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Education and resilience in conflict- and insecurity-affected Northern Uganda

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What is Chronic Poverty?

The distinguishing feature of chronic poverty is extended duration in absolute poverty.

Therefore, chronically poor people always, or usually, live below a poverty line, which is normally defined in terms of a money indicator (e.g. consumption, income, etc.), but could also be defined in terms of wider or subjective aspects of deprivation.

This is different from the transitorily poor, who move in and out of poverty, or only occasionally fall below the poverty line.

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Abstract

This paper explores the relationship between conflict, education and the intergenerational transmission of poverty in Northern Uganda using a Q-squared approach, which combines and sequences qualitative and quantitative approaches. The focus is on whether people with education have greater resilience than those without during and following periods of conflict and insecurity. Findings include that conflict in Northern Uganda has resulted in chronic and intergenerational poverty, and that education supports resilience during and following periods of conflict and insecurity – it is a 'portable' asset of great value. The paper presents evidence from a number of first-hand accounts and concludes that education should be supported by governments and donors during and post-conflict. This will support resilience during conflict, limiting the poverty impact of conflict on households and enabling a speedier post-conflict recovery.

Keywords: Uganda, conflict, education, intergenerational transmission of poverty

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Executive summary

Conflict disrupts lives and livelihoods and impoverishes people, and recovery can be slow. Households may face sequenced and composite shocks, with their ability to cope dependent largely on their access to and control over assets, including social networks, and their own capabilities and agency. Some households and individuals never regain pre-conflict levels of well-being; for others, depressed levels of consumption and investment during and following conflict create irreversible effects associated with chronic and intergenerationally transmitted poverty.

The point in the life-course when poverty is experienced influences the likelihood of chronic and intergenerationally transmitted poverty. Three crucial periods appear to be foetal development, early childhood and youth. If these periods are interrupted or distorted, this can have a significant impact on future well-being and lead to chronic or intergenerationally transmitted poverty.

Meanwhile, education can increase the labour productivity and wage rate of the individual and also have an impact on cultural identity, human capabilities and agency. It enables individuals to make the most of other assets and negotiate new and difficult environments. People with education are more likely to have socioeconomic resilience during a conflict – finding new livelihood options, adjusting to displacement and/or accessing safety and new livelihood options through migration. Following periods of insecurity, they are more able to use other assets to rebuild their lives.

Drawing on empirical research conducted in Northern Uganda, this paper explores the relationship between conflict and the intergenerational transmission of poverty, focusing on education as an intervening variable. Specifically, it looks at whether people with education have greater resilience during and following periods of conflict than those with none, enabling them to leave conflict-affected areas or, if they stay, to avoid a decline into poverty during the conflict and insecurity and to improve their situation rapidly afterwards. By focusing on the long-run impact of conflict and insecurity, it provides a contrast to the short-term, humanitarian focus of much conflict and post-conflict research.

The research sought to test two hypotheses: that conflict and insecurity in Northern Uganda have constrained livelihood options, resulting in chronic and intergenerational poverty; and that education is an asset which serves a protective function, helping people to stay out of poverty during conflict and supporting post-conflict recovery. It used a Q-squared approach drawing on primary data gathered in five sites of Kaberamaido and Pader districts of Northern Uganda in 2008. Qualitative tools included life history methods, stakeholder analysis and consultation and key informant interviewing. Quantitative analysis was performed of data from the 2004 round of the Northern Uganda Baseline Survey (NUBS).

In relation to **the first hypothesis,** that conflict and insecurity have constrained livelihood options, resulting in chronic and intergenerational poverty, our research supported this. The impact of conflict and insecurity on civilians was catastrophic. Income poverty is severe in Northern Uganda, and welfare disparities between the north and the rest of Uganda are stark. Assets were lost and livelihoods disrupted across the region, with people having to move to internally displaced person (IDP) camps. Crude and under-five mortality rates were greatly in excess of emergency thresholds, and there was very restricted access to food at the household level. The human rights situation was similarly shocking.

Recovery to previous levels of well-being has been slow and difficult. In addition, because of the prolonged nature of the poverty, and the implications of this for household investments in nutrition, health and education and the development and options available to children and young people, it appears that poverty has indeed been transmitted intergenerationally.

Specifically, access to education was difficult, with long walks to school putting children in danger and schools targeted by rebels. Learning centres were formed in primary schools in or near IDP camps, but these were severely overcrowded. Now, many communities have limited capability to pay secondary school fees or to cover the costs associated with sending a child to primary school. In many areas, the rebuilding of public infrastructure has been slow, and distances to school may be too great for small children. Years of displacement, conflict and insecurity seriously compromised education delivery, as well as children's capacity to learn; while there is now relative peace, many challenges remain in the effective provision of quality education, including those relating to recruiting, retaining and motivating staff; dealing with trauma among students; and poor local government capacity and outreach.

In relation to the second hypothesis, we found that education contributes to resilience both during and following conflict. Respondents reported that people who had completed primary school had had easier lives than those without formal education. When they lost their livestock through cattle raids, they adjusted more easily. Education also gave them a greater ability to plan and interact with authorities, and they could migrate and escape danger if necessary. They were also reported to be more able to draw on social networks, adopt new crop varieties and diversify livelihood strategies, and to have the confidence to travel, participate in trade and take on paid leadership roles.

People with even two years of education were described as being more likely to educate their children and to take their children to the local clinic when they were sick. Educated respondents said they saw the value of education and were more likely to strive to educate their own children – there is significant evidence of intergenerational transmission of educational attainments from adults to the children in their care. Analysis of NUBS data supports and amplifies these findings: looking at the distribution of jobs by education level, it is apparent that having some post-secondary education is almost a requirement for

accessing a non-farm wage job – the single most effective route out of poverty. Education also helps significantly in enabling people to work in non-farm self-employed activities, which are also represented disproportionately among the highest income quintile.

NUBS data also show that more children currently aged 18 or below in more conflict-affected districts have never attended school, and fewer are at secondary school, even where the conflict ended many years ago. Among adults the effects are even more striking: many more have lower levels of attainment and many fewer have attended secondary or higher compared with in non-affected districts.

Meanwhile, although attempts are being made by both governmental and non-governmental actors to deliver education, needs are not being met. This has implications for the resilience of children and young people who grew up during and following the period of conflict and instability and therefore for their chances of exiting severe and chronic poverty. For example, although education is a government priority, concerns have been expressed in relation to quality, particularly in relation to Universal Primary Education (UPE) implementation. In Northern Uganda in particular, there are fears that local governments, disrupted by the conflict, are not doing enough to ensure quality primary education, and that the quality of provision will fall when humanitarian agencies withdraw.

In addition, funding and human resource challenges are also having negative implications on education provision. Duplication of programming exists (of all actors, both governmental and non-governmental) and the high number of different actors involved means that coordination poses a challenge. Finally, while emergency funding requested for education has increased significantly since 2000, it has been just a small proportion of funds requested for Northern Uganda. This indicates that education is less successful at attracting funding from the international community than other humanitarian sectors. While meeting immediate life-saving needs is obviously fundamental in situations of conflict, our evidence from Northern Uganda demonstrates that education can both limit the poverty impact of conflict on households during conflict but also support a speedier post-conflict recovery.

The following points highlight a number of priorities:

- Building and maintaining the assets of poor people is essential if movement into poverty is to be avoided. Interruptions to education are hard to overcome: far better to avoid them by ensuring parents are not driven to reduce meals or withdraw children from school. Specific measures are needed: the provision of UPE is not enough in Northern Uganda.
- Enhanced education provision should be a strong component in any package of interventions in Northern Uganda. Education enables higher returns on other interventions, is ‘portable’ and is crucial for resilience and exit from poverty.

