Retamal and Aedo-Richmond, 1998, p5); in effect, another example of 'making meaning'. As Arnhold, et al (1998) comment, reconstruction in Rwanda has been promoted by emphasising that children should see themselves as members of the larger entity of Rwanda rather than 'as part of a particular tribe' (p18), and Obura (2003) notes the role of curriculum history pre-genocide as



a contributor to the eventual conflict (see comment by Rwanda Minister of Education above). Smith (2003) notes that the teaching of history in contested societies is particularly open to charges of bias and prejudice and especially so if that teaching relies on a sole text that emphasises a particular viewpoint. As touched upon already, several authors have pointed out how text (or other sources of information, for example the internet) might be manipulative both through selection of content and through manipulation of discourse (see Phillips and Hardy op.cit., Howarth 2000) and Cherryholme (1988) is an early identifier of the inherent power in such manipulation, not least through the political production of text books.

However, Bird (2003) comments that ‘most learning in an impoverished school comes through textbooks ‘ (p59) and that in conflict situations ‘it is essential that they be provided early’...otherwise (citing Benoy, 1995 see Bird p59)... “When textbooks are not available pupils tend to be subjected to long sessions of repetition or copying from the chalkboard.”

The identities of individuals might also form around religious faiths and in this context it is necessary to note the well recognised and rehearsed distinction between an education about religion and one that inculcates children in a given faith. Many schools have religious foundations, Obura (2003) noting for example that at the time of her writing, approximately 70% of primary schools in Rwanda were ‘owned by the churches of Rwanda, mainly the Catholic and Protestant churches’ (p106). Any faith might stand accused of indoctrination through its education provision (see section on the colonial legacy of missionary schools above). Briggs (2005) notes that during the Afghan War, young males between the ages of 14 and 18 years were often attracted into the armed forces not only by promises of payment, a desire to protect their own communities and the status and power of carrying weapons but also by a promise of education (pp156/7). Such education might well have been provided by madrassas (fundamentalist Islamic schools) ‘from which many young recruits were drawn by the Taliban’ (p156). Briggs also notes that many of the religious teachers at madrassas felt that no-one under the age of twenty-five should serve in armed forces because that was the age ‘when people started knowing about good and bad’ (p156). He also reports that one tribal

religious leader, whilst still requiring the religious component of the curriculum, asked for ‘a modern education of geography, math, science and so forth’ (p166) to be provided in schools, and that a group of Mullahs (though the account is rather confusing and begs a number of questions):

...who had lived in exile in Pakistan during the reign of the Taliban felt it was time to move away from the old way of thinking....Not long after the war ended, a delegation of mullahs went to Kabul to see President Karzai and argue that there should be a separation of madrassas and schools.’.... ‘One mullah commented “Discussion and debate do exist in madrassas. ... If education is expanded in this province, I assure you that problems with Al-Qaeda and the Taliban will not exist. There’s a Pashto saying that goes ‘Don’t kill an ignorant man, but kill his ignorance.’ This is what we must do.” (p167)

### **Peace education**

Peace education typically incorporates aims such as refusing violence, conflict-resolution techniques, openness to other cultures, dialogue, respect, etc. (see, for example, Arnhold et al 1998), aims that might be met through various elements of the curriculum (both taught, learned and hidden). This review of literature, however, identifies two main technical approaches to peace education in schools. The first is via content and the second is via process. An additional dimension is that certain authors focus on the content or process of the *curriculum*, whereas others extend both content and process *beyond* the curriculum to the lived experience of both pupils and staff within schools (Harber, 1997, Harber and Davies 1997) as well as appeals *outside* the school context, such as national and local community involvement (see, for example, Retamal and Devadoss 1998 commenting on peace education in Somalia in Retamal and Aedo-Richmond 1998). In short, curriculum *content* might include specific consideration of peace issues within subjects or it might embed such issues within the wider curriculum. Curriculum *process*, however, might encourage the meta-cognitive skills of debate, challenge, reasoning and problem solving applied to issues of conflict either within discrete lessons on such topics as peace, governance, globalisation and equal opportunities or again treated in a cross-curricular fashion. Davies (2004) comments on different approaches to peace education through what she terms ‘permeated curricula’ (p128)



noting that such curricula will not necessarily follow one particular route but can offer complementary experiences for the children that can ‘cut across the school’ (p128).

The extension of peace education to the whole school context is considered by Davies and Harber (1997) who, building on their advocacy of democracy as an essential element in an education for peace, extend this requirement for democracy to school management. They argue that schools which claim to be democratic need to reflect their vision of democracy not only in curriculum and relationships with children but also via the governance of the school. They envisage a shift of power and authority away from staff to students, both in terms of how the institution is run and in terms of what is learned in classrooms and how. The need for schools to reflect their peaceful principles in their practice is reinforced by Khan (2000) who makes a claim that the scale of societal violence ‘can be substantially reduced when all interpersonal violence, particularly at home and in institutions is regarded as unacceptable. Education can play a key role in bringing about this behavioural change’ (p53). On the same theme, Davies (2004) also talks of ‘war education’ (p109), in short, those aspects of education provision which encourage children to be conflictual, which are violent and which engender a culture of fear (see comments on Education in Developing Countries, above). It is being argued that the everyday processes of the whole school are not only able to promote peace, they are able to promote conflict also.

On a cautionary note, Bird (2003) points out that although agencies were keen to introduce peace-building activities into IDP camps in Rwanda after the genocide, ‘What had not been thought through was that peace was the most politically contentious word in the camps. For many refugees, “peace” was synonymous with forced repatriation’ (p61). Bird goes on to recount how militia leaders controlled much of life in the camps, often via intimidation of both civilians and aid workers, and that this intimidation included threats against those promoting peace through education. She also recounts how the ‘peace group...persisted in its work’ (p61).

A particular point of note is that the consideration of peace need not wait for war but could be seen as relevant to all societies, be they in a state of armed conflict, war, some variation between or not. Interestingly, the current UK National Curriculum requirements for Citizenship<sup>3</sup> and Personal, Social, Health Education for primary children include a consideration of civic responsibility, respect for the culture of others and how ‘to resolve differences by looking at alternatives, making decisions and explaining choices’, but do not consider, specifically, an education for peace within the likelihood of armed conflict. Obviously, one might envisage how peace education could assume a priority in instances where armed conflict is imminent, present or likely to return, and Davies (2004) makes the interesting point that at one level, peace education requires, amongst other features, ‘exposure to conflict, either through manuals or narratives or through deep reflection on one’s own positioning in a conflict situation’ (p139). At one level, this raises questions of curriculum approach and sensitivity but it also requires a consideration of the moral and political sensibilities of the community in which the subject is being taught. Certain knowledge is, of course, typically taboo for certain children at certain times, as I have found in my own experience of teaching older primary children in the UK. For example, I received no complaints from parents when the children learnt about the Second World War Dam Busters’ Raids, but I received a number of strong complaints (admittedly from a different group of parents) when I tried to approach issues surrounding death, ironically, a topic raised for discussion by the children themselves.

#### **Post-script: so-called ‘after the event’**

The involvement of children in current armed conflicts would seem to fall into one of three crude categories, though all the categories potentially overlap and many children might experience all three at first hand. Firstly, there are children who witness the effects of war through events such as attack on their homes or schools, the death, injury, capture or

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<sup>3</sup> ‘Citizenship’ is not a statutory requirement for Key Stages 1 and 2 in the UK.



mutilation of loved ones, the walk to school that involves stepping by dead bodies, the sounds, smells and sights of war at first hand. Secondly, there are children who become displaced, either internally in their country or externally or in reference to some other vital sense of belonging. Thirdly, there are children who become members, via the exercise of adult power on their vulnerability as children, of armed forces or ‘followers’ of the armed forces. In all three categories, there is a potential event of ‘returning home’.

As regards the children who have directly witnessed the horrors of war, ‘returning home’ might be seen as the return to domestic normality; the walk to school is normal, school is normal, home is normal. Some of us considering such a scenario will be able to paint our own pictures of the normality treasured in our own childhoods or the events which can challenge, ruin and render a normality so fragile. As regards those children returning after displacement, ‘returning home’ might be the re-encountering of loved people, the re-discovery of places, of the smells and tastes and sights of the unutterably familiar or what has become unutterably strange and lost; again an absolutely personal event. Both scenarios of ‘returning home’ are supremely sensitive to all concerned, though whether ‘home’ remains unchanged by such histories remains debateable.

When children begin to return home ‘post-conflict’, it becomes necessary to provide the ‘rapid rehabilitation of all pre-conflict facilities’(Green 2000 p349). As regards education, this includes not only staff and buildings, but security from landmines along routes to school, and in play and work areas. Such a return to school however, can prove a major, positive factor for a community to feel they are returning to normal. As Lowicki and Pillsbury (2000, p75) point out, education is a stabilising force ‘bringing normalcy during times of crisis....and a primary means to psychological and social healing,’ though they note that education for adolescents is often de-emphasised in favour of education for younger children. Simpson (1998) comments that little international aid for recovery/reconstruction takes account of the

need to rebuild social relationships. Although he does not mention it specifically, this would imply the need for education to attract such funding.

The third area of children's experience of war is that of the children who became members of the armed forces or 'camp followers' in various guises. Davies (2004) identifies three typical stages through which children soldiers pass in order to attain recovery, namely 'disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration' (p153), so, for them, 'returning home' may well involve dimensions of rehabilitation, forgiveness and reconciliation despite any sense of essential injustice that might apply to their involvement with the armed forces in the first place.

Amongst some authors, there is a pessimism surrounding how to combat the 'recruitment' and use of child soldiers, and then how to reintegrate them. Pigozzi (1998 in Retamal and Aedo-Richmond) observes:

Yet we do not know how to wage public education programmes that make it unthinkable for adults to allow children to be employed as soldiers, we do not know what children need in order to understand that this is not a desirable life choice, and we do not know how to utilize education effectively in demobilization operations (p358)

However, Molteno et al (1999) offer a more optimistic account of approaches to the rehabilitation of child soldiers in Liberia, beginning with ways to fill the boys' days (there were no girls at this stage) via recreation and sport 'and the introduction of small tasks' (p126), to an eventual programme that offered 'farming, learning to read and write, or training in handicrafts such as stool making' (p126). This rehabilitation was offered via 'transit centres' managed by Save the Children, an aim of which was to trace the roots of the boys in order to reunite them with their families, though eventual reintegration with families requires much preparation (Briggs, 2005) and safeguarding. As Molteno et al note, Save the Children saw its role as one of 'ensuring that children who went through the demobilisation process were dealt with as children and not just another fighter' (p127). (See also Castelo-Branco, 1998, for an outline of a similar programme in Mozambique.) Briggs (2005) talks of the 're-education' of children caught in a similar plight in Rwanda, noting that a distinction was made whereby 'children who were too young to be held legally responsible' (p28) were



sent to a re-education centre before reintegration into society. The programme followed by the children at the centre included daily counselling and they then attended 'school or learned vocational skills such as carpentry, tailoring or farming' (p30)<sup>4</sup>. As already noted, reintegration of the children required a great deal of preparation, including meetings with the residents of the receiving community which considered, amongst other issues, how the children concerned had been 'encouraged and pushed by adults' (p30). 'An apology by the child and a formal request for forgiveness from the community were mandatory' (p30). However, Briggs raises the question of conditions within such 're-education centres'. Commenting specifically on the Gitagata Re-education Center (*sic*) in Rwanda he observes that 'following the end of the genocide, initial reports suggested older prisoners had sexually abused younger ones there, too' (p29), though it is unclear from Briggs's report whether this abuse refers to 'younger ones' incarcerated as a result of the genocide or for other reasons. An official representative of the Rwandan Government ('Minister Mucyo,' cited in Briggs, *op.cit.* p29) in part raises the dilemma of how officialdom should respond to such children. 'Do you think that a child that killed five other children should be put back in the community, or should they be put in a specific place for re-education?' Briggs notes that not all of the children were accepted back by their communities.

An area of grave concern and contention remains, therefore; not only the use of children as soldiers or children who violated the law 'killed, tortured, or sexually abused civilians, including other children' (Kuper, 2000 p37) but also their treatment after hostilities cease or they are captured. How might such children be treated legally and then reintegrated into society? Compromise legal solutions would seem appropriate, with hearings in non-formal settings, non-retributinal sentences and an emphasis on rehabilitation, as was largely the case in Rwanda according to Kuper. Briggs's (*op.cit.*) might question whether the resolution offered by this approach was satisfactory for certain children.

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<sup>4</sup> Briggs does not explain what he means by 'school' in this context.

### **Next steps**

Issues arising from this review of scholarly work inform multiple aspects of the research. In order to avoid unnecessary duplication, reference to them is identified throughout the subsequent text rather than being listed here. The next chapter draws on this review to inform the shaping of the field-work.



CHAPTER 3: CHOOSING A LOCATION FOR THE RESEARCH

The next stage in developing the research design is to draw on the information contained in the review of scholarly work in Chapter 2 in order to map a conceptual framework that will enable the initiating research question to be addressed. The initiating research question was, ‘How can primary education be maintained in developing countries during times of armed conflict?’ and Figure 2 below shows how this question might be broken down into secondary questions guided by the information culled from the review of scholarly work.

Within a particular location in a developing country data would need to be collected to inform:

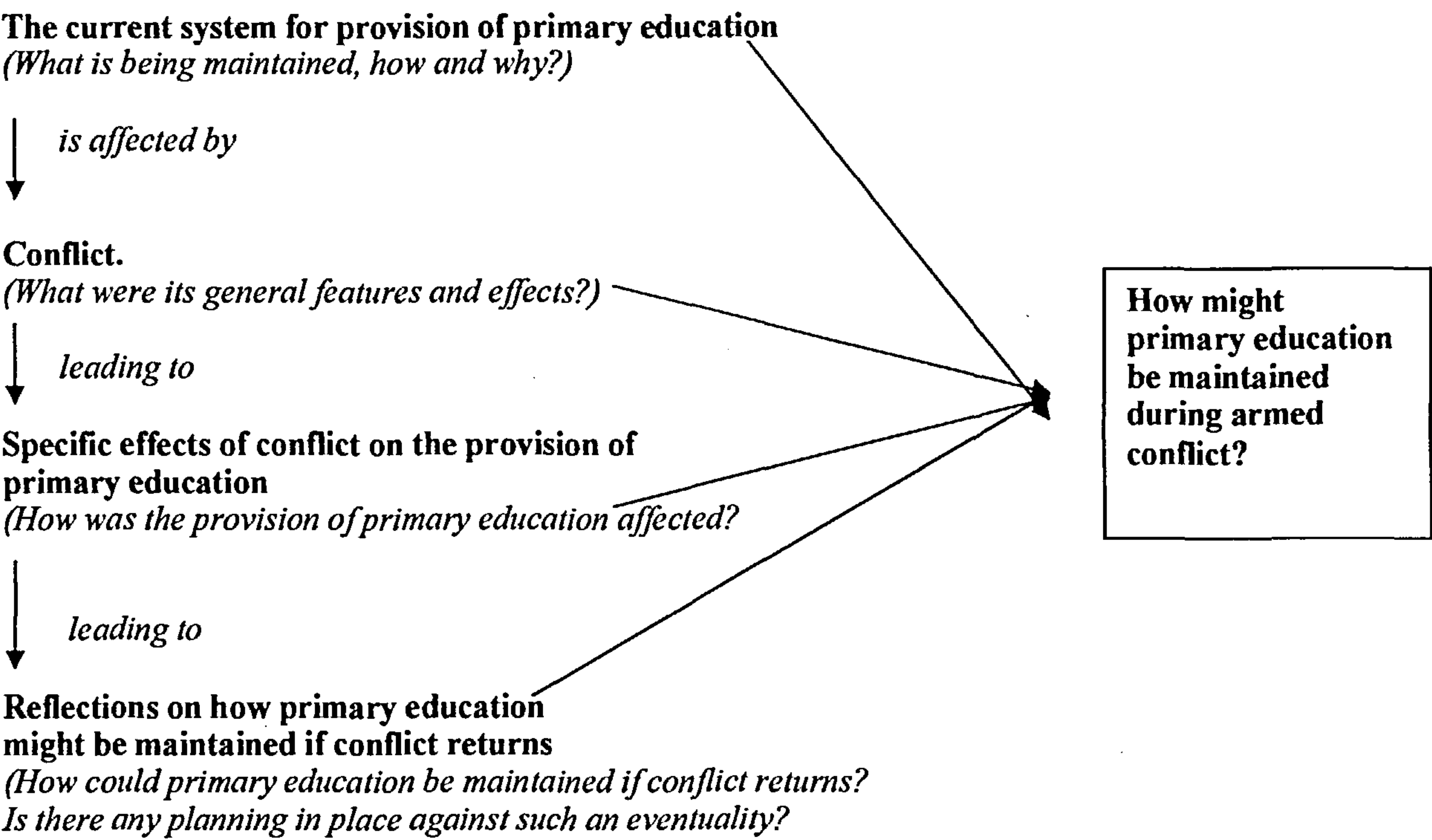
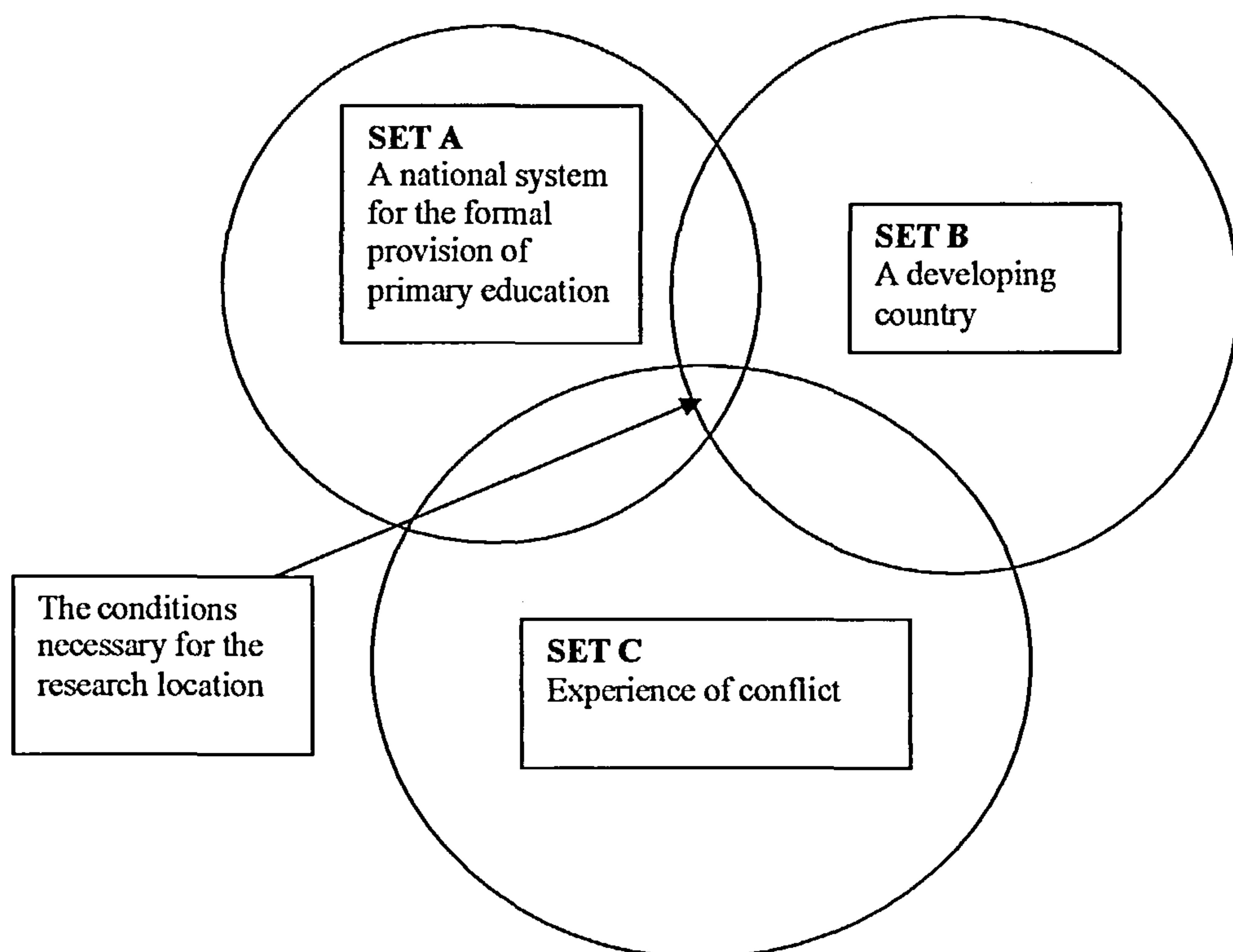


Figure 2: A pathway to indicate how the initiating research question might be addressed through secondary research questions.

Although Figure 2 indicates how the initiating research question might be broken down into subsidiary questions, it does not consider the possible location for the research. The review of scholarly work in Chapter 2 indicates a dynamic relationship between primary education provision, conflict and developing countries and this research would require those three dimensions to be present in a single research location in order to meet the logical ordering envisaged by Figure 2. Therefore, the research location should be a developing country, it should have a state system for the delivery of primary education and it should have experience of conflict. Such an arrangement is represented in Figure 3 below:

**Figure 3:** *To show the macro conditions necessary for the research location.*





In order to gather data pertinent to the questions raised in Figure 2, there were three points to note. Firstly, phrasing the questions as they are in Figure 2 indicated that researching the answers would require direct approach to actors within their settings, seeking their interpretations. This tentatively indicated the likelihood of an interpretive case-study being the appropriate research design (Cohen et al, 2000). Secondly, if a case-study approach were to be adopted, this would indicate the need to collect data directly from respondents representing the case and this would require a period of field study. Thirdly, the review of Chapter 2 indicated that a further dimension of particular relevance was the relationship between the provision of education and the phase of conflict being experienced, the latter materially affecting the priorities of the former, including prevention of/preparedness for any future conflict.

In considering the relationship between phases of armed conflict and the provision of primary education and how this relationship might affect the design of the research, it is self-evident that those people who have experienced armed conflict and who were in some way related to the provision of primary education at the time would be in a position to comment on the provision of primary education under such circumstances. They would also be in a position to comment on how primary education might be maintained in any future conflict.

The literature reviewed typically identifies concerns relating to the provision of education in any future conflict as focusing largely on the prevention of the re-enactment of some previous, single conflict.. Obura (2003), for example, in discussing educational reconstruction in Rwanda, considers the actiology and perpetration of the genocide and how this genocide might be prevented from re-occurring. In this and similar case studies, there is typically a consideration of the role of education in causing and preventing the same historical atrocity coupled with an account of emergency measures relating to education provision, including the shortfalls of such provision and lessons that might be learned. However, there is rather less consideration as to how

primary education might be maintained should such an event occur again. In other words, an apparent general emphasis of this body of literature is how education was provided/maintained *during* the emergency and how education might *prevent* future conflict rather than on how education might be *maintained* should a conflict return, and especially how that maintenance might be planned for. As might be expected, there are exceptions. For example, *inter alia*, Save the Children (2002) identifies general preparedness plans for conflict, and UNESCO (2003) offers practical advice for the maintenance of teaching through, for example, the physical preparation of temporary teaching accommodation and organisation of emergency teaching resources. However, this advice regarding the maintenance of education provision tends to be of a general nature rather than drawing on the lived experience of people within a situation where conflict has occurred and is likely to return. It is this location within an iterative perspective which appears under-represented in current research and upon which this research aims to draw. In other words, what is sought is a research location where there is a group of respondents directly involved with the formal provision of primary education in a developing country, where the provision of that education has been disrupted by armed conflict, where the respondents became involved in the maintenance of education during that conflict and in any return to post-conflict ‘normality’, but where the likelihood of a return to conflict exists. If conflict is likely to return, the question, ‘How might education be maintained during armed conflict?’ assumes an urgency of attention and a need for planning that would be lacking in situations which, although having endured conflict, felt a confidence that those measures currently in place would prevent conflict’s return.

The main implication of this discussion for the selection of a research site is that the site should not only combine the elements identified in Figure 3, namely a developing country, a formal primary education system and recent experience of conflict but that the conflict should contain an iterative dimension. Given these iterative conditions, it would then be possible for the research to



gather data from stakeholders across not only the two phases of acute and post conflict but also to gather data on strategies in place (or not) for the maintenance of primary education in future conflict. Ideally, stakeholders sought as respondents for the research would have experienced the acute conflict phase of armed conflict within any iterative cycle so as the more richly to inform their ideas as to provision of primary education in future conflicts.

Two final considerations in selecting a research site also applied. Firstly, it would be necessary for the research country to be Anglophone, as I have no proficiency in languages other than English. Secondly, the research question also limits the location to a developing country and, given the Anglophone condition, this would seem to imply a country with an English colonial history and with English as either the official language or a *lingua franca*.

### **Finding the location**

That the research was finally located in Uganda was largely the result of a chance event. I was talking to a colleague at work about the need to find a research site. She listened to the requirements and immediately suggested Uganda, a country in which she had spent a great deal of time and with which she was familiar. It was a developing country, Anglophone, had a formal education system that was coping with the introduction of universal primary education and had a history of conflict. Indeed, several areas of Uganda apparently had histories of ongoing and also iterative<sup>1</sup> conflict. I decided that Uganda could be a productive location. I therefore reviewed the potential of Uganda as the research site and the account of this is found in the next section.

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<sup>1</sup> On-going conflict is used to mean a conflict that has continued without stopping. Iterative conflict is used to mean a conflict that periodically stops but then returns.

## **Uganda. Development, education and conflict**

### **Introduction**

In this section, I give an account of my familiarisation with Uganda as a possible research site. The section briefly reviews the history of Uganda since the period of European involvement, charts the main political movements and patterns of international economic assistance since independence, recounts the main features of education reform for the same period and considers three of the most recent armed conflicts (two current and one recently having entered a post-conflict phase). In order to contextualise later discussions of formal primary education, the current national approaches to primary education provision (including the role of founding bodies and Initial Teacher Training) are outlined.

The sections on economic aid, education reform and armed conflict take 1986 as a starting date for their consideration. 1986 is the date of Yoweri Museveni's accession to control and is a watershed date, marking the current governance of Uganda from the previous regimes of Idi Amin and Milton Obote.

### **Location**

Uganda is a land locked country straddling the equator with an area of some 236,580 square kilometres (please see map page). It is a member state of the East African Community (EAC) (Potts in Potts and Bowyer-Bower (eds), 2004, p6), a grouping of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania with each of which Uganda has economic, political and cultural ties. The introduction of Kiswahili into the Ugandan primary curriculum with effect from 2003 might be interpreted as a measure promoting the ties between the members of the EAC, as well as an attempt to replace English, the latter being seen as a remnant of a colonial past.



## History overview

By the mid-nineteenth century, the area now known as Uganda was socially organised into a variety of groups and affiliations, one of the largest being the Kingdom of Buganda in the south of modern Uganda. During the mid-nineteenth century, Muslim traders from the east coast of Africa had penetrated as far as Uganda and it was this name they used for the region. Uganda is a Swahili word meaning ‘Land of the Ganda’<sup>2</sup> and it is this that has come into common usage. European exploration of the country was marked by the expeditions of John Hanning Speke (1862, supposedly the first European to meet the Buganda) and Stanley (1875). British missionaries (the Protestant ‘Church Missionary Society’ - CMS) entered the country in 1877 followed by the French White Fathers (a Catholic society) in 1879. British interest in Uganda continued to rise not least because it became verified that the source of the Nile was located in Uganda and control of the region could be used as leverage against other countries dependent on the river (for example, Egypt). German and French interest also waxed, but at the Berlin Conference (1884) the northern basin of Lake Victoria was recognised as being a British sphere of influence, a position consolidated in 1894 when Britain officially made Uganda a protectorate.

There were few British born personnel in Uganda. The British governed primarily by indirect rule, with certain indigenous groups charged with the government of other groups. One such favoured group of the British was the Buganda. Another in Western Uganda was the Botooro, who held sway over their neighbours to the south, the Bocongo.

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<sup>2</sup> The people of Buganda were known as Baganda and spoke the language Luganda and their customs were known as Kiganda. The term Ganda is a generic term to encompass all of the above (www.buganda.com 2005)

### Political regimes at and since independence

A particular problem for the British in the lead up to independence was the status of Buganda, the Bugandans themselves wishing to form an independent state. The British exiled the Kabaka (King of Buganda) because of his championing of Bugandan separatism but resultant protests by the Bugandans ensured that 95% of them boycotted the 1961 pre-independence national assembly elections (Thomas 2000). The compromise at independence was to end the Kabaka's exile and to grant Buganda semi-federal status. The first post-colonial government of Uganda was then formed in 1962 as an alliance between the newly formed Kabaka Yekka Royalist Party and Milton Obote's Uganda People's Congress, with the Kabaka as President and Obote as Prime Minister. The constitution of 1962 recognised 'one full federal state (Buganda)'... and ... 'four semi-federal states' (Mutibwa 1998 p48). One might note Buganda's continuing position of power within this constitution, and in 1966, Obote introduced a new constitution that was intended to curb Buganda's power and to bring it under the authority of central government by creating a unitary state. Obote now made himself President, and Idi Amin, as army commander, co-operated with Obote, arresting the Kabaka (as part of the curbing of Bugandan power). Amin's reward for this was to be appointed as Obote's Chief of Staff. As part of Obote's attempt to centralise power and inculcate a sense of national unity, the traditional kingships (including that of Tooro, see later) were abolished (Rwagweri, 2003). Thomson (2000) considers that Obote's reliance on coercive force to suppress opposition at this time meant that the position of the army itself became strengthened, but resulted in a power struggle between Obote and factions of the army loyal to Amin, who, since his promotion to Chief of Staff, had been promoting personnel from his own ethnic groups in the north of Uganda. This struggle was settled in 1971 when Amin took control of the country in a coup that coincided with Obote's absence from Uganda.

Amin enjoyed an initial period of popularity (Thomson op.cit), but his reign as president is well known for its capricious terror. In 1972 as part of his 'Africanisation policy' Amin expelled those



Asians who did not have Ugandan citizenship<sup>3</sup> and from 1971 to 1974 he increased the size of the army from 7680 to 20 000. The military, although it enjoyed status within Uganda society during

Amin's presidency, suffered numerous purges, and rival military factions competed for power within its ranks. In order to restore unity within the force, Amin engineered an invasion of Tanzania in 1978, with the attack based on a claim to disputed territory. This Ugandan attack on Tanzania was followed by a reciprocal and successful attack by Tanzanian troops on Uganda and the eventual ousting of Amin in 1979. There then followed the short-lived presidencies of Yusuf Lule and Godfrey Binaisa to be followed by a further tenure by Milton Obote.

Obote again failed to unite the country and levels of state violence continued, Thomson (*op.cit.*) estimating that a further 100 000 Ugandans died in political violence between 1980 and 1985. The National Resistance Movement, led by Yoweri Museveni, rebelled against Obote and, after a civil war lasting from 1982-6 took over control of Uganda in 1986. At the time of writing, Museveni is still in office. In 1993, he restored the traditional kingdoms that had been abolished under Obote, though they were reinstated bereft of political power (Rwagweri, 2003).

The initial period following Ugandan independence was largely characterised by statism with decision making heavily centralised around Obote. Nor was Uganda alone in denouncing regionalism at this time and Chazan (1999) draws attention to similar actions in Kenya and Ghana. One might sympathise with the dilemma facing the rulers of many newly independent African states in inheriting ethnoregional elements that would not necessarily accept their legitimacy.

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<sup>3</sup> At the time of writing, this expulsion is now being reversed and Asian families are returning to Uganda

Chazan (op.cit) identifies Amin's period in office as an example of a personal coercive regime. In this the structures of the legislature and judiciary were rendered liable to the whims of the leader backed by military force. 'Even Amin's cohorts were powerless in the face of the rapid changes in his personal likes and dislikes' (p152). Thomas (2000) denotes the form of governance by which a leader treats 'all political and administrative concerns of state as their own personal affairs' (p108) as patrimonialism, but also postulates an advance on this condition which he terms neo-patrimonialism in which the leader becomes a hybrid 'president-monarch', such as Amin. Such leaders were not typically involved in independence struggles.

By contrast, the current government of Museveni is seen by Chazan (op.cit) as populist. Thomson agrees, and characterises populism as follows (p44):

1. Advocates people's representation
2. Participation – formation of people's committees
3. Probity – anti-corruption drives
4. Often formed in the wake of military coups – regimes trying to build legitimacy

Decentralisation of government in Uganda is based on a legacy of the structure of the Revolutionary Committees of the National Resistance Movement. In essence, the system consists of a hierarchy of 5 committees. The intention is that committees in rural and urban areas share the same characteristics, but what follows as regards the structure and function of Local Committees is based on rural structures.



Title	Membership and remit	Organisational level
LC1 <sup>4</sup>	All adults in the village. It deals with local issues, e.g. the conflict arising from straying animals. LC1 also has responsibilities arising from the Children's Statute of 1996 <sup>5</sup>	Village (In urban areas this is replaced by 'cell'.)
LC2	All executive members of LC1. It deals with difficulties arising from LC1.	Parish
LC3	Each parish (all adults) will elect 2 councillors for the LC3 Committee	Sub-county
LC4	The executive members of LC3 form the LC4 Council	County
LC5	Each Sub-county (adult suffrage) elects 2 councillors. LC5 Formulates policy and planning.	District

*Table 1: The local council structure in Uganda*

In essence, there is an hierarchical system of committees, the constituencies of which are primarily determined by democratic elections via an adult suffrage or by *ex officio* membership of democratically elected committees (or as being *ex officio* members of the village community in the case of LC1). At LC5 level, the committee acts as a policy determining body whose decisions are passed to an executive led by the CAO (Chief Administrative Officer) who is a civil servant and therefore not elected. The CAO has authority over a set of district departments, including health and education, each of which is presided over by a district officer, amongst them the District Medical Officer (DMO), the District Education officer (DEO) and others. At the time of writing, the local government system is being reformed (LGP11), though the thrust of the proposals is that the system remains largely unchanged.

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<sup>4</sup> LC stands for Local Councillor  
<sup>5</sup>See Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, summary of report on UNCRC (2003). For detailed actions of LC1 'courts' in child disputes see the training/communication guide, The Children's Statute 1996 (Save The Children, UK, undated). The former publication also notes (p10) 'Although corporal punishment has been abolished by the Ministry of Education and Sports, it is still commonly carried out'.

The current constitution of Uganda allows the President two terms in office. At the time of writing, Museveni is considering a change in the constitution that would allow him three terms in office, seen by some observers as a useful continuation of stability and by others as a violation of democracy. Uganda is also a one party state (or to be more precise, a one movement state) but is currently considering a move to multipartyism. Observers in Uganda to whom I have spoken are again divided, some seeing multiparty provision as advancing democracy and others as promoting a return to violence. The current political structure of the single party is a concern to certain donors and their ideas of 'good governance' (see below) as is the level of corruption within the country.

#### **Economic aid.**

The major economic issue facing Uganda in 1986 was the need to repair the damage caused by 20 or so years of disruption (Brett, 1996). From a relatively stable economic base at independence, the governments of Obote, Amin and Obote again, had largely destroyed the economic structure of the country. During the tenures of these presidents, international financial aid had been obtained from the World Bank and bilateral donors, though as Brett (op.cit.) wryly observes 'in part since they allowed them to justify aid programmes in agriculture and industry which enabled them to subsidize capital-intensive exports from their own firms' (p313).

In 1986, the new regime of Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM) inherited a virtually ruined economic system. There was an initial reversion to statism in the period 1986-7, during which the fledgling and apparently suspicious government attempted to 'go it alone'. However, the results were disastrous, with an inflation rate of 147 percent between July and December 1986 (Brett, 1996). The NRM then accepted a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) from the IMF in 1987, though initially resisted by many of the NRM members. Nevertheless, by 1994, Uganda had gained a reputation as a 'good adjuster'. In part, this change



in reputation occurred as a result of Uganda's compliance with educational reform. The detail of this is charted below.

The current major platform of Ugandan political planning is the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) which incorporates 4 pillars:

1. Rapid and sustainable economic growth
2. Good governance and security
3. Increasing the ability of the poor to raise their incomes
4. Enhancing the quality of life of the poor. (NB Primary and secondary education are considered in this section.)

(From the Poverty Eradication Plan, a summary, Uganda Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2002.)

The PEAP is currently being reviewed. Education is located in the Human Development section of the proposed new plan and lists the maintenance of UPE (focusing on reducing dropout and greater resource provision) and increased access to secondary education amongst its proposals. It is within this framework (PEAP) that aid is allocated.

Development Cooperation Ireland, DCI, (2004, formerly Irish Aid) and the Department for International Development of the UK, DFID, (2003) note that donors currently fund around 50 percent of Uganda's budget. DCI lists in Appendix 1 of its 2004 report the agreed set of Partnership Principles which guide the relationship between the Government of Uganda (GoU) and its development partners, and notes (p9) that 'the implementation of PEAP and donor co-ordination is also supported through the World Bank's Poverty Reduction Support Credit (PRSC)'. Section 2, para 7 of these Partnership Principles notes:

‘The Government’s ranking of donor support modalities, in descending order of preference, is as follows:

1. General budget support
2. Budget support earmarked to the Poverty Action Fund
3. Sector Budget support
4. Project aid’ (DCI 2004, p38)

The World Bank (2003) in evaluating its comprehensive development framework in Uganda noted that the Ugandan Government sees budgetary support as offering flexibility in allocating aid between recurrent and development costs. In its Completion Report (2005) on PRSC 1 funding (which was targeted towards the delivery of basic services in education, health, water supply and sanitation as highlighted in the PEAP), it commented that although government implementation performance was uneven, in some components, especially those concerned with health, primary education and water, there was a higher level of effectiveness and efficiency than had been seen in the past. It noted that the continued insecurity in the North (see below) posed socio-economic challenges and was disruptive to implementation of the plan. The Bank also observed that continuing corruption had a detrimental effect on impact. Donors have current fiduciary concerns about providing aid in the form of budget support, but several have concluded that enough progress had been made in providing fiduciary assurance ‘... (including account transparency and financial tracking) to justify providing general budget support aid’ (p 72 World Bank 2003 Country Lead Development).