- It is vital to ensure security and peace in Northern Uganda. Public services can play an important role in this and in the development of a constructive state–citizen relationship.
- Northern Uganda requires a package of interventions to stimulate local markets and economic growth, enable poverty reduction and deliver public services. Without this, poverty and low growth will become embedded and chronic poverty will be transmitted intergenerationally.
- In terms of education, the focus needs to be on a number of areas: providing 'catch-up', basic, non-formal and technical education; improving physical infrastructure (school buildings and teacher accommodation); supplying schools with teaching materials; recruiting, motivating, rewarding and up-skilling teachers; urgently rolling out Universal Secondary Education (USE) in the region; providing quality technical education matched to local market opportunities; and considering social protection measures to support service provision in a context of deep poverty, as well as other policy instruments, beyond the application of agriculture and growth-enabling policies, as have been implemented elsewhere in Uganda.

Abbreviations

AMREF	African Medical and Research Foundation
AVSI	Italian Development Cooperation
CAP	Consolidated Appeals Process
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DRT	Development Research and Training
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HSM	Holy Spirit Movement
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
LC	Local Council
LGPD	Local Government Development Programme
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MoeS	Ministry of Education and Sports
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NUBS	Northern Uganda Baseline Survey
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PLA	Participatory Learning and Action

PRDP	Peace Recovery and Development Plan
PTA	Parent and Teacher Association
UBoS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
UNLA	Ugandan National Liberation Army
UNLF	Uganda National Liberation Front
UPDA	Uganda People's Democratic Army
UPA	Uganda People's Army
UPE	Universal Primary Education
US	United States
USAID	US Agency for International Development
USE	Universal Secondary Education
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

Contents

1 Introduction

Conflict often disrupts lives and livelihoods and impoverishes people. Recovery following conflict for these people can be slow: some households and individuals never regain their pre-conflict levels of well-being; for others, depressed levels of consumption and investment during and following conflict create irreversible effects associated with chronic and intergenerationally transmitted poverty. However, some people and some households do recover. This differential recovery is important for policymakers, analysts and practitioners: any positive adaptation identified might be supported by policies or programmes, allowing more people to recover successfully following conflict.

Drawing on empirical research conducted in Northern Uganda,[1] a region much affected by conflict and insecurity between the late 1970s and around 2008, this paper explores the relationship between conflict and the intergenerational transmission of poverty, focusing on education as an intervening variable. Specifically, it looks at whether people with education have greater resilience during and following periods of conflict and insecurity than those with none, enabling them to leave conflict-affected areas or, if they stay, to avoid a decline into poverty during the conflict and insecurity and to improve their situation rapidly afterwards.

By focusing on the long-run impact of conflict and insecurity, this study provides a contrast to the short-term, humanitarian focus of much conflict and post-conflict research. It applies a Q-squared approach, combining and sequencing qualitative and quantitative methods to explore the experiences of people living in conflict-affected areas and how education helped them or members of their community to respond to livelihood disruption and dislocation during and following conflict and insecurity.

Following this introduction, Section 2 provides a conceptual overview of how conflict and insecurity can affect well-being and poverty through negative impacts on livelihoods. We highlight the role of resilience and how education can enable this. Section 3 outlines the research hypotheses, methods and site selection. Section 4 reviews the history of the conflict in Northern Uganda. Section 5 presents our findings, focusing on three themes: the impact of conflict and insecurity on livelihoods and chronic and intergenerationally transmitted poverty; demand for and provision of education in conflict-affected Northern Uganda; and the role that education plays in supporting resilience. Section 6 reviews government policy and humanitarian practice in Northern Uganda and Section 7 concludes.

[1] Fieldwork was undertaken in September and October 2008 at five sites in Pader and Kaberamaido districts in Northern Uganda.

2 The conceptual framework: linking conflict and well-being with education as an intervening variable

2.1 Conflict and well-being

As a shock or negative trend, conflict and insecurity can affect the well-being of households and individuals. Individuals and households respond to household- and community-level shocks by drawing down sequentially on their assets to develop coping strategies. Their ability to cope is therefore largely dependent on their access to and control of assets, including social networks, and their own capabilities and agency. Households may face sequenced and composite shocks: for example, a cattle raid may be followed by the illness of a family member, reduced off-farm income employment and increases in children's school fees. Individuals will make decisions relating to investments, consumption, work and leisure, selecting the best possible mix of livelihood options to maintain current and future well-being for themselves and their household. These decisions will be constrained by imperfect knowledge and may have adverse outcomes.

2.2 Chronic poverty, the intergenerational transmission of poverty and conflict

The distinguishing feature of chronic poverty is its extended duration. Chronically poor people are those who experience deprivation over many years, often for their entire lives. Chronic poverty is hard to reverse and is sometimes passed from one generation to the next. This is referred to as the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Bird, 2007).

While there is a growing body of evidence on the relationship between conflict and poverty, much of this treats the poor as an undifferentiated category (Goodhand, 2003). This means that less attention has been paid to the specific relationship between conflict and chronic and intergenerationally transmitted poverty. The Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) has started addressing this gap.[2] Indeed, it concludes that insecurity is one of five traps that underpin chronic poverty (2009: vii):

[2] Justino (2009) also takes a differentiated approach to exploring the relationship between poverty and conflict. She looks at the relationship between conflict processes and household economic status and finds that symbiotic associations between armed groups and households exist and that the level of households' participation at the start and during a conflict is a function of household vulnerability to poverty and household vulnerability to violence.

> The chronically poor are frequently those who live in insecure environments, and who have few assets or entitlements to cope with shocks or stresses. Their coping strategies often involve trading long-term goals to improve their lives (e.g. accumulating assets or educating children) for short-term survival.

Bird (2007) also starts to address this gap by reviewing the international literature on drivers of the intergenerational transmission of poverty. She suggests that conflict can intensify the likelihood of poverty being transmitted intergenerationally either directly through its effect on children or indirectly through its impact on their caregivers, their household and their future livelihood options. Although conflict can be the expression of a resistance movement or liberation struggle and one of agency, it can also have negative impacts on non-combatants. War can result in a layering of negative life events, including the loss of loved ones, displacement and drastic changes in daily routine and community values. Violence, sexual abuse, loss and dislocation can have long-run impacts on both parents and children. The fragmentation of social networks and abrupt changes to cultural norms can have a profound impact on the degree to which people feel themselves to be located within a protective and known environment. Disruption to income-generating activities and loss of productive and household assets can have short-run impacts on consumption and food security and longer-run impacts on livelihood options, well-being and inheritance (ibid).

Evidence suggests that the point in the life-course when poverty is experienced can influence the likelihood of chronic and intergenerationally transmitted poverty. Three crucial periods appear to be foetal development,[3] early childhood and youth – which is important as it is during adolescence and early adulthood that individuals develop the majority of their 'adult functionings' (Moore, 2005: 20). If these periods are interrupted or distorted through conflict and insecurity, this can have a significant impact on the future well-being of the individual and can lead to chronic or intergenerationally transmitted poverty.

2.3 Resilience and education

Well-being depends on a range of variables – for example the depth of the shock or negative trend, its duration and the damage it induces. The degree of resilience an individual commands, defined as 'the manifestation of positive adaptation despite significant life adversity' (Luthar, 2003: xxix), will also influence the impact of the shock on well-being. It will determine an individual's or household's ability to 'bounce back' from a single shock,

[3] Yaqub (2002: 1083) suggests that children are most vulnerable to the non-reversible effects of poverty *in utero* and in early infancy, and controlled experiments with animals suggest that some, although not all, aspects of brain development damaged by early malnutrition are irreversible. Harper et al. (2002: 543) suggest that nurture can shape brain morphology and functioning and that education and care can promote cognitive development and support resilience.

measured by bringing income and consumption back to pre-shock levels in a given time period.

A range of attributes are associated with resilience and, as a result, negative events do not necessarily determine outcomes (Table 1). But resilience is not a directly measurable attribute. Instead, it is a process or phenomenon that must be inferred from the coexistence of high adversity with relatively positive adaptation (Yaqub, 2002: 1082).

Table 1: Attributes associated with resilience

Individual differences	Cognitive abilities (IQ scores, attention skills, ability to take appropriate decisions); self-perceptions of competence, worth, confidence (self-efficacy, self-esteem); temperament and personality (adaptability, sociability); ability to moderate behaviour
Relationships	Parenting quality (including warmth, structure and monitoring, expectations); close relationships with competent adults (parents, relatives, mentors); benign social connections to rule-abiding peers (among older children)
Community resources and opportunities	Good schools; connections to benign social organisations (clubs, religious groups); neighbourhood quality (public safety, collective supervision, libraries, recreation centres); quality of social services and health care

Source: Masten and Powell (2003), in Bird (2007: 35).

Education is a key human capital asset. It is important because of its ability to increase the labour productivity and wage rate of the individual but also because of its impact on cultural identity, human capabilities and agency. Education can play an important role in enabling individuals to make the most of other assets and to negotiate new and difficult environments. It influences a range of the attributes of resilience listed in Table 1 above. As such, it seems that people with education will be more likely to have (socioeconomic) resilience during a conflict – finding new livelihood options, adjusting to social dislocation and displacement and/or accessing safety and new livelihood options through migration. Following periods of conflict and insecurity, people with formal education may be more able to use their other assets to rebuild their lives, exiting poverty more rapidly than individuals without education.

3 Hypotheses, methods and site selection

3.1 Hypotheses

This research sought to test two hypotheses: that conflict and insecurity in Northern Uganda have constrained livelihood options, resulting in chronic and intergenerational poverty; and that education is an asset which serves a protective function, helping people to stay out of poverty during conflict and supporting post-conflict recovery (resilience).

3.2 Methods: an iterative Q-squared approach

This research was developed collaboratively by two teams working with CPRC, from the Overseas Development Institute (ODI, London) and Development Research and Training (DRT, Kampala). Concept notes and literature reviews were shared early on. Two researchers from ODI visited DRT in September 2008 and staff from ODI and DRT conducted a joint training and research design workshop. Results from the initial quantitative analysis of the Northern Uganda Baseline Survey (NUBS) dataset were presented, alongside results from a literature review. All members of the team were trained in participatory learning and action (PLA) and life history interviewing techniques. Hypotheses and principle research questions were agreed and the research team was finalised.

The study applied an iterative Q-squared approach, combining and sequencing quantitative and qualitative methods. In this, it built on methods developed in previous work by CPRC (Baulch and Davis, 2009; Bird and Shinyekwa, 2005) and combined quantitative analysis of the NUBS with in-depth qualitative fieldwork. We chose to use Q-squared approaches in this study because of the rich, robust and triangulated findings they provide for work of this nature.

Research instruments were developed and refined during a week-long pilot visit to Kaberamaido and Pader districts. The team reviewed lessons from the pilot over a two-day debrief and prepared for the full fieldwork, which started two weeks later and lasted for three weeks.

3.2.1 Qualitative research

The qualitative research tools this study used included life history methods, stakeholder analysis and consultation and key informant interviewing, all drawing on a set of PLA methods.

On arriving in a new study site, we met community leaders at the district, sub-county and village level and then held a village community meeting[4] to explain the purpose of our work. Community histories, PLA exercises, focus group discussions (FGDs), semi-structured key informant interviews and life histories were conducted in the local language, with translation into English or Luganda,[5] with respondents selected purposively. We outline a number of the research tools below.

Qualitative approaches are useful in exploring dynamic changes in well-being. They are particularly useful where panel data are unavailable, where the changes researchers wish to explore extend over several decades and where the research wishes to explore changes in household and individual well-being in the context of wider events or changes in culture, norms, social relationships, public policy and social provisioning. We found this to be the case in this study. They were also useful in enabling us to examine decision making and investments in the context of a complex web of positive and negative shocks and trends. They made it possible for the research team to piece together rich evidence about access to and quality of education and about attitudes towards education and its apparent returns, all during and post-conflict.

3.2.2 Participatory learning and action tools

The research team used a flexible set of PLA tools. Box 1 gives an indicative list.

Box 1: PLA tools – an indicative list

- Key informant interviews
- Community historical timeline – developed through small FGD and/or semi-structured interview
- Community mapping exercise
- FGD with separate groups of women and men – mapping livelihood activities; shocks and responses to shocks; drivers and interrupters of poverty; access to education, demand for and returns to education; government and local government policies and programmes to support agriculture and rural development
- Institutional ranking to identify organisations active in the local area and their relative importance for local people
- Institutional mapping exercise (using venn diagram techniques)

Here, we discuss two of these tools, the community historical timeline and the FGD, in some detail.

[4] Attendance rates varied between communities but the majority of adults tended to participate, without any systematic patterns of absence (e.g. women, older people).

[5] In Pader, Acholi was the main language spoken. In Kaberamaido, Ateso, Kumam, Lango and Acholi were spoken.

Community historical timelines

Obtaining a comprehensive overview of a community's recent history provided important context for the remainder of the research. We developed community historical timelines by identifying two or more senior members of the community and asking them to talk us through key events in the history of the community. Events were mapped onto a timeline while they talked, enabling us to understand provision of public services; the sequencing and layering of shocks and trends that had affected the community over the past 30 to 40 years; and population movements and changing access to and demand for education services. Section 5 presents the results obtained in these exercises.

Focus group discussions

FGDs were used to explore particular themes, for example causes of poverty; livelihood activities; strategies for moving out of poverty; education service provision and quality; and demand for and returns to education. The research team was assisted by community leaders, who mobilised community members and helped compose relevant groups (e.g. dividing people into groups of younger women, younger men, older women and older men). FGDs were facilitated by members of the research team working in pairs. Section 5 discusses the results emerging from the FGDs.

Key informant interviews

Key informants were identified in Kampala, at district headquarters and at the sub-county and camp or community level. Semi-structured interview checklists were used as a guide while designing the research and also during fieldwork. During the design phase, we spoke to staff in relevant government ministries in Kampala as well as staff of a number of international development agencies and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and obtained their comments on our research design. Having selected Pader and Kaberamaido as the focal districts for this study, the research team undertook extensive meetings with local government officials and representatives of humanitarian agencies and local civil society organisations (CSOs) at the district- and sub-district level. These provided contextual information and a good overview of population movements (district planning officer), education service provision and results (education officer) and humanitarian provision (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, UN OCHA) in the study areas and enabled the purposive selection of poor and conflict/insecurity-affected communities, the testing of theories and the triangulation of initial empirical evidence.

3.2.3 Life history interviews and well-being mapping

CPRC has used life history methods extensively.[6] This research adopted this technique because of its strength in identifying key events in an individual's life-course and the effect of these events on well-being. The research team anticipated that, in combination with other methods, the life history approach would enable the exploration of patterns in experiences during and following periods of conflict and insecurity that could be explained at least partially by exposure to education.

The research team worked in teams of two, each comprising a lead researcher and a translator, with the lead researcher initiating questions, probing and taking comprehensive notes. Interviews were conducted at the interviewee's home, as this enabled the researchers to form a view of the household's physical surroundings and standard of living. Interviews were semi-structured and were designed to lead respondents comfortably to describe the major events of their lives, from childhood to the present day; asset holdings at different points in the life-course; access to and attitudes towards education; and their absolute and relative level of well-being at different stages in their lives (compared with others in their community). Interviews took around two hours and ended with the lead researcher drawing an annotated chart with the interviewee, to represent changes in well-being experienced by the respondent during their life (Davis, 2006). The use of qualitative methods was valuable in this research.