The most recent (Interim) Country Assistance Plan for Uganda produced by DFID (2003) notes in para. 1 that Uganda is on track to meet the income poverty Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), mainly due to high economic growth (6 percent in 2001/02) and that the PEAP target of 10 percent of the population below the Uganda poverty line by 2017 is attainable. However, with



a population of 24.7 million people and a growth rate of 3.4 percent per annum, Uganda remains one of the poorest countries in the world with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita ranking of 146 out of 177 in the Human Development Report for 2004. DCI's Country Strategy Paper (2004 –6), however, acknowledges the stability of the Ugandan economy.

DCI identified Uganda as a 'priority country' in 1994, and so it has remained. A DCI priority in Uganda has been the region of Rwenzori in Western Uganda (see map page) and a social priority within that has been primary education. A useful summary vis-a-vis DCI and Uganda is provided by the DCI Evaluation of Uganda Country Strategy 2000/3 (Executive Summary), noting that the programme grew from 1 million euros in 1994 to almost 10 million euros in 1999:

The Uganda government has weaknesses as well as strengths. Clear strengths are its macroeconomic and budgetary discipline, a country-owned and effective poverty strategy, a robust framework for dialogue with donors, and a constitutional framework that embodies the principles of democracy and the rule of law, provides for substantial decentralisation to elected local governments and sustains a lively free press. On the other hand, pervasive corruption is acknowledged as a serious problem, and public procurement, accounting and audit all need strengthening. Revenue collection is weak. There are doubts about the government's commitment to full democracy (reflected in continuing restrictions on political parties and doubts whether the presidential term limits in the present constitution will be observed). Perhaps most seriously, military deployments have caused concern. Uganda is in a volatile region and has to contend with a number of insurgencies as well as internal conflicts between pastoralists and their neighbours. However, the deployment of Ugandan troops in the Congo (now withdrawn under international pressure) raised serious concerns, as has the level of military spending in the wake of their

withdrawal. The challenge for aid donors is whether aid can simultaneously build on Uganda's strengths and address its weaknesses. (p1)

The DFID Interim Country Assistance Plan (2003) echoes DCI and World Bank concerns regarding the continuing armed conflict in the North of the country and the level of corruption, noting that Uganda ranks 9<sup>th</sup> worst on the Transparency International Corruption Index. DFID also notes what they interpret as the growing pressure for democratisation in the country in face of President Museveni's possible intention of standing for a third term of office, despite this being proscribed by the constitution.

### **Education and reform**

Moulton (2002) provides a thorough overview of the funding of primary education since the establishment of the NRM government in 1986. The Education Policy Review Committee (EPRC) was set up by the government in 1987. In 1989, the report of this committee was considered by a second committee (with greater NRM representation) and presented as a White Paper ('Education for national integration and development') in 1992. The White Paper made the following observations:

A balance has to be struck between what is desirable from the point of view of pedagogy and educational development and what is feasible to implement in view of financial and other resource constraints (ppx-xiii)

The EPRC conclude in chapter 8 of their report (reiterated in the White Paper) '... no education system can be better than the quality of its teachers, nor can a country be better than the quality of its education' (pxiii)



and:

Government agrees that primary education should be re-oriented to cater for the real developmental needs of the community and the nation' (para 68, p39) ... as opposed to it being mainly a preparation for academic secondary level education.

What was being advocated was an emphasis on a vocational curriculum built on the recognition that for most Ugandan children, primary education would provide the only formal education they would receive. 'The curriculum has to prepare learners with basic and practical skills which will enable them to earn a living' (DCI 2002). The report also made recommendations as to the 'Grade' of teachers holding particular responsibilities, in effect recommending a pay scale:

Government reiterates its determination to do its best to reinstate the status of teaching as a worthy and satisfying profession, and to develop it into one of the best professions in the country (para 454, p. 161).

Education was also to be 'democratised' by which was meant that access should be provided for those identified as underserved including girls, the nomadic Karamojo pastoralists in the north-east of Uganda and disadvantaged groups which included refugees, fishing communities, people in inaccessible areas, young soldiers, slum dwellers and delinquents (*sic*), and others (p172).

Moulton (op.cit.) observes that the envisaged implementation of the programme relied on international donors. Page 42 of the White Paper reiterates the proposed extension of primary education to an eighth grade (at the time of writing, primary education continues to complete at the seventh grade), and page 50 shows concern over the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE) criticising *inter alia* its emphasis on factual recall at 'the expense of cognitive knowledge, reasoning and problem solving.' Universal Primary Education (UPE) is mooted as a 'worthy target' (p42).

### **Education reform, 1991 -1993**

Prior to, and concurrent with, the publication of the White Paper (1992), an initial programme of educational reform had already been instituted, funded primarily by the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). It was largely concerned with providing resources to schools and restructuring authority within the Ministry Of Education (MoE). The reforms (1991-1993) consisted of three phases:

1. 1991. A Structural Adjustment credit with the World Bank and the IMF aimed at adjusting financial policies throughout government, including the education sector. Five conditions were attached including a budgetary shift from defence to the education sector and a reduction in the number of teacher training institutions. The emphasis was on resourcing and quality, efficiency and management, and improvement of the teaching force (Moulton 2002, p55)
2. 1992. Technical and non-project assistance with USAID (\$83 million in budgetary support and \$35 million in project support) known as the Support for Ugandan Primary Education Reform (SUPER) project. Conditions included improvement of teachers' pay and conditions, provision of instructional materials, building an integrated teacher training and support system in ten districts, improvement of district and school level management and improving the gender ratio of pupils in primary schools.
3. 1993. A loan from the World Bank to the MoE. Conditions 'implied goals of increasing access and improving quality of instruction and management of the system' (Moulton, 2002 p57).

### **Education reform 1993-7**

The reform program of 1993-1997 included the creation of a system for in-service teacher training and support, the Teacher Development Management System (TDMS), which instituted a



system of teacher training and school support based around Primary Teacher Training Colleges (PTCs) using a system of outreach tutors known as Co-ordinating Centre Tutors (CCTs) who acted as the ‘key actors at school level in implementing reform measures’ (Moulton 2002 p59). This tranche of reforms also addressed the raising of teachers’ salaries to a so-called ‘living wage’, the construction of school and college facilities (including co-ordinating centres for CCTs in outreach schools) and attempts to revise the primary school curriculum. By 1993 the MoE had agreements with the World Bank and USAID for \$135 million in budgetary support loans and grants and \$25 million in technical assistance programmed over ten years. TDMS was supported by Dutch and Irish donors.

### **Universal Primary Education (UPE)**

The declaration of UPE by Museveni in 1996 was different from the other educational reforms in Uganda prior to that date in that it was an internal political gesture (following an election pledge by Museveni) and was neither donor instigated nor sanctioned. Indeed Moulton (op cit) states that USAID tried in vain to engage politicians in a dialogue over UPE, fearful of the impact on quality that a massive increase in enrolment implied. Responsibility for the implementation of UPE was handed by Museveni to a newly formed UPE Implementation Committee which purportedly made its decisions in private and did not consult donor officials, nor district nor school officials. UPE (initially designed to be introduced incrementally) was introduced for all eligible children in January 1997, the start of the Uganda school year. Enrolment, estimated at around 3.1 million in 1996 leapt to 6.6 million by 2000 (World Bank 2005 (b) GRTD HO630) with a corresponding lack of trained teachers to meet demand. Interestingly, the drive for political correctness accompanying the introduction of UPE, with its divorce from previous methods of funding for primary education, including fees levied from parents, caused certain zealous politicians to forbid teachers from even meeting with parents in case the teachers should be suborned into demanding funds from the parents. Such a divisive stance between parents and teachers was antithetical to

the model of TDMS being promulgated at the time, with its desire to involve parents in the education of their children (Moulton, 2002).

In 1997, the MoE agreed with DFID to formulate a strategic plan for the long range implementation of UPE. The result was the first Education Strategic Investment Plan (ESIP) for 1998 –2003 which committed the Ugandan government to ‘allocate at least one quarter of public expenditure to the education sector for this period’ (p28 Uganda Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2002). DFID (2003) notes that Uganda is on track to meet the MDGs for education and that 83.5 percent of school aged children are now enrolled in primary schools, with wealth and gender biases largely addressed. However, although Universal Primary Education might have been introduced into Uganda in 1997, of the 2.2 million children who enrolled in P1 in 1997, only 22 percent reached P7 by 2003 (DCI 2004. See also general statistics provided by MoES). DFID (2003) raises the issue of educational quality ‘If further progress is to be made, quality improvements, availability and efficiency of resource use, capacity constraints, population growth and access to post-primary education must be addressed’ (para 5 DFID, 2003). ESIP 1 has now run its course (1998 –2003) and ESIP 2 is being discussed prior to formulation; DCI (2004) note that ESIP 2 will reflect quality as an area of focus.

Moulton (2002) muses on the processes invoked by donors to achieve Uganda’s primary education reforms overall. She cites inducement (especially via SAPs), dialogue, mandates and capacity building but underlines the conditionality that funds were to be reallocated from ‘the military to the education sector’ (p74). Although the Uganda Government created a proposed agenda for education reform via the White Paper of 1992, Moulton (op. cit) considers it to have been external donors who have shaped the actual implementation of reforms, implementation and authority seemingly bypassing the Ministry of Education on a number of occasions in favour of the Ministry of Finance. The authority for education reform might have been invested at



ministerial or donor level, but the ownership of reforms was not thereby guaranteed. Higgins and Rwanyange (2005), whilst recognising the aid mechanisms and partnerships that have evolved (see below) note that ownership is not automatically assured via structures alone and that educational reform in Uganda is accompanied by certain scepticism and confusion.

As regards current provision for the education sector, DCI (2003) note that support for the education programme is increasingly channelled through the Ministry of Education Budget, as part of a mature Sector Wide Approach. An annual review of the education sector is held (it used to be held twice a year until, as I understand it, 2002). This Education Sector Review is hosted/managed by the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) who decide who should be invited to proceedings. In 1999, donors organised themselves into the Education Funding Agencies Group (EFAG). It has a membership of 15, 5 of whom provide budget support.

Membership is given in the table below. The group meets monthly.

African Development Bank
Canadian International Development Agency
German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
Government of Austria
Government of Denmark
Government of France
Government of Japan
Government of Ireland
Government of Netherlands
Government of Norway
The European Commission
The World Bank
United Nations Children’s Fund
United Kingdom Department for International Development
United States Agency for International Development

**Table 2:** *Members of the Education Agencies Funding Group*

### **Health and education reform**

Education reforms take place within the context of the health of the nation. HIV/Aids continues to pose challenges for the country, not least in its effect on the education sector ‘often leading to the drop out of children who are sick or who have a family member who has AIDS. In the latter case, girls are most frequently affected’ (DCI 2004). HIV infection presumably affects the attrition rate of teachers, though no accurate statistics are currently available. The DFID report (para 7, 2003) notes that infant and under-five mortality rates have stagnated during the 1990s and remain at very high levels, and that maternal mortality rates have shown no improvement over the last decade. Malaria incidence has also increased. The World Bank PRSC 1-3 Implementation Completion Report (2005) confirms that health profile indicators remain ‘quite poor’ (para 3.1.4).

### **Armed conflict**

Uganda is located in a volatile region (see map page) and the historical/political outline given above indicates the violent cycles of government and rebellion since independence. Certain NGOs, for example Save the Children UK (SCUK) are able to chart a humanitarian response to Ugandan armed conflict since independence. Indeed, SCUK set up an office in Uganda in 1959 to respond to the problems faced by what were termed at the time ‘abandoned and neglected children’ (Witter 2004, p3) and has provided humanitarian assistance to children resulting from the deprivations of the major periods of political upheaval since that time.

I wish to outline two movements with very different forms which have led to the current most intensive armed conflict in Uganda: the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and the Karamajong. I will also draw attention to the latest armed conflict on the border between Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Uganda, that triggered by the Allied Democratic Front (ADF) insurgency of 1987 – 2002. As the actions with the LRA and the ADF have particularly affected the provision



of formal schooling, I shall provide more information on these two conflicts. The Karamajong, by virtue of their nomadic lifestyle, have tended to be considered as outside the 'formal' system of schooling. See comments on them in the White Paper, above.

### **Lord's Resistance Army**

The current government, since its accession to power in 1986, has faced a number of armed challenges to its authority. The longest is that of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) under the leadership of Joseph Kony. Within this movement the LRA, driven by a fundamentalist Christian opposition to Museveni, has been fighting across the porous border of Sudan with the Uganda government alternating policy between forceful military action to clear the area of LRA supporters (including Operation Iron Fist) and offering amnesty and ceasefires (Oxfam/Global IDP 2005). At the time of writing, neither approach has been successful in stopping a conflict which now accounts for an estimated 1.4 million Internally Displaced People (UNICEF 2005 'At a glance') and an estimated 20 000 children abducted (SC Denmark Barnet 2003) to become soldiers, labourers or sex slaves. Observers, (e.g. UNICEF 2005 op. cit.) draw attention to the estimated 35 000 children - the so-called night commuters - who walk each night from their homes in the outlying villages to urban centres in order to escape the depredations of the LRA. UNHCR, whose own presence in Uganda dates back to the 1960s (UNHCR 2003) also profiles the plight of the estimated 172 300 refugees (as of February 2003) from southern Sudan, hosted in Northern Uganda. As regards the refugees, UNHCR (2003) note that they have enjoyed, in practice, access to 'markets, health, education and natural resources' (op.cit para 3) enabling them to contribute, to some extent, to the economic productivity of the communities in which they find themselves. UNHCR comments, 'The effort of the Ugandan Government should be applauded considering the meagre resources at its disposal' (op. cit. para 4). The reference is to government action guided by the Self Reliance Strategy launched in 1999. In practice, refugee children seem to enjoy a degree of access to the Universal Primary Education programme of Uganda.

As UNICEF (2002 Donor Update) confirms, the situation affecting the provision of education in the north is continually changing, but there is wide spread displacement, destruction of school infrastructure, lack of scholastic materials and lack of teachers set against a context of ‘abduction, displacement and death’ (op. cit. p2). The provision of primary education has to some extent been centred round the construction of learning centres in IDP camps. The Women’s Commission for refugee women and children (2004) notes that school construction has been a high priority both for international organisations (the Norwegian Refugee Council NNRC, Associazione AVSI, Save the Children (SC) – Denmark) and the government. The Women’s Commission (op.cit) quotes SC Denmark (2003) that in Gulu District, 151 out of 194 schools had been displaced by early 2003. Barton and Mutiti (1998) point out that a difficulty has been deciding when and how to build schools in the face of a changing security situation and the World Bank (Kreimer et al 2000) when talking of its Northern Uganda Reconstruction Project (NURP) notes that management ‘by mission’ (p72) has proved difficult in such changeable circumstances. Within this shifting education provision, one particular concern of UNICEF (2002 Donor Update) has been to support ‘Child Friendly Schools’ (CFS) the checklist for which (undated but I received a hard copy in January 2004) underlines the need for the school to be inclusive, to enrol all categories of children, to write a School Development Plan, and to incorporate UNICEF’s six favoured characteristics of being rights based, effective, gender sensitive/girl friendly, healthy, safe/protective and demonstrating school/community links and partnerships. Other agencies have focused on the provision of Peace Clubs (AVSI), agro-forestry, literacy and numeracy (SC – Denmark), training teachers in psycho-social issues (AVSI) and HIV/Aids protection (SC-UK). The conflict in the North is on-going at the time of writing and has been so for nearly 20 years. It attracts only occasional international attention.



### Allied Democratic Front

Around 1996/7 (the exact date is unclear) the districts of Western Uganda close to the Rwenzori Mountains (Budabugyo, Kabarole and Kasese, see map page) were attacked by an insurgent group calling themselves the Allied Democratic Front/Forces, the ADF. An enigma is the constituency and ideologies of the ADF. Hampton (1998) claimed that they were composed mainly of 'Muslims of the Salaf sect' (p73) and the link to Islamic radicals was reinforced in a report of the Refugee Law Project (2003):

...widely believed that the ADF received funding from a number of external sources, including Mobutu's Zaire, the Sudan government, Al Qaeda and other radical Islamists.(p5)

Due to these alleged links, the ADF was included on the United States (US) Terrorist Exclusion List following the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks on the World Trade Centre' (op.cit p5). Others perceive the membership of the ADF to include former Hutu militia from Rwanda (CMS magazine, 1998 July/September edition). The Refugee Law Project Report (op. cit.) notes that the conflict has been described as a 'rebellion without a cause' (p5) and that 'the rebels never communicated a coherent set of grievances nor gave any indication of a political agenda' (p6). A BBC news report of 17.1. 2000 described them as '... a coalition of an Islamist sect and a formally defunct Ugandan rebel group, who say they are fighting to overthrow President Yoweri Museveni ...' Some observers, however, see the ADF as little more than bandits.

Consensus is that the ADF formed in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and then attacked Uganda across the Rwenzori mountains causing severe disruption in the districts of Kasese, Kabarole and Bundabugyo (see map page). The progress of the conflict is recorded in Amnesty International reports covering 1999, 2001 and 2002. The first notes that:

In western Uganda the ADF abducted several hundred adults and children and unlawfully killed scores of villagers. In February, five civilians were beheaded after their car was stopped at an impromptu ADF roadblock. In June, over 70 students were reported to have been deliberately burned alive at Kichwamba Technical College. More than 80 others were abducted and taken to bases inside the DRC.

The 2001 report charts the continuing progress of the conflict:

Abuses in western Uganda by the ... ADF... , based in the DRC, continued throughout 2000. They included killings, maimings and abductions of civilians, including children, to become soldiers. Although security in Kasese, Kabarole and Bundibugyo districts improved a little, attacks by the ADF spread to Bushenyi, Hoima, Kiballe and Mbarara districts during the year.

The 2002 report notes:

Abuses committed by the Allied Democratic Front, based in the DRC, continued in western Uganda throughout 2001. These included the abduction, maiming ... of civilians. On 17 March members of the Allied Democratic Front reportedly attacked Kasese Town, western Uganda, and killed at least 10 people and wounded several others.

The ADF attacks caused widespread internal displacement but figures vary. Hampton (1998) talks of 'massive civilian displacement' (p74). The Refugee Law Report (op.cit.) puts the number of IDPs in the region at around 175 000 by mid 2000, the majority of them in the Bundibugyo district. Save the Children found that around 80 000 were displaced in Kasese around 1997 (Save



the Children, 2004 Witter's Report). In Kabarole and Kasese, many of those displaced had been living on the slopes of the mountains (the DRC/Uganda border runs along the top of the mountains) and they were displaced to lower ground, typically to a site served by a main road. There was an attempt by national and local government to maintain the primary education of the children and vulnerable and/or attacked schools (again, typically those on the slopes of the mountains) were displaced/relocated into IDP camps on lower ground. Several IDP camps were formed around school locations near to main roads and teachers from displaced schools were expected to follow the children to those camps, though this did not always happen. The Norwegian Refugee Council (2002) commented, 'The ADF violence intensified between 1998 and 2000 and included abduction of school children as well as attacks on IDP camps' (p79).

This conflict coincided with the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE), but no allowance arising from disruption was made to the demands of public assessment of the P7 children (the Primary Leaving Examination – PLE). Humanitarian aid was provided by NGOs and international agencies. UNICEF provided temporary classroom accommodation, SCUUK offered material support and AIDS/HIV awareness workshops for youth and training for camp child care committees (the latter two funded by UNICEF). Oxfam provided food aid. The local co-ordination of humanitarian assistance was provided by the District Disaster Management Committees (DDMC) of the Level 5 Local Councils (LC5), though the success of the co-ordination is questioned by the Refugee Law Project Report (2003) who comment in the conclusion to their report:

Given the confusion that exists over levels of responsibility, it is vital that clearer systems be put in place to allow for adequate communication and the demarcation of roles within the different levels of government. At the local government level, it is vital that the district-

level Disaster Management Committees be re-invigorated and empowered to function in a more effective way. (p19)

Delegates from western Uganda participating in a workshop on the guiding principles for internal displacement (as reported by the Norwegian Refugee Council , Vincent, 1999) commented:

... during times of intensified rebel activities, there is frequently little warning or organised escape and no provision made for access to safe areas. In particular, the inadequate communication between local authorities and the villages concerned prevented any orderly movement of people. (p4)

Economic disruption centred round the inability of IDPs to return to their homes and gardens in order to cultivate food. Even in the post-conflict situation in Rwenzori, at the time of writing, land-mines make returns to gardens in the mountains hazardous.

The Ugandan People's Defence Force (UPDF) provided defence for IDP camps and by 2002 (Amnesty International 2003) the armed activities of the ADF had been reduced following a UPDF military campaign in the mountains (operation 'Mountain Sweep', November 2000) and offers of amnesty. The Amnesty Law, passed in 1999 in order to allow previous rebels to return to Uganda with a measure of immunity, was extended for a further six months in January, 2004; the New Vision of 8.1.04 reporting:

The Amnesty Commission is negotiating with rebels of the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) based in DR Congo to denounce rebellion and return home.



The general success of this campaign allowed district authorities to plan in 2002 for the return of displaced populations (Norwegian Refugee Council -NRC- 2002 citing UNOCHA- 2002). My empirical evidence is that this return has now largely been achieved, particularly in Kabarole and Kasese, though a limited number of IDPs still remain in camps in Bundabugyo. However, the situation in Budabugyo has been exacerbated by the arrival of ‘thousands of Congolese refugees’ arriving as from March 2003 (Refugee Law Project, 2003 p8) ‘... fleeing the recent intensification of fighting in eastern DRC.’

Although the ADF insurgency appears to be over, the border with DRC remains volatile. In 1998, Ugandan troops intervened in the DRC on the side of rebels seeking to overthrow Laurent Kabila. This intervention caused international concern, and Ugandan troops were withdrawn from DRC in 2003. The Austrian Development Co-operation in a report dealing with interstate conflict between Rwanda, DRC and Uganda (2004) observed that different rebel groups in DRC can become useful strategic ‘allies’:

... of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and DRC depending on the dynamic of the foreign relations between the four countries ... the governments of Uganda and Rwanda have insistently demonstrated that the only option to deal with rebel groups opposed to them is to use military force and have demonstrated unwillingness to find peaceful solutions (p38)

An interviewee for the IRIN report for 2002 noted local (Kabarole based) concern that the ADF might yet regroup in DRC. During November 2003, reports in the national newspaper, The New Vision, indicated government concern that the ADF were re-grouping in the DRC and could attack the Rwenzori region on the anniversary of their original attacks (dated in this report as November 13<sup>th</sup>. 1996). To that end, UPDF troops were apparently redeployed to Kasese ‘...chanting and singing morale-boosting slogans and songs’.

### **The Karamojong**

In the North East of Uganda, there is on-going unrest affecting the Karamoja people. The Karamojong are a group of nomadic pastoralists and there has been a long standing tradition of cattle rustling in the area (Global IDP 2002). The Karamojong have been allowed by the Uganda government to retain small arms that they initially used to protect themselves from external raids carried out by the Turakan and Pokot in neighbouring Kenya and the level of violence now associated with their cattle raiding has escalated causing, in particularly aggressive raids in 2000, displacement of an estimated 80 000 people. The Global IDP Report (op.cit) notes improved security in the area during 2002 and the Amnesty International 2003 report on Uganda noted renewed efforts to bring peace to the region including forcible arrest by the UPDF and the offering of amnesties. UNICEF has offered humanitarian assistance to the displaced peoples, as have NGOs, and of particular interest is the complementary education programme initiated by SC- Norway. This is the Alternative Basic Education Karamoja project (ABEK) which is intended to offer a form of complementary education to children unable or unwilling to attend formal schools. The Karamojong had been identified as a group requiring special attention in the education White Paper of 1982, and Nagel (2001) considers the ABEK approach to have had higher enrolment success than other attempts at educational provision in the area. ABEK is delivered by facilitators who are chosen by the adults of the community. Many facilitators have a 'low educational background' (Nagel op.cit. p8) but do receive training. An intention of ABEK was that children should transfer into the formal schooling system and the number so doing increased from 1999 to 2001 according to ABEK evaluation reports.

This armed conflict differs from those of the LRA and ADF in several dimensions, the most obvious of which is that it appears to form an extension of an existing social activity, namely that of cattle rustling, rather than a direct attack on the government.



**Current national education provision**

The main revisions to the Primary School Curriculum were completed by 2000. The subjects of the Primary curriculum are given in the table below.

English Language
Integrated Science
Mathematics
Social Studies
(Effective from January 2000)
Agriculture
Integrated Production Skills (IPS)
Kiswahili
Local Languages
Performing Arts and Physical Education (PAPE)
Religious Education
<i><b>NB Introduction dates</b></i>
(Agriculture, PAPE and RE effective from 2001
IPS effective from 2002
Local Language and Kiswahili effective from 2003.)

**Table 3:** *The subjects of the Uganda primary school curriculum*

The aims and objectives of primary education are stated as:

- To enable pupils to acquire functional, permanent and developmental literacy, numeracy and communication skills in English, Kiswahili and, at least one Uganda language.
- To develop and maintain sound mental and physical health among learners.
- To instil the values of living and working cooperatively with other people and caring for others in the community
- To develop and cherish the cultural, moral and spiritual values of life and appreciate the richness that lies within our varied and diverse cultures and values.
- To promote understanding and appreciation for the protection and utilisation of the natural environment, using scientific and technological knowledge and skills
- To develop an understanding of one’s own rights and civic responsibilities and duties for the purpose of positive and responsible participation in civic matters.
- To develop a sense of patriotism, nationalism and national unity in diversity
- To develop prerequisites for continuing education
- To acquire a variety of personal skills for enabling one to make a living in a multi-skilled manner.
- To develop an appreciation of the dignity of work and for making a living by one’s honest effort
- To equip the learner with the knowledge, skills and values of responsible parenthood
- To develop skills in management of time and finance and respect for private and public property
- To develop the ability to use problem-solving approach in various life situations
- To develop discipline and good manners

**Table 4:** *The aims and objectives of Ugandan primary education.*



The curriculum guidelines require that ‘All Lower Primary (P1 – P4) lessons/periods will take 30 minutes while Upper Primary will last 40 minutes’ (op. cit. pxii)

The school day begins at 8:30 am with a Parade (which typically includes singing, prayers, some form of address and singing the National Anthem whilst facing the national flag) and finishes at 5pm. The children of P3 and below leave school at 1pm.

The weekly period allocation for a primary school is given in the table below.

Subject	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7
Eng. Lang	6	6	6	6	5	5	5
Local Lang.	5	5	5	3	3	3	-
Kiswahili	-	-	-	3	3	3	3
Maths	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Integrated Science	4	4	4	5	5	5	5
Social Studies	3	3	3	3	4	5	5
Religious Education	3	3	3	2	3	3	3
IPS	6	6	6	4	4	4	5
Agriculture	3	3	3	4	4	4	4
PAPE	5	5	5	5	4	3	4
Total	40	40	40	40	40	40	40

**Table 5:** *Weekly period allocation of subjects in Primary Schools in Uganda*

All primary school children take the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE) in their final year at primary school, i.e. P7. The PLE is in the medium of English and is used in part as a determinant of access to secondary education. Primary education in Uganda is free (though children have to provide certain materials, e.g. exercise books, uniform) but secondary education is all fee paying. Schools receive basic funding via the UPE grant, which is raised by central government. The grant is proportional to the number of children on roll in the school set against the centrally determined Pupil/Teacher Ratio (PTR). The PTR is due to be set at 55:1, though at the time of the research this had not been ratified. An additional grant, the School Facility Grant (SFG) is allocated to assist with any necessary construction of buildings, including the provision of teacher accommodation. (See para 6 of the MoES Statistical Indicators, 2003).

Local responsibility for education is delegated to the District Education Officer (DEO) for each district whose responsibilities include the oversight of budget, staffing, provision of examinations and acting as a technical adviser to the District Council on matters of education. The line manager for the DEO is the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) of the District Council. A district inspectorate is managed by the DEO. Part of the responsibility of the inspectorate is the regular inspection of schools.

Many primary schools in Uganda have religious foundations including Islamic and Christian foundations, the latter including the Church of Uganda, the Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventist Church. The government took over responsibility for church schools in 1964, and church direct involvement in schools then waned. However, the churches have more recently renewed their interest in all aspects of primary education, as demonstrated by the document 'Policies and strategies for improving church participation in the planning,



development and management of her educational institutions’ (The Church of the Province of Uganda, 2002) which states:

... the Church of Uganda takes education seriously and has decided to resume her effective role in all her Education Institutions of all categories (piii).

... and also notes that the general objectives indicate a desire to be involved in managing church schools, developing education policy, ensuring the ... ‘mission of the church is catered for in all institutions of learning’ (pv), building the capacity of the Diocesan Education Department (e.g. through training programmes) ... ‘network with other key players in ensuring the promotion of the education of all people’ (pvi) though girls and children with Special Educational Needs (SEN) are identified as focuses. That such a rekindling of interests by the founding bodies in their schools is a joint concern of the faith communities is endorsed by the ‘Memorandum of understanding between the Government of Uganda and faith-based education providers’ (2003) and signed jointly by the Uganda Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church, the Church of Uganda and the Uganda Muslim Education Association.

There are 103 primary schools and 12 secondary schools founded by the CoU in the Diocese of South Rwenzori (i.e. Kasese) and there are 217 CoU foundation primary in the Diocese of Rwenzori (i.e. Fort Portal). There are 3 Islamic foundation primary schools in the Kabarole district, one of which is private, and 3 in Kasese, 2 of which are private. The Seventh Day Adventist Church has 9 primary schools in this Region<sup>6</sup>. As regards the Diocese of Rwenzori (CoU) the number of ‘foundation schools’ represents approximately 40/50 percent of schools in

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<sup>6</sup> It is understood that this approximates to the Rwenzori Region

the region and mirrors the national percentage. Nationally, Roman Catholic foundations are equivalent to those of the CoU. Neither churches nor Mosque fund schools directly but would try to help if there was a particular need. Education secretaries (both Christian and Muslim) will visit the schools in their jurisdiction as part of the schools' accountabilities to their founding bodies.

The Policies and Strategies (2002) document (above) provides job descriptions for Church of Uganda officials. It is interesting to note that these job descriptions for positions including Provincial Secretary, Assistant Provincial Secretary, Diocesan Education Secretary do not include any reference to the maintenance of primary education in conflict.

Government Aided primary schools have a School Management Committee (SMC), whose membership reflects the founding body; other members including parent and government representatives. The Headteacher is not a voting member of the SMC. Primary Schools also have Parent Teacher Associations (PTA) to promote home/school liaison, though it is understood that this tends to concentrate on aspects of parental responsibility (e.g. provision of uniform) rather than curriculum or other school affairs.

### **Initial Teacher Training**

ITT delivery is either by 2 years full time (the pre-service route) or 3 years part-time/employment based route (the In-Service route), the latter incorporating a combination of 'Distance Education Modules' and face to face vacation sessions, including Saturdays during term-time. 'In practice, the volume of work ... remains constant while the time taken to qualify is variable according to the mode of delivery' (Syllabus for Primary Teachers College, Ministry of Education and Sports, 1994... no page numbers given). Students wishing to enter ITT are eligible, after reaching S4 and after taking 'O'-level examinations, to apply for Grade 3 training which would entitle them to



teach in primary school. Students who wish to teach secondary pupils must apply in S6 after taking 'A'- level to enter a 'National Teachers College' in order to gain a Grade V qualification.

Prior to the current system of grading, it was possible to qualify to teach primary via Grade 2 award. A number of these 'Grade 2' teachers continue to work in schools<sup>7</sup>. In many primary schools, there is a substantial percentage of non-qualified teachers on the establishment.

Teachers qualified to teach at grade 3 have followed a course which is designed for them to teach all the subjects of the National Curriculum across all age groups. Primary teachers who gain a grade 5 level qualification have gained an endorsement of their knowledge in two subjects of the National Curriculum (or another area of significance, e.g. Special Educational Needs).

### **Co-ordinating Centre Tutors**

In 1993 TDMS (Teacher Development Management Service) was initiated; it was administratively centred round the Primary Teacher Training Colleges and has been funded by Irish Aid (now DCI) in western Uganda. Co-ordinating Centres were built at certain schools, incorporating office space and a resource room and with a house built to accommodate a tutor when visiting. Tutors are known as Co-ordinating Tutors (CCTs). CCTs have the following role:

1. Working with students, particularly in a facilitating and supportive role as regards ITT In-service course provision (as opposed to direct teaching). Visiting In-service students in schools, observing lessons, providing feedback, setting targets.
2. Working with heads, e.g. the provision of a management course
3. Working with teachers who are already trained.
4. Informing and guiding pupils over their responsibilities as learners

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<sup>7</sup> The length of training for these teachers was longer than is currently required and, in part because of this, they are seen by many school communities as being particularly well trained.

5. Community mobilisation, i.e. informing parents of their role in the education of their children. This used to involve bringing PTAs and SMCs to the Centre for workshops, but this is now a rare occurrence because of lack of funds. Because of this constraint, CCTs currently tend to deliver school-based seminars on community mobilisation.

The role of the CCT is designed as complementary to that of the district inspector though the CCTs tend to have fewer schools than the inspectors (one CCT noted a differential of 20:50). There was some ‘inter-role’ original suspicion when the CCT role was first formulated, but CCTs and Inspectors now appear to be in a working partnership<sup>8</sup>.

### Next steps

The above chapter allowed me to gain something of an overview of relevant aspects of Uganda political and social history, and confirmed me in my opinion that the country could provide a valuable research location. It is now necessary to examine this possibility.

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<sup>8</sup> An opinion expressed by both parties, if asked.



## **CHAPTER 4: DESIGNING THE FIELDWORK**

Given that Uganda might prove a possible site for the research, it next became necessary to screen potential access to Uganda against the research questions as posited in figure 2.

Respondents would need to be related to the provision of primary education, but what was meant by the term ‘primary education provision’ and where might such examples of ‘provision’ relative to the research questions be found in Uganda?

### **Provision of primary education**

In order to conceptualise the enterprise of education, I propose that the following four broad aspects appear to be significant from the review in chapters 2 and 3

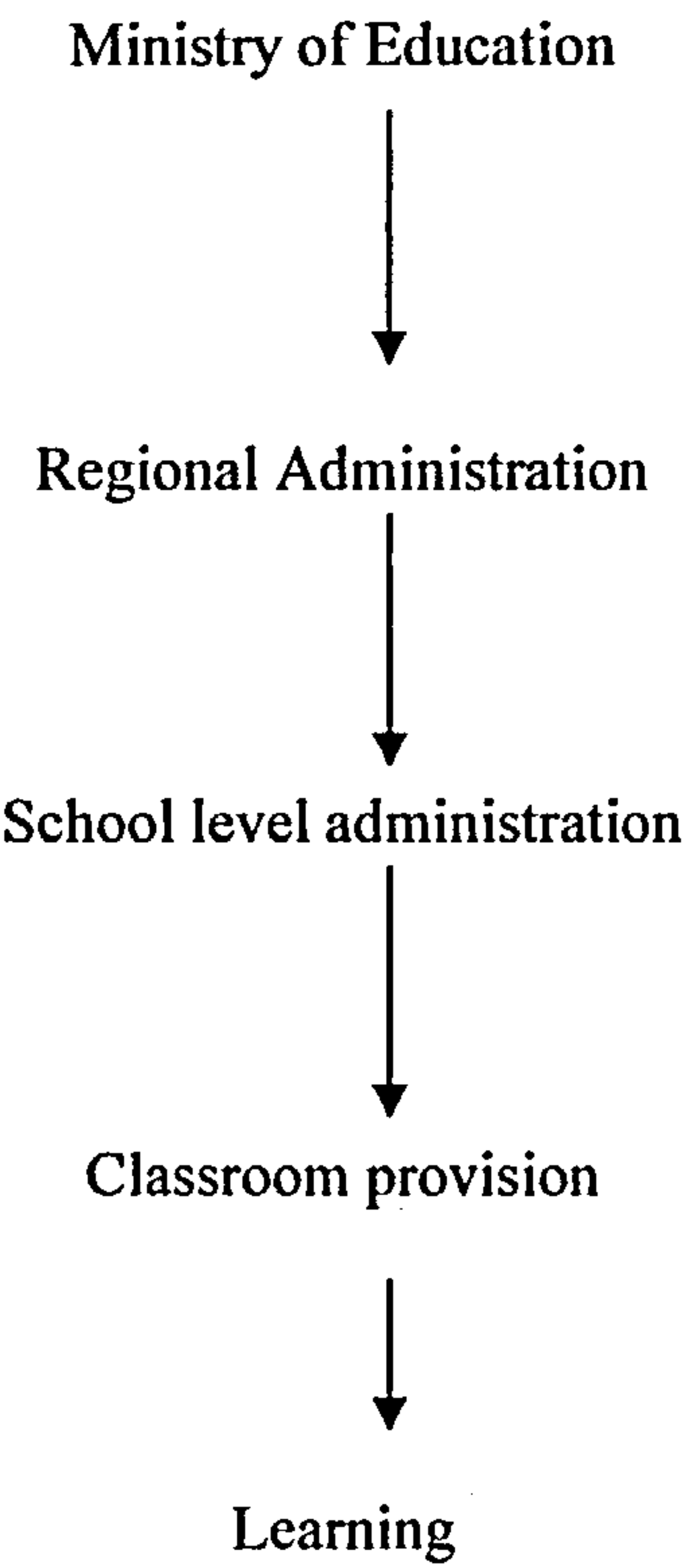
1. The intentions of education provision. What are its aims and purposes within a particular national context? By what processes and with what results have the intentions for education provision been formulated?
2. The policies which have been designed to inform education provision. By what processes and with what results have the policies for national primary education provision been formulated?
3. The implementation of policy:
  - What structures are utilised in implementation? What are the linkages and flows between members of these structures?
  - What methods and processes are used to achieve implementation? What is the culture of implementation?
4. The social milieu within which education is provided.

Having formulated this list, two further stages of focusing were required:

1. A need to ensure that the research was of a do-able scale (Burton and Bartlett, 2005)
2. Relating conceptualisation referred to in 1 to 4 above to practical situations in the field.