3.2.4 Quantitative analysis

The NUBS was conducted in 13 districts in Northern Uganda and five northerly districts in the Eastern region. Data used for this paper are the results of the first round, conducted in 2004. Two phases of analysis of NUBS data were undertaken. The first was prior to fieldwork and provided the research team with useful contextual information, differentiated by district (poverty rates, poverty determinants, education rates and labour market returns to education). The second was conducted after the in-depth qualitative field research and was used to triangulate and amplify findings.

[6] See Bird and Shinyekwa (2005); Bird et al. (2004); Davis (2006); Davis and Baulch (2009; 2010); Hulme and Kothari (2003); du Toit and Neves (2007), among others.

3.3 Site selection

The fieldwork for this study was conducted in five communities in Kaberamaido and Pader districts of Northern Uganda. These are the second- and fourth-most conflict-affected districts from among the 18 covered by the NUBS (although they are not among the poorest in consumption terms).

Pader district, in Acholi sub-region, has been profoundly affected by conflict and insecurity for a sustained period of time. Conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the government of Uganda began following Yoweri Museveni's takeover as President of Uganda in 1986. The district has also suffered repeated cattle raids from the Karamojong since the 1970s, which intensified after Museveni's government disarmed local militias in the late 1980s.[7]

The impact of this conflict and insecurity on Pader's population has been significant: at one point over 90 per cent of the population was displaced (ICG, 2007) and, at its peak in June 2006, 1.8 million people were displaced and living in internally displaced person (IDP) camps across Northern Uganda (IDMC, 2009). Improvements since the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement between the LRA and the Museveni government in August 2006 mean that some 70 per cent of IDPs had returned to their home villages by May 2009 (IASC, 2009).

Kaberamaido district, in Teso sub-region, is one of poorest districts in the sub-region and has also been affected by multiple insecurities over an extended period. These have included repeated Karamojong cattle raids; conflict between the National Resistance Movement (NRM) and government forces in the 1980s; and the LRA conflict. In 2004, it was reported that 79 per cent of Kaberamaido's population was displaced (USAID, 2004).

In Pader, we worked in Amyel camp (a main or 'mother' camp), Ongalo (a satellite camp bordering Karamoja) and Lapaya (a return site). In Kaberamaido, we worked in Opunio and Omid Amoru.

[7] The Karamojong are a nomadic pastoralist group whose ranges extend through parts of northeast Uganda, south Sudan and Kenya. Conflict with sedentary populations is exacerbated by the practice of cattle raiding.

4 History of the conflict in Northern Uganda

Violence and conflict have plagued different regions of Uganda since the country's independence in 1962. The most protracted of these conflicts has been the war in Northern Uganda, between the LRA and the Museveni government, which lasted for over 20 years. Those most caught up in and affected by the conflict were the Acholi population of Kitgum, Gulu and Pader districts, although the neighbouring districts of Apac, Lira, Adjumani, Kumi, Kaberamaido and Soroti, where the people are predominantly Langi, Teso and Madi, have also been affected.

This long-running conflict contrasts with the success story of Uganda's recent history, as it is often described. Since President Museveni took power in 1986, Uganda as a whole has enjoyed economic growth and substantial declines in poverty. This has led some to describe the country as a 'donor darling', with Museveni considered by some as a model of a new generation of African leadership (Doom and Vlassenroot, 1999: 5). But praise for the invigoration of the Ugandan state 'hides a great deal' because it ignores the reality of the Northern Ugandan conflict (Allen, 2006: 27). More recently, the Museveni regime has been criticised widely for corruption and governance failures.

The conflict between the LRA and the government in Northern Uganda is the result partly of Uganda's ethno-linguistic divisions and partly of the long-run effects of the country's colonial history.

Ethnically, Uganda is divided into two main groups: the Bantu and non-Bantu peoples. Bantu ethno-linguistic groups dominate the south and central regions of Uganda, with non-Bantu, Nilotic, peoples in the north. These ethno-linguistic differences are overlaid by differences in livelihoods, with people in the north and east of Uganda predominantly pastoralist or cattle-keeping communities and people in the central and southern parts of the country predominantly crop farmers.

Uganda became a British protectorate in 1894. The strategy of 'divide and rule' favoured different ethnic groups for different activities, entrenching regional divisions within the protectorate. Southerners were favoured for agriculture and the civil service, whereas northerners (including the Acholi) were favoured for the military establishment. This led to economic marginalisation in the north and development in the south, including a socioeconomic division along north–south lines and an asymmetric relationship in the north between military dominance and economic underdevelopment. Anglican and Catholic missionaries exacerbated these divisions.

Combinations of differences underpinned the formation of political parties in the lead-up to independence in 1962, by which time the organising principles of ethnicity, region, religion

and economic specialisation were entrenched in Uganda. Rather than leading to a unified country, independence supported fragmentation, reflected in the new constitution, which granted federal status to the kingdom of Buganda and semi-federal and district status to other regions (Allen, 2006; Doom and Vlassenroot, 1999; Dolan, 2005).

Fragmentation has continued to dominate Ugandan politics: post-independence governments – Obote (1962-71), Amin (1971-9), Obote II (1980-6), Okello (1986) and Museveni (1986 onwards) – have all used ethnicity and region to gain and maintain power. According to van Acker (2004: 336), it is within this historical context, whereby consecutive Ugandan leaders have failed 'to construct and consolidate a modern state that legitimises and promotes collective aspirations, and to wield the magnitudes and levels of power a modern state conveys, other than by divide-and-rule', that the conflict between the LRA and the government of Uganda took place.

In this context, the takeover of the Ugandan government by Museveni's NRM[8] in 1986 planted the seed for the LRA conflict. While the north had enjoyed political strength under the first Obote era and had recovered somewhat during the Obote II era, Museveni's rise to power saw the Acholi revert to a position of relative weakness akin to the Amin years. For example, the national army, in which 30 to 40 per cent of troops were northerners, was replaced by a rebel force dominated by southerners. As Doom and Vlassenroot (1999: 13) note, this was the first time that the Acholi were completely 'divorced from state power' – without political or military power. Recent political history had been characterised by ethnic purges, for example the Luwero Triangle massacre, which saw the Acholi widely held responsible for more than 300,000 deaths. Many Acholi therefore feared the NRM would seek revenge for acts committed under previous regimes.

Following the NRM takeover, remnants of the Ugandan National Liberation Army (UNLA), which was the military wing of the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF), a political group formed by exiled Ugandans opposed to the rule of Idi Amin and linked to Milton Obote and Tito Okello,[9] retreated to Northern Uganda and regrouped in south Sudan as the Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA). This initially comprised UNLA soldiers but was later joined by former Idi Amin troops, Acholi politicians and others who were angered by the way Museveni had taken power. The UPDA was generally accepted across the Acholi region as a means by which power could be recaptured, but it lacked a coherent programme, and a peace deal was brokered between it and the Museveni government in June 1988.

[8] The NRM began life as a rebel movement (the National Resistance Army, NRA) fighting to overthrow the Obote regime.

[9] The UNLA fought alongside Tanzanian forces in the Uganda–Tanzania War (1978/79) that led to the overthrow of Idi Amin's regime.

During this time, Alice Lakwena and her Holy Spirit Movement (HSM) emerged, and in August 1986 Alice formed the Holy Spirit Mobile Forces, claiming to be acting as the spirit medium of Lakwena, a Christian holy spirit. Alice waged a war against evil, which she saw as manifesting itself in a number of ways: as an external enemy, represented by the NRA, and as an internal enemy, in the form of witches, sorcerers and impure soldiers (Behrend, 1999: 1). Many former soldiers joined the movement, as did other parts of the population following the first military success against the NRA. Holy Spirit soldiers were freed from witchcraft and evil spirits through complex initiation and purification rituals, and Alice promised soldiers protection from both ritual practices and modern military techniques. As Doom and Vlassenroot (1999: 16) argue, Alice 'offered hope for worldly as well as spiritual redemption in a dark hour of despair'. Support for the HSM peaked in 1987, when between 7,000 and 10,000 HSM men and women marched towards Kampala, but they were defeated by government troops in November of that year (Behrend, 1998: 107).

The UPDA peace deal and Lakwena's defeat resulted in a significant power vacuum in Northern Uganda. Joseph Kony and the LRA filled this, taking on aspects of the UPDA's pro-Acholi and anti-NRM agenda and the HSM's spiritualist agenda, but also incorporating terrorising and coercive dimensions (ICG, 2004: 4). A striking feature of this conflict was the brutality of LRA violence, which included killing, maiming, rape, looting, theft, crop destruction, the burning of homes and the abduction of civilians, including children. Although the LRA is largely Acholi, it targeted the Acholi people with some of its most brutal attacks. It is also accused of the sexual enslavement of women and children, and of forcing children to become child soldiers (Allen, 2006; Doom and Vlassenroot, 1999). This latter attracted the most attention: 'in international eyes the forcible abduction of children and adults by the Lord's Resistance Army is probably the defining characteristic of the war in northern Uganda' (Dolan, 2002).

Successive military and non-military attempts to bring about peace in Northern Uganda failed until recently and, although the current peace in Uganda has now lasted for several years, many do not trust it to last. Government anti-insurgency attempts have included Operation North in April 1991 (which saw the formation of government-backed 'bow and arrow defence units') and Operation Iron Fist in March 2002. Non-military attempts, including peace negotiations between the LRA and then-Minister for Pacification of the North in 1992-93, establishment of the Amnesty Act in 2000 and peace negotiations in 2006, which resulted in the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement between the LRA and the Museveni government on 26 August 2006, have also faltered. International Criminal Court arrest warrants issued in 2005 against the LRA's leader, Joseph Kony, and senior commanders for crimes against humanity and war crimes have contributed to difficulties: the LRA leadership was clear it would not surrender unless it was granted immunity from prosecution.

The Ugandan army's Operation Lightning Thunder, launched in December 2008 to inflict a final military defeat on the LRA, was not fully successful. Rather, the US-supported effort resulted in brutal revenge attacks by the LRA, with over 1,000 people killed in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Sudan. Military action in the DRC did not result in the capture or killing of Kony, who remained elusive. Moreover, while the operation did result in dispersion of the LRA and erosion of LRA numbers, the LRA remain a terrible danger to civilians. Indeed, the International Crisis Group (ICG) argues that 'national armies, the UN and civilians themselves need to pool intelligence and coordinate their efforts in new ways if they are to end the LRA once and for all' (ICG, 2010):

> […] even complete victory over the LRA would not guarantee an end to insecurity in northern Uganda. To do that, the Kampala government must treat the root causes of trouble in that areas from which the LRA sprang, namely northern perceptions of economic and political marginalisation, to ensure the social rehabilitation of the north.

The long-running conflict described above has combined with the economic, political and social marginalisation of Northern Uganda. It is against this backdrop and the insecurity generated by raids from the Karamojong that our research took place.

5 Findings

5.1 Conflict, insecurity and poverty

Our first hypothesis was that conflict and insecurity in Northern Uganda have constrained livelihood options, resulting in chronic and intergenerational poverty. Our research supported this hypothesis: qualitative research at all five research sites found that communities had experienced repeated shocks. This was confirmed by analysis of NUBS data. We explore the evidence behind these findings in the section below.

5.1.1 Repeated conflict-related shocks

The populations of our study sites had experienced community-level sequenced and compound shocks related to conflict and insecurity over an extended period. In sequenced shocks, individuals or households experience one unrelated negative event after another; in compound shocks, a negative event triggers a series of bad things. These shocks were found to have overlaid 'conventional' life-cycle, livelihood and other shocks.

The following protagonists were involved in the conflict and insecurity affecting our study sites:

- UNLA/Amin conflict (Kaberamaido sites only) (1978/79);
- Karamojong: cattle raids (1975, 1979/80, 1985, 1986/87, 2000);
- UPDA (late 1980s);
- NRM (1986);
- Uganda People's Army (UPA) (1986/87);[10]
- Lakwena movement (1986/87);
- LRA conflict (1987-late 2000s).

In both Pader and Kaberamaido, repeated periods of insecurity resulting from cattle raids by the Karamojong (accompanied by burning, looting, rape and murder) were found to have had a far more pronounced and long-run impact than we had anticipated. This owed to the depth

[10] The UPA was a rebel group recruited primarily from the Iteso people of Uganda and former soldiers from the special forces of the UNLA. It was active in rebellion against the NRM between 1987 and 1992. Activities reached a height after a widespread cattle raid by Karamojong in 1987 but the Teso Commission mediated an end to the UPA rebellion soon afterwards.

of the impoverishment and displacement they caused, as well as injury, death and trauma in some cases.

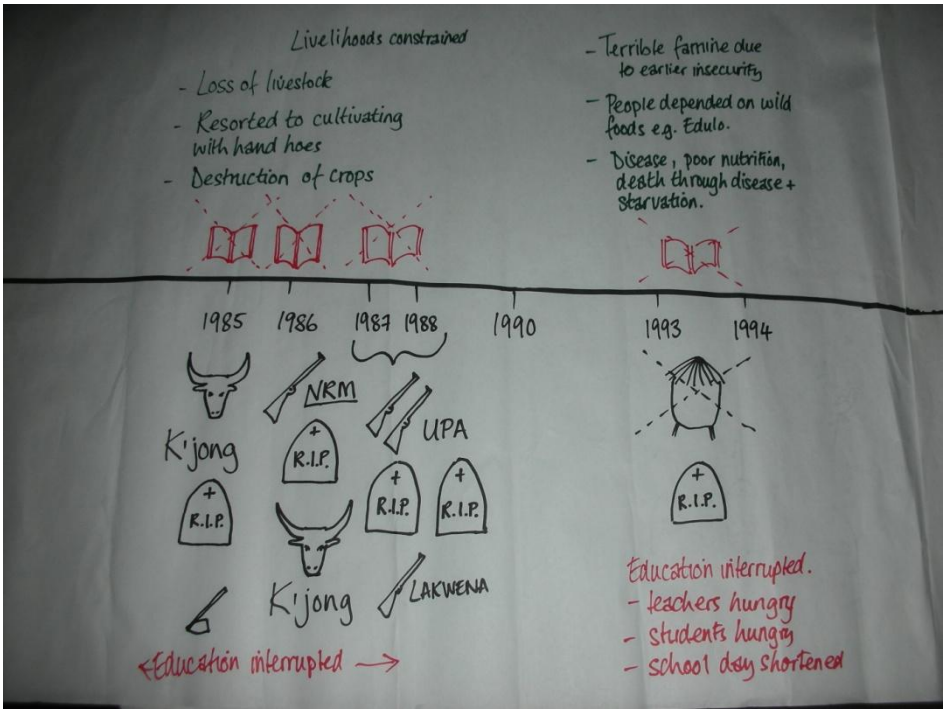
These repeated shocks are illustrated by the timeline presented below in a series of pictures which show the historical timeline developed with the LC1 chairman[11] and his deputy in Ongalo Camp, Pader district. This was first drawn on the ground (Figure 1a) and later copied onto flip chart paper (Figures 1b and 1c) for presentation at Pader district headquarters (LC5). It is summarised in a chart (Figure 1d).

[11] The LC1 chairman is the head of the lowest level of local government in Uganda, which usually corresponds to a community or village (LC = local council).