Scale of the research

Chapter 3 indicated that the provision of formal, state primary education within Uganda has the following structural components:



**Figure 4:** To indicate the structural pathway between national and local primary education provision within the national, formal system of education in Uganda.

In other words, and at the risk of stating the obvious, the *raison d’etre* of a formal education system is learning, and whilst contributions from members at all levels of the structure of the system might be important, that importance is derived logically from the ability to promote learning. Learning could be identified as the successful ‘delivery’ of the education system *in toto*.



I decided that the focus of the research should reflect the central importance of learning as the primary function of a formal education system, namely, the ability of the system ‘to deliver’. The influence of state education systems is primarily invested in a relationship between teacher and learner which theoretically provides the pupil with an opportunity to learn, a process of delivery that might either reinforce the educational aims of the state apparatus (Sarup 1982) or subvert them. Delivery is therefore a powerful process that resides finally in the interrelationship, the nexus, between teacher and pupil, though influenced by all the stakeholders of ‘the system’. It is more than pedagogy, or curriculum or planning or assessment: it is more than parental influence, or culture or willingness to learn. Delivery is the culmination of influences on teacher and learner. The characteristics of that teacher/learner nexus differ depending on views of learning and the relationships, pressures and power surrounding learning (see, *inter alios* Dearden, 1968, Cullingford, 1997, Dfes, 2002, Wandira, undated). Within this nexus, both teacher and pupil are equally the focal points of ‘delivery’.

Given the resource constraints of the research, I judged that it would not be possible to collect data equally from both teachers and pupils in such a way that would fully reflect this nexus. Given such a constraint, it seemed more pertinent to focus the research on the teacher, because:

1. Learning is the focus of delivery of any education system and the teacher is fundamentally linked with learning and its quality (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2005). The teacher acts as the point of delivery. Teachers take final responsibility for what goes on in the ‘privacy’ of their teaching spaces.
2. Given the teacher’s importance in affecting learning, a formal education system will typically attempt to control the teacher’s role in delivery. Such controls will extend from the definition of the curriculum to be taught (Pring, 1989), via the qualifications to be a teacher (Dfes 2002, Wandira, undated) to acceptable teacher professionalism

(Morrow and Torres, 2000) contextualised within acceptable views of childhood and learning. The teacher thereby becomes a representation of influences, embodying and illuminating the dynamics of education provision and its delivery.

3. If the teacher is crucial to learning/delivery during peacetime, s/he is of potentially equal (even greater, perhaps) importance to learning/delivery during the disruption associated with armed conflict and into post-conflict phases. Teachers constitute a valuable resource of experience and of continuity across all phases of conflict. The controls exercised upon them in defining their roles and preparing them for those roles are important in determining their ability to maximise and utilise both experience and continuity in conflict (Molteno et al, 1999).
4. Teachers who have experienced conflict are in a position to draw on their experience. They can comment critically on their role in any future conflict and on how that role should be planned for. As Vulliamy et al (1990) point out, concern, via qualitative methods of research, can:

‘alert policy makers to unforeseen constraints or facilitatory factors that may emerge at the grass roots level of individual schools and classrooms’ (p20)

5. I am myself a teacher, and the research proposed would be that of a teacher researching into the teaching/ learning nexus. The reviews of chapters 2 and 3 indicate that many of the ‘classroom’ concerns facing teachers in developing countries appeared to share the same labels as my concerns, for example, pedagogy, organisation, curriculum, discipline and assessment. This is not to presume that mere labelling of a vocabulary of common concerns reflects a conceptual framework that is congruent across cultures. Indeed, such a vocabulary is likely to be ‘based on personal prejudices, implicit values or preconceptions’ (p36, Crossley and Watson, 2003) and meaningful cross-cultural interpretations of observed practice may not be available to researchers (Pepin, 2004, Crossley and Watson, 2003). However, whilst recognising that research in Uganda might well identify new categories of significance, my reading also indicated that my experiences as a teacher in the UK

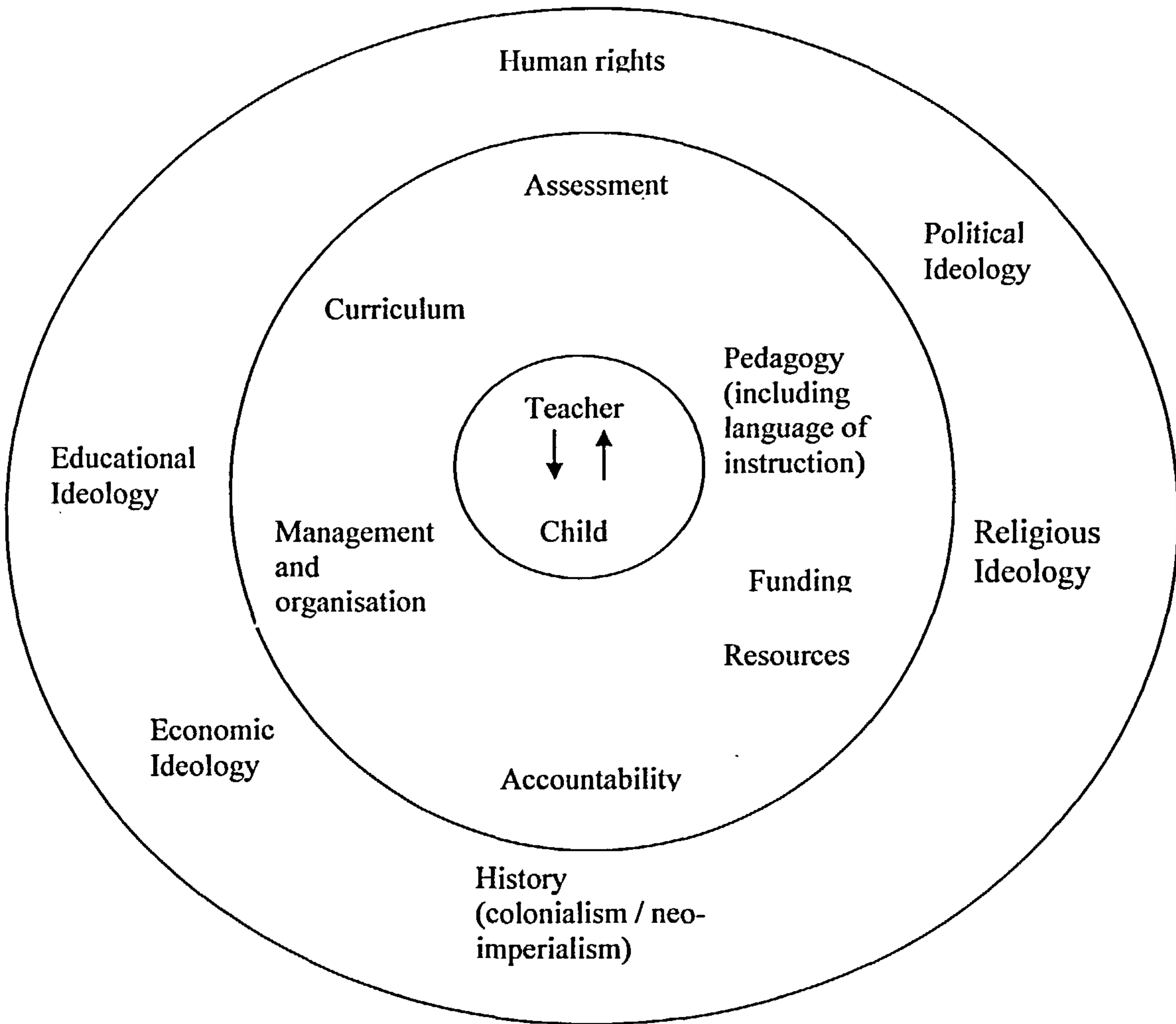


were likely to ‘touch base’ with the experiences of a teacher in Uganda. Crossley and Watson (op.cit.) comment that a degree of specialisation is necessary in completing research. In my case, the specialisation would centre around primary teaching, as class teacher, headteacher, teacher of initial teaching students and teacher of continuing professional development.

### **Determining a sample and vocabulary for the research: field level concerns**

The review of scholarly work in Chapter 2 and the overview of primary education provision in Uganda (Chapter 3) indicate that the day to day work of teachers (delivery) in Uganda is subject to numerous influences, ranging from macro to micro levels of scale. As the research seeks as holistic a perspective as possible, it is necessary to identify these influences whilst recognising that they may change in the field.

Macro levels of influence might originate at a global level and still have palpable effects at school level. For example, political ideology might determine curriculum through its power over definitions of worthwhile knowledge linked to funding. Historical experience and colonial authority might shape not only worthwhile knowledge but also views of childhood, of pedagogy, of assessment and so on. In their turn, school level influences will ultimately affect delivery (and hence learning) not least through affecting teachers as part of the learning process. Those influences suggested as significant from the review of scholarly work and some of the sites which they are likely to influence at school level are summarised in the figure below (recognising that they might change in the field);

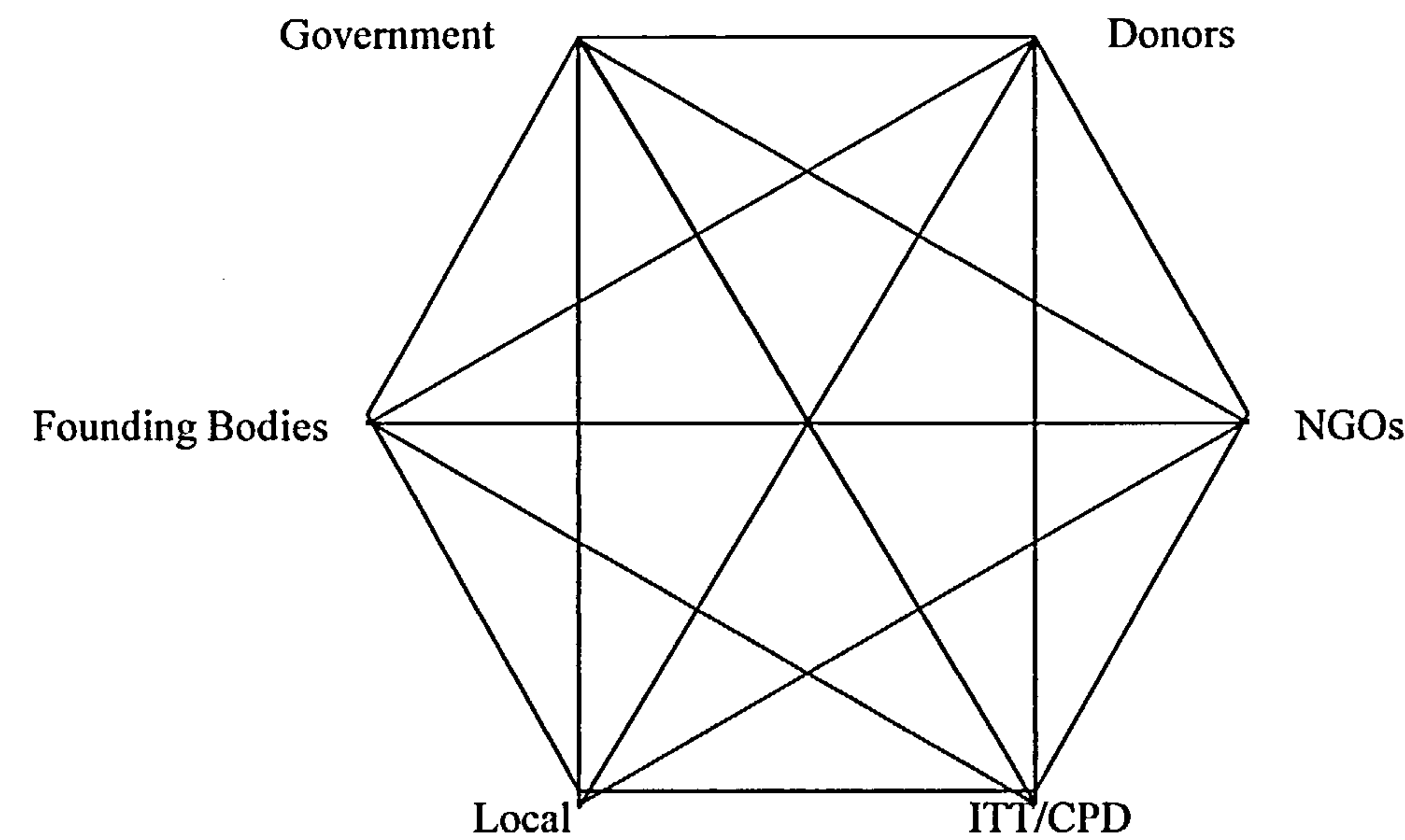


**Figure 5:** to represent certain macro influences (outer circle), their possible sites of influence in school, culminating in the teacher/learner nexus, and therefore delivery.

However, the review of scholarly work indicates that there is an additional, critical interface between such macro influences and the school level effects represented in figure 5. This interface includes national government , donors, NGOs, the founding bodies of schools, the local community and teacher education/continuing professional development. This intermediate tier of ‘meso’ influence is seen to act as a prism through which the macro effects are shaped before they reach school level and subsequently affect learning through teaching.

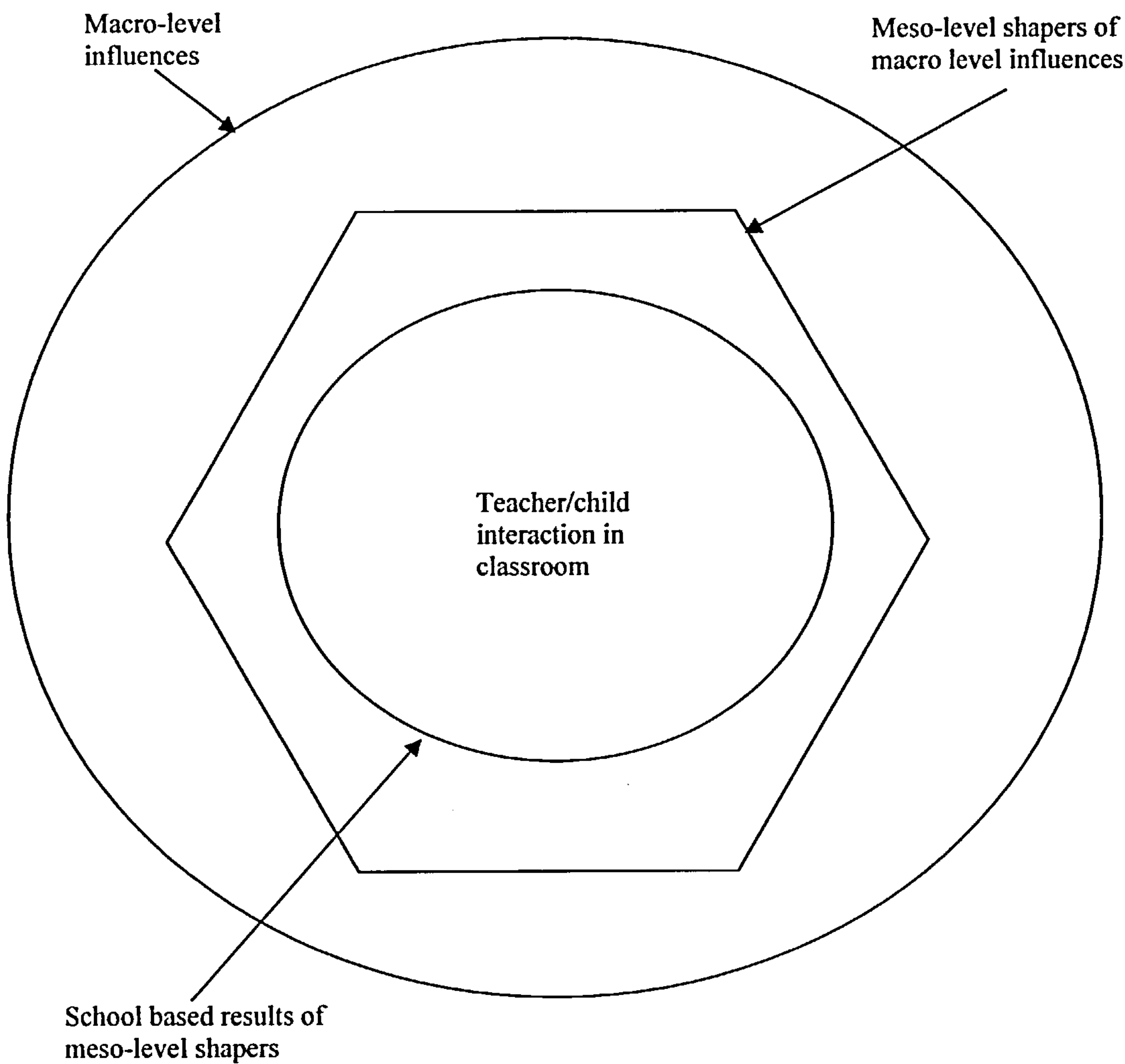


These meso-level shapers are represented in figure 6 below. Although represented as inhabiting the vertices of a hexagon in isolation, the literature indicates that each ‘shaper’ potentially relates to each other shaper in a complex system of interactions.



**Figure 6:** *The interconnections between contributors to the national education system of Uganda*

In summary, the literature identifies three tiers of influences on the teacher acting as a ‘deliverer’ of primary education in Uganda, namely macro-influences, meso-level shapers and school-level results. These influences are represented in the figures overleaf:

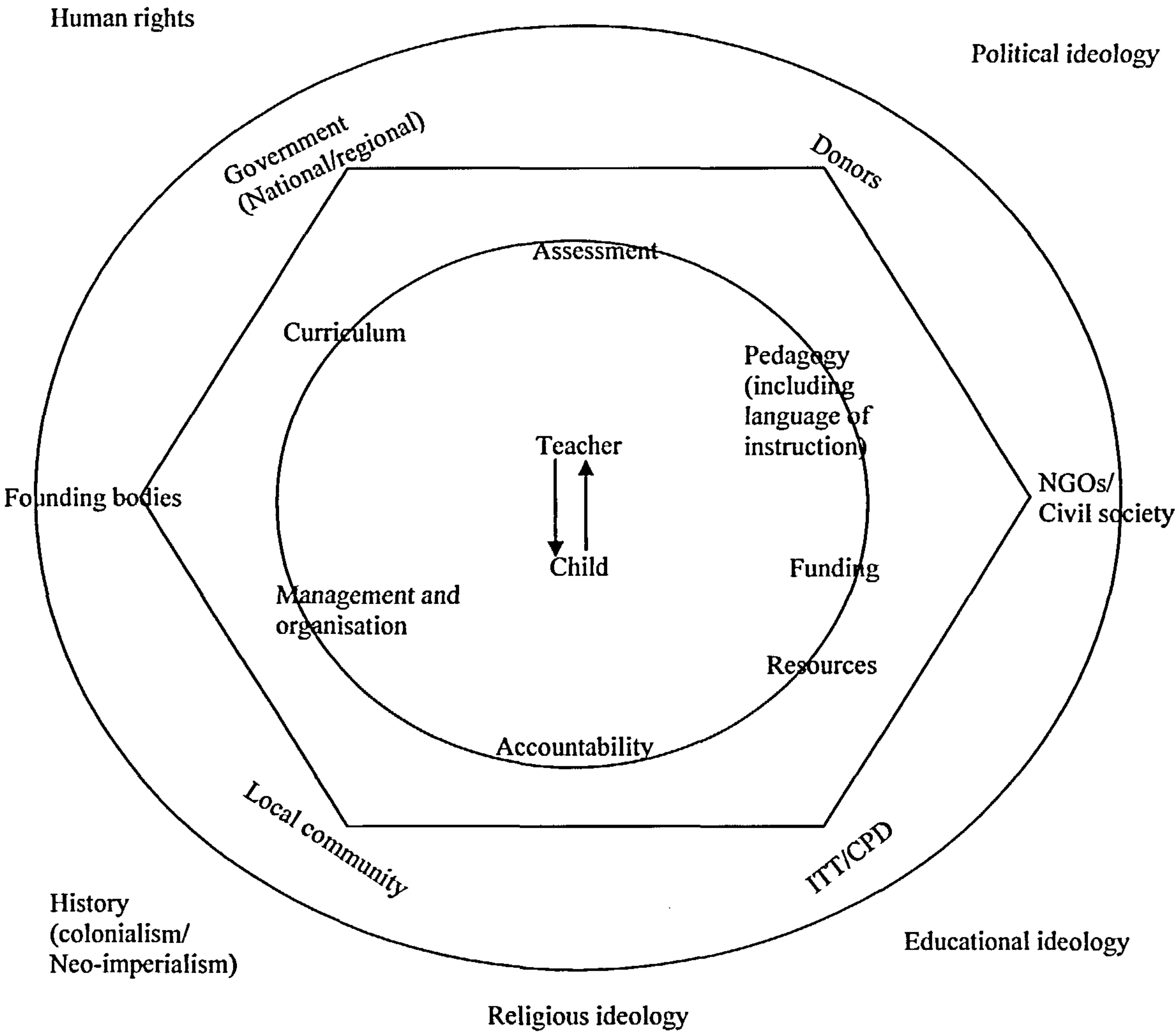


**Figure 7:** to show the three tiers of influence acting upon the teacher in Uganda as part of the teaching/learning nexus, and hence delivery.



Economic ideology

Political ideology



**Figure 8:** to show the range of influences acting on delivery.

How does such a figure inform/represent the research design?

1. The central importance of learning as the focus of education provision, and the teacher/learner nexus within this, are emphasised. This indicates that both teacher and learner are key respondents representing delivery. The decision to focus on the

teacher without an equal emphasis on the learner represents a limitation of the research and a direction for future research.

2. The 'school level influences' represent an initial level of *potentially* shared conceptualisations between myself as a teacher undertaking research and the respondents directly involved with the provision of primary education in Uganda. They provide an initial shared language by which delivery might be discussed across cultures. They shape initial conversations, and hence questions, between researcher and respondent. They are the results of implementation of policy.
3. The 'meso-level' shapers represent key respondents for data collection by virtue of their supposed direct influence over school level behaviours. Affected by macro-level influences, they both formulate and then exercise control over interpretation of policy at school level. They actively shape school actions, including delivery.
4. The macro-level themes of influence potentially affect subsequent levels of action. Macro-level influences might originate in the grand sweep of global influences from Human Rights (Fetterman 2002) to neo-liberal economics (Pritchett 2004). Equally, they might arise within the consciousness of individuals, owing nothing to globalisation but everything to individual reflection and belief (Bartley, 1964). They provide a context within which other influences operate.

### **Shaping the research design**

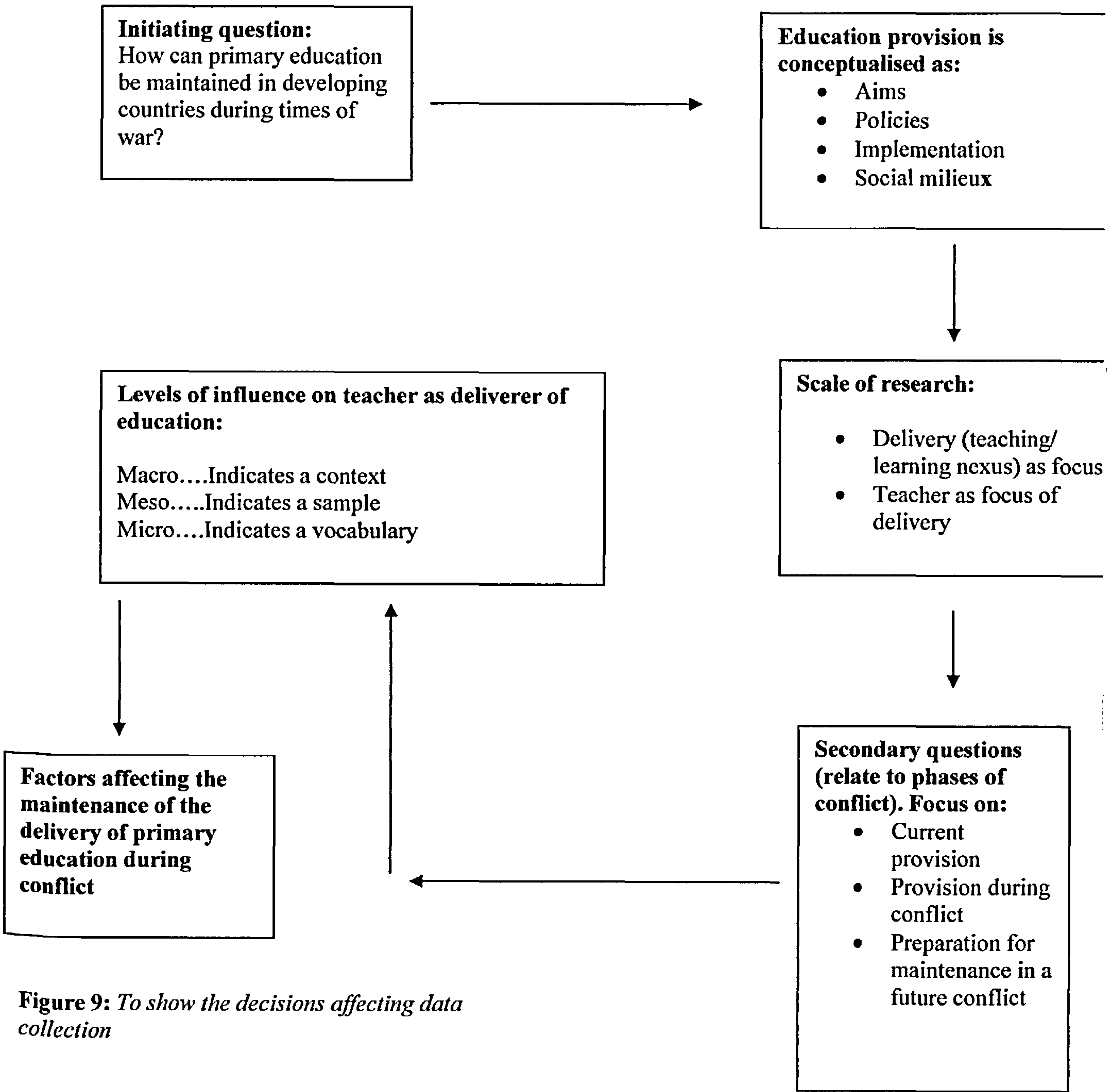
The above discussion indicated that it would be necessary to gain initial field access to the following as representing delivery:

1. teachers
2. learners, (though see discussion above on research focus)
3. schools
4. the key respondents identified as meso-level shapers in figure 5



Summary of research design

What was sought was respondent perception across the dimensions of the aims, policies and implementation of the provision of primary education with a focus on delivery and across the varying phases of conflict, namely previous conflict, current provision (as representing a post-conflict return to normality) and preparation against the return of conflict in the future:



**Figure 9:** To show the decisions affecting data collection

### **Locating the research in Uganda**

Given that Uganda provided a probable research site, I again contacted my colleague who had lived in Uganda and sought her view of the ADF insurgency (see Chapter 3) and which precise geographical location might suit the research. She confirmed that the ADF insurgency had displaced thousands of people in the Rwenzori region in the west of the country, had disrupted primary education, was now ended, but might well return. She suggested that Fort Portal in Kabarole might be a suitable location.

Even with this information making Uganda seem a likely location, I lacked detail. I decided that the only way to decide whether Western Uganda was a suitable site for my field-work was to go there and find out. The purpose of the visit was to inform myself on the potential of any site to answer the research questions posed in figure 2 and the above discussion. I therefore sought information on:

1. The history of the ADF conflict, its aetiology, its timing, its geography and its macro effects, including its effects on primary education. Were the broad characteristics of the conflict as depicted in the literature agreed by those who had experienced it directly?
2. Whether the possible return of conflict was a factor in local people's consciousness. Was this a location of iterative conflict?
3. Whether the research aims and questions were considered worthwhile.
4. Whether there was access to schools that had been affected by the insurgency.
5. Whether there was access to teachers within those schools who had experienced the insurgency and/or its results on the provision of primary education.
6. Whether access to other key correspondents, in particular the 'meso-level shapers' was likely.
7. Any other category of significance formed by meeting people 'on the ground' and which I had not considered.



Consequently I made a pilot visit to Uganda in May 2003.

### **Synopsis of pilot visit**

As van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) point out, piloting in research refers to two separate activities. The first is the piloting of a research tool and the second is a small scale study to check the feasibility of a later study. My visit, though hardly a study, fell broadly into the latter category, including the aim of assessing the practicability of the intended research procedure (Teijlingen and Hundley, *op.cit.*). In May 2003 I spent 2 days in Kampala and 12 days in Western Uganda, staying in Fort Portal but visiting Kasese (see map pages). Both locations had been suggested to me by my colleague as being sites of recent conflict (namely, the ADF insurgency) and as locations of iterative conflict, (a likelihood indicated by the review in chapter 3).

Whilst staying in Fort Portal, the owner of the guest house<sup>1</sup> where I was staying kindly effected introductions, at my request, to the District Education Officers of Kabarole (Fort Portal) and Kasese and the Education Officer for the municipality of Fort Portal. I met them individually and outlined the research to them, including its links to my PhD studies at the University of Warwick. They agreed it was a potentially useful and important area of inquiry, acknowledging the disruption caused to education provision by the ADF attacks and that the return of conflict (though not necessarily linked to the ADF) was a concern. They offered to arrange access to local schools within their respective districts that had been affected by the ADF insurgency when I returned to Uganda, and indicated that access to other key correspondents was probable. I also visited (via cold-calling) the local teacher training college in Kabarole (which had been affected by the insurgency) and was given the offer of access to that institution.

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<sup>1</sup> The owners were an expatriate Englishman and his Dutch wife. Both were actively involved in local affairs and had a keen interest in development. During my stay, their house was visited by NGO workers (representing both national and international organisations), business people, volunteer workers from the active war fronts around Gulu and news correspondents.

On attending the local Church of Uganda for a Sunday service, I also met the Diocesan Secretary for the Rwenzori Diocese. He said that he would be able to introduce me to the Diocesan Education Secretary on my return and would enable me to gain access to Anglican foundation schools.

I was unable to visit state schools because they were closing for a holiday. However, I was able to make a brief visit to a privately funded primary school. The school had been founded by a Ugandan woman whose two husbands had been 'killed for political motives' (I think during the presidency of Amin). She then sought to create a provision of primary education that was 'honest' and of 'quality'. The school was largely financed through the efforts of local women in selling their craft work, typically their baskets. This was my first visit to a primary school in Uganda (albeit not directly in the state sector) and it afforded me the opportunity to see the physical conditions of a school (to this moment, only imagined through secondary accounts), to read some of the children's work, to meet the children and the teachers. I was heartened by my meeting with the teachers and the children. The canons of research might with justification talk of the dangers of cross-cultural imposition of understanding (see later) but in meeting and talking with these colleagues, I felt only a camaraderie based on common interest and the shared experience of teaching children in schools.

Access for the research was therefore to some extent theoretical (Mason, 2002) in that I approached gatekeepers who seemed likely to control access to sites that I had previously deemed linked to categories of significance through the review of literature. However, access also included a measure of what Lewin (in Vulliamy et al, 1990) refers to as 'managed serendipity'. In other words, clearly not pre-planned, 'fortuitous access grew from capitalizing on the opportunities that presented themselves' (p65). I also remained alert to the likelihood that categories of significance, and hence access to respondents, would change in the field when I returned to Uganda.



In screening the information gained from the pilot visit against the intentions of the visit listed above all those requirements for the research site seemed to have been met. In addition, it seemed that I could gain sufficient access to respondents to answer the research questions identified in figure 1. I therefore decided to return to Uganda for a period of three months from October 2003 to January 2004, basing myself in Fort Portal<sup>2</sup> and Kasese.

### Forming a case study

The research is conceptualised as a case study of the delivery of primary education affected by armed conflict and within the field settings of Kabarole and Kasese. It does not aspire to be a case study of the education system *per se*, nor is it a set of multiple case studies of schools. The analytical framework therefore represents a bounded system (Stake, 1978 in Gomm 2000). The intention is, as Cohen et al (2000) observe, to offer, ‘...a unique example of real people in real situations’...rather than presenting readers with ... ‘abstract theories or principles’ (p181). It is important to note that, despite Cohen et al’s (2000) claim that case-studies might allow generalization (p184), any claim for generalisation would run contrary to the foundational ontological and epistemological positions of this research (explored in the next chapter). However, it is an intention that the research account should contain sufficient detail to allow the opportunity for transferability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and/or relatability between contexts. Such transference between one site and another is seen as valuable in that it renders the research potentially ‘useful’, contributing to what Anderson (1998) refers to as ‘lessons learned’ (p160), albeit tentatively and open to scrutiny.

In many ways, the argument for drawing on the sample indicated by the framework of figure 6, plus teachers (and children) with its attendant scrutiny of the networks within which and across which individuals and organisations interact, is reinforced by Scheurich’s notion of ‘Policy Archaeology’ (Scheurich 1997). This postulates a system of social regularities

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<sup>2</sup> Fort Portal is the ‘colonial’ name for Kabarole. The district surrounding Fort Portal is typically named Kabarole and the town itself often referred to as Fort Portal. See map pages.

specific to ‘particular time periods within individual societies’ (p101). Scheurich’s ‘regularities’ include race, gender, class, governmentality and professionalization...they ‘constitute that which becomes visible and acceptable within that order. They operate like a grid that generates what may be seen and talked about, while occluding grid-incongruent alternative possibilities’ (p106). There is a notion that the intersection locates the seeing of the issues.

Given the central concern of the role of teachers to the research, I considered that it would be useful to gather data via direct observation of teachers working in schools. This would in part constitute an ethnographic approach in that it would offer what Hammersley (1998) refers to as naturalism, understanding and discovery, i.e. the opportunity to observe people in non-artificial settings (Brewer 2000). However, the three months available for the field work indicated that the immersion in the setting necessary for a fully ethnographic approach would be too short if I was to gather data from all the key respondents detailed in Figure 6, plus teachers (and children). Nevertheless, it remained my intention, if possible, to include observation in schools as a significant component of the data collection method, combined with semi-structured interviews and reviews of documentation. (See next chapter.) I also intended that the final text of the research would include some qualitative descriptions of phenomena, in part because I was acutely aware of the danger of cross-cultural imposition of meaning (Shipman, 1997) and that my approach might be construed as being through the ‘imperial eyes’ of my own culture (Tuhiwa-Smith, 1999). The inclusion of such commentaries, even if limited, might go some way to a reader partially checking my underlying values and perceptions (May 2001) and to confronting the ‘Crisis of Representation’ (Denzin 2002) especially as it applies across cultures. The research was thus further conceptualised as a case study, interpretive in design. Anderson (1998) identifies six types of case study and the intention of this research perhaps best matches the criteria for an ‘illustrative study’...namely ‘descriptive in character and intended to add realism and in depth examples to other information about a program or policy’ (p155). The intention might also be



seen to equate with some aspects of the 'collective' type of case study outlined by Stake (Brewer, 2000) in that it was intended to study more than one instance of the 'same phenomenon to identify common characteristics' (p77). I see the research as exploratory. It is not linked in any way to the positivistic generation of hypotheses for later investigation 'rather than illustrating' (p155 Anderson, 1998).

### **Next steps**

Given the conceptualisation of the research as a case study, the next chapter considers underpinning methodology and its translation into method.

## CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

The research does not attempt a positivist approach (Cohen et al, 2000) but is founded on an ontological position that espouses constructed reality (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and an epistemological position that views knowledge as subjective and tentative (May, 2001). Lucas (1993) notes that a concern for truth is hailed as of value wherever there is a rational thought process but within this research truth is seen as partial and constructed within particular contexts that relate to location, history and culture. As Scheurich (1997) points out, 'Both truth and any postfoundational meta-criteria for establishing truth are....socially relative to a particular time and place' (p33).

Truth is problematic, yet the acceptance of a truth claim includes certain people and excludes and/or represses others, what Parfitt (2002) refers to as 'violence to the other'. Indeed, a recurring theme of modernity has been the imposition of a supposed truth, typically supported by science (Rist 1997) and imposed by one set of people upon another, the benevolent outcomes of which actions are highly debatable (Coulby and Jones 1995). The postmodern response to the presumed certainty of modernity has been what Parfitt (op.cit) sees as a potentially destructive 'nihilism, in which values such as truth and falsehood, good and bad have no meaning and are ineffective'... and he warns of the danger of falling into the familiar 'relativist abyss'(p26). It is a value position of this research that it is as inclusory as possible.

Brewer (2000), in deliberating how research might respond to this dilemma (namely that between certainty and nihilism), identifies a position that he terms 'post-post modernism'. Focusing primarily on ethnographic research texts, Brewer believes it possible to retain the author's voice within research but that this should be seen as fallibilistic (see also Seale, 1999). Such 'post-post modern' research reports can:



purport to produce knowledge that is beyond reasonable doubt but it will never be final or absolutely certain...they should provide the reader with the information necessary to assess the validity of the data and their relevance and plausibility. (p141).

I find Brewer's notion of post-postmodernism appealing because it steers a path between the certainty of modernism (a position that would be incompatible with multiple realities and a subjectivist epistemology) and the supposed nihilism of post-modernism which seems at variance with the many shared aspects of human experience (Nussbaum and Sen, 1993).

Brewer goes on to say that such a fallibilistic approach to research is in no way *laissez-faire* but should be systematic and demonstrate a respect for accuracy. In particular, there should be sufficient evidence for others to judge the research. Seale (1999) endorses this view, seeing the fallibilistic approach as ill served by :

... presenting a personal interpretation and then simply saying that people are free to disagree if they so wish. It requires a much more active and labour-intensive approach...so that something of originality and value is created, with which, of course, people are then always free to disagree, but may be less inclined to do so because of the strength of the author's case (p6).

However, in considering the trustworthiness of research, Seale (1999) expresses concern over issues of 'validity' and 'reliability' seeing them largely as modernist tags, and:

no longer adequate to encapsulate the range of issues that a concern for quality must raise. Instead, we must accept that 'quality' is a somewhat elusive phenomenon that cannot be pre-specified by methodological rules (p7)

However, if the classic conceptions of validity and reliability are to be jettisoned, it remains necessary to offer some criteria by which the trustworthiness of research might be judged, otherwise all that is left, as Seale cautions, is uninformed personal opinion.