Figure 1a: Historical timeline, Ongalo Camp, Pader district (original, extract)

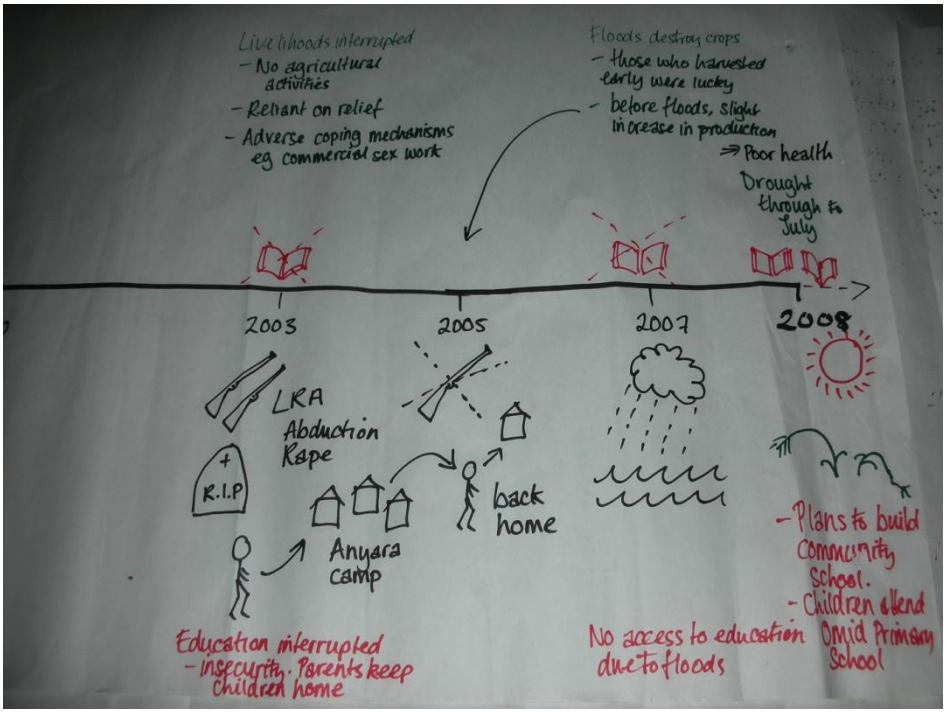
The symbols show that, in 1976, conflict affected the community. This was repeated in 1979, with UNLA forces active in the area. In 1982, there was peace and an election, but in 1986 Museveni's forces, the NRM, led a conflict in the area, having won the civil war and taken control of the country. In 1987, Karamojong cattle raiders stormed through the area, violently stealing livestock.

Figure 1b: Historical timeline, Ongalo Camp, Pader district (extract)



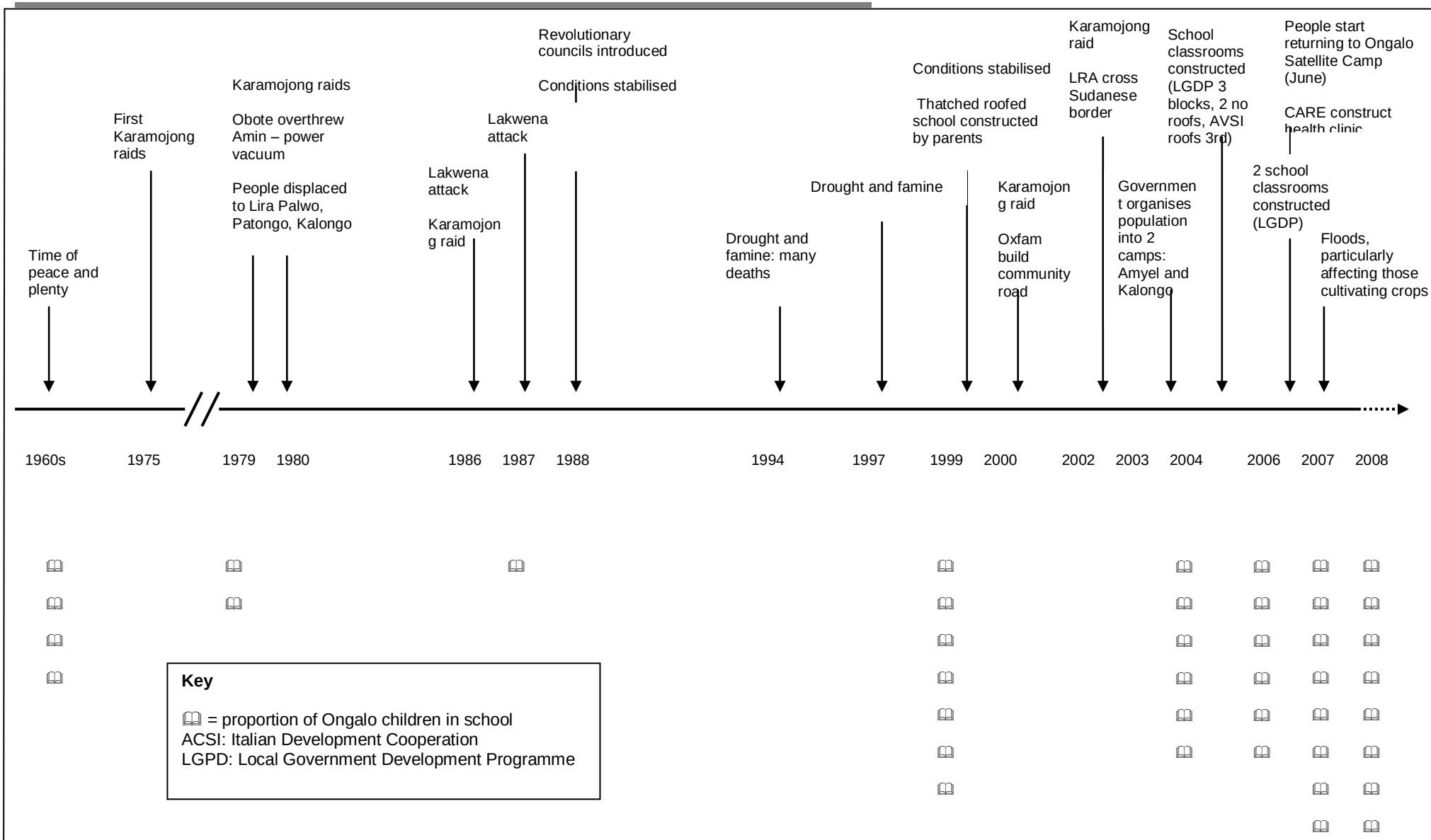
This timeline builds on information provided by local leadership, using information gleaned from PLA exercises, key informant interviews and life history interviews. It shows that, between 1985 and 1988, education was unavailable to local children owing to conflict and insecurity. In 1985, a Karamojong raid led to deaths. Following this, people in the community no longer had ploughing oxen and were forced to rely on hand hoes. In 1986, conflict between the NRM and local forces left people dead. These difficulties were compounded by a further Karamojong raid. Between 1987 and 1988, the UPA was very active in the area, leading to several deaths. Further conflict was brought by the Lakwena movement. There was relative stability between 1990 and 1993, but then famine interrupted education between 1993 and 1994. Teachers and students were hungry and the school day was shortened.

Figure 1c: Historical timeline, Ongalo Camp, Pader district (extract)



There was relative stability at this study site through until 2003, when significant action by the LRA in the area led to deaths, abductions and rapes. Education was interrupted as a result of insecurity. Parents were afraid of their children being abducted or raped and kept them at home. Livelihoods were interrupted by the conflict. There were no agricultural activities and the erosion of assets and food security led people in the community to adopt adverse coping strategies, including engagement in commercial sex work, until humanitarian relief arrived. Insecurity became so severe that the community had to relocate to Anyara Camp, where they stayed until 2005, when relative peace meant they could return home. Unfortunately, stability was short-lived: floods in 2007 were sufficiently severe to undermine people's recovery from the conflict and prevent access to education. This was followed in 2007 by a severe drought. However, the community showed considerable resilience and made plans to build a community school. Children attended Omid Primary School.