Hammersley (1998) offers a useful way forward in responding to the dilemma as to how research might be trusted, and his suggestion would seem to be in sympathy with the fallibilistic approach. He postulates screening research against what he terms 'plausibility' and 'credibility', in that they represent questions to be asked by the reader of the research rather than a mere acceptance by the reader that if certain conditions have been satisfied then

the research is automatically acceptable. He notes that one can have ‘good reasons for believing that something is true without ever being absolutely certain about the validity of the claim’ (p65). He suggests the following questions should be asked:

1. Is the research plausible? Is the research likely (or not) to be true ‘given what we currently take to be well-established knowledge?’ (p67)
2. Is the researcher’s judgement of matters relating to any research claim accurate ‘given the circumstances of the research, the characteristics of the researcher?’ (p67).

Hammersley argues that this is the way we judge claims in everyday life, namely by drawing on our communal experience, by comparing our judgements with the judgements of others, through resolving differences in judgements by discussion aimed at identifying a truth and by ‘negotiation, delegation, majority decision or even the exercise of coercion’ (p67). If applied to research, it is evident that such a process of judgement requires two components, namely the evidence by which to make judgements and the process by which such judgements are adjudicated.

As regards the latter, if truth remains the product of inter-subjective agreement and the results of research fallibilistic, then it becomes necessary to identify a forum for the deliberation of research claims. At its most reductionist level, the forum is the reader reading the research report in isolation. A progression from such isolation would be for the subjective interpretation of the isolated reader to be related to the subjective interpretation of others, truth resulting from inter-subjective agreement. Habermas’s ‘Ideal Speech Situation’, conceptualised as a dialogical opportunity (Borradori, 2003) rather than a monological event, would seem to meet these requirements. As Parfitt (2002) comments:



The central points in this model are that discussion should be free, all sides have an equal opportunity to air their views and the resultant outcomes should be universally acceptable (p63)

Such a model resonates with Phillips' (2002) aims for deliberative democracy as an opportunity whereby '... all of us may change' (p115). In opening research to such a deliberative forum, research becomes as inclusory as possible, in part addressing Parfitt's concern (see above) over the exclusory notion of 'violence to the other'.

No matter the forum for the deliberation of research, it is evident that judgements are typically dependent on a given report. It is necessary to open the research and its report to scrutiny as far as possible (Shipman, 1997) and to provide sufficient information by which such judgements might be made. Not only does this require the provision of an account that is as representative and accurate as the researcher can furnish, it also requires information on how the self is included in the research. As Shipman (1997) comments, 'We see the world through our attitudes, prejudices, values and through the models in the mind that we have learned' (p72). The written texts of research accounts currently remain the main conduit by which others access a research project, and as Seale (1999) observes, it is not possible to delete the author from the text. Indeed, an author might manipulate text. In this regard, Hammersley (1998) draws attention to the rhetorical ploys of the authors of research accounts (with a focus on ethnographic accounts), noting that they might for example, lay claim to a spurious realism (op.cit p17). Denzin (1997) expands upon the theme, noting the crisis of legitimation and that any text cannot provide an exact link between experience and itself but is a product of an authorship that is itself the product of a connection to an external world that is forever 'shifting' (op.cit. p33). Text can be distorted through discourse (Howarth 2000), including discourse's ability to create meaning (Phillips and Hardy 2002). Seale (1999) comments that, in a phase of post-modern sensibility, ethnographers 'turned on their own realist texts to examine the uses of rhetoric in persuading readers to trust their accounts' (p14) but Brewer (2000) makes a plea that whatever is written is in a style that does not confuse.

Returning to fallibilism, he makes the point that authors may adopt an authoritative voice in their texts but should recognise that, because it is fallible, ‘it will never be final or absolutely certain’ (op. cit).

How, then, is this research shaped by the foregoing concerns?

- The research is interpretive, but seeks to offer an opinion that is justified. Both opinion and justification are inevitably subjective. Subjectivity, however, does not imply an inevitably isolated or unrecognisable position; many human concerns appear to be shared across cultures, histories and chronologies.
- Given its inescapable subjectivity, the research account attempts to render the research as open to scrutiny as possible. In attempting to promote this openness, the written research account aims to provide sufficient detail by which judgements as to its process and content, plausibility and credibility, might be made.
- The research aims to provide as accurate a representation of phenomena as possible.
- I have endeavoured to make my relationship to the research as clear as possible in order to inform the reader as to how phenomena have been selected for attention and subsequently interpreted. I have attempted to make personal values and history of experience clear. The selection and interpretation of phenomena are ‘fallible’ processes.

The arguments outlined above have largely resided their confidence within perceptions of certainty and uncertainty. In modernist/post-modernist terms, modernist certainty is blamed for its arrogant imposition and post-modernist uncertainty is blamed for its abdication of responsibility in a supposedly fragmented world. To me, both certainty and uncertainty are equally responsible for actions, though perhaps occupying the same logo-centric



conceptualisation identified by Derrida (Wolfreys 1998). Certainty causes people to suffer because it bases itself on an arrogant assumption that all people are like oneself and that this quintessential sameness has been identified and renders necessary - and available - a universal cure. Uncertainty causes people to suffer because it bases itself on an abdication of responsibility in which the commonality of human beings becomes lost to an arrogance of intellectual positioning that identifies self as being supreme. When certainty and/or uncertainty become ossified, intellectual progress becomes stultified. It is the aim of this research to offer evidence in sufficient detail whereby others might make a judgement of it, avoiding any claim to certainty but still offering an informed voice. The following section on research method seeks to demonstrate how the concerns of methodology are interpreted in practice.

### **Shaping the research: finding the significant**

The research process did not follow a neat, ordered progression from initial reading to the generation of research questions and the identification of the significant. Rather, it was a process of ebb and flow, of new reading informing past experiences, old reading informing new experiences and all permutations therefrom. The selection of Uganda as a research site was partly serendipity, but its suitability was confirmed after my pilot visit. What I perceived on that visit was informed by a view of education, development and conflict, mostly gained from experience in the UK and a review of scholarly work. It was not informed by any prolonged contact with Ugandan culture. I was also interpreting this material through the perspective of the social conditioning of my life (Scheurich, 1999), particularly relating to education. If I read of 'quality' for example, my mind would initially move to the conceptualisation of quality currently held in UK debates. Shipman (1997) talks of the imposition of meaning, pointing out that researchers 'of all people are likely to be saturated

with theories that determine their perceptions' (p45/6) and I am sure that obtained in my case. Clearly, the texts that I was reading were only ever representative (Denzin, 1997) and epistemology is never context free (Scheurich, 1997). My approach to this has been to try and remain open to changes in categories of significance in the field, and the need for the research text itself to provide as much information as possible for judgement to be made by the reader.

In the field, significance was shaped by the continuous interplay of data collection and analysis (Anderson, 1998). Although figure 5 represents an initial suggested common vocabulary of significant categories by which the provision of education might be explored prior to access to the field, examples of changes in significant categories following access to the field included:

1. Not initially realising the importance of gardens to the subsistence of teachers and its effect on their work in school.
2. Not recognising the full import and role of the extended family in Ugandan society.
3. Not knowing the professional expectations on teachers. This latter is also an example of greater contextualisation within Uganda continuing during the field work through access to unpublished material, for example the agenda used by inspectors to report on the 'quality' of schools, the report forms used by ITT tutors to grade their student teachers.

I kept a field commentary on the changing foci of data collection and of growing awareness of issues. It was only in the field that their importance could be weighed and new issues recognised. Contextualisation in Uganda has thus been an ongoing process, occurring before, during and after the pilot visit and field work. That such a process has been inadequate in many respects I do not doubt, but I have attempted to inform myself. Opening the research to scrutiny is a check against such inadequacies.



### Negotiating access to field sites

In September 2003, I submitted a research proposal to the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology, whose approval is necessary in order to complete research in Uganda. It was accepted. I also contacted certain people whom I had met on my pilot visit, namely the DEO of Fort Portal, the DEO for Kabarole and the Vice-Principal of St. Peter's College outlining my intended return to Uganda. They were all welcoming.

I returned to Fort Portal in October 2003. I met again with the DEO for Kabarole and we agreed a research approach in the Kabarole district of being based in one school for observations and interviews and making brief visits to other schools. All the schools in the sample he proposed had been disrupted by the ADF. This disruption might imply that they had been closed, been the site of an IDP camp, been the direct target of attack, or whatever. Immersion in schools in this way would allow me the opportunity to gain some overview of the current curriculum, teaching and learning approaches, management, relationship of school to community and so on (see figures 5-8). It would also potentially offer some indication of the preferred provision of primary education. What was being offered - or not - especially under any conditions of post-conflict stringency, might well reflect what was valued. However, there were only about six weeks available for work in schools before the Christmas Holidays.<sup>1</sup> This equated to being able to spend around 3 weeks in the schools in each district, Fort Portal and Kasese.

In order to operationalise this in Fort Portal, Mr D. (the DEO for Kabarole) introduces me to Susanna, a District Inspector of schools 'To hear his voice' Mr D says of me. I outline the project and Susanna adopts a polite, but I judge, non-committal face. Kubona Primary School is suggested as a possible useful base, having been an IDP camp during the ADF insurgency. I ask about the advisability of my living in the community close to the school but Mr D. suggests not to do this initially as it would not be an action based on trust and would cause

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<sup>1</sup> The Christmas Holiday is the major holiday for Ugandan schools.

surprise and questions among the local people. He suggests that I commute but could spend a couple of nights in the community when better known and if I consider it to be worthwhile. He leaves and I chat with Susanna (she is inspector for primary, secondary and vocational schools within Bunyangabo county) and there are 48 government aided schools on her 'patch'. We exchange phone numbers. I ask her if she thinks the project is a useful way forward. She indicates 'Yes' (but my impression is more 'It is worth a try'). She suggests that she introduces me to Kubona School and the other local schools on Wednesday. She wonders if the DEO will provide a car and I am to ring on Monday to check the details.

The following section in italics is an extract from my research diary.

*Saturday*

*In discussing the project and the need to go to Kasese with Joseph (the Ugandan 'second in command' at the guest house where I am staying) he indicates that he shares my concern that Kasese is not the friendliest of towns. After a few minutes of conversation, he indicates that the people of Fort Portal and Kasese are different. He sees Fort Portal as being Tooro and Kasese as being something I didn't catch! He also indicates that the Tooro have somehow reigned or 'beaten' the people in Kasese.<sup>2</sup>*

*Sunday; St Johns' Cathedral (Church of Uganda) Fort Portal*

*During part of the intercessions, or, more precisely, an earlier section in which people were invited to bring their concerns before God, the intercessor gave a few examples of possible concerns. One that he mentioned was school fees.*

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<sup>2</sup> This was my introduction to the ethnic tension between the Botooro and the Bocongo people.



## Monday

*I travel to Kasese by matatu<sup>3</sup> and meet Mr.A again (DEO for Kasese). He seems more concerned than Mr. M. over government permission for conducting my research, and seems very pleased to see my 'bona fides'. He agrees the idea of a base school of three weeks and visiting other schools during that time. These will all be rural schools as it was they that were disrupted. He also says that he will help me find suitable accommodation.*

## Tuesday: St. Peter's College

*I met with Mr. N, the Principal, in his office. I showed him my UNCST Pass and gave him a copy of my letter of introduction from Warwick. He was most obliging. 'What can we do to assist?' He considers it is a useful, even important, project. He offers me accommodation next week, (when I have to leave the guest house and other accommodation is full), a car to school<sup>4</sup> (I pay for the petrol) and I am to make a contribution to accommodation costs in the college if I can. He is the only person so far who seems to recognise my financial constraints. We drink tea and eat fresh paw-paw, and chat:*

*The civil service and the government contain elements of corruption. In the UK, a civil servant does not have to worry about school fees, in Uganda he might well.*

*Education needs to be relevant. Parents (my impression is that he refers more to village parents than to urban parents) only see education of value if a job is forthcoming. If there is no job, there is no point in education. Literacy, numeracy and (I think) attitude are the core requirements of primary education.*

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<sup>3</sup> A 'matatu' is a minibus, used as part of the public transport system. Matatu are competitively organised, one firm vying with another for custom. They are driven, seemingly dangerously overcrowded, in seemingly dangerous ways, though I should note that I have not died as a result of adopting such a form of travel, to date. Travelling by matatu is a 'socially intense' experience.

<sup>4</sup> In the event this did not happen, and my journey to school was by matatu and at my expense.

*Teachers are seen as being largely non-corrupt.*

*We discuss cotton. I inform him that there is no more spinning in Manchester. We seem to agree that education offers a way from poverty and (my impression) a way finally to combat corruption. When I mentioned my meeting with Bevis (Diocesan Secretary), Mr N seemed to indicate that St. Peter's was a state institution.*

### *Wednesday*

*I had agreed to meet with Susanna at 9:30 am. I arrive at 9:20 am. At 10:0am (I think – or rather later!) car and driver arrive. 'We are making you tired,' Susanna observes, as I sit outside her office, waiting. We leave, and buy 20 litres of diesel (31 000 shillings down to me, but thank you to the DEO who has given the 4 by 4 plus the driver).*

*We go to Kubona Primary School first and are shown around by a female Deputy Head. Her welcome is comforting and seems genuine. The following pattern is virtually the same at all the schools we visit:*

*Susanna introduces me to the Head (often we all wait in the car for a school official to greet us before we get out).*

*I give a spiel that includes my background, an overview of the research, my need to learn from Ugandan schools, my willingness to contribute to teaching if this would be useful, and the issues surrounding consent.*

*The Head gives agreement to the research (seemingly in absolute terms and not with the reservations of 'in principle')*

*We make a tour of the school. In each class, more or less, the following pattern emerges:*



*The children stand up, sometimes applaud and sometimes say, 'Welcome, visitors.'*

*I say, 'Good morning/afternoon, children.' They respond ... but if the response is 'weak' either the Head or Susanna will require it again.*

*Susanna says, 'Good morning/afternoon children/class (or similar). They respond, it seems to me confidently and loudly and she says, 'You may sit.' They chant, 'Thank you, madam.' (I think there is a ritual here!)*

*Either Susanna (or the Head, if Susanna does not know the dialect ... or another teacher if the Head does not know the dialect [this applies below P4. For P4 and above, I think, the expectation is that English explanations will suffice]*

*introduces me. At this stage, my willingness to take a group or to team teach becomes, 'He will teach you... on this blackboard here ... he is a teacher... are you pleased he will be teaching you?' and the response is a chanted, 'Yes!' She says I will be asking questions, looking for a dialogue. She sometimes mentions the ADF insurgency specifically and that I will be asking them questions about it. She (or others) explain that I have no Rotooro or Rocongo, and will therefore ask questions in English. 'Do you know English? Do you remember the time you brought your guns into the classroom?'*

*'Yes!'*

*'The questions will only be simple .. and you can ask him questions.'*

At some schools, there is no beating about the bush. Susanna says, 'We have two visitors today, but I expect there is only one you will be looking at.' When I leave some classrooms, they erupt into excited laughter.

*I think the heads were informed of my coming, but to all intents and purposes, Susanna tells them to co-operate. I imagine that our 'royal procession' is a disruption to the school, but the children are smiling, welcoming and curious. The teachers, for the most*

*part, were also welcoming. That said, I feel a highly hierarchical system of deference here. Heads do what they are told by Susanna. At Ribati, for example, she was (it seems) dissatisfied with the physical location of the children during a rain storm and required changes to the arrangements for them). Staff seem to do what they are told by Heads, and children seem to do what they are told. At Ribati, for example, one 'monitor' was herding children with the help of a bamboo/reed (?) switch. When the 'cortège' arrived at the schools, no one seemed to be looking after the children<sup>5</sup>, but it may be that a strong monitorial/prefect system was in operation. This was hard to analyse.*

*However, I have concerns. My desire to revisit a school has become, 'He will spend 1 or 2 days in your school.' My willingness to take a group or to team teach has become, 'He will teach you ... on this blackboard here... he is a teacher', and this 'promise' was given to all the classes in all the schools as far as I can make out, despite my reiterating my view of the research model to Susanna..*

The schools we visited were Kubona, Ribati, Msura, Mihondo and Bitandi. In every case I explained consent and that I would need signatures before I began work next visit. I also left a consent form with Susanna and asked her permission for a formal interview in due course. She assented, and at the end of the day we returned to Kubona School where we had begun. What follows is inevitably subjective. There are 4 of us, sitting in the Head's office ... Susanna, Head, another Head and me. The other three are women ... this is a group. They know each other, joke, swap languages, commiserate (over the measles immunisation results). This is a relaxing encounter for them at the end of the day. They are very polite, but I am not part of this group. My date for starting at Kubona Primary School is agreed.

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<sup>5</sup> In an English school, one would expect to see an adult directly supervising any group of children. This is a UK statutory requirement.



*We take our leave and drive back to our 'homes'. We drop Susanna off before I reach my own accommodation. We turn off the main road and through the market. In due course, we see Susanna's house standing on its own with a little girl waiting outside (I take her to be one of Susanna's children). Susanna greets the girl, turns to me and says, 'If ever you are in Uganda, you will be welcome at this house' and leaves the vehicle. I am driven back to where I am staying.*

*My reflection on the day is that I have been committed to teaching something upwards of 3/4000 children within the next 3 weeks. To be honest, it is some time since I practised primary classroom skills, let alone in a second language. My desire to learn from practitioners capable of delivering a curriculum to 100 children in a highly constrained area seems to me (being paranoid) in danger of me being expected to demonstrate such skills. The worst case scenario would be to be given a whole class, unprepared, not knowing the curriculum or the level of the children, not knowing the sanctions/discipline system, not knowing the language, knowing sod-all, in fact, and yet being expected to give an expert performance!*

From this verbatim account from my research diary, one might suspect an apparent shift in concern from the respondents to myself. It would seem as if *my* potential discomfiture has become paramount, rather than the potential exploitation of respondents to meet my research ends. I return to this point below when discussing interviews (Shah 2004), but it is important to note that in relation to this research, I was defining myself as a teacher researching into teaching. This position implied a measure of professional expertise, and certain colleagues in Ugandan schools seemed keen to make a judgement on that expertise. I was, I believe, closely observed as I met and interacted with children, staff and parents, including limited moments of teaching. I was anxious not to appear as any kind of expert, but was I the teacher I claimed to be? The response by teachers to my raising issues of professional concern/etiquette, even at

a rather trivial level - ‘I’m sorry to disrupt your lesson....May I talk with the children?’ - seemed positive. This indicated to me some cross-cultural appreciation of a shared ‘vocabulary’ of what teachers do and are.

**Sampling**

The foregoing account indicates how access to the schools was negotiated through gatekeepers. The sample of schools was thus out of my direct control but, as the parameters for selection had been set during my pilot visit, it most represented a ‘judgemental sample’ (Fetterman, 1998). Availability of time largely determined sample size.

Observations were completed in 6 primary schools. It had been the intention to gather data from a similar number of schools in both Kasese and Fort Portal, but this was not possible because of local circumstances. It should be noted that Nyabisiki, although in Kasese District is actually quite close in distance to the schools in Kabarole. The common denominator was that all schools were located close to the mountains and all were disrupted by the ADF. (See map page.)

Schools in Kabarole	Number of days	Number of teacher plus headteacher interviews
Kubona	14	6+1
Bitandi	1 plus short pre-visit	1+1
Mihondo	1 plus short pre-visit	1+1
Msura	1 plus short pre-visit	1+1
Ribati	1 plus short pre-visit	1 (teacher)
Schools in Kasese		
Nyabisiki	7	4+1

*Table 6: Schools visited and the length of the visits*

Kubona was located by the main road, and travel was relatively easy by matatu. The other schools in Kabarole were quite high up and travel was by dirt path, either as a pillion on a motor bike or by foot. The journey to Nyabisiki (Kasese District) was by matatu over made and unmade roads, followed by a journey by boda-boda (motor bike taxi) or on foot. Each way took up to 3 hours.



I also visited the Islamic Primary School in Fort Portal town. I did not observe lessons in the school as it was closing for a holiday but did have a tour of the buildings, informal discussions with the teachers and a formal interview with the Deputy Head. Because of the atypical nature of the school (it was in an urban setting and was privately funded), I have not included data from this school in my discussion unless specifically mentioned.

Within schools, I was given freedom to approach any member of staff to interview and the sample was largely judgemental (Fetterman, op.cit.) in that I approached those people who I considered might best inform categories of significance. As regards the children of Kubona, these were selected by the head teacher. Afterwards she confided that she had selected her 'best children', I think by reference to their academic ability. In Kubona I was able to observe each class for at least one complete period (12 classes). In Mihondo I taught P7, talked at length with P6 and observed P1. In Bitandi, I observed P3, P5 and P6, and at Ribati, P3, P2 and P1. In Msura, I met all the classes, talked with P7, P6 and P5 (which I also observed). In Kasese region (Nyabisiki School), I observed P1, P3, P4, P5 and P6. On most occasions, teachers invited me to look at their planning. At Kubona school, I was able to have a more in depth look at the planning (across all areas of the curriculum) for P2, P3, P4, P5 and P6.

In sampling representatives of contributors to the national education system (the meso-level shapers identified in figure 6) the decisions were again judgemental. The availability of respondents with particular responsibilities (other than in schools) was beyond my control. Some sampling was therefore snowball sampling (Cohen et al 2000) in that it was guided by the personal recommendations of other respondents. Respondents and locations are listed below. The sample provides some coverage of all the respondents identified in Figure 6, plus teachers (and children).

Title	Number Kabarole	Number Kasese	Number Kampala
Assistant District Probation Officer	1		
CCTs	2		
Children (joint interview)	5		
Commissioner for Education Planning			1
District Education Officers <sup>6</sup>	2	1	
District Medical Officer	1		
Education Commissioner			1
Founding Body Representatives	8	3	
Heads	4	1	
In-service students (joint interview)	2		
Inspectors	1		
ITT tutors and managers. St. Peter's College <sup>7</sup>	6		
Local Council 1 representatives (both teachers)		2	
Local Council 5 executives	2	1	
Minister (also MP for Kubona area)	-----1		
MP	1		
Municipal Education Officer	1		
National representatives for international donors and agencies			4
NGO representatives	6	3	
Parents/local community	2	4	
Pre-service students (joint interview)	6		
Representative of Ministry of Disaster Preparedness			1
Resident District Commissioners	1	1	
Senior Management Committee	1	2	
Teachers	10	4	

*Table 7: list of interviews by occupation and location*

As can be seen from the tables above, the distribution of interviews was uneven both by location and by occupation. In some instances, this was because there was only one location for a particular group of interviews, for example, St. Peter's Teacher Training College. In other instances, it was only possible to negotiate access to one example of a contributor, for example, Government Minister. As Mason (2002) observes, sampling is an organic practice, something which 'grows and develops throughout the research process... ' (p127).

<sup>6</sup> One of the DEOs for Fort Portal retired during the period of the field work.  
<sup>7</sup> I lived at St. Peter's College for 18 days.



The analysis does not offer any attempt at statistical significance of findings, but will use expressions of quantity such as ‘many’ or ‘all’. It is necessary that the size of the sample is held in mind in order to contextualise such statements. I hope that by combining this quantitative information with the other information concerning the field work, the reader will be in a position to judge the plausibility and credibility of the findings (Hammersley, 1988). As mentioned previously, the research does not attempt generalisability because of the subjectivist and realist positions outlined earlier, but the use of ‘thick descriptions of particular settings... giving sufficient detail about what it was like to be in the setting’ (Seale, 1999 p41) will, I hope, contribute to readers of the research being able to judge if there is any potential relatability or transferability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) to a new setting.

### **Data collection**

Data collection was via semi-structured interview, participant and non-participant observation and documentation.

I elected to use observation of the teacher/learner nexus in schools. As Snow (2002) points out, there is a ‘tendency to privilege voice and discourse over non-verbal behaviour and observation’ (p50) and such an approach may lead to judgements being based on what people say they do rather than what they do. (An example from the field work was the delivery of lessons, identified in teacher planning as being interactive and child centred but not delivered as such.) I was also aware that, despite the interviews being held in English wherever possible<sup>8</sup>, words apparently held in common might be used differently across cultures. An example would be the use of ‘co-curricular’ to indicate that set of school subjects considered as non-core in England, such as music. The possible indexicality of the language therefore emphasised that observation might also be used to consider the cultural equivalence of information I was receiving (Pepin, 2004) as well as the ethnographic function of attempting

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<sup>8</sup> The only interview to use an interpreter was with the PTA members at Nyabisiki. The Deputy Head of the school acted as interpreter.

to capture social meanings (Brewer, 2000). Within the confines of this particular study, I had no real preference for participant or non-participant observation, partly because I believe, from my own experience in schools, that any observation by a stranger in a school, even if helping with the teaching in some way, is inevitably non-participant - unless he/she is present in the setting for a very long time - and creates an inevitable reaction to his/her presence.

Such a period of time was not available to me, but my intention was to spend an early part of the field work observing in a primary school, ideally promoting trust and openness (Whitmore, 1994) perhaps through some element of professional participation, e.g. supporting less able children. In the event, the opportunity for this did not arise (despite the concerns articulated in my diary above) though I did teach one 'formal' lesson of mathematics to a class of P7 children, and in all schools had the opportunity to talk with classes of children (usually about schools and children in England) with the teacher present, as well as meeting children informally during their breaks. However, any recognition of me as a teacher by colleagues in schools did not seem to remain confined to teaching but encompassed a raft of other professionally based activities such as formal/informal discussions with colleagues about issues of mutual educational interest, the way I talked with children, trying to show that I was aware that I was disrupting lessons, an awareness of the pressures of teaching, and of having someone else in the classroom, attendance at school functions and so on. I think this stimulated a sense of trust between teachers and myself and there did seem to be, albeit at an easily accessible level, a measure of common, professional understanding. In all instances, I informed interviewees of my professional background (Brewer, 2000). I did not preconstruct any form of observation schedule, preferring to remain as open as possible to what I might see, whilst recognising that my cultural baggage would necessarily intrude and that I would be limited to what I could discern (May, 2001). Figure 8 indicates my initial conceptualisation of a 'shared vocabulary' across cultures but between teachers. In the following chapter, I indicate how issues such as poverty, health, family and motivation were added to that list of significant 'vocabulary' between teachers. Observation was not limited to the observation of formal teaching and learning but included buildings, journeys, the weather, clothes,



relationships, relaxation times, punishment and reward, and so on. It was both formal and informal, and extended beyond the physical confines of the school to include what I could note about the society and communities in which I was placed, in part akin to Lee's (2000) concept of unobtrusive data. In the event, I conceptualised the observation in school environments as non-participant and hoped it would be as unobtrusive as possible and not disruptive to the business of the school.

I chose semi-structured interviews because they offered an open-ended balance between the identification and discussion of significance between the researcher and the interviewee (Cohen et al, 2000). I also hoped that the use of a semi-structured approach might elicit narratives from the respondents (Czarniawska 2004), stories indeed about their lives. I was conscious that although I might know something of the professional practice of education in England as currently conceptualised and practised, the respondents were the experts on their own lives, both professional and personal. Clearly, however, such an approach is researcher shaped as 'All research reflects the standpoint of the observer' (Denzin, 2002 p484). It is also limited by the researcher's knowledge of the literature (or other sources), the accuracy of the literature in reflecting issues, the apparent relevance of potential issues as they relate to the researcher's own measurement of such relevance (be such comparisons intentional or otherwise) and the translation of concerns and understanding from one culture to another. As Shipman (1997) points out, there are many issues that arise when asking questions across cultures, not only linked to language but also concerning the social constructions laid on events by actors. Those concerns could extend to the construction of research and method from an imperial perspective (Tuhiwa-Smith, 1999). Scheurich (1997) makes the point that the language of interviews is 'slippery' (p62) and that potential ambiguities abound. Shah (2004) draws a distinction between 'similarity' and 'difference based' approaches to cross-cultural research, cautioning against the easy acceptance of apparent similarities between cultures and urging a search for difference. Nevertheless, Shah, in reviewing the

‘insider/outsider’ positioning of researchers relative to the culture into which they are researching , acknowledges that the ‘insider’ (and especially as regards interviewing) is:

better positioned as a researcher because of his/her knowledge of the relevant patterns of social interaction required for gaining access and making meaning (p556).

In this regard, it would seem that the teacher researching into teaching across cultures, although an outsider (Vulliamy, 1990), has some *entrée* to researching teaching in another culture if for no more reason than that some of the conceptual vocabulary of professional concern might be shared, for example issues of child management. This is not to deny the ‘outsider’ position nor to deny the importance of seeking (and the likelihood of there being ) difference across cultures. However, it is to acknowledge that a teacher researching into teaching is likely to appreciate some aspects of shared interest with other teachers, no matter what the culture. Lewin (1990 in Vulliamy, Lewin and Stephens), for example, in discussing data collection for case-studies in Malaysia and Sri Lanka, talks of adopting the position of an ‘embattled colleague’, namely ‘someone with similar professional concerns and problems as the interviewee’ as well as that of a ‘curious and involved outsider’ (p121). I think this is an accurate description of how I attempted to introduce myself to school staffs as well as to any individual respondents providing either interviews and/or observations. I was researching in Uganda, but I was still a teacher researching into teaching. My position was therefore a balance of ‘insider/outsider’ (Shah 2004, Vulliamy et al 1990).

Any interview is reflexively charged with control exercised by the interviewer (ten Have 2004) though Tierney (2002) notes that reflexivity can represent a move away from trying to understand the world of the other and becomes more a ‘cathartic psychological agency of the self’ (p392). As Brewer (2000) points out, reflexivity also affects the representation of the data and its legitimating. He offers a useful checklist of good practice in this regard (Brewer, 2000 pp132-3) the nub of which is again the need to make clear to the reader how the researcher is located with regard to the research, and providing sufficient information by which this can be judged. I have attempted to follow this guidance.



Each first interview with a category of respondent was used as a pilot (Anderson, 1998), the schedule being changed if necessary. In the event, these were small adjustments, and a note was kept. Interviews and observations were recorded via hand written notes taken at the time or, in the case of attending social events such as a meal or a church service, as soon after the event as possible. As ten Have (2004) comments, note taking not only has a recording function but is inevitably ‘transformative’ as well, i.e. the writing is itself an interpretive process and ‘reinforces the observer-side of ethnographic presence ... ’ (p120). He adds that note taking will contrast between ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ perspectives, the former, ‘the insider’s view of reality’ (Fetterman, 1998) ‘not being immediately available to the researcher/note-taker’ (p120). I would suggest that this is only a limited interpretation of my own experience in Uganda. I grew more aware (I think) of certain aspects of Ugandan life, often at a seemingly trivial level, e.g. the rhetorical use of the word ‘what?’ as an emphatic ploy in conversation, and one might argue that this was because they were made more visible the longer I stayed in the country. Equally, I remain ignorant of all the things I did not discern.

Interview questions were based round the categories identified in figure 2, and shaped by the decisions represented in figure 9. They were also informed by the on-going relationship between data collection and data analysis (Anderson, 1998)<sup>9</sup>. However, although figures 2 and 9 indicate a genre of question to ask of each contributor, they do not specify the questions and in the field they required identifying for each interviewee. If the focus was, say, a question on implementation to a teacher, it might focus on the issues surrounding curriculum delivery, such as the introduction of Kiswahili, but for a civil servant in the Ministry of Disaster Preparedness it might focus on the preparation of disaster preparedness plans by district officials. Both questions would have focused on implementation but taken account of each interviewee’s specific context. An example of an interview schedule for a teacher is:

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<sup>9</sup> An example was the increasing concentration on *specific* procedures for liaison between agencies with supposed responsibility for planning primary education provision in the event of a return of conflict.

1. Preamble (by which is meant thanks, issues of consent, aims of the research, who I am and what use will be made of the information given)
2. Biography of interviewee
3. Current role
4. Networks affecting the school, e.g. parents, local community, etc.
5. View of primary schooling, its aims and purposes
6. The successes and problems of the job
7. Experience during conflict
8. Suggestions as to how education/schooling could be maintained during armed conflict
9. Check details of responses
10. Any additional information?
11. Thanks

As the field work continued and categories changed, interview schedules altered to reflect the detailed interest of these changes, as when questioning teachers over preparedness for any return of armed conflict:

Is there a contingency plan? Do you know it? If there is no contingency plan, who should create it? Who should be responsible for the planning?

In all cases, interviews were conducted in surroundings familiar to the interviewee and wherever possible in their own office or work station in an attempt to address the power balance between interviewee and researcher. As Shipman reminds (1997), 'The initiative, information and power is with the researcher' (p87). The interviews tended to be of at least one hour's length, but there were differences, of course, depending on commitments, and the range would be between 30 minutes and 3 hours. This approach was clearly far removed from a Rapid Rural Appraisal approach such as described by Campbell (2002).



I lived in St. Peter's Training College for approximately three weeks across two occasions. This provided me with a rich opportunity for informal discussion (as well as formal interviews) with colleagues involved, like myself, in initial teacher training and continuing professional development. During this stay at the college I was visiting schools but I also observed 3 taught sessions in the college, namely social studies, professional studies and religious education. I also observed one day of inservice training of initial teacher training students, covering science and music. (This was held on a Saturday at Kubona school.) My interview with the 'pre-service' students of the college was in a group, and doubtless subject to the peer pressures of such interviews noted by Vulliamy (1990). In addition, the group were potentially atypical in that they were staying at the college during the Christmas vacation as they were unable to return home for financial reasons. I held the interview in their dormitory, sitting on a bed. I do not know if this was an invasion of privacy or a statement of solidarity. All members of the group seemed welcoming, friendly and accommodating. After I left the room, they all burst into laughter!

I also collected/reviewed a variety of documentation, including teachers' planning, children's work, school action plans, feedback sheets for tutors visiting trainee teachers in schools, the Uganda National Curriculum (and attendant guidance on pedagogy), school inspection feedback sheet, the curriculum for Initial Teacher Training, the Uganda Government response to the CRC, Poverty Eradication Plan, Emergency Preparedness Plans, UNICEF Guidelines for child friendly schools and the national press. Other documentation is referred to in the text.

### **Analysis**

The overall approach to data analysis has been to follow the classical stages of reduction, display and conclusion drawing (Brewer 2000, Miles and Humberman 1984). The following points can be made:

1. As Anderson (1998) suggests, in the field, data analysis continued hand in hand with data collection. Issues emerged, were analysed and then formed a new focus of data collection. I kept notes on these changing perceptions. Data analysis and data collection and, to some extent, emergent theory (see reservations below), became virtually inseparable.
2. I did not in the field attempt somehow to ‘uncover the theory’ that would presume to offer some all-encompassing insight into the research question, rather, I was initially seeking tentative answers to the research question (s) within the parameters of a given case. If a pattern had emerged that warranted an attempt to link answers to theory, then I would have hoped to remain alert to it, but conceptualising theory as a personal construction which attempts to link concepts within a framework of explanation and understanding based on data and reflection. Such a conceptualisation of theory might draw the criticism that this would only be soft theory (Eckstein, 1992) but I do not see theory as adding inexorably to some universalist body of knowledge or even contributing to a mature discipline (May 2001). Nor do I see theory or answers as grounded in data (Glasser and Strauss, 1967) and arising solely from it in a disinterested way, as I would contend that many answers and much theory are preconceived rather than grounded (Shipman, 1997). Hence I would underline the need to make my own values and ideas as evident as possible in order to render such potential preconceptions visible. I reiterate that theory in the sense I am using it is as subjective a form of knowledge as any other organisation of knowledge and therefore remains tentative. The formulation of any theory or answer to the research question is not an attempt to generalise findings.
3. Data analysis was largely through induction and I interpret this position as meaning an individual making sense of the data. It might be that this approach sometimes implies a certain fragmentation of what is being analysed and a specific focus on items in isolation. Contrary to this, it is my intent to retain as holistic a view of the research question as possible and not deliberately to compartmentalise data to such an



extent that they do not have the chance to interrelate. That said, if the data or the results of the analysis do not interrelate then, within my approach, it will be necessary to disaggregate them as necessary. Disaggregation of data may be linked to the undue influence of epistemic communities and I recognise that the identification of teaching/delivery as a focus of the research and the attendant concentration on the evidence of teachers constitutes, if not a disaggregation, at least a particular perspective (May, 2001). However the case for a focus has been made above.

4. Analysis of words becomes no more than analysis of words, and essentially removed from the phenomena under consideration. Ten Have (2004) talks of 'leaving the data behind' (p146). The interview narratives upon which I have drawn are themselves at several removes from the lives of the respondents, transmuted through systems of selection and recording. Observation texts are similarly transformed and final texts are the transformation of a transformation. Meaning is produced through the encounter between reader and text (Czarniawska 2004, p67) and in the constructionist process of textual explanation, this is extended to note that interpretation is negotiated intersubjectively between readers and may change over time in the process. There is a joint responsibility for interpretation. Accounts should therefore be as clear and accurate as possible but would make no claim to be a real (literally) representation of what they may purport to represent. Indeed, I would reemphasise that they are fallible and partial. (See post-post modern texts below.)
5. Although there is some measure of triangulation (Cohen et al, 2000) within the research (both by respondent and by method) this was not seen as providing a truer truth but rather as providing other viewpoints and therefore a potentially richer account (Seale 1999). Analysis did not therefore automatically regard any particular instance as negative or positive but rather as an alternative point of view.

## Representation of data

I did not attempt to write fully verbatim accounts of interviews but to paraphrase views and provide linking quotes. I tried not to discriminate between what I considered significant/insignificant information and recorded the interviewees' views as accurately as possible at the time of each interview. At the end of each interview, the notes were read back to the interviewee to check the accuracy of the account and to invite correction or additions. This process provided some check on any selective recording on my part (Anderson, 1998). All corrections or additions were recorded. These interview notes, my observation notes (as with interview notes, notes of formal observations were offered to the scrutiny of the person being observed), reflections that I kept of general social observations (for example, going to church), reflections of personal importance (for example, on being 'asked to give') and reflections on the interview process form the basis for the account given in the next chapter.

The interview notes were amended on my return to England by reducing them, displaying them and screening them for patterns and significant chunks of meaning (see Miles and Huberman, 1984). This is inevitably a transformative process, placing text at yet one more remove from experience (ten Have 2004). What results is a text that retains the authorial voice, but that voice is tentative and fallibilistic. Brewer (op.cit) notes that in this way:

... we can continue to analyse and interpret our data to represent phenomena accurately and supply sufficient evidence to allow others to assess the representation, and we can continue to write up our data in a way that permits us to invoke an authoritative voice. But this is all now within limits. (p142)

Having considered the various approaches in which to present findings in text, I have adopted Hammersley's (1998) advice that research accounts should be intelligible. In order to achieve this, data from interviews are represented in Chapter 6 as narrative rather than notes, bearing in mind that this then represents, more than ever, a post-post modern text with its attendant fallibilism (Brewer, 2000).



### **Additional Ethical considerations**

Permission to undertake the research was granted by the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology after acceptance of a research proposal and payment of a fee.

The rationale for locating the research in a post conflict phase in Western Uganda has been explained above. However, one additional consideration for locating the research in a post conflict phase focused on ethics, namely, that people involved in conflict have immediate and, at times, acute responsibilities and preoccupations. The presence of a researcher could materially interfere with those functions. In addition, I had no experience of conflict and could represent a hazard to others and myself. Neuman (2003) points out that ‘ethical conduct ultimately depends on the individual researcher’ (p116).

The research was conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the British Sociological Association. This entailed explaining the research to each potential interviewee (the information was also given in a letter, and translated if necessary) and gaining informed consent (Burton and Bartlett, 2005), evidenced by signature on a consent form. All consent forms have been retained. In the case of interviewing children, I asked the advice of the Headteacher. She thought it was acceptable. I sent copies of the information letter home to parents with a verbal invitation to talk to me over any issues that were unclear. The parents signed consent forms allowing me to interview their children. I also asked the children for their consent. Nevertheless, it is likely that this was an instance in which my ‘authority’ as a researcher (Shipman, 1997) , in part residing in my presence in the school, would have rendered a refusal by the children (and their parents) unlikely. I hope this was not an example of exploitation. My comfort is that I intended the research to be useful to the people who took part, and the children as learners were of paramount importance to this intended usefulness (UNESCO 2005). As mentioned above, I see a major limitation of the research that it was not able to canvass the opinions of children more fully.

As noted above, at the end of each interview, field notes were read back to interviewees to check for accuracy and to invite any changes (Anderson, 1998). One interviewee asked for a copy of the notes of his interview, and I gave a copy to him.

Permission to visit schools was initially sought through the office of the District Education Officers for Kabarole and Kasese. Permission to undertake observations in a particular school was routed through the Headteacher in the first instance and then permission was asked directly of the teacher (Anderson, 1998). When meeting a class of children for the first time, I explained who I was and what I was doing (if necessary, with the help of interpretation provided by the head or the class teacher). Permission to observe teaching in St. Peter's Teacher Training College was first routed through the Principal and then the individual lecturers. Again, my purpose was explained to students.

People and villages have been anonymised (Burton and Bartlett, 2005) in the thesis but interviewees were made aware that their titles, the location of the research in Western Uganda and its focus on the ADF insurgency would be made clear to the reader.

Throughout the data gathering process, there was a recognition of the potential vulnerability of some interviewees. As far as I am aware, interviewees were not put at risk and vulnerable populations were respected (Creswell, 2003). The aims of the research were made clear to all interviewees so that undue expectations should not arise (Creswell, *op.cit.*). Fetterman (1998) underlines the need for the researcher to consider carefully how to leave the research site, a point expanded on by Brewer (2000) who distinguishes between physical removal from the field and emotional disengagement from relationships formed during the research. I have mentioned above my continuing friendships with people I met in Uganda as part of the research.



**Next steps**

The next chapter offers an account of the data gathered in the field, following the intentions regarding representation and ethics offered above. It is in four sections, arranged in relationship to the phases of education.

## **CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD-WORK**

### **SECTION 1: CURRENT PROVISION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION**

This section draws on data collected around the research question, *'What is being maintained, why and how?'* It focuses on what is valued in the education system, the processes for education provision that are likely to be available in the future and something of the social context likely to support that provision.

To some extent, the current education provision considered below could be seen as being post-conflict provision, subsequent to the ADF insurgency. In order to enable some differentiation between post-conflict (i.e. affected by conflict) and preferred provision (i.e. not affected by conflict), any specific legacy of the recent ADF insurgency noted by respondents and as it impacts on current education provision is noted in Chapter 6, Section 3. The account does not attempt to offer a full account of daily life in a Ugandan school.

#### **Aims and purposes of primary education**

The nationally adopted aims are given in Chapter 3.

Interviewees' responses indicated that primary education was a foundation, the basics needed either for life, employment and/or for further study. Several mentioned moral learning and learning to be a good citizen. Literacy was the most frequently cited aim. Mrs. R., Head of Kubona said, *'The purpose of primary education is to teach the children to read and write. It is the basic education. It is also to help them become self-reliant (for example, agriculture (already on the curriculum)... and home economics will be introduced). It forms the foundation for later education stages and helps the children to interact socially and it shapes behaviour.'* The notion that primary education should provide life skills was quite frequently expressed, in part by references to the value of the vocational elements of the curriculum.



Gladys, the Education Officer for Fort Portal said, *'...and it includes reading and writing, and a person who leaves P7 who will not be a burden to others and with sufficient knowledge to find a livelihood.'* Mrs. E. the Commissioner for Education Planning, commented, *'...to help the country generate a literate society and people who are able to contribute to the development of their environment...prepared in order to live with the community...'* Neris, one of the children at Kubona said, *'To get knowledge and wisdom. Help avoid problems, e.g. pregnancy,'* but she added, *'Primary education will not help you get a good job.'* Sheik Ibrahim, Programme Coordinator for Fort Portal Mosque, but responding here as a parent of his son, said, *'...to gain employment opportunities and to teach the Islamic faith in his turn.'* The aims of education represent what is valued, and in analysing these data, it is apparent that no respondent identified any aim of education in terms of enabling challenge to the *status quo* nor even questioning it. The aims of education were neither seen as contested nor imposed (Davis, 2002) but accepted as a given by another authority and acceptable. Any perception of education, and hence its aims, as open to political manipulation was not articulated (Freire 1990, Harber 1997, Kelly 2004). There was, however, a strong awareness of the utilitarian function of education (Watkins, 2000) particularly as linked to the economic well-being of individuals and the generation of work, though this was not linked to global economic perspectives such as neo-liberalism (Pritchett, 2004). It is assumed that if conflict were to return, these same aims of education would be pursued.

There was a single exception amongst the respondents to this acceptance of aims, as represented by the Diocesan Education Officer for the RC Diocese of Kasese. She linked education, development and aid, *'We are becoming proper slaves...They say they are giving you money but are taking it'* She indicated that the international community would maximise its profit and that three quarters of any money granted would go back. She advised the people in her village not to grow vanilla *'just because the government said so.'* Her view was that change should not be dictated, be it by world pressures, donor values or whatever. As regards education she indicated that the government followed the mechanistic success criteria set by

donors. My paraphrase (accepted by her as an accurate record) was *'The wrong people (i.e. outsiders to Uganda) are determining education policy...so called experts who know nothing of Ugandan conditions'*.

### **Corruption**

A concern expressed was that education could be affected by corruption. While it was recognised that some lack of school infrastructure was due to building plans being disrupted by armed conflict or to buildings being direct targets (Obura 2003) or to a lack of funding, another identified reason was corruption. For example, the latrines for the children at Kubona collapsed, apparently as a result of poor construction. John (CCT Tutor, see below) related this to favouritism (and so linked to corruption) in agreeing building contracts. *'Let local people be involved in the construction of schools. Local accountability is powerful!'* Then again, the Primary Leaving Examination (taken by children in P7, and which attracted grant) was also surrounded by accusations of cheating and corruption, e.g. a headteacher registering the children for the examination and absconding with the PLE fees (see, for example, New Vision November 20<sup>th</sup>. 2003).

The incidence of corruption in Uganda has been highlighted in Chapter 3 (see the concerns of DFID 2003, World Bank, 2005). The data indicate that corruption is also a grassroots concern for certain colleagues in schools, affecting their daily work. A possible way forward is suggested by the EFA Report (UNESCO 2005) which notes that taking ownership of management processes has proved effective in countering corruption. This seems to have applied to the headteacher of Msura who not only noted the inclusion of 'ghost pupils' on his school roll when he took on the headship, but was concerned about it and made, as I understand, honest returns of his school roll.

However, the comments by the DEO for Kabarole indicate a more gloomy prognostication, namely that ownership of management processes places temptation in the way of headteachers. There is abundant evidence as to the pivotal role of the headteacher and other



school leaders in affecting the quality of education provision (see Everard et al 2004, Dunham 1995, UNESCO 2005). This relationship has apparently been recognised in Western Uganda through the provision of management courses for heads. Jackson (CCT tutor) stated that such courses were compulsory and that if heads failed them three times they would be '*brought back to the level of a teacher*'. I have no evidence either that this obtained or did not, though the concerns addressed through the courses equated to the concerns of heads in the UK (National College of Leadership).

### **Class size**

The official PTR of 1:55 might be supposed to lead to class sizes of no more than 55 children; however, this was far from the case. Most of the schools visited did not have sufficient classroom buildings to accommodate the number of classes required by the PTR ratio. For example, in a school that had 700 children on roll but only 7 classrooms, resultant class sizes would be well in excess of the official ratio. In other words, the school might well have the requisite number of teachers required by the PTR (thus a school of 700 children might have a notional establishment of 12 teachers) but, if there are only 7 classrooms, not all the teachers can be deployed at any one time unless they 'team teach', and I did not observe this.

High pupil/teacher ratios are generally perceived as detrimental to pupil achievement unless the teachers are highly skilled (UNESCO 2005) but large class sizes were not only a function of available accommodation but were also related to the process of teacher training and accreditation. During Amin's regime, it appears that the status of teaching as a profession fell dramatically. John (the CC tutor), bemoaning this overall decline, noted, '*Teaching has not yet recovered...salaries are meagre...teachers are not comfortable in their jobs.*' He indicated that although people were currently so keen to join the profession (though perhaps for nefarious purposes) they sometimes falsified qualifications, teaching '*had not yet regained its glory.*' The need for teachers to supplement their income by other activities is

well recognised in the literature (Watkins 2000). The head of Nyabisiki observed, *'There is generally low motivation...the salary is very low. Teacher absenteeism is a problem, especially around the middle of the month when they need to supplement their salary (by tending their gardens)*. What seems indicated by the data is that the complex interactions between teachers' desire to adhere to a professional code is juxtaposed with their need to meet other responsibilities, such as the economic needs of their families. Garrett (1999) points out that the role of stress in the lives of such teachers remains unclear. The UK has the 'Teacher Helpline' but no such facility exists in Uganda, nor is there a strong professional union to whom teachers might refer.

Rev. Paul, the Education Officer for the Church of Uganda, for the Rwenzori Diocese confirmed John's view on the quality of entrants for ITT, *'The MoES emphasises that the best academics should be teachers, but teaching is usually the last resort for a child.'* As Lewin and Stuart (2003) comment (drawing on research on ITT in Ghana, Lesotho, Malawi, Trinidad and Tobago):

The overall picture is that most trainee teachers achieved relatively low results at the end of their secondary school career, leaving them underqualified for higher education. Teacher training colleges, it seems, take the next tranche down from the universities. (p45).

At the time of the research, the entry qualification for ITT in Uganda had been raised, and any student wishing to teach in primary schools, even if he/she had the qualifications necessary to study at a higher level, had to complete grade 3 training, having studied to S4 and having gained six passes at O-Level at the same sitting, including English and Maths. The irony is that an applicant with A-level qualifications who wishes to teach in primary schools must still enter grade 3 teaching even though he/she is qualified to apply for Grade 5 teacher training. Only if a student wishes to teach in secondary school can he/she make a direct application for grade 5 ITT. Primary school teachers can gain Grade 5 status only *after* they have qualified at Grade 3. Further considerations also apply:



1. Not all students who wish to be teachers will have been accepted on to A-level courses.
2. An S6 student may opt for primary teaching because he/she might not find a place for further study anywhere else.
3. A student may be precluded from either A-level study or Grade 5 study by virtue of finance.

The importance of ITT in contributing towards both the achievement of Universal Primary Education and its quality is acknowledged (Dlada and Moon, 2002), indicating the need for a coherent countrywide policy for the training of teachers (Lewin and Stuart, 2002). In part, that policy needs to address the lack of subject knowledge of those entering the profession (Watkins 2000) and the Uganda response has been to increase entry requirements. There are several repercussions of this ITT policy in Uganda:

1. The status of primary teaching is directly and unfavourably contrasted with the status of secondary teaching.
2. Entrants to primary teaching will tend to be younger and less experienced than those entering secondary education.
3. Empirical evidence is that primary teachers who take Grade 5 qualifications (which is at their own expense) restrict their teaching activities to the two subjects they took for the Grade 5 qualification. This restriction is despite their initial qualification at Grade 3, which is a generalist qualification equipping teachers to teach across the primary age range and in all subjects of the curriculum.
4. Many Grade 3 teachers also claim to be unqualified to teach beyond certain year groups and subjects, despite the Grade 3 qualification being intended to cover all subjects of the primary curriculum.

A net contribution of the policy is that teachers in primary schools do *not* teach across the age range and across all subjects but are timetabled across only a few subjects and for delivery to

particular year groups of primary children. The link between PTR and class size is thus further distorted. Kubona School, for example, has a complement of 20 teachers for 12 classes, but classes were only ever taught by one teacher at a time and typically according to the supposed specialism of the teacher.

However, not all teachers have been trained. The distribution of teachers by qualification in Kabarole is<sup>1</sup>:

Grade V		Grade III		Grade II		Untrained	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
42	44	418	459	11	12	463	227

**Table 8:** *To show the distribution of trained and untrained primary teachers in Kabarole district.*

The recently retired DEO for Fort Portal *District* (largely rural) estimated that 46% of teachers working in primary schools in the district were untrained. By comparison, the DEO of Fort Portal *Municipality* (urban and peri-urban) in which *all* primary teachers are trained, furnished the following statistics:

Total number of teachers	Trained at GradeV	Trained at Grade III	Studying for degrees
264	150	114	6

**Table 9:** *To show the distribution of trained teachers in Fort Portal municipality.*

In other words, nearly half of the teachers working in the rural schools of Kabarole are untrained. (I have no equivalent statistics for Kasese, but would speculate that the ratios are at least similar). As Watkins (2000) points out, untrained teachers can make a valuable contribution to learning when they work in support of trained teachers, but the evidence is that in the schools visited, many untrained teachers are facing unrealistic demands. For example, an untrained teacher in one school that I visited had been left in sole charge of approximately 100 children without support. The EFA Report for 2005 (UNESCO)

<sup>1</sup> Statistics provided by the DEO of Fort Portal.



emphasises that policies for better learning must focus on ‘more, and better trained teachers’ (Executive Summary, p3).

Despite the raising of the entry requirements to ITT courses, the DEO (retired) of Fort Portal expressed doubts that the Grade 3 Newly Qualified Teacher (NQT) was ready to teach. He commented, *‘A poor academic record combined with poor schooling and poor ITT (perhaps around only 20 per cent of tutors are trained) leads to poor teaching..’* The quality of ITT was also seen by several founding body representatives as being poor, not least because:

1. Tutors were poorly paid and had to seek other ways to supplement their incomes (a secondary school teacher apparently earns more than an ITT tutor).
2. ITT colleges are typically poorly equipped, may lack tutors, or tutors may themselves be unqualified.

The Principal of St. Peter’s was concerned about the lack of suitable tutors for ITT (see Abadzi, 2002) and the lack of an agreed qualifying course for them. *‘There should be 26 tutors for the pre-service course but we only have 18...the subject distribution is also inaccurate. Some colleges only have 2 or 3 tutors out of, say, the 15 needed.’* The Principal commented on the political determination of the conditions under which ITT operated but said that ITT was then blamed by the very politicians who had taken responsibility for its structure and constraints. Although the need for a *coherent* policy for ITT is underlined by Lewin and Stuart (2003), the ramifications of the Uganda policy do not seem to have been fully considered by those in power.

### **Other factors affecting class size**

Given the foregoing discussion, one might suppose that all classes in a school would be adversely affected in terms of PTR, yet this is not the case. Indeed, not all classes were of excessive size. In certain schools, absenteeism and drop out rendered class sizes low,

especially in P7. (The reasons for this are well rehearsed, see *inter alia* Molteno 1999, Boyle et al 2003, UNESCO 2005). In Mihondo, P1 had 183 children present with one teacher, whereas the P7 group that I ‘taught’ had only 20 or so children. The DEO for Fort Portal noted the irony that the youngest children (of whom there were many) required highly skilful teaching yet the supposedly skilful teaching was reserved for P7 children (of whom there were few). The Head of Nyabisiki noted both the difficulty of attracting teachers to work with the youngest children and the general motivation of his staff, *‘Teachers can only currently manage certain ages. It is difficult to get infant teachers.’*

There appears to be a mismatch in the management of the deployment of teacher skills and preferences and the learning needs of the children. I asked about the way in which Grade 3 and 5 teachers claimed that they could only teach certain groups of children and certain subjects; why did the headteachers not ignore this and treat these colleagues as generalists, requiring them to teach whatever was required by the demands of the school? The response from one interviewee was, *‘If you pay teachers peanuts, how can you manage them?’* I asked the DEO for Kabarole his perspective on the role of headteachers in leading staff. He replied, *‘The headteacher is seen as central, as pivotal. The practice is, despite the good pay, heads can see schools as their own kingdoms...slope off to the bank, the DEO or whatever excuse...they can be useless examples. Heads also administer the UPE grant which goes as cash with all its temptations. It is necessary to persuade heads that society has expectations of them.’*

### **Pedagogy and curriculum**

The official curriculum guidance documentation<sup>2</sup> that accompanies the national curriculum ‘covers both content and teaching methods/techniques of the ... subjects...’ (pviii op.cit) and remarks, ‘...students learn better when they are actively involved in learning’ (px, op.cit.) In

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<sup>2</sup> National Curriculum Development Centre (vol 1: 2000, vol 2: 2001) *Teacher’s guide to the Uganda Primary School Curriculum*



the section on integrated science, for example, and talking of methodology and activities, the guide comments ‘...emphasis should be put on those which encourage learners to learn science by **doing** (*sic*). Such methods include problem solving, making discoveries, project, experimentation, field trips...’ (p132, para. 2.3) In subjects perhaps not deemed to be as self evidently practical as science, there are similar adjurations to the involvement of learners, e.g. in the section for Christian Religious Education, the teacher is advised to use ‘...question and answer, discovery, story telling’ (p796 op.cit.). In agriculture (recently introduced), the guidance asks for a link between the theoretical and the practical, envisaging work in classrooms linked to work in gardens.

Despite this official advocacy of child-centred approaches, the overall impression of the teaching observed in schools was its didactic nature (though typically good humoured and enthusiastic) . One might consider whether the teachers had rejected more child centred approaches as being more intensive in their demands on them, the teachers, than didactic approaches as it might seem relatively easier to plan and deliver a didactic, teacher-controlled lesson when pupil numbers are high. Didactic approaches to teaching also give the appearance of covering specified chunks of curriculum, and the teachers were under pressure to do this. Subjects were taught in inviolable periods of 30 minutes for the younger children and 40 minutes for the older children. Such checking of planning of other teachers as I observed by senior colleagues in schools was undertaken against issues of curriculum coverage and not against issues of methods.

One might cite a lack of resources as affecting pedagogy but the Co-ordinating Centres created under the TDMS scheme each had a resource room, specifically for the purpose of demonstrating how resources for teaching and learning might be made from local, easily available and, often, free materials. Indeed, some teachers were using such ideas, for example making mathematical shapes made from straw and old tins or the bundles of grasses being used to help grouping in tens.

Several interviewees gave the impression that after teachers qualified, many became lazy, and did not attempt the more ambitious or difficult pedagogy advocated in official documentation and stressed in ITT. I asked why this was so. Stuart, an ITT tutor at St. Peter's College said, *'They suffer a lack of hope...become demoralised. There is still no improvement in pay.'* Eve, also a tutor at St. Peter's suggested three reasons, *'Either they say, "We're qualified now, so why bother?"...or they experience a pressure for uniformity from existing staff members (a pressure to conform to accepted practices and not to 'show up' colleagues already qualified...a sense of 'don't rock the boat') or the pressure of time in preparing (for example learning aids) for a large class.'* Many teachers that I spoke with felt indeed that they worked hard, especially in the face of large classes - marking loads were often complained about, for example, - yet did not receive a fair recognition of their work. This attitude was further reinforced by pay differentials between teachers of different levels of qualification being so small as to render a desire to gain further qualification unlikely just from the point of view of financial gain.

Another factor affecting pedagogy would appear to be the Primary Leaving Examination, taken by the children during their P7 year. My evidence from schools was that this drove much of the children's work, success in the examination being not only a determinant of access to a secondary education but also a measure of the quality and status of a school. These pressures tend to lead to the precise addressing of 'book' answers, thereby promoting didactic teaching and rote learning. Jackson, a St. Peter's CC tutor in Fort Portal described the PLE as, *'a magnetic force, pulling and influencing the decisions of teachers.'*

In theory, there are external accountability systems in place which could bring pressure to bear on pedagogy. However, the inspectorate are not resourced to make prolonged visits to schools; Susanna, the Area Inspector for Kabarole noting *'Full inspections are completed by a team of four inspectors. A full inspection visits three schools in a day. In a week we may*



*inspect 32 schools*'. Such inspections are carried out against the 'Minimum Standards for Schools' (Uganda Inspectorate, undated) which do not include direct reference to pedagogy, other than in generic terms, e.g. 'Student organisation and development', 'Teaching and learning processes, organisation and management' (Ministry of Education and Sports, undated). The DEO for Fort Portal, in recognising the pressure on inspectors, saw the need for heads to act as inspectors of their own schools, in other words to take a responsibility for the quality of what was being offered. This becomes crucial when it is remembered that in many of the mountain schools, the majority of the teachers are untrained and for many of these teachers, their daily access to training is the guidance of colleagues. One might also note the startling rural/urban difference between the qualification grades of the teachers employed by the municipality of Fort Portal where every teacher is qualified as opposed to those working in the mountain schools of Kabarole where something approaching 50 percent of all staff are currently untrained (see tables 8 and 9). Given such circumstances, achieving a change in pedagogy would be highly challenging in rural schools.

Many of the teachers that I met were hard-working and strongly committed to their work. I have already quoted Philippa, Deputy Head of Kubona as saying '*Teaching is a noble profession,*' and her comment is indicative of a sense of pride amongst the profession, despite its perceived poor remuneration and undervalued work. Many teachers saw the introduction of UPE as an excellent achievement, especially its links to basic numeracy, and even more, perhaps, literacy.

As noted in Chapter 2, the teacher remains the strongest influence on a child's learning (Avalos 2002, UNESCO 2005). It is the link between teacher and pupil which remains crucial to the quality of education (Carron and Chau, 1996). This link is typically the subject of government direction, not least through the identification of qualification criteria and the identification of the 'good teacher' through professional codes (for example, Dfes 2006, The Teachers' Professional Code of Uganda, Wandira, undated). The quality of education, not

least its adherence to a nationally determined curriculum and preferred pedagogies, is also monitored through inspection and reinforced through promotion, though respondents indicate that the inspection system for primary schools remains overstretched. A response by Uganda to the quality agenda has been to increase the entrance qualifications to ITT (see above). Ironically, what is apparent is that ITT policies for providing *generalist* teachers appear to have promoted a culture whereby primary teachers will only teach certain subjects and to certain ages of children. Under conditions of conflict, which might well involve huge increases in class sizes as a result of the displacement of children and the out migration of teachers (Vargas-Baron and McClure, 1998), the ability and willingness of teachers to act as generalists and to share teaching would be paramount. Pedagogy observed was largely didactic, and the official ITT curriculum (see Chapter 3) does not contain guidance on teaching traumatised children.

### **Peace and Human Rights Clubs**

Limited curriculum changes were being brought about by certain NGOs through the promotion of peace clubs and human rights clubs in schools. The Human Rights agenda was gaining prominence in Uganda at the time of the research and was viewed with ambivalence by teachers. Mention has been made above of the apparently preferred pedagogy of teachers, and in part I think this is a function of adult/child relationships within what appears empirically to be a highly hierarchical society. One might argue that didactic teaching maintains an aloof distance between adult and child that is in some measure crossed when the teacher seems to abdicate his/her role as the knower and giver of knowledge and invites children to construct knowledge for themselves; it could represent a supposed diminution of status. Such a perception of adult/child relationships is reinforced by the tight control over the children exercised in schools by teachers, which often makes continued use of corporal punishment although this is illegal in Uganda. Into this approach to teaching and learning have been thrust the rights of children with a new legal framework based on the UN Charter of Children's Rights, and several teachers expressed concern over its supposed potential



effects in schools, in particular that it undermined their authority and made their work more difficult. Children were seen as using rights as a threat to counter the demands of teachers. As Jackson Head of Mihondo, put it to me *‘Children’s rights’ means no corporal punishment but if children are to study, they have to study and fear.*’ There is evidence that some children are abused in Ugandan Schools, not only through the violence of punishment but also the defilement of girls (Association of Human Rights Organizations – Western Uganda: AHURIO Report (2003) and one could very well see the value of making the community aware of children’s rights. My impression was that the teachers had no quarrel with this but felt that sensitisation of parents and children was necessary. The concern was that the rights agenda had been promoted in preference to that of an attendant responsibilities agenda. The RDC for Kasese said, *‘People are getting more enlightened about rights, but they are keen to talk about rights rather than obligations...The rights agenda is happening too quickly.’* He linked this to decentralisation, *‘Decentralisation is based on the notion of a rational community and one at a good level of awareness, but empowerment is not going at the same rate as gaining civic responsibility. There is a big commitment to decentralisation, but it needs controlling.’*

Human rights are seen in the literature as contentious (Freeman 2002), yet respondents representing the introduction of human rights clubs in schools gave no indication that they saw their actions as such (Pupavac, 2001). Teacher respondents, however, noted that such an introduction amounted to an imposition, upsetting the status quo. The issues here reside not only in the philosophical justification for the introduction of human rights but also in the manner of their introduction. The literature indicates that an awareness of human rights might well be of considerable importance (Smith and Vaux 2003, Rasheed 2000, Alderson 2000) and the evidence from teacher respondents indicates broad agreement with this position. However, the management of the introduction of human rights clubs by NGOs, a process perceived by teachers as somehow undermining their authority in the operationalisation of the change (Everard et al 2004, Morrison 1998), seems to have resulted in a measure of avoidable

alienation by teachers. Peace clubs – peace education being seen as intimately involved with conflict resolution and prevention (Arnhold et al 1998, Davies 2004) – did not attract any comment from teacher respondents.

### Parents and children

I was only able to interview 6 parents and these were all in some way related to the schools in additional capacities, such as being PTA committee members. The following section takes those interviews into account but also draws on teachers' and others' perceptions of parents.

Certain rural parents appeared to value primary education, especially any links to improving the chances of employment for the children. There was some notion that these parents were themselves 'learned'. The parents of Nyabisiki suggested the following indicators that parents valued education, *'...the school enrolment is full. Most parents will bring "escaping" children back to school.'* They also noted the status of teachers in their local societies, *'Most of the teachers are local sons and daughters. The local people see them as good role models and wish the children to emulate them.'* However, the perception of some teachers and others was that some parents were seen as having no interest in education at all, condoning drop out<sup>3</sup> and absenteeism.

Priscilla was a member of the domestic staff at a Catholic Social Centre. She was the oldest sibling of 9 brothers and sisters, ranging in age from 26 to 5 years, and had assumed the main responsibility in her family for meeting her brothers' and sisters' school costs. I asked her why certain children do not go to school, and she replied, *'A family may have a high number of children, maybe 30 or 40, and there is a lack of funds. Some children remain at home to complete domestic chores...remember that the older women are not educated themselves. Some parents see no value in education as they are still eating and alive (without having been*

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<sup>3</sup> Not all drop out is of girls. In one of the mountain schools, more boys dropped out than girls apparently because there was a quarry nearby where they could earn money.



to school) *so why bother with education? Education is valued more by those in towns than in villages and it varies by sub-county.* Many men in this area of Uganda are polygamous, having three or four wives, each of whom may typically give birth to ten children.

Systems for requiring pupils to attend school appeared to be haphazard, unclear and unsuccessful in the main. In part, there were political tensions here for it was pointed out to me that any politician who stood on a ticket of enforced school attendance would lose the vote of many parents who needed to keep their children at home for economic and domestic reasons. In Kubona School, the head noted that around 150 children were absent each day; she saw this in clear terms of an abuse of the system by parents and also noted, *'If the parents will not send their children to school, we will not wait for them (the children).'* She also noted that some members of society wanted to keep people in ignorance so that they could prey on that ignorance. Stephen, a parent from Kubona, cautioned, *'There are pressures. For example the grandmother with 10 children to look after cannot afford to send her children to school, but would generally like to.'* He saw that willingness as representing *'A shift in parental attitude.'*

Parents and carers are intimately linked to the success of children's education, not least through requiring the attendance of their children at school despite social and economic pressures (see above, Molteno 1999, Boyle et al 2003, UNESCO 2005). Research in the UK (Primary National Strategy, 2004) indicates that strong partnerships between schools and parents enhance pupil achievement. (See also Watkins, 2000.)

The children I met and observed in schools appeared the same as any other children I have seen anywhere. Some found the school work easy, others difficult, some enjoyed it, others did not, such as might be expected. At break times, many played games with gusto, the girls favouring a fast and furious form of 'piggy-in-the-middle', and the boys playing soccer, both girls and boys using a ball made of a collection of fabrics tied into a ball shape. At Kubona,

before returning to school for the afternoon session, the school 'gong' would be hit and the children would spend ten calming minutes sitting under one of the shade trees and chatting quietly. Their movements as they went back into school were very well ordered. At Kubona, I never saw a teacher talk socially with the children during a break time or join in a game.

### **Foundation bodies**

The founding bodies of the schools took a keen interest in them and formed *ex officio* members of School Management Committees. Historically, the government took over responsibility for church schools in 1964 but recently, the founding bodies have taken on a far more direct role in the managing of schools and in developing education policy (see Chapter 3). The links between the foundation and school are both formal and informal in their exemplification and in the reinforcement they appear to offer to the system. For example, just before the PLE examination took place at Kubona, the Anglican Archdeacon, who was also the local parish priest, visited the school and took, in company with his wife, a service dedicated to those children due to take the exam: the Anglican catechist regularly led the Friday Parade.

All the representatives of the founding bodies that I interviewed (both Christian and Moslem) impressed me by their sincerity and commitment. It was clear that primary education was a very serious matter to them, and my impression was that this was not born of evangelical rivalry, but rather a deep sense of religious conviction and a resulting sense of duty towards children. No representative of any faith or sect was critical of any other faith or sect. In fact, when talking of their pastoral mission in armed conflict, the impression was one of working together. I am an Anglican and attended the services in the churches of Kabarole and Kasese, both of which were designated as cathedrals and the centres of their respective dioceses. The services that I attended were in English, but Sunday morning also saw services in local languages. All these services were very well attended, indeed, the churches were often uncomfortably full in that seating was at a premium. Sunday mornings in town and villages



were full of people in their smartest clothes, often carrying a Bible and going to and from church. I also attended a service of the Seventh Day Adventists, and again the pattern of full and enthusiastic attendance was repeated. I did not attend any worship at the local mosque, though I did meet with members. The faithful were called to prayer daily, and there were substantial crowds attending for Friday prayers. It would seem that religion plays a significant part in the lives of the people and that its translation into schools might therefore seem a matter of little or no concern for most people, being rather an expected extension of a major facet of the lives of many. Historically, much colonial education was provided by Christian missionaries, and certain interviewees drew my attention to the lineage of connection between their families and such provision. Chapter 3 notes that many primary schools in Uganda have a religious foundation. The data indicate that many Ugandans are committed to a religious faith. The potential link between faith and schools would therefore appear to be strong, and the influence of faith of importance, though there was only limited reference to the link between education, schools and the promotion of religious faith by correspondents. No respondent indicated that religious faith could be related to global political concerns, including conflict or terrorism (Martin, 2003, Goodin, 2006).

### **Commentary**

Should armed conflict return, those charged with the maintenance of primary education would need to:

1. Consider how the valuing of the provision of primary education varies. One person sees the maintenance of education as important, another does not. If no importance is attached, the question as to how to maintain primary education in an armed conflict is rendered superfluous; if importance is attached the question is vital. Many Ugandan people seem to place their values and beliefs within religious frameworks.

2. The primary school teaching force is limited in efficiency. Despite the official claim that primary teachers are generalists, the personal perception of many teachers is that they are trained to teach a limited range of subjects across a limited range of ages. In addition, pedagogy is didactic (and hence, on paper at least, at variance with government requirements) and delivers a mechanistic curriculum that appears driven by the Primary Leaving Examination. The official curriculum does not consider peace or human rights education.
3. Management of certain schools is affected by corruption.



## CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD-WORK

### SECTION 2: PRIMARY EDUCATION AND ARMED CONFLICT

#### **Primary education and armed conflict – macro effects.**

When the ADF attacked, they came from the mountains towards the lower ground. This action displaced people who lived on the mountain slopes, many of whom were reliant on their gardens for food. Although people attempted to return to their gardens during the day (ADF attacks were largely night-time) this was difficult to achieve and resulted in a loss of cultivation that remains a source of economic disruption and deprivation post-conflict. Many of the people disrupted by the ADF were displaced from their homes and migrated to centres of community life such as the school or the church, where camps were created.

Kubona , Mihondo, Bitandi and Nyabisiki Primary Schools became the sites of IDP camps. Ribati and Msura Primary Schools were displaced.

Typically, ADF attacks were at night. Elizabeth, a teacher from Kubona School said, *‘The ADF came from the forest. They stole food, they abducted people. The people moved from the forest and slept in the classrooms. I sometimes slept in the bush and would come across 5 or 6 dead people. Where could I go?’*

Philippa was Deputy Head of Kubona School. *‘The war was calming down when I joined (the school) but we still had sleepless nights. You could hear the bullets dawn and evening. The rebels would pass close by the school. People who lived nearby would go home to their villages during the day (to tend their gardens) then come back to Kubona about 3 o’clock in the afternoon. Those who could had already fled to town. They “took the cream” (meaning that those parents who fled to town took the ‘best’ children with them) from the school and*

*did not come back. People slept in the church, in the school. Some children slept outside (in the bush), they would have empty stomachs and this would affect their performance in school. One boy from our school was taken by the rebels (and apparently killed). The older children would have guns and guard the building.'*

I asked Elizabeth why the ADF attacked and she said, *'Their motives are unclear. If they're against the government, why kill the people, and if they kill the people, who will they lead? Heads of families became Home Guards and were given guns and were trained in a short time. They fought, and the rebels went back to the forest. It took a long time...we were longing for peace and to sleep safely in our own houses.'* I asked her what it was like being a teacher in charge of a class of primary children and with the rebels literally at the door of the classroom. *'We closed all the shutters and doors...the children slept on the floor and had to be very quiet. Never open the door to a knock. The UPDF gave us advice on action to take. For example, throwing a bottle of beer on the ground makes a sound like a grenade when it bursts (and can mislead the enemy).'*

The ADF insurgency was characterised in part by its use of guerrilla tactics. Joseph, a teacher at Kubona, *'The war was hit and run...taking food, creating havoc. There was a fluctuation between action and periods of increased security, then no action for a while, and then it all began again.'* Joseph, whose role at the school included a responsibility for children with special educational needs, interpreted the effect that inclusion policies for these children had had in practice. *'During the ADF insurgency, deaf children could not hear the bombs but as the education was inclusive, the other children helped them.'* He noted that the UPDF provided soldiers to guard the school after it had become an IDP camp. (The Chair of the School Management Committee at Kubona recollected this force as being around 10 in number.) Joseph himself had undergone some basic military training as part of his Grade 3 Initial Teacher Training. The training included how to use a sub-machine gun and how to take cover. *'I was told at college that children could not handle guns but teachers and others*



*could give advice to them, such as how to take cover and how to move safely from place to place.'*

Kubona School closed for some of the insurgency. The precise length of closure is unclear but appears to have been at least one term. The school location developed as an IDP camp which closed during 2001. Although teachers in the school were often acting as receivers of displaced people, they themselves often suffered a measure of personal displacement. Maria, a teacher at Kubona whose age was not disclosed but who had qualified in 1967, pointed across the bush to an isolated rooftop a mile or so away towards the higher ground of the Rwenzori foothills. That was her house but, *'We spent two years living in the staff house of the school though we could visit our own house during the day. It was a very, very hard time.'*

Many interviewees spoke of the effects of the armed conflict on the children. Maria, who has always taught P1 and P2, *'When the war started, the children became worried. Some wanted to join the army, there was a lot of absenteeism, some children became orphans, some children ran away. The P1 children you could see their faces very scared. It was hard for them to attend...they may have slept in the bush, they may have had no breakfast.'* Maria's colleague Emma, who teaches P2 said, *'The children were moving here and there...losing parents....going without food. Some children were taken and never returned. We do not know what happened to them.'* Joseph said, *'Because of poverty, some parents returned home (during the day to tend their gardens) and took their children with them. The UPDF soldiers (patrolling the mountains) would sometimes shout at the children and check out whether they were ADF. The brains of the children have not yet stabilised. Their brothers, sisters and relatives were abducted and there was tension in the children that 'they' might come back and abduct them. There were increased tensions and these contributed to a lack of educational achievement. The tensions also affected the teachers.'*

I only managed to interview two children from Kubona who had been in the school during the insurgency, Tammy (aged 14, an orphan of Aids living with her grandparents who farm goats

and cultivate bananas) and Neris (aged 14, whose parents are traders in farm tools). The insurgency began when Tammy was in P3 and aged 9 years and Neris was in P4 and aged 8 years. During the insurgency, Tammy migrated to Behese sub-county but continued to attend Kubona School. This involved a two hour walk each way. She said that she was on her own and frightened of being killed. Neris continued to reside at home. The ADF came near her home and she was frightened of being abducted. Both Tammy and Neris said that if the *'bullets were flying, the children would either go home or stay at school.'* (I interpreted this, after further discussion with the children, as meaning that the teachers made the decision as to whether it was safe or not to send those children home who did not live in the Kubona IDP camp, or indeed safe or not to allow any child to leave the confines of the classroom. Both girls said that they had been taught 'how to move' by the teachers meaning, as I interpret it, how to roll and to stay out of the sight lines of anyone shooting.)