Figure 1d: Summary historical timeline including proportion of children in school, Ongalo, Pader district, 1960-2008



5.1.2 Shocks, livelihoods and chronic and intergenerational poverty

The impact of conflict and insecurity on civilians in Northern Uganda has been catastrophic. Indeed, the severity of the conflict and resulting humanitarian crisis led Jan Egeland, UN Under-secretary for Humanitarian Affairs, to describe Northern Uganda at the time as 'one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world' (OCHA, 2003). We know that income poverty is severe across Northern Uganda, and welfare disparities between the north and the rest of Uganda are stark. For example, while the national poverty headcount in Uganda has declined – from 55.7 per cent in 1992/93 to 31.1 per cent in 2005/06 – the poverty headcount in the north has remained high, at 60.7 per cent in 2005/06, a decrease from 72.2 per cent in 1992/93 (UNDP, 2007: 12).[12]

The series of conflicts and insecurity in the region has led to a loss of assets and disrupted livelihoods. The loss of cattle has been significant. Prior to the period of conflict, cattle keeping was an important component of people's livelihoods. Cattle could be sold to pay for contingencies (e.g. school fees, health care costs, funerals, brideprice and celebrations). Findings from qualitative research at all five study sites show that households experienced repeated loss of livestock, through Karamojong cattle raids (from the mid-1970s) but also as a result of theft perpetrated by both rebels and government soldiers. Loss of cattle impoverished the region, making aggregate and household-level recovery difficult, particularly following the subsequent escalation of insecurity (e.g. the LRA conflict). In addition, without ploughing oxen, farmers were forced to adopt hand cultivation, with implications for productivity, food security, income and well-being.

Coping strategies throughout periods of insecurity were reported to have included running into the bush to avoid attack, working as casual labourers for other households, moving to IDP camps, brewing *waragi* (a distilled spirit), cultivating with hand hoes, reducing meals (eating only once a day), burning charcoal, eating wild foods,[13] early marriage of both sons and daughters and withdrawing children from school. As Margaret[14] reported in a life history interview in Omid Amoru:

> When the Karamojong came, they raided cattle, took goats, killed people, raped women and girls and education came to a standstill […] Parents married off their daughters […] to

[12] The poverty headcount was 16.4 per cent in the Central region, 35.9 in the Eastern region and 20.5 per cent in the Western region in 2005/06.

[13] People in Kaberamaido reported boiling mangos and squeezing out the water to make sauce and collecting leaves from trees to eat, along with a wild fruit, *edulo*. They also ate a plant called *ebyong*, which is quite dangerous and would weaken and sometimes kill those who ate it, and *aboche*, which causes joint pain, to help them to avoid death from starvation. Malnutrition resulted in some children developing kwashiorkor and other children dying, reportedly of anaemia.

[14] All names of individuals in this paper are pseudonyms, created to protect the identity of respondents.

> get rid of the extra mouths to feed and to gain brideprice. They also married off their sons. They did not have cattle for brideprice, so people would accept goats and pigs instead of cattle.

The impact on civilians has been profound. In 1996, in response to increased insurgencies, the Ugandan government established 'protected villages' – IDP camps in which the majority of the population remained until relatively recently. In June 2006, there were approximately 1.8 million IDPs living in camps in Northern Uganda. Displacement and the move to IDP camps had negative consequences for livelihoods and well-being. Living conditions were often appalling in the camps: for example, Labuje Camp, just outside Kitgum town, held 17,000 people on just 17 hectares of land (Boas and Hatloy, 2006: 22). The delayed distribution of humanitarian provisions when camps were first established led to some leaving their relative safety to cultivate their fields or collect food stores, leading to casualties and deaths.

Meanwhile, a survey led by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2005 found that, across the conflict-affected region, crude and under-five mortality rates were greatly in excess of emergency thresholds, indicating the severity of the situation (ibid). Low quantities of food produce and restricted ability to acquire food through the market, caused by restricted access to cultivable land, low land productivity, high poverty levels and poor market infrastructure, resulted in very restricted access to food at the household level and a reliance on food distributed through the World Food Programme (WFP).[15] In sum, the poverty impact of the conflict and the resulting humanitarian emergency in Northern Uganda was severe.

The human rights situation was similarly shocking. The conflict and insecurity led to high levels of disability (as a result of amputation, torture and mutilation). In 2005, Human Rights Watch reported that 'the displaced people of northern Uganda remain isolated, ignored and unprotected, vulnerable to abuses by both rebel and army forces'. The LRA conflict in particular was characterised by the brutality of the violence, with tens of thousands of civilians killed, raped or abducted, and the majority of the LRA armed forces made up of people, including children, abducted against their will (Hovil and Chrispus Okello, 2006: 11).[16] Indeed, a UN report which recounts the atrocities in Northern Uganda concludes that 'few conflicts rival it for sheer brutality' (IRIN and OCHA, 2005: 7).

Children were disproportionately targeted for abduction, with some turned into child soldiers and others into 'wives' for the combatants. Some did not return. While many of the former abductees have readjusted well to civilian life, others struggle to fit back into society. The

[15] For an analysis of livelihood strategies in Kitgum district, see Stites et al. (2006).

[16] See de Temmerman (2001) for a detailed account of abduction.

conflict also drove some youth and able-bodied men away from the conflict zone, leaving the area with low levels of productive labour and high dependency ratios.

Multiple human rights violations resulted in a terrorised and fearful population, with psychosocial impacts akin to those typically found in individual torture victims evident across the whole society (Dolan and Holvil, 2006: 5). These fears were illustrated by the numbers of people 'night commuting', which involved walking in late afternoon from their huts in IDP camps to more secure sites, usually in the nearest town, where they would sleep the night.

Faced with sequential and composite shocks, households unsurprisingly used their assets, progressing over time from preferred modes of adaptive behaviour through to sustainable coping and eventually to adverse coping. This saw households and individuals reach and pass crucial 'tipping points' as they liquidated productive assets, over-exploited social and political capital and reduced food security and investments in human capital to the point that capitals and capabilities were so low that recovery to previous levels of well-being would be slow and difficult or even impossible.

Post-conflict, the population is wary. While the LRA has been pushed west into DRC, and the majority of IDPs have returned home or to 'transit sites' closer to their land, people are still concerned about security. This was aptly captured in one FGD: *'The rebels are in the bush and the Karamojong still have guns.'* As a result, many are reluctant to invest in or to accumulate assets.

Using NUBS data, we compared livelihood activities in six districts (Gulu, Kaberamaido, Katakwi, Kitgum, Kodido and Pader), where at least half of households had reported shocks related to rebel activity since 1992, with other districts less affected by such shocks. A significant difference between the two groups is that, in the substantially conflict-affected districts, household members are much more likely not to be working or to be working as domestics or agricultural labourers. They are also less likely to work in own-account agriculture or non-farm wage work. In other words, their livelihood options are substantially constrained. The same point applies if we look specifically at households affected by rebel activity since 1992, which are more likely to be in lower consumption quintiles compared with those not affected. This does not say anything about causality (whether rebel activity has made them poorer or whether rebel activity has affected households that were poorer to start with), but it does show a strong association between poverty and being affected by rebel activity.

In sum, the disruption of livelihoods and the erosion of capital, productive, human and social assets are evident across all research sites, over a long period of time – from the mid-1970s through to the mid-2000s. Throughout this period, recovery to previous levels of well-being was slow and difficult, and this remains the case today. The length of time for which many people in these communities experienced conflict and resulting livelihood disruptions

demonstrates that conflict and insecurity have indeed led to chronic poverty in Northern Uganda. In addition, because of the prolonged nature of such poverty, and the implications of this for household investments in nutrition, health and education and the development and options available to children and young people, it appears that poverty has indeed been transmitted intergenerationally. The persistence of poverty in Northern Uganda as a region supports these observations.