### **The mountain schools of Kabarole and Kasese**

The locations of the schools that I visited in Kabarole and in company with Susanna, the Area Inspector, have been described previously. No such introductory visit was made to schools in Kasese, though I understand that the Head of Nyabisiki School had been informed by letter from Mr. A., the Kasese DEO, that I would visit his school.

In the case of Mihondo, Bitandi and Ribati (Kabarole schools) I travelled to them with John, the Co-ordinating Centre Tutor based at Kubona as a TDMS outreach (see chapter 4) from St. Peter's Primary Teachers' College. John became a friend (we continue to correspond). I spent Christmas Day with his family, I attended a service at his church (he is a Seventh Day Adventist) and we spent countless hours in conversation about the enterprise of education in our respective countries. He also drove a trail motorbike that could attempt the journeys to the mountain schools and on which I could ride pillion, a journey in the case of Ribati that necessitated leaving the bike at a 'friendly house' and then completing the journey on foot because of the rains. In the case of Ribati, several teachers did not attend the school on the



day of my visit or arrived late, though whether this was attributable to the weather was not ascertained. In the case of Msura, I travelled on my own by boda-boda (riding as a paying pillion on a small motor bike.) All four schools are well off the main road, reachable only by paths/tracks that became potentially impassable in the rains, even on foot.

On arrival at Mihondo School, Jackson (the Head) asked if I would teach P7 some maths. I had no idea at what level the children were operating so they and I spent some time sharing our understanding of maths and then I devised problems for them to solve. It was not a maths lesson, however, so much as a virtually private conversation with the children of Uganda and, as I judge it, a rite of passage set by the head for a researcher claiming to be a teacher.

Jackson made no comment on this but seemed pleased that I had taught the lesson and at the end of the day we sat in his office and had a far ranging conversation about Amin, Obote, the proposed third term in office for Museveni, homosexuality, the number of wives a man may take, alcohol, the local growing of opium and prostitution. My feeling is that Jackson and I felt an affinity born of our common engagement with primary education.

At Mihondo, I interviewed not only Jackson but also Antonino, a local resident and John Mtame, one of the teachers. For John, *'The ADF trouble began in 1998 in this area and the school became a camp in 1999. The ADF would come at night and root everything and go back in the morning. The camp lasted until 2002 and I was camp chairman elected by the people in the camp. There were 1632 people in the camp including 728 children. My duties as chairman were to keep the people busy, showing them how to clean the camp. I told the people to let their children go to school. Initially, people slept in the classrooms but there were too many so huts were built around the school. The children came to school in fear of being killed and a number moved away to Kasese. A major problem for us was clothing the children as well as a lack of food. It all made learning difficult.'* Antonino, the local resident, reported that the UPDF dug a defensive trench around the school but that their actions spoilt his crops of coffee and bananas, *'They left my property dried and stripped.* He recalled that humanitarian assistance was provided by NGOs and, *'Religious people.'*

The same pattern of ADF movement and tactics was reported by Patrick, the head of Bitandi School, also in the mountains, as was the disruption to the children's learning. *'They would not study...they would listen to the gunfire.'* He also noted the shortness of the school day, *'The teachers would arrive about 11 in the morning and leave at about 2 or 3 in the afternoon.'* Henry, Deputy Head at Bitandi, agreed. *'The school opened late, after the soldiers (UPDF) had checked security.'* Bitandi also became a camp, *'the people lived in trenches so as to miss the bullets (the trenches ensured people were below ground level fire).'* *'I was vice chairman of the camp executive with a special responsibility for conflict resolution between civilians. I went on a Red Cross sponsored course to learn about this. There were 4056 people in the camp...we even absorbed people from Bundibugyo. We were a camp for 4 complete years.'*

Ribati School, again in the mountains, suffered infrastructure damage from an ADF arson attack (the damage is still not fully repaired) as did surrounding properties. The school closed and the children were absorbed in camps. (The interviewees were not sure which camps.) The school lost 10 children killed by the ADF. Isaac, now a teacher at Ribati, had been teaching in a camp school (as I understand it a temporary structure) when it had been attacked. *'The ADF attacked the camp school...suddenly I could hear bullets so we escaped as well as possible. Those who stayed behind were killed. The Home Guards retaliated and killed 3 ADF.'* I asked how the teachers acquitted themselves of their responsibilities to the children in their classes during this attack. *'We try to settle the children and let them know what is taking place. The teachers give instructions to the children...the teachers control the children's escape.'*

Msura School was also closed during the insurgency and Idris, one of the teachers, was displaced to a local camp. He estimated that there were 25 000 people in the camp. Before the UPDF forces arrived, the local councillors (LC1 to LC5) decided to train local people to fight. Idris was one of these. *'Some of the P7 boys were also armed...the area was bombarded by the ADF and we would chase them away. I am still in the Home Guard but I am not armed'*



*any more. This area, Kisomoro in Bunyangabo County, experienced heavy attacks. From here, it is close on foot to Budabugyo.'*

Nyabisiki Primary School (in Kasese District) was also an IDP camp. Although in a different district from the previously mentioned schools, Nyabisiki is again located in the Rwenzori foothills and is not far from the other schools. The pattern and consequences of ADF activity appear to have been the same as in the Kabarole schools. Eleanor, the Senior Woman, *'I had to travel into the school on foot and it took me about one and a half to two hours. The children were frightened and would jump at a sound. There were many more children as we absorbed three other schools'*. Theophilus, the Deputy Head recounted, *'There was high absenteeism by both children and staff. When the guns started, people would run. We only got peace during the morning hours...after lunch everyone was thinking what the night was going to be...people's thoughts were disrupted.'*

### **Camp life**

The pattern of displacement meant that people were unable to maintain the cultivation of their gardens or that cultivation was severely disrupted. Journeys back to gardens during the day were hazardous. For many of the inhabitants of Rwenzori, reliant as they were on the subsistence and cash values of their gardens, such disruption was hugely threatening not only as regarded provision of food in the present (to some extent cushioned by the provision of food aid for residents in camps) but for the economic future of their families. The insurgency affected economic balance, not only through its direct effect on rendering production of food in gardens impossible/inefficient for many displaced into camps, or through raising other costs (such as buying medicine) but also because of the psychological effects regarding notions of security and images of the future. In Nyabisiki, I interviewed three senior members of the PTA. They spoke jointly of the economic and social disruption of living in a camp. *'Firstly, there was famine. People left their homes and food but then could not leave the camp to go back and get food. Therefore they had to buy. This lead to an increase in demand and to*

*subsequent price increases. There was death, and a need to spend money on burials, etc.*

*There was theft. With so many characters pressed together, there was a copying of bad behaviour. There were outbreaks of disease, people had to buy medicine and therefore lost money. Internally Displaced Peoples had to sell their poultry and livestock. Future sustainability of food was not considered in the face of imminent death...(livestock would be slaughtered for immediate consumption and without thought for replacement)... “we might die tomorrow, but at least we will have eaten”. Parents were also dying from disease which broke out in the camps, e.g. HIV/Aids. The orphaning of children placed additional burdens on extended families.*

Some children did not go into camps but moved into towns. In some instances, they would have stayed with their extended families. The District Medical Officer for Kabarole, ‘*Not all children go into camps, some go to extended families, some of whom may have to pay school fees for other children. This can put a strain on host families. There is a need to account for all these children...where are they and what is happening to them.*’ Interviewees who had school level responsibilities noticed the economic hardship of IDPs, and requirements for the wearing of uniform in school, for example, would be often be waived. Stephen, a parent responsible for his 3 natural children and 4 orphans from his extended family at Kubona School (and on the PTA) said, ‘*When the children came from the mountain schools to Kubona, we could not force them to have uniforms. We sympathised with them.*’ Schools did find themselves in a quandary, however, over provision of materials that would normally have been provided by parents, for example exercise books. This economic disruption has left legacies in the post-conflict phase.

Conditions in camps lead to the spread of diseases such as malaria, dysentery and STDs. The DMO for Kabarole noted that , ‘*The health workers treat the people in the camps. We visit once a week and with the assistance of NGOs we can provide sanitation, immunisation, we can treat the typical diseases such as malaria and dysentery. We can provide health advice to*



*the relocated schools.*’ Idris, a teacher at Msura felt that *‘Camps were established quickly, without proper arrangements. Diseases were the result, such as cholera and dysentery, especially at Mihondo Camp. This was compounded by Kwashiorkor. The Red Cross and Save the Children provided food aid, but this was little compared to the need and people would fight for it.’* However, despite the privations of health and of hunger, a major concern for many interviewees was the moral ambience of the camps and their perceived link between this and effects upon children. Many interviewees seemed to consider the main ‘harm’ of life in a camp to have resided in its moral temptation and degeneration. This ‘harm’ took several forms but mainly involved children being exposed, usually as a result of physical proximity, to influences from which they might otherwise have been shielded. The Senior Teacher in Ribati summed up conditions, *‘There were very many people, poor hygiene...the NGOs distributed food. Behaviour in the camp was not good and children were adversely affected by the behaviour they witnessed. There was an increase in defilement and an increase in unwanted pregnancies. The soldiers were disciplined but they had money and some women prostituted themselves.’* Interviewees noted that the lack of privacy lead to children witnessing sex, and considered this a moral regression. They also spoke of ‘characters’ in the camp, meaning (as I judge from further discussion) people of a dubious reputation, and noted how people who had never met such ‘characters’ before were now forced to live in close proximity to them. Children were exposed to ‘bad’ examples and learnt from the ‘characters’. Theophilus, Deputy Head at Nyabisiki reported, *‘There were different characters in the camp and people tried to exercise their characters. Some children became very good smokers and drug addicts. Theft from adults by children became a problem.’*

Particular concern was expressed over the defilement of girls in IDP camps, not least defilement by members of the UPDF (Government Forces). The UPDF were largely described as a well disciplined force who provided protection for which the population seemed grateful. However, there were complaints against them including the claim that the UPDF troops, although not using the direct coercion of physical force, often used the

temptation of money to buy sex with underage girls. Patrick, head of Bitandi, *'The UPDF were disciplined and did not force the girls. They had the attraction of money...they did not disturb the school.'* One might easily surmise how soldiers could have appeared to the children in the camps as attractive and possibly heroic and several children wanted to, or did, become soldiers. Some interviewees, however, concentrated on the apparent effect on behaviour of the proximity of the soldiers. Patrick, *'The children became rough because they modelled themselves on the soldiers.'* Henry, a teacher at Bitandi added, *'The soldiers were boozing and smoking (he implied not just smoking nicotine but other drugs). Some girls were defiled and some eloped. The teachers were always settling disputes between the soldiers and the parents. The UPDF soldiers were well disciplined but by no means all.'* (His emphasis.)

Philip, the district vice-chair of a CBO in Kasese for disabled people, *'During the war, disabled people had many problems. Parents even left disabled children behind because they were unable to carry luggage or (the disabled children) had to be carried. In camps, disabled children might miss out on food distribution as they could not go to the food distribution point. Disabled people were often unable to return home for food (from the camps and during the daylight hours) and there will not have been the resources in the camps to meet their needs.'* One such need that Philip mentioned was latrine design. People with certain disabilities are unable to squat over a latrine but require a seat. Seats are not typically provided.

### **Analytical commentary**

ADF tactics more closely matched that of guerrilla action than sustained action (Holmes, 2001) with an emphasis on unpredictable attacks, rapid dispersal, and 'small scale operations over an indefinite period of time' (p383). It is also apparent that they adopted certain terrorist characteristics in that they appeared to deliberately create and exploit fear 'through violence or its threat' (op.cit. p906). The characteristics of the ADF campaign differ significantly from



those of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Northern Uganda (see chapter 3) in the length of the campaign. To some extent, the repeated actions of the LRA allow for some measure of predictability, mirrored by the nightly migration of children (UNICEF, 2005 'At a glance'), whereas respondents indicate that the ADF attacks were unpredictable both as regards time and focus. Martin (2003) characterises the LRA as 'a cultic movement that waged a war of religious terrorism' (p193) but the motivation of the ADF was unclear in the minds of respondents who suffered their attacks. The ADF apparently did not identify their motives to the general populace, nor does the evidence suggest that they sought or gained the support of local people in their campaign. Respondents were unclear as to the ADF's motivation and no-one interviewed laid claim to any affiliation or even sympathy to their cause. It would seem that such a lack of support would have led to the demise of the insurgency. As Mao Tse Tung (1937) observes:

Because guerrilla warfare basically derives from the masses and is supported by them, it can neither exist nor flourish if it separates itself from their sympathies and co-operation. (p44).

The motivation of the ADF campaign remains obscure but their tactics fell somewhere between guerrilla war and terrorism (Holmes, 2001). To some extent, the ADF insurgency might be seen as banditry (Wallensteen, 2002) though its organisation and supposed political underpinning would indicate that it was more than this (see chapter 3). It differed from the overt mobilization of armed conflict around an ethnic theme (Eller, 1999) such as obtained in the Rwanda genocide (Obura, 2003) though it demonstrated many of the characteristics associated with interethnic strife, including the identification of children and education as targets (Briggs 2005), civilian displacement (see, *inter alia*, Allen 2000, Eller 1999, Duffield 1991) and disruption of education.

No matter the cause, a result of the ADF insurgency was the displacement of the civilian population (see chapter 3 for statistics) and the relocation of this population in camps. Despite the vulnerability of women and children in camps as a well rehearsed concern (Adams and Bradbury, 1995, Porter, Smyth and Sweetman, 1999) respondents did not particularly

concentrate on camp life in terms of the events perpetrated on them as adults but rather on the effects on children. The general perspective was of adult to child, adults speaking of their concern at the exposure of children to what they, the adults, perceived as examples of moral degradation and their implications for the behaviour of the children. Respondents with disabilities raised concerns specific to *their* situations.

### **Effects on primary education provision during the ADF insurgency.**

The official guidance to children and parents who were/are displaced is to seek the nearest safe school. The expectation is that children will be accepted into the school and their education continued. The expectation is also that teachers will accompany the children of their school, if displaced, and will contribute to the teaching in any 'safe school'. I have no more than verbal evidence for these positions. I do not, for example, have sight of a teacher's contract making such responsibilities clear. My impression is that such responsibilities remain intentions rather than contractual duties but I am not certain. In any event, the actions of teachers whose children were displaced, seems to have varied. In some instances, teachers did follow children, '*Some teachers came with their children from the displaced schools,*' agreed Henry, a teacher at Bitandi, or, leastways, they offered their services to schools other than their own. Children did migrate to other schools, '*Children who fled went to other safe schools to study*', Philippa, Deputy Head at Kubona, or to the aegis of extended families or to towns, the latter being seen as generally safer than the villages or the bush. (This perception of towns is possible evidence of a growing urban 'middle class' with an attendant perception of superior status linked to growing wealth, itself linked to educational provision.) Some teachers were deemed to have 'run away'. However, Jackson, at Mihondo was clear, '*Before my time as head at Mihondo, in my previous teaching place, the rebels came and the children and the teachers ran away. Those who ran away will either be taught or will teach at a safe school. It is a right to run away. No one can force you to take a risk to teach in a school.*'



There was recognition of the complication of family responsibilities and Botooro/Bocongo ethnic ties in determining the actions of teachers. In certain schools in the mountains, the schools were populated by Bocongo children yet the Head was a Botooro and the teaching staff a mix of both groups. In one school that I visited, the Botooro Head was not able to speak fluently to the younger classes in their mother tongue because his knowledge of Rocongo was insufficient and he needed the translation abilities of a Rocongo speaking colleague. I would also point out that this head seemed to me to be enthusiastic in his concern for *all* the children in his care, he greeted all the children the same, asked them questions with the same intensity and good humour, greeted their responses with the same pleasure; I do not think that he consciously guided his actions on an opinion of either Botooro or Bocongo children (though I did not explore this question with him). However, during the ADF insurgency, it was reported that certain Bocongo teachers working in threatened or attacked Botooro funded schools did not travel with the children from their schools but returned to their own families within the Bocongo heartlands. (The reverse may well also have occurred, but I have no evidence.) This ethnic sensitivity apparently runs deep. Mrs R., Head of Kubona Primary joined her school in 2000 when it was still an IDP camp, *'I carried out sensitisation regarding sanitation but I was careful not to use critical language* (partly for fear of reviving Botooro/Bocongo tensions). She indicated that ethnic tensions were glossed over at a surface level but were still apparent beneath the gloss.

### **Analytical commentary**

The international concern over the provision of education as an emergency response is a relatively recent one (Retamal and Aedo-Richmond, 1998) given added impetus not least by the requirements of the Millenium Development Goals (White and Black, 2004). Faced with the need to maintain the provision of primary education during armed conflict, and given the unpredictable pattern of the ADF's attacks (Vincent, Norwegian Refugee Council, 1999) the

Uganda Government advises its children and its teachers to migrate to the nearest safe school in conditions of emergency<sup>1</sup>.

The data indicate that, for some teachers, the decision to remain with any displaced children faced them with moral dilemmas regarding their responsibilities. On the one hand, a teacher's responsibility to the children in his/her care is made explicit in the Teacher's Professional Code of Conduct (Wandira, undated):

A teacher's chief responsibility is towards the children under his/her care and he/she shall guide each child where necessary in and out of school in order to develop the child's body, mind, character, soul and personality (para 4, op.cit.)

(though the contractual obligation of this adjuration is uncertain). On the other hand, teachers in Uganda are members of a social framework of responsibility determined by familial ties (Rwagweri, 2003) and the pressures to group round such ties are potentially strong (Eller 1999). I was unaware of any advice that was offered to teachers in this regard, and decisions seem to have been taken by teachers at an individual level.

### **Issues affecting education provision as a result of the ADF insurgency**

Those schools that became integrated with IDP camps struggled to supply schooling. The issues affecting education provision may be summarized as:

1. Class sizes. The ADF insurgency coincided with the introduction of UPE and the corresponding huge rise in enrolment. Class sizes also increased hugely as a result of the immigration of children from displaced schools. The Receiving schools typically had no spare classroom capacity and this required cramming children into available spaces although some temporary classrooms were supplied by UNICEF. Eleanor, a teacher at Nyabisiki, *'There were 300 children in a class sometimes and insufficient resources. There was a lack of text books and a huge marking load.'* Theophilus from

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<sup>1</sup> The data indicate that migration to a safe school typically involved migration to camps for IDPs, as camps were often located around previous areas of settlement, including their schools. As far as is known, all the schools represented in the data and that remained open during the insurgency became integrated into IDP camps. (See above for specific commentary on IDP camps.)



the same school underlines the same issues, '*There were 150/200 children in the same class... a lack of seating and a lack of pens and exercise books. This led to stealing among the children.*' It is germane to note that teachers for the most part did not amalgamate classes or team-teach in order to reduce the sometimes huge pupil teacher ratios (PTRs). The culture of one class, one teacher, one subject, one age group that was outlined in the previous section seemed to obtain. I asked why the teachers did not split the classes and teach in the open air if necessary. I expected the weather to be a reason, and so it was but Eleanor answered that it would bring about a loss of control. The impression is that an authoritarian view of schooling continued to obtain (Harber, 1997) that retained a view of teacher as controller. The motivation to maintain this conservative model of teaching and learning under such conditions would arise from a complex interaction of factors, not least the powerful cultural roots in the teachers' own experiences as learners (Ackers and Hardman, 2001) as well as delivering the familiar in a time of change (Obura, 2003). One might also consider that for untrained teachers, the typical modes of teaching in schools might constitute the whole of their experience, and that they would have no other model to consider (Ackers and Hardman, op.cit.) unlike teachers who had undergone training.

2. Day to day organisation of people and spaces. Journeys to school for both teachers and children were potentially hazardous owing to ADF activity, or were distressing, with children and teachers having to pass dead bodies on their way to school. Some teachers and children would be late in arriving at school, and early in leaving. Mention has been made above of security checks by soldiers before teaching could begin and of the disruption caused by children not attending school when they had to go to the gardens (or elsewhere) with their parents. Organising any form of coherent delivery in such circumstances would have been highly challenging for school management. They had to deal with disruption of, and uncertainty regarding, the available time for teaching, the numbers and match of teachers and children, the

availability of materials and the available accommodation. As far as I am aware, no management training has been given to the senior managers of schools, including the SMC, on how to cope with such eventualities.

3. Trauma to children and adults. Schools were directly attacked whilst children were present. This led to huge pressures not only on the children but on the teachers who had responsibility for them. Children and teachers in schools were traumatised by the events, not just the direct attacks but all the attendant tension and uncertainty and changes in life style. *'The children were physically in school but not mentally there,'* as Jackson, Head of Mihondo, commented. Jennie, Programme Officer for Civil Peace in Schools for the Kabarole Research Centre, a local NGO, noted that the treatment of children by the teachers was not always appropriate, e.g. the meting out of physical punishment to children whose lack of attention or apparently insubordinate behaviour in the classroom was occasioned by fear of abduction, fear of attack, family responsibility, hunger, etc. However, Jennie was not basing this view on the ADF insurgency (she was not in Rwenzori at the time) but on a recent visit to schools in the North of Uganda under threat by the Lord's Resistance Army. My observations in Rwenzori primary schools indicated that the regime of discipline she was describing still obtained. One could imagine that the relevance of the curriculum for the children would also be thrown into stark relief, but there was apparently no change to the official curriculum being delivered nor the manner of its delivery. This would be in contrast to Rwanda, where Obura (2003) notes that during the emergency there were 'emergency curriculum inputs' (p62) such as land-mine awareness education. Maintaining the curriculum under such circumstances has the benefit that it allows teachers (themselves under stress) to deliver what is familiar to them (see Obura, 2003 above) It locates children within familiar learning thereby maintaining curriculum continuity and maintaining a relationship between curriculum and public



assessment demands for a cohort of children. In short, education does not become confused by change nor dependent on external agencies as regards content (Talbot, 2003, IWGE Report). Alternatively, one might consider such a focus on the curriculum in Uganda as an example of the unresponsive school (Molteno et al, 1999), in which the curriculum is valued at the expense of traumatised children and in which there is no evidence that provision (not least as part of an humanitarian response) addresses that trauma (Retamal and Aedo-Richmond, 1998). At one level, responding to the trauma of children does not reside in *curriculum*, nor even in *pedagogy*, but in the sensitivity with which teachers acknowledge and respond to the needs of individual children, whatever their cause. Frater-Mathieson in Hamilton and Moore (2004) notes that such recognition and action requires teachers who are trained in the required responses. At the time of writing, the ITT curriculum for Uganda does not contain any module on the teaching of traumatised children. Nor is there any module that addresses the role of teachers in situations of armed conflict, other than that of mucaka-mucaka training<sup>2</sup>. The ADF insurgency apparently not only brought no change to the taught curriculum, nor did it bring any change to assessment in the shape of the Primary Leaving Examination. Teachers thought there was a lowering of educational achievement as a result of the insurgency. Philippa at Kubona, ' *The performance of the children has not yet stabilised. We could not cover the syllabus and this had a cumulative effect by the time the children reached P7.* ' Joseph, also at Kubona, commented that the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE) is designed to build on work covered between P1 and P7 and that any disruption to this pattern of accumulating knowledge would demonstrate itself in PLE results. As Theophilus, Deputy Head at Nyabisiki pointed out, ' *Coverage of the curriculum was difficult to achieve because of the absence of both teachers and children.* '. Elizabeth, the teacher from Kubona commented, ' *War or no war, there will be the Primary Leaving Examination. There is a need to counsel the children and the parents as to how best*

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<sup>2</sup> Mucaka-mucaka training is a basic introduction to firearms and personal defence.

*to study under these conditions...let the children keep working and studying. Make the most of what is available.* Elizabeth's comments might be taken as an indication that the Primary Leaving Examination retained an inviolable position of importance throughout the period of the ADF insurgency. Her first concern was the importance of the PLE but her second concern was that children should be able to learn. Moving from curriculum-centred to child-centred at a stroke, Elizabeth's comments indicate to me the essential ambivalence and difficulty of her role as a teacher in such circumstances.

#### 4. Lack of educational continuity.

Despite curriculum continuity being apparently fostered by the official advice that children should seek safe schools and continue their studies, respondents indicated that, in the event, continuity was often disrupted. Ethel, the Education Officer for Fort Portal Municipality (equivalent to the District Education Officer at District level) spoke of the migration of children from the rural areas to her urban/peri-urban setting and the problems of placing them at the correct level in school. Ethel commented, *'The children who came to Fort Portal were the wealthy ones. We placed children in the classes where they could cope. For example, it might be that child from a rural P6 class could not cope in a P6 class in an urban setting. We would therefore place that child in a P5 class.'* Her comment raises again the differences in perception relating to children in rural and urban areas, children from rural areas in developing countries typically performing less well in schools (UNESCO EFA Report, 2005). Ironically, these children, to whom Ethel generically refers, were seen as representing 'the cream of the school' by Philippa in the rural setting of Kubona. At a technical level displaced children anywhere brought only verbal accounts of their previous school experience and achievement and Elizabeth used to undertake diagnostic



assessment (Gipps and Stobart, 1993) in order to decide in which class to place a child. Such assessment would be time consuming in an already shortened and otherwise constrained day.

5. Lack of materials for teaching. Despite the fact that schools which migrated were asked to bring with them text books, etc, this did not always happen. Schools that were attacked did not always have time to gather their resources in a methodical manner and to carry them in an unconcerned way to the next location. However, it also appears that certain schools did have time to lock their resources in a cupboard against the day of the school's return, and did not bring their resources with them for fear that the receiving school would appropriate them for their own use and not return them at the end of hostilities. The Senior Man at Nyabisiki noted, *'Some displaced schools brought their books with them but they were not enough. Some books were destroyed by the ADF.'*

Certain authors (Aguilar and Richmond 1998, Agula and Retamal, 1998) advocate the use of TEPs (Teacher Education Packages) during emergency. Obura (2003) is strongly critical of this approach, not least because TEPs represent an imposed curriculum (see chapter 2 for discussion). She does acknowledge that the provision of certain immediately usable 'teaching resources (e.g. blackboards) can be of immense value, not only in enabling teaching but also in lifting morale' (p59). As previously noted, the approach in Uganda was not to use TEPs but to maintain the Uganda National Curriculum through existing resources, with some temporary classroom accommodation being supplied by UNICEF (see above). This approach avoided external imposition on educational aims but was reliant on a migration of teaching/learning resources that matched the migration of children and of teachers to safe schools. The data indicate that such a matched migration did not occur.

6. Conditions for study and preparation beyond the school location. In the rural locations considered by this research, the conditions under which the teachers and children lived during the insurgency meant that opportunities for them to complete school work outside the physical location of the school were severely restricted. As Henry noted, *'Pupils had no time to study. At sunset, everyone went into shelters...you could not light a candle'* (for fear of attracting enemy fire). For the same reasons, teachers could not undertake work such as preparation of lessons after dark.



## CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD-WORK

### SECTION 3: THE LEGACY OF ARMED CONFLICT

There are multiple effects of the ADF conflict which interrelate in complex webs of interdependency and which do not relate in a convenient temporal order or sequence, but the overriding response of interviewees in considering post-conflict legacies of the ADF insurgency was to cite hunger. Apart from this identification, interviewees' responses might be grouped into the following five categories. None of the categories are discrete.

#### **No legacy**

A few interviewees responded that there was no legacy of the ADF insurgency and that life was back to normal. Eleanor, a teacher at Nyabisiki merely stated that. *'Everything is now normal'* but others were more circumspect. Father Mbara, the Education Officer for the Fort Portal Roman Catholic Diocese said, *'There are no serious legacies now. Activities in school now seem to be the same as before the war, though you cannot remove memories from people's minds.'*

#### **Economic disruption.**

The displacement of families from the mountain slopes and into camps meant that access to their gardens became severely restricted. Gardens are now showing the effects of several years' lack of regular cultivation. This has two profound effects, namely that gardens are not only unable to provide sufficient food for a family to eat, they are unable to provide sufficient produce to sell. Jackson, the Head of Mihondo, amongst many other interviewees expressing the same opinion, summed this up succinctly, *'the children are undernourished as parents' cultivation got behind.'* Several families therefore spiralled into either hunger and/or debt as

a result of the conflict. As people entered into the deprivations of camp life, debts were created, as when taking over the livestock of a neighbour. Some of these debts have not been repaid, with a concomitant pressure on community economics. The parents of Nyabisiki said, *'People were not allowed to bring animals into the camps and therefore others would say, "Give the animals to me and I will pay when I can." The borrowers have not paid back'*. It was put to me by Theophilus (Deputy Head of Nyabisiki), *'...people thought of death and therefore neglected to create an income.'* The parents of Nyabisiki noted the exploitation of resources in the camp, *'People consumed what was ready rather than think to the future. Eat before the rebels come and take.'* Increase of disease within camps led to the need to spend money on medicine, another potential cause of debt, and also burial expenses.

Either as a direct result of poverty or of the related secondary demand of debt repayment, many parents still require the labour of their children to help in recultivating the gardens (or other work). Theophilus, *'Parents are striving for financial security and they need their children to labour.'* This compounds into children and their families being trapped into a cycle of hunger, focusing on hunger alleviation in the short term and thereby unable to focus on the possible benefits of attending school in the long term. This use of child labour during the school day has an effect on school absenteeism and drop out. However, not everyone is able to return to their gardens. Atlee, the head of Nyabisiki, *'People do not return to the mountains because they are frightened of land mines. The UPDF is trying to clear the area of mines.'* Nor does everyone wish to return home, some families now enjoying life in the plains as opposed to that in the mountains. Orphans may be forced by circumstance to stay with an extended family. The financial burden of looking after extended family may mean stark choices between sending boys or girls to school, older children or younger children to school, natural or adopted children to school and between sending children to primary but not to secondary school. The number of orphans is difficult to calculate, as is the cause of their parents' demise. Isaac at Ribati school identified that 253 children out of a roll of 659 were orphans both as a result of war and of HIV/Aids, most as a result of war. One interviewee felt



that more orphans had been created through disease than through the war. The parents of Nyabisiki felt that orphans might not have the necessary support and that this could lead to the emergence of street children in the towns, and an increase in thieving and drug addiction.

Children's help is not just required for cultivation but, as Susanna, the Area Inspector for Fort Portal noted, *'Property reconstruction affects children as they are needed at home to help in this and therefore do not attend school.'* Rev. Paul, the Church of Uganda Education Officer for the Rwenzori Diocese said, *'People have lost property and are not able to recover from that loss. The government could not contribute to compensation and this leads to poverty.'*

The Minister of State in the Office of the Prime Minister noted that, *'Lack of resources means that many problems have not been addressed as fully as government would like, but it is in the government's plan when money is available to give some small "start up" compensation.'*

The overall effect is that people who were below the poverty line before the insurgency have now been driven back into greater deprivation to, as Paul says, *'...start from square one.'*

One might also surmise that the provision of dowry in times of economic stress could promote an increase in early marriage, early marriage being cited by many interviewees as a legacy of the conflict.

### **Moral tensions**

Many interviewees reported a change in moral behaviour during the war that has had effects post-conflict and/or continues. The direct witnessing of sex, the availability of moneyed people (e.g. UPDF troops) to buy the services of prostitutes (the poverty in the camp leading to an increase in prostitution), the defilement of young girls (seen as a behaviour directly attributable to behaviour learnt in the camp) have, in their opinion, lead to current behaviours of increased child prostitution, an increase in Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), unwanted pregnancy and early marriage, with attendant drop out from school. The parents of Nyabisiki School said, *'If you have spent money on a child who is subsequently defiled and the education subsequently lost, this is a waste of resources.'*

Not all drop out can be attributed to armed conflict. Statistics from respondent schools include:

1. Kubona. 200 plus children in P1 now reduced to 45 children in P7. Mrs R., *'Boys and girls will drop out, but more girls than boys because of early marriage, domestic chores and so on.'* Attendance of children on a Monday is usually down because it is market day.
2. Nyabisiki. 65 children dropped out of school during the year 2003 and around 5 percent are absent each day. The head commented, *'not just for sickness but to cater for babies, to help on market days and to dig the garden.'*
3. In Mihondo, the annual drop out is about 20 to 50 children and in Bitandi, 200 children in P1 have translated into about 59 children in P7.

One interviewee saw himself as having behaved with moral (sexual) integrity during the war but now harbours a sense of injustice that eligible girls have been 'removed', as he sees it, from circulation as a result of the immoral behaviour of others. The Reverend Priscilla (ITT Tutor) remarked that such events as early pregnancy, marriage and defilement, *'Would have a lasting effect on the child.'* John, the CC Tutor saw defilement as part of a cycle, *'The defilement by soldiers and people in the camps...the children who were used to this abuse now defile in their turn and the system perpetuates.'* Theophilus thought that children who had been defiled or had experienced early pregnancies were in danger of becoming, *'the current thieves as they have no other way forward.'*

A variety of other 'bad habits' is also attributed to the life in a camp at a time of armed conflict, e.g. being rude, being aggressive, seeking to resolve arguments by physical means, an unwillingness to take responsibility and the adoption of 'laissez-faire' approaches. Mrs R. noted that collaborators were shot.



### **Additional factors affecting education provision**

In addition to factors referred to above, the provision of primary education is still affected by the differing return rates of children to schools (affecting curriculum continuity). Some children were deemed to have ‘tasted money’ and were therefore unlikely to return to school. There has been a presumed reduction in the take up of secondary places, and educational achievement in the primary sector is cited as being lower than expected but this is apocryphal only, and the official statistics are not yet available. The RDC in Kasese explained that given the apparent return to stability, attention will now be given to the training or replacement of untrained teachers. He also drew attention to a movement of young people from rural locations to urban (he cited this as a post-conflict effect) and that this was leading to increased rates of HIV/Aids infection. Such population movements would again make curriculum continuity difficult for schools.

Philip, the vice chair of KADUPEDI, a Community Based Organisation (CBO) for disabled people raised the issue of the increase in disabled people following the conflict, for example amputees. He felt, *‘In due course an injured child will seek to blame someone.’* The position of disabled people in Uganda is seen as improving, but the actual provision of education for Persons with Disabilities (PWDs – the Ugandan term) is currently open to potential interpretation in the courts. For example, what is the case if the school has provision for a disabled child but the child, by virtue of his/her disability, is not able to travel to school? It is expected that test cases will soon be heard.

### **Other social factors**

While the factors here are disparate, connections can still be seen. Many interviewees commented on trauma as a legacy of the conflict, and on other psychological effects or illnesses that are difficult to isolate or quantify and whose effects may well be life-long. The RDC for Kasese, *‘Trauma is a post- conflict legacy, especially for those who went through extreme experiences. There is a need for psycho-social counselling.’* Ethel, the Education

Officer for Fort Portal described the method of killing adopted by the ADF as traumatic, and that the *'The children witnessed rape...'* John, the CCT, observed that when some men went back from the camps to their gardens during the daytime, some of their wives were raped and this has led to social tensions in certain communities. The RDC commented, *'There is a tendency to want to take revenge...people are still quick to respond with physical aggression to issues. But this is now toning down as there is a sense of authority, a growing civic consciousness.'*

It is possible to miss the level of this trauma within the population, hidden as it may be by statistics of numbers of people returning home after the conflict and their persuasive indication of a return to normalcy. However, as Helena, Team Leader for Western Programmes in the Catholic Relief Services office in Fort Portal cautioned, *'... trauma does not just go away in a day. People may have returned (to their homes) but that is not to say that things are back to normal.'* Some interviewees expressed fear at the possible return of the ADF.

Teachers are members of their own communities and are also subject to post-conflict legacies. The Deputy Principal of St. Peter's Primary Teacher Training College noted that teachers themselves were, *'...still uncomfortable....traumatised...minds are not settled...their own food production is still affected'* The head of Nyabisiki noticed that teacher absenteeism from his school increased towards the middle of the month as the salary ran out and the need to tend gardens became critical.

Lizzy, the Assistant District Community Development Officer i/c of probation and social welfare for Fort Portal spoke of the relocation of abductees from the ADF insurgency. *'Abductees (and others who had fought with or become part of the ADF 'machine' or who were just 'unaccompanied' children) have been relocated. Initially they are lodged away from their own communities until they are ready for re-settlement. All children are given a*



*needs analysis, given food and clothing and medical attention. The Probation Officer visits the community to talk with the parents and to prepare them for their child's return. If the parents are not available, we have to seek alternative care such as an aunt or uncle. Again, they would be visited and their willingness to take on this responsibility ascertained. Those relocated are monitored closely by sub-county level designated officials. Lack of resources makes implementation of this programme difficult (e.g. the need to provide children with blankets and clothes)... UNICEF has assisted in providing funding for psycho-social counselling. Some children cannot be resettled as the whereabouts of their parents and their homes are not known...there is sometimes a difficulty of communicating with another country. If necessary, we prepare children (children not from Uganda) to fit into this country, perhaps by re-fitting them back into primary education. These children are given preparation to understand this resettlement process here in Uganda.'* Lizzy calculated that there were 233 primary aged children abducted in the Kabarole district during the ADF insurgency.

Rev. Paul, the Church of Uganda Education Officer for CoU Rwenzori Diocese summarised, *'There is bitterness against those who caused the problems. The evils still haunt the people. An opportunity for revenge is sometimes sought. People ask, "Why does the government give an amnesty, but we still suffer?" Things still follow the scars of war.'*

### **Analytical commentary**

O'Connor (2004) notes the pervasive material poverty of western Uganda, though the poverty of many families was increased as a result of the ADF insurgency. Opportunity costs, already a critical determinant of sending children to school (Graham-Brown 1991, Bray 1996, Watkins 2000) assumed even greater importance during the conflict, and this additional poverty (Molteno et al. 1999) remains as an enhanced barrier to current schooling for many children. Although the region has been subject to iterative conflict, no respondent mentioned the possibility of future conflict as a consideration in economic planning (including its effect

on sending children to school), though one might speculate that chronic uncertainty could enter such calculations. Addison (2003) notes that such chronic uncertainty affects social capital:

...including the trust that creates informal safety nets, also degrades as families and communities lose members or turn on each other....And investment by household in education falls since its expected (long-term) return declines as labour markets contract and as private discount rates rise (an effect that is additional to the increasing inability of households to meet the costs of schooling) (p5).

It is possible to chart something of this declining trust in the respondents' accounts, particularly those relating to general camp living and specific instances such as the rape of a woman when her husband tried to return to the family garden. As Sen (1995) identifies, living in camps is deeply disruptive of family life and the pursuit of normal economic activities.

Two other interrelated factors disturbing the 'normality' of family life (Sen, op.cit.), and which continue as a legacy are, responsibility for orphans as members of an extended family and the death through disease or military action of close family members. As Watkins (2000) notes, the economic consequences of the death of a family member might not only be the direct loss of an income, but might also include previously incurred health costs. A particular cause of non-violent death and subsequent social upheaval noted by respondents was Aids/HIV (Kelly and Bain, 2003). Either scenario could place economic pressure on a family, a typical result recounted by respondents being a girl of school age taking on additional domestic responsibilities, or marrying, attracting the subsequent dowry, and then dropping out of school.

Boyle et al (2003) advocate that schools adopt flexible approaches to such needs (see also Molteno et al, 1999), and a policy response of Uganda is that education has no age limit. A result is that current primary classes in the later grades may contain a wide age spread of



pupils. This spread of age, interest level, physical and intellectual development creates a particular challenge to the teacher to operate a pedagogy that meets the demands of vertical grouping/multigrade teaching (Watkins, 2000). In the classes I observed, and in lesson planning I saw no evidence of differentiation to cater for these differences in pupil need, although differentiation is a well recognised technique for teaching mixed ability classes (Pollard, 1997) and meeting the needs of individual children through constructivist approaches to teaching and learning (Selley, 1999).

A prominent concern of respondents around the moral legacy of the ADF insurgency clustered around girls' sexual behaviour and vulnerability (Adams and Bradbury 1995, Porter, Smyth and Sweetman 1999, Gell 1999, Khaw 2000), typically seen as negatively affected by living in an IDP camp. The focus is on girls, though the concerns seemed to be driven by perspectives of the value attached to girls and women as commodities. It is girls' education that is identified as 'wasted through defilement'. Boys are seen as subject to exposure to 'characters' in the camps, but are not commodified in the same way as girls: no respondent even comments on the concept of the loss of a boy's education. However, as Mazurana and Carlson (2006) point out, both girls' and boys' rights are violated through armed conflict, the out-migration or death of teachers during armed conflict removing a defence against the 'ravages of armed conflict' (p2). Mazurana and Carlson also note that it is 'incorrect to reduce all children only to the role of passive victims and that a more accurate perspective would be to see them as often vulnerable yet often capable of decisions:

Consequently, children must be understood and engaged as thoughtful, insightful and active agents who shape their own lives and the communities in which they live and work (op.cit p2).

There is, however, an apparent assumption amongst respondents that cycles of abuse will continue, that children who have been abused will abuse in their turn, though the available evidence for this claim is far from clear in the UK (NSPCC 2007).

A legacy of the ADF conflict is that children are still traumatised and Molteno et al's (1999) requirement that education should be responsive to such needs is again relevant (chapter 2). Despite school being a place in which a culturally sensitive approach to traumatised children might be instituted (Adams and Bradbury 1995, Frater-Mathieson 2004), and despite some evidence of teachers receiving limited CPD on the effects of trauma (respondent Elizabeth attended a church led course on this) ITT contains no module in which emergency preparedness in education (including the teaching of traumatised children) is considered (Syllabus for Primary Teachers' Colleges, 1994). This position is confirmed by the Deputy Principal of St. Peter's Training College. The only evidence I gathered concerning active state-sponsored training against the return of conflict was 'mucaka-mucaka' training completed by Grade III students. Respondent Joseph indicated that this training was limited to self-defence and the use of guns but could also include teaching children how to move under conditions of direct attack, e.g. how to roll. My conclusion is that no teachers currently working in Kabarole or Kasese, trained or untrained, are the recipients of state required, formal input on the management of children affected by armed conflict, nor of children likely to be affected by any future conflict. Teachers are also part of the social fabric and the evidence is that they too were traumatised (Nader and Pynoos, 1993) and became targets (Smith and Vaux 2003) but had received no psychological or professional preparation for that eventuality<sup>1</sup> nor counselling for its effects. However, even if emergency preparedness (including response to trauma) were to be included in ITT, this would not cater for the learning needs of untrained teachers who form a large portion of the teaching force in rural western Uganda.

A final legacy to consider is that of the rehabilitation of/reconciliation with those children who, for whatever reason, became part of the ADF movement and all that might entail (Kuper 2000). Although the abduction of children was noted, no respondent identified his/her

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<sup>1</sup> Other than the 'mucaka-mucaka' training already previously mentioned.



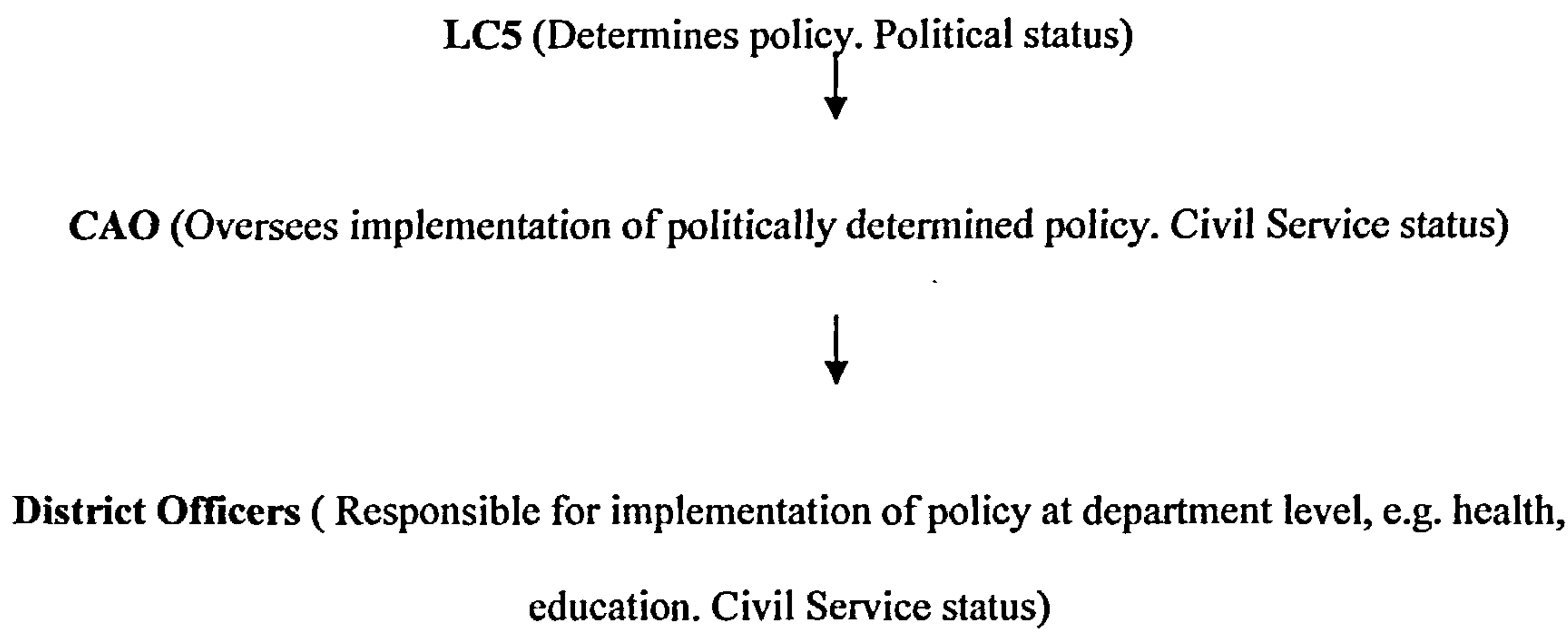
school as receiving any child who had been a member of the ADF. In her interview, the Assistant District Community Officer in charge of probation and social welfare at Fort Portal - she had a direct involvement with child relocation - outlined a system that appeared sensitive to both the children involved and those receiving/re-integrating them (see Molteno et al 1999, Castelo- Branco 1998), but I have no direct evidence. Issues of reconciliation were not typically raised by respondents (though see the comments of Idris).

**CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD-WORK**

**SECTION 4: COORDINATION AND PLANNING**

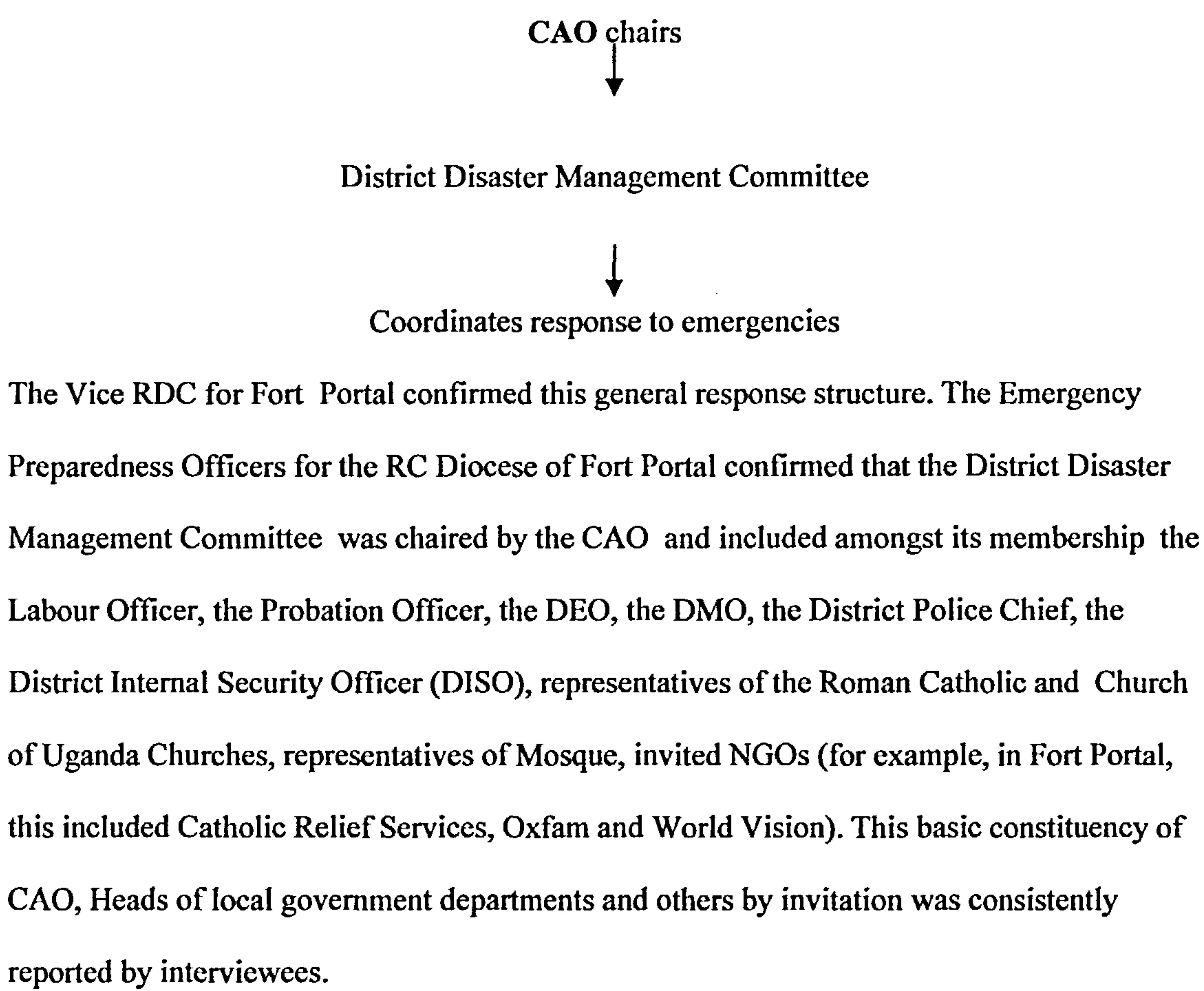
**Coordination of relief agencies during the ADF insurgency**

The current structures of local government were already in place during the ADF emergency with the exception of the District Disaster Management Committee, which was introduced partway through the emergency. Higher level local government responsibilities were:



In this configuration, LC5 is the political head of the district and the CAO is the head of the civil service at district level, implementing the LC5 decisions. Another tier is the Resident District Commissioner (RDC) who is the President’s representative at district level. Although the RDC is Chair of the District Security Committee, ‘security’ in this context implies issues such as food security or social security, and it is the District Disaster Management Committee which is the co-ordinating body for responding to emergencies (such as armed conflict) at district level:





The precise form of any structural link between schools and LCs is unclear, with interviewees giving conflicting opinions. Lily, the Vice LC5 for Fort Portal, said, *‘LC1/2 liaison with a school is not mandatory, but they would see it as part of their responsibility.’* However, it is understood that LC1 has a designated Education Secretary. The LC5 Chair for Kasese said, *‘The Secretary for Education at LC1 is an automatic member of the School Management Committee.’* Idris, a teacher at Msura school, noted that at his school the Chair of LC1 was also the Chair of the PTA. He said, *‘Schools would normally invite LC1 to the PTA and Management Committee meetings. This is the “order of the day” in Uganda.’* Mrs R. (Head of Kubona Primary) concurred that there was a Secretary for Education at LC1, 2, 3 and 5 levels. At local level, however, she felt that, *‘The Secretary for Education may be a P5 leaver and will not be able to deal in equal terms with school personnel’*. Mrs. R. referred to these

representatives as *'redundant'*. The perceptions of interviewees on links between LC1 and schools clearly vary.

Helena, Team Leader for Western Programmes at the Catholic Relief Services in Fort Portal noted an additional tier of meeting/coordination inaugurated, *'when the war was subsiding.'* This was a regional meeting which combined the three districts affected by the ADF insurgency, namely Kasese, Kabarole and Bundibugyo. It was called the Rwenzori Coordination Meeting and was created to coordinate across districts. *'A representative of the Office of the Prime Minister would attend...each NGO would report and we could see where we needed to coordinate. UNOCHA were also represented.'*

However, the responsibility for responding to emergencies was/is extensive. The LC1 for Nyabisiki (also the Senior Man at the primary school) observed, *'Everyone has a responsibility for security issues'*, thereby implying all members of the community rather than just designated officials. He outlined how a security alert would be met. *'Everyone would take part, but if LC1 was suspicious of armed activity, he would make a patrol and then report to LC3. The LC3 Chair would verify this report as far as he could and would report to LC5. However, if LC3 was satisfied with the report, he would report the findings directly to the UPDF (without waiting for LC5's confirmation). If there is an attack on a school, the people run away, the head informs the DEO and LC3 and 5 are also informed. As regards school closures, the DEO, LC3 and 5 meet and decide which schools will close and where the children should go. The children are free to study at any school...they become registered as displaced children. There is an expectation that teachers will go to the allocated school of the displaced children.'* I asked if there was duplication of effort amongst the agencies responding to the insurgency. *'It was a learning situation for NGOs...competition was seen as non-productive. They came to realise that coordination could improve impact and that one NGO was unlikely to impact on its own. There had been duplication before this learning was realised.'*



I chased the issue of duplication amongst agencies. Adam, the Secretary for Emergency Preparedness of the RC Diocese of Kasese indicated that there was confusion between the agencies offering humanitarian relief during the insurgency. *'Many players were looking at the same community. A meeting was held to determine who did what (Adam commented that this meeting was 'heated') as there had been confusion. Some NGOs were concerned about losing influence...the communities played them off against each other, claiming for example, not to have received particular resources.'* Adam illustrated this by telling the story from the insurgency of one NGO going to an IDP camp and asking if the people had blankets. When the people said they had no blankets, the NGO gave them a supply. The next day another NGO went to the same camp and asked if the people had any blankets. The people said they had no blankets and so this next NGO gave them another supply. There was soon an economy in blankets. *'Some people also went from camp to camp to gain an extra distribution of food.'*

Churches also contributed to the relief efforts. Rev. Augustus, the Education and Communication Secretary for the South Rwenzori Diocese (the Church of Uganda in Kasese) commented on the structure of the church as providing an already established means of communicating with people. *'The church has good structures at all levels from diocese to parish and so on. The diocese asked for reports from parish priests during the insurgency...Where are the people? What are their needs? The church mobilised action and requests for aid. The diocese set up a committee to overview these effects at parish level...it offered training on how to handle these situations, such as how to minister to a camp. There was close negotiation between the church and the DEO...a church could not close a school on its own. A team spirit was generated...inter faith, with the government, between the secular and the religious.'* Fr. Mbara, the RC Education Secretary for Kabarole corroborated this view of joint action, *'We did everything collectively...we gave collective assistance if an area was overrun by the rebels, not just for schools but for all the people.'* The Head of Nyabisiki, in considering organisation and communication at camp level said, *'The military*

*commander, the LCs, the LD force (the Home Guards), and the Head joined together to help organisation...discussions and meetings were held.'*

### **Analytical commentary**

The co-ordination of the response to the ADF insurgency falls largely into issues of structure and process, though both positions blur. Regarding the former, Sommers (2004) draws attention to the key actors who may play a role in co-ordinating an educational response to armed conflict, namely war affected populations, national/host governments, non-state actors (e.g. religious foundations), UN actors, NGOs and major donors. Respondents referring to the ADF insurgency indicate a variety of structural links and responsibilities involving all the actors identified by Sommers. There is, as Stephenson (2005) notes, whilst focusing on the co-ordination of humanitarian relief, a 'disparate organisational cast of characters' (p338), a position echoed by Minear (1999). Faced with the task of co-ordinating a response between such a wide cast of actors, the government of Uganda would seem to have attempted to lead co-ordination, including the provision of primary education, through the locally based District Disaster Management Committees (DDMCs) set up by national government in response to the ADF insurgency. Obura (2003) sees a lead from government as decisive in re-starting schools after conflict.

Certain respondents indicated that a coherent structural and process link existed between the Local Council function, their membership, security alerts and resultant action (though see Mrs. R's comments on the status of LC Secretaries for Education, above). Vincent (1999, addressing general concerns over internal displacement in Uganda) remains sceptical, noting that 'the inadequate communication between local authorities and the villages concerned prevented any orderly movement of people' (p4). In addition, respondents refer to NGOs



(also seeming to include UN agencies, though they were typically unclear in their recall as to which agency or NGO had done what) and that although the government supposedly attempted to lead co-ordination, there was duplication between NGOs and other agencies, in part arising from the NGOs' (and other agencies') concerns over losing influence.

Respondents did not identify specific NGOs or agencies. Obura (2003) emphasises the need for co-ordination at all levels and how 'field roles' need defining. Indeed, the plea for co-ordination is well rehearsed (see *inter alia* Jeong 2004, Addison 2003). Sommers (2004) identifies concerns over field co-ordination as residing at community and national levels, the former perspective seeming to endorse the role of a regional/local committee such as the DMCC and the latter emphasising the need for national level co-ordinating committees (see later). The plea for co-ordination also recognises the blurring of the interface between humanitarian assistance and development, the distinction being seen as 'anachronistic' by Adams and Bradbury (1995 p.41. See also Commins, 1996).

#### **Views on agency coordination in the current post-conflict situation**

I was interested to ascertain whether the lessons 'learnt' from the insurgency regarding the coordination of agencies were being maintained during the current post-conflict period. This was of particular importance in judging the capability of any response to a future armed conflict.

The overall official administrative structure appears largely unchanged. The government produced a draft policy 'National Policy on Internal Displacement (Policy and Institutional Framework) prepared by the Office of the Prime Minister, Department of Disaster Management and Refugees dated January 2003. I should stress that this was a draft document labelled for 'official use only' and that I do not wish to trespass on the good will that allowed me sight of the document. However, it would not go beyond that ethical parameter to note that the structure for response to emergencies involving IDPs is not significantly different

from that reported to me verbatim by the Senior Resettlement Officer for the Office of the Prime Minister. He drew my attention to the policy and implementation framework. This was a horizontal articulation at ministerial level which consists of the Inter Ministerial Policy Committee (IMPC), a political decision making body for emergency responses and the 'Inter Ministerial Technical Committee' (IMTC) which would implement IMPC decisions, the latter's membership including representatives of ministries and NGOs (though exactly which NGOS is not stated), and acting as a national coordination centre for action. The IMTC would liaise at district level with the District Disaster Management Committee(s) (DDMC). The result of the structure is that the DDMC retains its essential directing and coordinating role at district level. It is at this level, rather than at government level, that I am able to contribute data.

The DDMC remains the local coordinating body and the CAO remains as Chair of the DDMC and therefore responsible for the coordination of action at district level. The constituency of the DDMC remains as above, namely local government department heads, with NGOS and others attending by invitation. However, several interviewees expressed concerns about the current DDMC meetings; apparently the committee should meet regularly whether there is a disaster or not but currently does not meet. The DMO for Fort Portal was categorical, *'The DDMC should sit regularly, but it does not,'* a view confirmed by, *inter alios*, the Vice RDC for Fort Portal.

When DDMC meetings take place in response to emergencies (or otherwise) they provide, in official rhetoric, a forum for detailed coordination between local government departments and other agencies wishing to offer their services. I asked interviewees about the conduct of DDMC meetings they attended and about the relationship of local/official government to the voluntary aid sector, and also the relationships between representatives of the voluntary sector themselves. I also asked them about current duplication of effort between various agencies and any lack of coordination.



I asked Edward, Save the Children's (UK) Psycho-social Project Officer in Kasese about NGO responses in an emergency. He noted that, *'... although LC 1,2 and 3 would have the initial responsibility, they might be overwhelmed or lack resources. Therefore NGOs may have a role. When NGOs "take over" they will network very closely with LCs and would not (his emphasis) take over the function of LCs. Some functions are better undertaken by LCs as they know the dynamics of the community.'* This local knowledge of the LCs, specifically LC1, was emphasised by the LC1 at Nyabisiki. I asked Edward whether meeting with the CAO in the context of a DDMC meeting ended in orders being given. Edward responded, *'There is no ordering in the meeting. It is a problem solving exercise based on the mandates of the CAO, leading to a division of roles. Each NGO is attached to a line department and a focal person is appointed who feeds back to the CAO.'* However, the view of ordered and orderly division of responsibility given by Edward was challenged by the evidence of other interviewees. Robert, the Programme Co-ordinator for the Civil Peace Service at the Kabarole Research Centre (a local NGO) said, *'In principle, the CAO should coordinate responses via meetings, but in practice, people do their own thing...decisions are not always made with grass roots level of awareness. Some NGOs and CBOs are too ambitious.'*

Mr Mugame is the Chair of the District Implementation Team for UNICEF in Kabarole. He is also the District Statistician for the local government in Fort Portal. He said, *'The level of coordination between NGOs is lacking. Meetings between NGOs are haphazard and not required. NGOs and CBOs register, of course, but action plans are not really checked for duplication. There is a need to come together. It is difficult to bring these people together.'*

However, some interviewees were positive about steps towards greater coordination and some mentioned KADINET (the 'Kasese and District Development Network'), membership of which supposedly provides a way of avoiding duplication. Edward, of Save the Children in Kasese claimed that, *'KADINET coordinates all the NGOs in the district. They must register with KADINET.'* I subsequently met with Jameson, the coordinator of KADINET. He said, *'It is an umbrella of CBOs and NGOs formed on a conviction of the need for a concerted*

*effort. Organisations pay a subscription and then access services.* Jameson explained the coordinating function of the organisation as based on a thematic index of its members' expertise and interests, being able to offer that expertise, without duplication, when occasion demands. I have no evidence of any such demonstration of need and subsequent response of KADINET, nor am I able to verify Edward's comment that membership is mandatory for NGOs in the district of Kasese. I asked Jameson about the need to coordinate responses in an emergency and was interested to note his comment on responsibilities. *'The political response is the government's responsibility. The provision of basics (the responsibility) it is civil society. NGOs may act without LC involvement...NGOs/CBOs could well take the lead during an emergency.'* I ask about duplication of effort. *'This is why KADINET is thematic...we can divide up.'* I also ask whether Botooro and Bocongo people work easily and readily together. His response is that this is *'better'*.

### **Analytical commentary**

The impression is that the bodies charged with co-ordination during the post-conflict phase at district level do not fulfil their role. Clearly, the organisation of and attendance at meetings incur a cost that may appear excessive when those involved consider the potential benefits (Stephenson, 2005). As certain respondents note, the country is at peace, so what is the need for the meeting? However, as Sommers (2004) points out, education is a long term endeavour and there is a need to expand the time horizons that surround its coordination. It would seem reasonable, given the volatility of the region (Addison, 2003) that such long term perspectives should consider the likely effects of a return of conflict, not least to avoid an unnecessary gap between any future humanitarian assistance and continuing development (Commins, 1996). Maslen and Shazia (2000) call for contingency planning to be enshrined in 'programmatic procedures before hostilities break out' (p30). Roche (1996) extends this to NGOs, noting the need for collaboration and coordination between NGOs not only during a crisis but before one erupts. However the potential for competition between NGOs has been noted by respondents and Whaites (2001) notes that NGOs can find themselves caught between raising genuine



concerns and scare-mongering in order to attract funding and to steal a march on competitors (Solis and Martin, 1996). The co-ordinated approach taken by Kadinet would seem to offer some form of constraint to such competition. However, the director of Kadinet, as an umbrella organisation for NGOs seems to feel it reasonable that they, the NGOs, could take action to provide what he calls basics, without the involvement of local government, perhaps indicative of competition between NGOs and government. In this model, national government is responsible for political decisions only. To some extent, this accords with Stephenson's (2005) view that it is the contextual reality rather than the imposition of a top-down co-ordination that is important though it runs counter to other authors' views that national government is an essential part of the co-ordination framework (Sommers, 2004). In Uganda, the Inter Ministerial Technical Committee theoretically provides a link between national government and the district level work of the DDMC.

#### **Current levels of planning for the maintenance of primary education in any future armed conflict**

The majority of teachers who offered an opinion stated either that there was no planning as to how primary education might be maintained during any future armed conflict, or that they were unaware if there was any planning. Isaac, a teacher at Ribati felt, *'A teacher himself will not know plans...these would be made by others in authority.'* However, Patrick, the head of Bitandi drew attention to the difference between overt plans and having in place systems by which plans could be made should the need arise in an emergency, *'The security officer personnel are in place, LC1, 2 and so on. To that extent, there is a plan in place'*. The RDC in Kasese also drew attention to this process approach, *'If a school was attacked, the needs of the children would be assessed and action taken. Security changes from place to place.'* Susanna, the Area Inspector for Fort Portal seemed to imply that there was a plan,

but, *'Preparedness plans do not really consider education.'* Edward, working for Save the Children in Kasese, felt that emergency preparedness plans that considered education would be a good idea, and Theophilus (Deputy Head of Nyabisiki) listed his preferred content for any such plan, *'...supply of food, medical support, tight security, train more teachers to support those who run, supply of scholastic materials including pens and exercise books, assistance to those schools where children will be accommodated, provision of suitable seating and shelter.'* Rev. Augustus, the Church of Uganda Education Secretary in Kasese, recognised the need for a plan and indicated his Diocese's action, *'We were discussing this at the Diocesan Board of Planning recently...how should we prepare for the social (his emphasis) effects of disaster. We have set a challenge to the Board to design a response and this will concern education, for example construction...building schools with more than 7 classrooms which would then be available to IDPs relocated to that school.'*

Another group of respondents questioned the need and/or capability to plan for education as part of an emergency response. The DMO for Kabarole, who had previously noted that the District Disaster Management Committee did not meet regularly as it was supposed to do, thought it would be useful to consider education in emergency plans but, *'It (education provision in emergency) is complex compared to health. Perhaps it could seem so complicated that it could seem too difficult to address.'* Mr Mg. (Chair of the District Implementation Team for UNICEF as well as District Statistician for Fort Portal) reiterated this last point, *'Education could (his emphasis) be considered but responses are difficult to plan for.....the whole place is disturbed.'* The need to plan for education at all was questioned by the LC5 in Kasese, who commented, *'There is no direct disaster preparedness for education. You do not expect a disaster all the time and therefore do not plan for education in a future armed conflict....it would cost money to do so.'*



### Written plans

A third group of interviewees had been involved in the production of written emergency preparedness plans, some at national and others at district or, to be more precise, Roman Catholic diocesan levels.

Noah, the Senior Resettlement Officer in the Ministry of Disaster Preparedness in Kampala noted that DDMCs were first formed in 2001 and that some of them, '*...had been trained and were required to draw up emergency preparedness plans. Kasese and Kabarole were trained.*' He indicated that Oxfam and UNICEF were amongst those who provided this training. I asked Noah if the plans were lodged at the Ministry and he said that they should be but could only find that for Kabarole (and not Kasese) in the central records. I had sight of the plans for the Mbale district (for comparison) and for Kabarole.

The 'District of Kabarole Emergency Preparedness and Response Plan For Year 2001, Draft No 1' did not just consider armed conflict but also 'Natural Disasters' (p5). As regards the ADF, it estimated that the likelihood of ADF attack was 4 to 3 on a scale of 5 being certain, and that a potential disruption of 50 000 people was possible. It noted the following planning assumptions about the ADF attacks:

1. 'The UPDF will react quickly
2. Humanitarian assistance will be available
3. Local government will have low capacity to respond' (op.cit Emergency Profile, Draft 1)

and the following potential humanitarian consequences:

'Displacement, abduction, food insecurity, sexual violence, death, economic and social disruption, disabilities.'

The Plan confirms the required calling of the DDMC within ‘24 hours of the disaster striking’ (p7) and also notes that management and coordination will be in part achieved through a strategy that includes, ‘*Ensure monthly DDMC meetings*’ (p14). It is claimed that emergency situations and potential threats are monitored by the District of Kabarole in an attempt to ensure early warning and response. Education is given a separate section in the Plan. Planning assumptions include:

1. ‘Children were going to school before the disaster.
2. Trained teachers are available and willing to be relocated to the disaster area.
3. The District, the Ministry of Education and donors will be able to provide instruction materials and temporary structures for schools’ (p22 op.cit.).

The Plan also considers the action to be taken by whom and to what time scales should an emergency occur. To my reading, the plan, though useful, is aspirational rather than operational (the plan for Mbale was the same). For example, under the heading, ‘Personnel required to achieve the above’ the plan states ‘training of more teachers’ (p23), and under the heading ‘Other resource requirements’ lists ‘transport facilities’ (p23).

Further illustration of the aspirational rather than operational approach to the plan is provided in the section relating to the Education Sector, under the heading ‘Collaborative agreements (with UN partners, NGOs, others)’. The entry beneath is ‘Find out more about MOUs that have been signed between the CAOs office and partners’ (p23...MOU stands for Memorandum of Understanding). My understanding remains that, in the event of an emergency, the CAO will call the DDMC meeting and invite certain NGOs to attend. I wondered whether the macro actions and responsibilities of NGOs in future emergencies were clearly mapped out, and the DDMC meeting therefore a relatively swift coordinating event and not a competitive, debating forum. One national NGO officer commented, ‘*How could NGOs commit so much in advance?...They are restricted by budget.*’ I asked Noah about the national level of coordination of NGOs and he replied, ‘*The coordination between NGOs is*



*poor and often duplicated. They suffer from inter-organisational competition.*’ We discussed further how such attitudes amongst NGOs might be overcome. *‘Perhaps there is a need for people in the UK to tell the UK NGOs to follow the host government’s instructions!’* I asked if NGOs would respond to a direct order of Government and his response was, *‘Do not bite the hand that feeds you.’*

The Roman Catholic Dioceses of Kasese and of Fort Portal had also produced emergency preparedness plans in 2002, following funding organised by Catholic Relief Services (CRS), both of which address the provision of education in emergency. Again, I judge the plans to be aspirational and not operational in detail. The Fort Portal plan, for example, in section E ‘Preparedness Activities in Capacity Building’ notes *‘3. Procure emergency requirement – instruction materials,’* but does not indicate how this aspiration is to be achieved.

I was also interested to learn how these plans liaised with district level plans, supposedly lodged (as in the case of the Kabarole plan) with central government and also with NGO plans. I only had sight of the education section of the Kasese plan and cannot therefore comment on its overall connection with district level planning or its NGO partners. Adam (Emergency Preparedness Officer for the RC Diocese of Kasese) said it had been formed by representatives of the RC parishes (the Diocesan Education Officer was also involved) and that advice was given by the technical people at District Level. He also acknowledged, *‘...this is an RC plan and it may not articulate clearly with other similar plans. There is still no uniform plan as not all have joined in the creation of the plan. If the roles and responsibilities were defined beforehand, the response would be quick and concerted.’* I asked whether one co-ordinating desk in an emergency would be useful. He replied, *‘It could be useful, but would require a truly independent (and non-corrupt) desk officer. The desk officer must also know the locations, the contexts and the culture.’* I also asked Adam whether division in Ugandan society would hamper coordination to an emergency, and I specifically mentioned ethnic tension between the Bocongo and the Botooro in this region. He first indicated that this

was now much reduced but then went on to say that the sense of injustice went deep. He said he had been born in 1962 when the Bocongo/Botooro war began. From his words, he sees the Botooro as having abused the Bocongo as a result of the powers, invested in them, in part at least, by the policy of British indirect colonial rule. He mentioned the creation by Amin of a separate Bocongo district (Kasese) '*...free from the Botooro yoke.*' He then told a story of a recent experience. '*There was an old man on the taxi speaking bitterly that the land we were passing was rightly his but had been usurped by the Botooro. The old man was asked to speak quietly for his voice was raised in anger and those who had perpetrated this were within earshot and there could be trouble if he continued.*' It would seem that the ethnic tension is still felt. Adam extrapolated from this to the notion of multi-partyism in Uganda. He seemed to agree with the notion that such a move could allow old tensions to re-group on a party basis, but he did not disclose whether he was multi-party or movementist.

The Fort Portal RC Diocese Emergency Plan recognises that any initial needs assessment of educational provision in an emergency will be undertaken by Ministry of Education District staff (section V, para.D) but activities after that (with the exception of sanitary provision) are to be conducted and evaluated by the Diocese teams. I can see no reference to liaison between the Diocesan Plan and District Level Plans. One interviewee from the Diocese thought that their Plan was probably on the local DDMC file but that it had not been discussed by that committee... '*but the goodwill is there. The committee (DDMC) does not meet regularly.*' (I should point out that I also tried to interview the Labour Officer and the Probation Officer for Fort Portal but was unsuccessful as they were away on holiday, though I did manage to interview Lizzy, the Assistant Probation Officer. This was relevant because the Diocesan Emergency Preparedness Team thought that these two officers had also written plans. I was unable to corroborate this.)



One might note the apparent gap between the national rhetoric of planning for the continuation of primary education in emergencies, including armed conflict, and its realisation and consider why such a gap exists. Firstly, as noted above, several interviewees did not see the need for emergency plans as the Western area was now stable and returning to normal. Secondly, planning for education was generally perceived to be of less importance than planning for survival. Thirdly, planning for the provision of primary education in armed conflict was seen by some as being almost too complex to consider, even if it was of importance. Fourthly, planning was seen as expensive in terms of resources (already limited) and it would be easier to raise and prioritise those resources in the face of urgent need than during a period of comparative stability when the resources might well be usefully directed elsewhere.

I was intrigued as to why the Roman Catholic Church, as opposed to other non-governmental bodies, should have such a high profile in the production of emergency relief plans, and I applaud their role. I have no ready explanation but would note that all Roman Catholic Dioceses in Uganda apparently have an Emergency Desk. Albert and Chrisostoum (the Deputy Diocesan Development Coordinator and the Emergency Desk Officer of the Fort Portal RC Diocese) said that the origins of the desk were in a relief office created during the 1970s when Amin was in power and that the desk also had a history of working with refugees from DRC and from Rwanda.

It is easy to snipe, but in support of the plans that I have seen, not only are they laudable attempts to plan for an uncertain future but they do consider the provision of education. But, they are also plans for *emergency* and not specifically for emergency arising from armed conflict. At one level, one might expect that this would render planning more amenable to detail, e.g. it is possible to predict areas likely to suffer landslide in the way that it is not possible to predict the focus of a guerrilla attack. However, there is no attempt in the plans that I have seen to identify particular locales at risk. I return to the point that the plans are

aspirational and not operational. They comment helpfully on certain processes and responsibilities but do not then bring the aspirations to operationalised conclusions.

### **Analytical commentary**

Whilst recognising co-ordination as a ‘monumental challenge’ (Minnear, 1999), this summary focuses on planning for future emergencies. It does not revisit the general issues surrounding co-ordination previously expressed.

Minnear (1999) recognises that the provision of effective assistance and ‘protection to vulnerable populations’...includes... ‘strategic planning’ (p298). He sees such planning as drawing on the lessons of the past, and that ‘failure to act upon the lessons identified earlier has returned to haunt the system’ (p300), the system so identified being that of the UN in its self appointed position as ‘the focal point of co-ordination’ (p302). (See criticism of the SPHERE project, Sommers 2004.)

In Uganda, such planning as there is for action in future emergency, although enshrined in documentation, appears haphazard and lacking in co-ordination in practice. Central government seems to reside its trust in a process approach that is aspirational rather than operational. Borton and Eriksson (2004) in evaluating emergency assistance to Rwanda during the genocide, referring to common preparedness and contingency measures, note that ‘many agencies continue to experience difficulty in translating contingency plans into practical operational plans’ (p14). In Uganda, there appear to have been inputs on planning by various agencies (for example, that offered by CRS) but the resultant plans that I read were not only aspirational but were again subject to the lack of overall co-ordination identified previously. My impression was that people who had participated in ‘plan writing exercises’ had done so in good faith but that their plans did not necessarily relate to those of any one else, and if they did, they (the plan writers) did not know, or were unsure of interconnections. Their work seemed often to have been performed at the behest of an outside influence and



they reported their plans as if in a vacuum regarding practical interrelatedness. Their curiosity and anxiety to plan well did not seem to lead them to question beyond the boundary of the plan they had been asked to write.

Even at the level of a ministry, the apparently required (and expected) district level plans for emergency preparedness were not available, indicating - at the very least - a lack of monitoring by the ministry. As Save the Children (2002) observe, much of the documentation that exists regarding emergency education projects 'is scattered in country offices and file drawers at various agencies' headquarters' (p16).

Blakie (1994), although focusing on 'natural' hazards, suggests that the first principle in the management of vulnerability reduction is to manage mitigation vigorously (p222), implying a process that actively promotes pre-event awareness and preparation and that does not rely solely on post-event action. The Uganda approach would not appear to correspond to Blakie's 'vigorous' approach. Even given resource constraints, monitoring by a central ministry of the *receipt* of plans that purport to address mitigation is not resource expensive.

Several points emerge from the level of preparation for an emergency, of whatever kind, and they are:

1. There are certain structures and systems identified on paper designed to address emergency needs. However, not all the plans expected (by the Ministry itself) to be held centrally by the Ministry for Disaster Preparedness are on file, and those that are and that I saw were at least 2/3 years old. There does not seem to be a central monitoring system to check that plans are completed, let alone systems to evaluate them and disseminate best practice in planning. To be effective, planning is an active management process, intimately linked to direction and action via policy creation and vision (Whitaker 1993). The structures and systems identified on paper do not

translate into current action. For example, apparently the DDMC does not meet. NGO contribution and coordination are not organised in detail. Yet the successful *process* of change is recognised as being as important as the outcomes (West-Burnham 1994). To be effective, planning require ownership and agreement as to its goals (Bush, 1995).

2. The plans lack operational detail, yet standard advice on planning for education stresses the need for strategic planning to be translated into clearly specified actions, the responsibility for which is assigned without ambiguity (Everard et al, 2004)
3. There is no evidence that planning is shared. Planning seems to have taken place in isolated locations. There is a need for co-ordination (Sommers, 2004).
4. There is no awareness by personnel in schools that such emergency preparedness plans as do exist even exist, let alone an awareness of the presumed roles for school personnel prescribed by those plans. Ownership and support of plans are typically seen in the literature as a factor in rendering planning effective, especially within the context of the schools involved (Morrison 1998).



## CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS AND REFLECTION

The initiating research question asks how primary education might be maintained during armed conflict. In seeking to consider this, the teacher has been identified as a prime focus of the provision of education because of the central element of ‘delivery’ to an education system (see chapter 4). Data have been gathered to illuminate how delivery in a future conflict might be affected by:

1. current education provision. These data give some indication of the aims, policies and implementation of primary education likely to obtain should armed conflict return. They give some indication of the expectations of delivery that would face teachers under such circumstances of renewed violence.
2. factors that affected delivery during the armed conflict arising from the ADF insurgency. These data give some indication of the likely effects in the provision of primary education that would obtain should armed conflict return. Taken with the data collected around current provision and the data collected around the legacy of the ADF insurgency, they enable some illumination of the conditions under which the teacher would be expected to work, and the attendant pressures.
3. factors affecting planning for any future conflict. These data give some indication as to the level of preparedness should conflict return, and how this preparedness relates to the provision of education, as considered under 1 and 2 above.

Chapter 6 has begun to review the data with regard to the initiating research question, and provides a number of necessary if rather obvious and generally well rehearsed pieces of information. In summary, matching the data to the phases of conflict indicates that the current provision of primary education in Uganda faces huge challenges of resourcing and

infrastructure (Watkins 2000), arising from well-recognised factors such as high pupil teacher ratios, teacher absenteeism, poverty, corruption, disease, poor quality of teacher training (see *inter alia* Garrett 1999, Molteno et al 1999, Kelly and Bain 2003). Armed conflict of the type perpetrated by the ADF - something of a mix between banditry, guerrilla war and terrorism (Holmes 2001, Wallensteen 2002) - placed huge additional burdens on the provision of primary education. The data indicate that during the ADF insurgency, the approaches to the provision of primary education did not alter, other than in terms of the site of provision. In other words, teachers were expected to teach the same curriculum, use the same methodologies and assessment and with no guarantee of additional resources (Obura 2003, Aguilar and Richmond 1998). Many of the issues surrounding current provision were apparently exacerbated, not least huge class sizes (which teachers disliked), through the teachers' apparent unwillingness to team-teach or to teach different age groups or subjects, perhaps a function of their initial training (Abadzi 1999). Children (and adults, and therefore teachers) were traumatised (Nader and Pynoos 1993), displaced and targeted (Hanlon and Singer, 2004). The legacy of the armed conflict continues to affect negatively the current provision of education through factors as diverse as increased poverty in an already impoverished region (O'Connor 2004), drop-out from school (Boyle et al 2003) and infrastructure damage. If armed conflict were to return, the indications are that much the same conditions would obtain. The delivery of primary education might be relocated from school to school but, as in the ADF insurgency, curriculum, pedagogy, assessment would stay the same. This is not to deny the value of curriculum and other continuities, but there does not appear to be a way in which schools can combine the merits of continuity with a response to the varying needs of the children, especially when traumatised (Molteno, et al 1999) let alone the varying needs of the teachers. There was evidence from the data of planning and preparation for education provision should armed conflict return and this drew to some extent on previous experience (Minear 1999). However, the planning was aspirational and lacked operational detail, was not monitored by central or local government and was not co-ordinated between agencies (Obura 2003, Sommers 2004). Teachers were unaware as to whether such plans



existed let alone their own role in them. Teachers had no ownership of the plans (Morrison, 1998).

At one level, it is relatively straightforward to answer the initiating research question and to suggest a list of actions to improve the chances of primary education being maintained during a future armed conflict. Amongst numerous practical suggestions would be:

1. Revisiting emergency preparedness plans and updating them as regards both process *and* content. Ensure plans include a focus on the delivery of education.
2. Ensure planning is undertaken jointly by all involved at district level, and that it addresses coordination of all concerned.
3. Ensure plans are lodged nationally, are monitored and best practice is disseminated.
4. Provide a module for ITT students on working in conditions of armed conflict and with traumatised children, especially as regards pedagogy.
5. Maximise the efficient management and deployment of teachers in schools receiving displaced children (and their teachers).

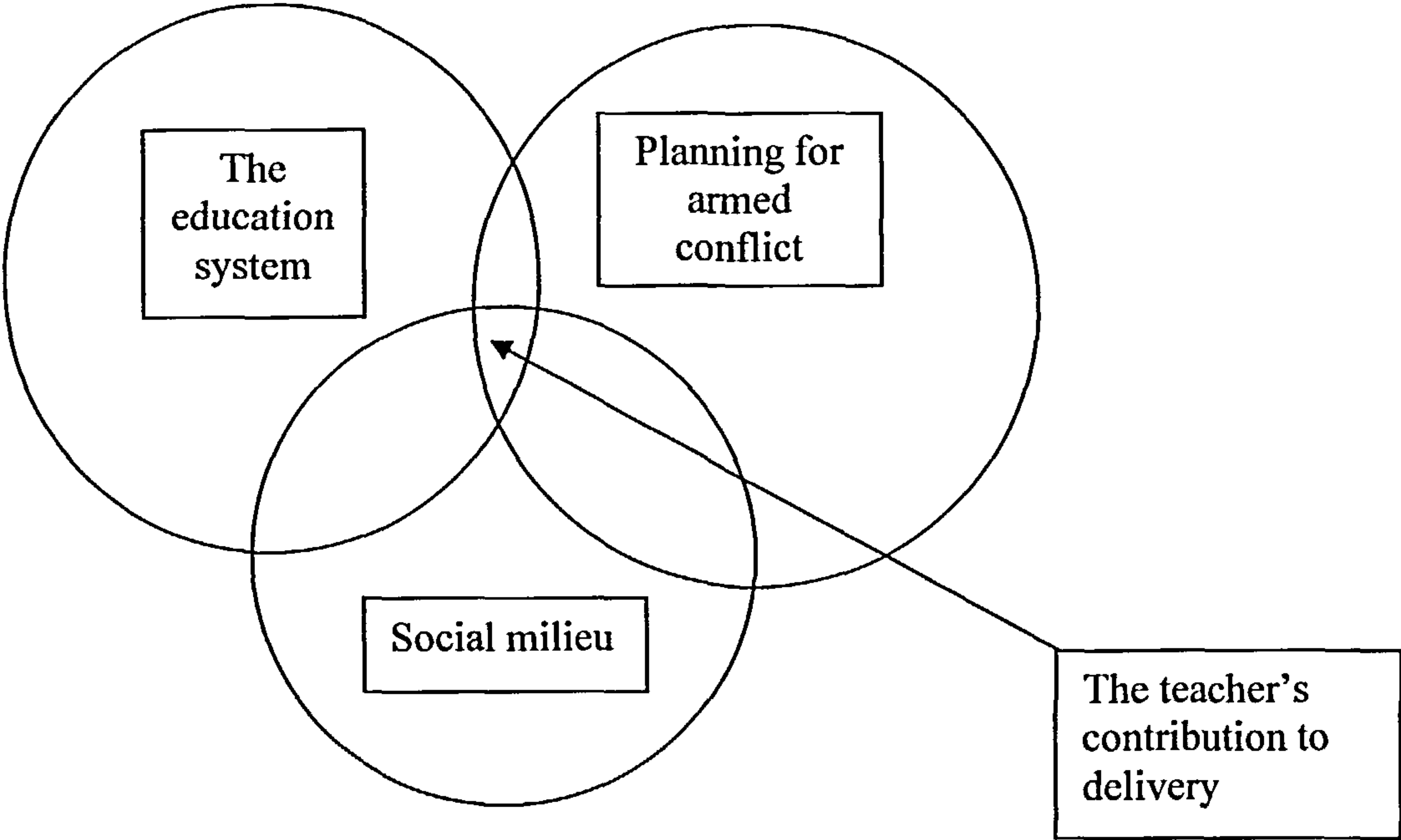
However, it is clear from the literature that these suggestions link to ideas that are far from new. The question therefore is, why are such seemingly obvious ideas not being translated into action?

1. The first response is that translating such ideas into practice requires resourcing, and must therefore be cost effective (Bush 1995). Western Uganda is already poor (O'Connor 2004) and there is no unequivocal indication that conflict is likely to return or not. Consequently, there is no agreed urgency to plan against its return. However, despite the inability to predict a return of conflict with accuracy, the general feeling amongst respondents was that the research question was a useful one.

2. The second response is that the planning and preparation envisaged are not necessarily the preferred responses of Ugandan people, but of myself. There is a danger of cross-cultural imposition of the research findings built on a global or even imperial sense of values (Tuihwa 1999). However, issues of preparedness against the return of armed conflict do seem to be recognised at government level to the extent that a national and local committee structure exists to address the problem and written plans are supposed to be in place. The requirement of planning by the government does not appear unique to the Ugandan context but resonates with 'standard' practice in planning (Everard et al, 2004)
3. A third response is that the suggestions above exist in isolation and are dependent on underlying factors whose interrelationship has not been identified. Perhaps each suggestion is more of a 'magic bullet' approach than a proposed action that takes account of an holistic framework of influence. The research, whilst focusing on the delivery of primary education (and the perspective of the teacher as regards delivery), has attempted to place delivery within as holistic a context as possible. It is an analysis of this holistic framework of influences on delivery that is now sought.

The data in Chapter 6 have been reported in relationship to the phases of conflict. However, the data might also be arranged into a different framework (Anderson 1998) of three dimensions. In this reconfiguration, the focus remains delivery (and the teacher's role within that) but is not directly related to the phases of conflict. Rather, there would appear to be three major sources of influence upon teachers if they are to act to maintain primary education provision in any future conflict. These influences are the education system itself, the social milieu within which teachers operate and the levels of contingency planning. These three influences intersect and affect the teacher's role and thereby delivery:





**Figure 10:** *the interrelationship of factors affecting the teacher’s role in delivery*

By ‘Education System’ is meant all the influences acting on the teacher arising from his/her training for and employment as a teacher. This therefore encompasses the contractual and professional expectations of the teacher in his or her daily work including attendance, pedagogy, curriculum content, appropriate behaviour with children, liaison with parents/carers and assessment, and so on. (There is no definitive list but in Uganda, see The Professional Code for Teachers, Wandira, undated). It would also encompass initial training and CPD/support, accountability, resources and infrastructures, remuneration and promotion. In short, it is the aims, policies and implementation of the primary education system as experienced and interpreted by the teacher.

The second element is the social milieu within which the teacher works and lives. This milieu has two strands. The first refers to the social context within which the teacher works and the

second refers to the autobiography of the teacher (Goodson, 1992). The first strand would encompass a wide range of social phenomena, largely affirmed as significant by the data. These phenomena would include, *inter alia*, national identity and ethnicity (Eller 1999, Thomson 2000), the value attached to the primary school teacher (Avalos 2002, Day 1999), corruption (UNESCO, EFA Report 2005) and economic conditions (Easterly 2001, Pritchett 2004). The second strand would acknowledge Goodson's (op.cit.) opinion that the 'study of teachers' lives was central to the study of curriculum and schooling' (p110). In other words, the autobiographical detail is of 'substantial concern when teachers talk of their work' (op.cit. p116). Craft (2000) develops this idea, drawing on the notion that teachers will have a personal view on the nature of teaching and learning and that these views will affect their personal (professional) learning. She concludes:

...our belief (is) that the personal circumstances of an individual (teacher) and his or her professional development are interlinked... (p192).

...and, (citing the work of Raymond et al, 1992) acknowledges the need for teachers to examine their personal dispositions, commitments and understandings as affecting their work and future development as teachers. However, this moves the discussion from descriptive to normative, implying that teachers should reflect upon their own practice (Ghaye and Ghaye 1998) a position returned to below. The current comment is descriptive only.

The third element is the level of preparedness against the return of future conflict. This has been broadly considered in Chapter 6 and so the detail is not repeated here, except to reiterate that in Uganda, planning processes appeared uncoordinated (Sommers 2004) and teachers had no knowledge of any plans yet alone any ownership of, participation in or commitment to them, these achievements generally acknowledged as linked to efficient implementation of planning (Everard et al 2004, Morrison 1998).

The business of teaching and of being a teacher thus resides at the intersection of these three sets of influences, and therefore so does the teacher as 'deliverer' of a formal system of



primary education. The sets of influence are in a dynamic relationship, change in one potentially affecting the others. In other words, the delivery of the primary education system of Uganda is, at this crucial level, dependent on the interaction between the three elements identified in the model. Such a framework (Anderson 1998) is inevitably partial in the dimensions it exposes and inevitably mediated by the researcher (ten Have 2004). However, I would contend that this tripartite set of influences is itself subject to three further dimensions of influence indicated by the data, namely division, discrepancy and constancy.

## Division

The data indicate that relationships in Uganda are based within a hierarchical society that has strong patterns of interpersonal behaviour between those in authority and those over whom the authority is exercised, be they adults and children, men and women, priest and people. To me, as an observer, the complex and multiple layers of Ugandan societal hierarchy seem demonstrated through numerous events, not least greetings, with their complex use of a wide variety of handshakes and manners of touching, indicating status and degrees of affection<sup>1</sup>. Awareness of hierarchy seemed also to be demonstrated through body posture and language. The District Education Officer of Kasese was greeted with what I interpret as great deference by his secretarial staff: the inspectors and education officials who attended a meeting with him were seemingly deferential, timid even, in their body language when entering into a room with him. The District Education Officer himself demonstrated similar body language when introducing me to his manager, the Chief Administrative Officer. My impression was of a society in which such differentials mattered greatly, were given an overt physical demonstration and were respected. I recognise that such conclusions are culturally bound

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<sup>1</sup> John initiated me into the meanings of the different handshakes. There were at least four, ranging in meaning from 'Hello' to 'I hope we shall meet again'.

(Shipman 1997) and open to personal interpretation based on what is visible (in the metaphorical sense as well as the physical sense (Fetterman 1998).

I wondered whether such an apparently hierarchical, family bound society (Rwagweri 2003, though referring to Rotooro culture<sup>2</sup>) responding to an emergency would be so deferential to authority that each individual would wait until told what to do for fear of overstepping some social demarcation. What was the level of personal autonomy tolerated and expected within society? I remain unsure of the effect of social hierarchies on potential action though one respondent did say that people would ask if they were unclear what to do and several interviewees, if asked, responded that social hierarchies would not affect action in emergencies. It would seem as if a Ugandan national identity *might* be being formed that has the potential to transcend the ethnic affiliations existing prior to independence (Freund 1998, Thomson 2000), though this was uncertain from the data.

Morality appears to be an issue of high social importance and, from the data, moral relativism does not appear to be an acceptable counter to moral dispute (Art 1993, Holmes 1993).

Morality therefore remains a potential source of division within Ugandan society. This division is often (though not exclusively) linked to religious faith. The moral justification for much behaviour therefore seems to reside, initially at least, in the interpretation of the imperative of divine command theory (Holmes, op.cit.), the data indicating that fundamentals of belief are subject to faith/denominational interpretations. For example, Roman Catholic priests will, I understand, drink alcohol, whereas this is eschewed by Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists. Moslem men may take up to four wives, yet this is frowned upon by Christians. Homosexuality is regarded as a sin by both Christian and Moslem, as far as I can ascertain. Morality in Uganda, it would seem, is not a matter for compromise. At the time of

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<sup>2</sup> The data indicate an equivalent awareness of ethnic identity from Bocongo respondents. There is evidence of claiming a Bocongo identity, not least that I was able to buy a 'grammar' on Rocongo (the language of the Bocongo) from a trader in Kasese.



the research, the Anglican Church of Uganda was considering throwing off all ties with the remainder of the Anglican Church world-wide because of the consecration of a gay bishop in the Anglican Church in America. Several respondents told me that there was no homosexuality in Uganda.

Morality might be articulated through interpretations of the divine but be founded in biology (Ridley 1997, Hinde 2002). Consider corruption. What is labelled as corruption is not automatically identifiable as immoral (though it might be immoral) and may be no more than a moral or ethical balancing act, for example the securing of funds for a family that might otherwise starve (Sterbe, 1994). The indignation of the international aid community in denouncing corruption seems to point the finger to the latter position as an inexcusable, absolute, social evil. However, if you are a primary teacher, and cannot afford to send your children to secondary school and there is money available, what might you not do to secure the education of your children? The balance between morally acceptable behaviour and survival is a fine one and the potential influences on individual behaviour are apparent (Hume, 1739). Primary teachers observed in western Uganda seem to face such moral dilemmas on a regular and unrelenting basis.

During my stay in Uganda, I never witnessed any supposed disagreement between faiths and denominations demonstrated in practice. The evidence from the data is that during the ADF insurgency there was cooperation between faiths and denominations, though the level of field coordination remains open to the questions regarding all the other interagency cooperation mentioned above. In collecting my data, no member of any faith community spoke ill of any other member of any other faith community. However, this is not to reduce the apparent importance of morality in affecting the lives of those living in western Uganda.

## Discrepancy

The second theme is that of ‘discrepancy’. Throughout the data there appear to be discrepancies between the official line of the government and what actually happens. One might cite the following examples relating to primary education provision:

1. A discrepancy between the published and officially described primary school curriculum and what and how it is delivered.
2. A discrepancy between required teacher professional behaviour (e.g. attendance) and observed teacher professional behaviour.
3. A discrepancy between the aspirational quality of initial teacher training and what occurs in schools when teachers are qualified.
4. A discrepancy between the aspiration of national education initiatives (for example, the introduction of Kiswahili in primary schools) and what results in delivery.

These discrepancies exist currently, and the intimation is that they would continue in conditions of armed conflict.

The question arises as to how such discrepancies between rhetoric and reality are formed and allowed to continue. It may be that the government sets ambitious targets as a function of seeking supposed progression in the implementation of its education policies, perhaps at the behest of donors (I have no primary evidence, though Moulton, 2002, seems clear that donors have exerted a powerful influence over the shaping of education policy in Uganda).

However, targets, even when set beyond the ‘comfort zone’ of current practice, need to remain attainable (SMART<sup>3</sup> to quote the fashionable acronym) otherwise they lose credibility, let alone realisation (Dunham 1995).

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<sup>3</sup> The acronym refers to Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Time related.



Discrepancies might also occur when there are inadequate systems for monitoring, training or support and when related to change (Morrison 1998). Indeed, one might expect examples 1-3 of discrepancies to be the subject of notice and action by the school inspectorate in Uganda, despite their heavy schedule of school visits, as well as a priority for heads and other managers monitoring the work of teachers within their schools (NCSL 2003). The data do not indicate that this occurred. One might also note the evidence of those respondents who spoke of teachers becoming 'lazy' when in post, in part because they were sucked into the culture of the school (Everard et al, 2004). Such cultures might not support any change to the *status quo*, change being poorly introduced, poorly supported, seen as either a threat to personal prestige or as resulting in increased work (Morrison 1998). Of course, increased work might also be linked to less time available to tend a garden as a result of economic necessity. The unwillingness to accept change is not, of course, automatically symptomatic of a 'dog in the manger' attitude. It may be, at the very least, an indicator of stress (Garrett 1999).

In one school, I commented on the discrepancy between supposed text book provision and the lack of use of text books in lessons. The Deputy Head took me to a room full of text books which she explained were of no use because they did not meet the requirements of the national curriculum. She intimated that the publishers were related to 'those in power' and that the production of the textbooks, again a well rehearsed complaint, was corrupt (Watkins, 2000), no more than a ploy to line the pockets of those nepotistically favoured. I would suppose that those 'in power' are aware of these discrepancies. I can only suppose, though I have no primary evidence, that pressures on the government overall are requiring it to adopt positions of rhetoric whilst it ignores the gaps with reality. The alternative would be to believe that Ugandan education officials are incapable of recognising such gaps between rhetoric and reality, between paying lip service to an educational ideal and its actualisation. Such an accusation would appear unlikely to be upheld.

## Constancy

During the ADF insurgency there was, apparently, no officially required change in the delivery of primary education, other than that the site of delivery changed as children and staffs were displaced. Teaching methodology remained the same, the teacher/pupil relationships remained the same and the PLE remained in place. The Uganda National Curriculum was revised in 2000/2001 (see Chapter 3) but no respondent commented on this as having any effect on delivery either during or after the ADF insurgency, other than in reference to the introduction of Kiswahili (expressed as a problem because of a lack of teachers who spoke, let alone were able to teach, the language). It would appear that, in schools, the aims and purposes of primary education were not to be affected by the armed conflict, nor were the preferred modes of delivery. The evidence is that, despite certain changes in content of the curriculum in 2000/2001 (and attendant official advice on teaching approaches), school based practices and relationships did not change during the ADF insurgency and have not changed significantly since. The third theme is thus one of constancy.

At one level, one would expect constancy in an education system. At a naïve level, if the system reflects what the nation has decided as being of value for its children, then the approach does not stop being of value just because of armed conflict. There is value in maintaining school based practice during armed conflict that is familiar for the teachers and that does not smack of being imported (Obura 2003.) However, one might also conceptualise constancy as the obverse of discrepancy. The motive for *maintaining* an education system might be mirrored by the motive for *not maintaining* an education system, equally constant in intention. For example, a teacher wishing to maintain the *status quo* (see above) might challenge change (Dunham, 1995). However, the data identified no such overt action to change the education system. Rather, comments from respondents relating to constancy were regularly associated with positive connotations. These included links to constancy in both



process and product, for example a continuing sense of pride in the successful fulfilment of the professional role of teacher ‘as a noble profession’ that enabled the broadening of access to primary education, constant, despite the privations of conflict (and the logistical demands of UPE). For these respondents, constancy was identified as a positive feature of the Ugandan provision of primary education.

### Commentary

The research question asks how primary education might be maintained during armed conflict. Teachers (via their role in delivery) are essential to this process (Carron and Chau 1996) though have a personal view that might affect that process (Craft 2000). The above discussion indicates that teachers and their practice are subject to two major groups of influence. The first is the intersecting sets of the education system, the social milieu and planning. The second is the context of division, discrepancy and constancy. How should the teacher realistically respond and make decisions between these often competing influences, and especially when this arises in conditions of armed conflict? What constitutes a ‘good’ teacher in these circumstances? What constitutes ‘professional’ responsibility?

In logical terms, a ‘good’ teacher might well be one who achieves the learning goals set within the resource allocation and therefore ‘delivers’ the aims of the education system. Teaching, however, is a value driven activity, and the desired actions of teachers are often described in highly moral terms (Avalos, 2002). The qualities that are sought to define the ‘good’ teacher are social constructions and are contested (Lawn, 1996). The impact of education on national economic well being (Smyth, 2000), itself framed within global influences (Avalos, op.cit.), underscores why teaching is finally a political activity (Lawn, 1999), with governments largely defining the ‘good’ teacher through their definitions of ‘professional’ behaviour. This appears to be the intention in Uganda, through the articulation of the Professional Code of Conduct (Wandira, undated), the control of ITT, the stipulation of

curriculum and the use of an inspectorate to monitor conformity. This constitutes a managerialist approach (Everard et al 2004) against a fixed teacher identity of professionalism (Sachs, 1999).

However, as the data show, this conformity is not achieved, and teachers operate in a kind of limbo between rhetoric and reality, a position of uncertainty that is rendered more acute during armed conflict. Ostensibly supported by planning for emergencies (a rhetorical government requirement) the reality for teachers is that this planning is often not in place. Teachers are unaware of the planning, and its quality and coordination lead one to suppose that both would be quickly exposed as inadequate in emergency conditions. Teachers delivering primary education in armed conflict, already subject to an array of potentially competing influences, may well be left without guidance as to how to respond in order to maintain that delivery. What I would argue for is a revised professionalism.

Professionalism is open to a variety of defining characteristics. Furlong (2000) drawing on the work of Hoyle and Jon (1995) proposes three features of professionalism, namely knowledge, autonomy and responsibility. The knowledge element implies that the professional has access to an 'objective' knowledge that is supported by theory and case descriptions, autonomy is necessary if the professional is to exercise that particular knowledge and the exercise of such autonomy makes it essential the professional acts with responsibility to clients.

Professionalism therefore embodies duties of care and conduct. This model reflects the view of professionalism (in any domain) articulated by Squires (1999) who argues that professional work has three characteristics, namely:

It is *instrumental* in the sense of aiming at some effect beyond itself; it is *contingent* in that it is dependent upon its situation or context and it is *procedural* in that it involves certain ways of doing things (p24).

However, one might reasonably ask, would such a model of professionalism be practically attainable under the current circumstances in Uganda? In Uganda, most children only



experience primary education, primary education tends to be authoritarian (Harber, 1997), didactic and assessment led. Entry level to primary teacher training is S4. The full-time ITT course lasts only 2 years, often taught in establishments that are themselves under-resourced. In certain of the case study schools, more than 50% of the teachers are untrained. How could this system deliver Squire's view of the professional?

The answer is that, currently, it could not, but what I am arguing for is a revised professionalism for Uganda, not the unconsidered transfer of a previous model found applicable in a previous context. The primary aim of this model of new professionalism is based on what appear to be Uganda's needs at this time. It is not the intention that any model should be imposed, and what is suggested is no more than a model for consideration. The needs I have identified arise from my research, with all the caveats that such a process attracts. I consider all these needs to be expressed either in the official educational documentation of Uganda, in legislation or expressed by officials representing government. In other words the model should enable the primary school teacher to teach effectively and within a framework that would promote the civic culture of democracy (Harber, 1997) within inclusive, responsive schools (Kelly 2004, Molteno et al 1999) and offering quality (UNESCO EFA Monitoring Report 2005). In addition, such a professionalism should be capable of contributing strongly to the maintenance of the delivery of primary education during armed conflict. It should also be achievable within the resource parameters of Uganda.

Primary school teachers in Uganda are both products of, and potentially perpetrators of, the system of education they have received. For most, it has been assessment led, content driven and designed by objectives (Kelly 2004). It has been largely authoritarian rather than democratic (Harber 1997). It has been largely unresponsive to the individual needs of either its learners (Molteno, 1999) or its teachers. It has been founded on apparent certainties and conventions, including empire, faith and language. Entrants to ITT are products of this

system, and the data indicate that, although during ITT there is some attempt to reflect on issues and to be critical, much of this critical ability stops after entry into employment.

The impression gained from the field work is that a teacher in a school in Uganda is a technician (Apple and Jungk, 1992), his/her performance a product of the education system, following the requirements of the state but without a meaningful opportunity to examine how such requirements link to personal beliefs and interpretations of teaching (Craft 2000). As such, the teacher remains subject to the managerialist approach to professionalism (Everard et al, 2004) referred to above. The 'good' and 'professional' teacher does what he/she is told. Faced with the emergency and uncertainty of armed conflict, a teacher trained in this school of professionalism would not be equipped to adapt to changed circumstances if management is absent. He/she would be unequipped to make decisions in an absence of orders and directions. Yet these are the very conditions that obtain. The untrained teacher would be even more unequipped to cope. The untrained teachers in Uganda appear supremely vulnerable to the influences of the state education system, their only experience of education being that provided by their own education in school, lacking any planned opportunity to learn how to critique that personal experience of learning and entirely subject to the influences of teachers in schools, both as a child learner and as a training teacher. There is a perpetuating cycle by which teachers might beget teachers in the same mould, without an opportunity to critique the mould. How might a revised professionalism break out of these cycles? One approach would be to focus on autonomy, enabling a teacher faced with decisions to reflect upon his/her own practice and then to act in a way he/she thought appropriate. This raises two issues, autonomy and reflection.

To consider autonomy first. The autonomy I advocate is for the individual teacher. I am not arguing for an autonomous school, though the two may well interrelate. Nor is this autonomy equated with the seemingly selfish demand for the recognition of individual liberty typically associated with political liberalism (Gray, 1995). Rather, what I advocate is linked to a



recognition of the responsible self within communitarianism (Olssen 2004). The autonomy advocated would be largely dependent on education for its identification and promotion.

Gregory (in Davis, Gregory and McGuinn, 2002) articulates the premise that education affords individuals the best possible access as to how other individuals have made sense of their experience and the consequent 'deep belief that we have that education gives individuals a greater measure of control over their lives' (p10). In this, he raises the notion of personal autonomy as an aim of education, a point emphasised by White (2004);

When we think of democracy today... we tend to add another value to it: personal autonomy. We tend to take it as read as an ideal – not always fully recognised in practice – that each person should make their own decision about how they are to lead their lives, given that their choices are not likely to harm others. (p21).

I have much sympathy with a conceptualisation of education as a process that endorses the liberation of the individual within a democratic framework, if by this is meant empowering an individual to make informed and justified decisions yet, at the same time, thoughtfully locating these decisions within the inevitable tensions that arise from an individual living in a society. This process requires sensitivity arising from a knowledge base within which to locate and inform decisions. Such an approach recognises the subjectivity of human beings, in which realities are multiple and truth a function of inter-subjective agreement (Lincoln and Guba 1985) yet locating self sensitively in relation to the other and to time and to history. In other words, individual empowerment should be placed within a cognisance of communitarianism and responsibility (Olssen et al, 2004). Autonomy is most certainly not, therefore, an egotistical licence to do what one wants. Rather, it is a highly responsible position that links self to the other via a process of deliberation and scrutiny. Hall and Shulz (2003, citing Goodson and Hargreaves, 1996) echo this, seeing professionalism as including not only 'The opportunity and responsibility to exercise discretionary judgements' but also 'A commitment to working in collaborative cultures with colleagues' (p372). If one seeks a view of teacher professionalism that enables teachers to operate in the absence of managerialist direction such as might well obtain under emergency conditions of armed

conflict, then that professionalism must, I would suggest, incorporate autonomy and responsibility (Furlong 2000).

The model of professionalism I propose arises from the need to maintain primary education during armed conflict, but it is grounded in the contexts of this case study and therefore centred around the particular style of conflict perpetrated by the ADF, their blend of terrorism and guerrilla action commented on above (Holmes 2001, Wallensteen 2002). This form of attack does not allow a leisurely re-grouping and re-consideration of education delivery within some carefully planned framework of evacuation but rather demands immediate decisions in the field. Under such conditions, an obvious criticism of the above model of professionalism is that there would be little opportunity to ‘undertake a process of deliberation and scrutiny’. I do not see this as a bar to this model of professionalism, as ‘deliberation and scrutiny’ could occur as soon as feasible within the field conditions with as wide a constituency as was available. What the model of professionalism would need to ensure is the recognition of the *need* to undertake a review of decisions undertaken autonomously under field conditions.

Where might such professionalism be learnt? At an obvious level, the professionalism of a teacher is formally learnt via ITT, confirmed and extended by CPD and experienced and refined in practice. It would, however seem unrealistic to take an S4 Ugandan pupil, expose him/her to two years of teacher training that emphasised a model of the teacher that was alien to his/her experience of teaching and learning in schools, and expect him/her to throw off the shackles of personal experience. Such a process should ideally begin in school and transfer to ITT. The level of autonomy promoted in both primary and secondary schools would be particularly important from the perspective of future untrained teachers as they would have no access to ITT and must initially base their professional practice on that experience. To that end, school should offer a curriculum that not only meets utilitarian ends (White 2004) but also fosters meta-cognitive perceptions and skills in order to recognise self and the other (and



the responsibilities attendant on that relationship), and to participate equably in deliberations between self and other. It would require a pedagogy that welcomed challenge, supported by teachers who were neither authoritarian nor violent in their approach (Harber 1997, Leach 2003) but who could exercise a balanced authority of experience and guidance. It would need to adopt an approach that valued children as participants in education, seeing them as responsible owners and constructors of knowledge, rather than passive recipients (Darling 1994). It would require a system of planning for the delivery of the curriculum that was not hidebound by the restriction of teacher imposed behavioural objectives (Kelly, 2004) and a system of assessment that was sensitive to the learning sought and that was not responsible for reducing the curriculum to only that which can be measured mechanically and lacking in cultural sensitivity (Gipps and Stobart, 1993). Most essentially, what is sought is the engagement of the learner and the valuing of enquiry leading to subsequent justified ownership by that learner (Siegal in Carr, 1998) and not the blind and/or pressured acceptance of a given body of knowledge or processes.

Of course, the circularity of the chicken and egg argument asks how children in Ugandan schools might learn such a brave new curriculum given that their teachers presumably have not. In answer, ITT and CPD remain essential foci (UNESCO, EFA Report 2005). The expectation, as ever, is the aphorism that change is a process and not an event. The hope is that changes in learning will finally lead to changes in teaching, and this may well be so. However, there is one professional process that might be taught through ITT/CPD as a professional skill and that could build on the experience of teachers in schools and ‘kick start’ a change in professionalism. I refer to reflection on practice. The professionalism advocated builds on Furlong’s (2000) conceptualisation of professionalism as identifying knowledge, autonomy and responsibility as essential components thereof. However, both knowledge and autonomy would seem dependent on developing a sense of reflection: how else could one know/check one’s knowledge and autonomous actions? Reflection is central to developing an awareness of knowledge and of developing a critique of the actions arising from autonomy.

The notion of the reflective practitioner is far from new, of course (Schon 1983, McNiff and Whitehead, 2002) but it remains currently enshrined in the Standards for the Award of QTS in England (TTA, 2002). The Teacher's Professional Code of Conduct for Uganda (Wandira, undated) does not mention reflection, but it is touched upon in the 'School Practice Assessment Form' of St. Peter's Teachers' College (Uganda). Students are expected to complete 'lesson evaluations', though the requirement to be reflective extends no further than this on the form.

The reflection that I advocate is not limited to an evaluation of lessons, important as that may be (Day 1999) but extends to the full gamut of responsibilities relating to the teacher as central to the delivery of primary education in Uganda. Such a reflective approach, combined with autonomy would not only help the teacher to consider professional responsibilities and practice during times of peace, it would also begin to empower him/her to respond to the changing conditions wrought by armed conflict. Practical, urgent and necessary decisions, such as whether to teach huge classes of displaced children, whether to alter the curriculum for traumatised children, whether to teach in inviolable timetable divisions, whether to teach one age group, whether to teach one subject – and countless other decisions – would benefit from a professionally reasoned input by the teachers themselves.

However, the reflection I advocate has an additional and important benefit. I have described a professional model of autonomy, reflection and responsibility as useful in *responding* to events. A particular additional value, as I see it, would be the model's ability to recognise discrepancies and omissions, in other words to *initiate* responses, and to begin to take responsibility to question why what appears important might have been *omitted*. For example, it would appear to me to be a valid argument that teachers have some measure of ownership over plans for the provision of primary education during conflict and especially as the plans affect them. As the data indicate, currently they do not. Currently, teachers seem to



feel no curiosity about such planning. The hope would be that teachers embracing autonomy, reflection and responsibility would both notice and then question such issues.

Is such a model of professional autonomy achievable within the current resource constraints of Uganda? I would think yes. It resonates with quality debates (UNESCO 2005) and accountability debates, surely the foci of future rounds of donor generosity. It does not squander money on the transient ‘things’ of magic bullet approaches but rather invests in the long-term perspective of the teacher as essential to the successful delivery of an education system. As Carron and Chau (1996) observe:

Officials responsible for education projects often give the impression that they put more faith in things than in people to improve the quality of education. Massive investments are made in school buildings, in the production of textbooks, or in the distribution of teaching materials, without these investments being accompanied by appropriate teacher-training programmes (p272).

The proposed model offers a developmental approach to the current provision of primary education, in which practitioners have a voice sufficient to challenge and debate global clamour and neo-liberal (or any other) demands. It accords with debates over democracy and it accords with the need for schools to respond to the needs of its pupils and teachers, often in constrained circumstances.

The short term cost of introducing this new model of professionalism would be located within ITT and CPD, though the structures and abilities for this already exist in Uganda. The sessions of ITT that I observed indicated intellectual curiosity amongst the students and demonstrated tutors’ willingness to engage with such debates. What appears to be lacking is a confidence that teachers can reasonably aspire to autonomy and be able to accept responsibility. Is it the place of the teacher to do such things? It might be in the instilling of this confidence that donor funds might be best spent. Such a confidence might then show

itself not only in the quality of primary education in peace time but in maintaining that provision during armed conflict.

And what of the boy in photograph? I hope that this study might contribute to his continued education.



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