5.2 Education demand and provision in the context of conflict and insecurity

5.2.1 Demand for education

Now that Northern Uganda is recovering from conflict and insecurity, there is evidence of strong unmet demand for education from both parents and young people, who have seen the upward mobility of the people in their communities who have some education. This finding emerged in a number of life history interviews, where adults talked about the sacrifices they were making to ensure that their children (and even children in their extended family) were educated. It was also illustrated vividly by a FGD and pair ranking exercise in Ongalo Camp in Pader district with young men who described their willingness to go back to primary school despite their age (see Figure 2). This group was mobilised to discuss education and was initially fairly hostile. Some were former combatants, and many had been affected negatively by conflict and insecurity.

Figure 2: FGD on education with male youth, Ongalo Camp, Pader district

The teenagers and young adults in this focus group explained how conflict had disrupted their education. They told us that people were afraid that they could be attacked and killed at any time, so they preferred not to travel far from their homes. This meant that children would not walk any distance to school. Insecurity also meant that children did not start Primary 1 (P1) until they were eight or ten and were old enough to run away from soldiers if they were attacked. Fear of attack also meant that parents were not able to travel to local market to sell produce, restricting their livelihood activities and their incomes and meaning they were less able to keep their children in school. Access to education was further limited by community roads becoming overgrown, owing to a lack of maintenance during and following the conflict. Finally, hunger and exposure to conflict meant that during the conflict some children had dropped out of school to become government or LRA soldiers, partly because the army would feed them. They were now finding it difficult to complete their education.

When the community came to Ongalo camp from the mother camp, returns to agricultural livelihoods were limited by poor soils and an invasive weed, which reduced their yields. This made it difficult for parents to afford to send their children to school. Parents are now willing to educate their children and the value they place on it has increased since peace talks in 2006. People can travel more widely and they can see that other people are sending their children to school. This encourages them to educate their own children and many have now returned to school, but they still fear being ambushed by the Karamojong or the LRA. The majority of children are reported to be traumatised, which makes it difficult for them to concentrate: ‘bad things come into their minds, they get frightened and come home’.

Many members of the focus group had had their own education disrupted by the conflict and insecurity. They reported feeling really frustrated by their poor education, as it means they are not exposed to information: ‘we are just here’. It also means they do not have the qualifications they need to find work and, because they are still living in a camp, they do not have access to enough land to cultivate or alternative livelihoods open to other people with no education. Unable to work or farm successfully, they are underemployed and poor. This limits their ability to pay (secondary) school fees for their own children in the future, increasing the likelihood of poverty being passed from their generation to the next.

Interestingly, although many of the young men are already adult and married with their own children, they expressed a desire to go back to school. Many told us that they would go to primary school to complete their primary education, if they were able to. Because some have children in the local primary school, they would prefer to go to another school. Even better would be the opportunity to have some adult education, if that were available (covering the same curriculum as at primary school). Some would prefer to go to technical school; others reported that they had completed their primary education and would prefer to have the chance to finish secondary school. Unfortunately, they would need sponsorship to cover the fees, uniforms and books. It is unlikely that any of these options will be presented to them.

We also identified evidence of self-provisioning and visited a community-built primary school, which was later 'adopted' by the government, which supplemented locally hired teachers.

Access to education was difficult for many children during the height of the conflict, with long walks to school putting them in danger and schools being targeted by the LRA. Now, in a fragile post-conflict state, many communities have limited capability to pay secondary school fees or to cover the costs associated with sending a child to primary school. This is because their livelihoods have been disrupted, their livestock stolen and their assets destroyed, driving many deep into poverty. In many areas, the rebuilding of public infrastructure has been slow, meaning that distances to the nearest school may be too great for small children. Where schools are available, teaching may be happening under trees rather than in classrooms with proper facilities.

Throughout the study area, we found that the provision of preschool and nursery education was inadequate, following the failure of private nurseries.

5.2.2 Education provision

Education provision has been affected by a series of conflict-related events in our five research sites. The case of Ongalo is illustrative. Karamojong cattle raids in the early 1980s left people without assets and unable to educate their children. Insecurity relating to Alice Lakwena and the HSM in 1987 forced children to leave school – they were afraid that if they went they would be attacked or forced to join her army. Another round of Karamojong attacks took place in February and March 2000, forcing people to flee, but in 2001 the school was reopened and children returned. However, in 2003, the situation with the LRA escalated, and people fled to Amyel and Kalongo, where they sought refuge in IDP camps. Learning centres were formed in primary schools in or near the IDP camps, where it was safe for students and teachers. All primary schools in the IDP camps conducted lessons at the learning centre, resulting in severe overcrowding.

Education in Lapaya was also affected for a long period of time. In 1986, Lakwena and the HSM moved into the area, taking animals and abducting people. From 1987 to 1988 there were Karamojong raids, and in 1989 Kony arrived, abducting and killing people, taking livestock and looting property. In 1991, as part of Operation North, government soldiers approached and again people were killed. There was virtually no education provision between 1986 and 1991. Schooling restarted in 1992, but in 1997, given the intensity of the insecurity, people moved to IDP camps, with lessons given from learning centres. People did not start moving back to Lapaya until 2008.

Education in Omid was also impacted by a long period of conflict. As a teacher from Omid Primary School recounted:

> Between 1985 and the 1990s, there were Karamojong raids. Many pupils were scattered and the school could not progress. In 1986, there was the UPA war, and people ran away. The environment was very hostile and children could not learn. The situation was further worsened in 2003 by the LRA attacks. Omid Primary School was attacked and we had to leave in June 2993. Some children were abducted, and two children were killed. The Education Office advised us to close the school. Teachers left for the camp […] In early 2004, a learning centre was opened at Anwarwa Camp. There were three schools there. It was challenging for both teachers and pupils.

Years of displacement, conflict and insecurity seriously compromised the delivery of education services, as well as the capacity of children to learn; while there is now relative peace, many challenges remain to the effective provision of quality education.

5.2.2.1 Damaged physical infrastructure

As mentioned above, during the period of intense conflict, when people were displaced, education continued at learning centres. Uganda's policy of Universal Primary Education (UPE) meant that all children were entitled to attend primary school, and this had driven up primary school attendance rates. High demand meant that learning centres had large numbers of students, and under-provision meant that they were severely overcrowded, with a number of previously separate primary schools conducting lessons from one location. There was also insufficient housing provision – which is typically part of a teacher's compensation package – and there were too few desks and latrines for students as well as inadequate teaching and learning materials. Many classes took place outside under trees. All of this seriously compromised learning outcomes. For example, in Amyel, five primary schools, including Ongalo Primary School, were working out of one learning centre.

Following a period of relative peace and the movement of communities from IDP camps back to their villages, the infrastructure that was destroyed and looted during the LRA conflict needs to be rebuilt. Some schools were left with absolutely nothing – buildings, furniture and materials had all been burnt to the ground. Rebels had seen schools as representing the government and the state, and so they were a target for vandalism. This destruction and the challenge of rebuilding and re-supplying mean that, at the time of our field research in October 2008, some schools still had nothing. For example, 47 out of the 238 schools in Pader district were literally under trees. Teacher accommodation remained very limited.

There was evidence that the government and NGOs were seeking to address these infrastructure challenges. Communities were also doing what they could to improve education in their villages. For example, in Ongalo, parents were making parent and teacher association (PTA) contributions to recruit additional qualified teachers, and parents had built seven huts to accommodate them. The school was seen as an important pillar of the community. A member of the school management committee in Ongalo said: *'if you don't*

have a school in your area, there is no use for that village. The school is where people's futures are built. If you don't have a school to educate the young ones, it is very bad.'

5.2.2.2 Recruiting, retaining and motivating teaching staff

During and following the conflict, recruiting and retaining staff posed a significant challenge to schools in affected areas. For example, we were told by an official from the District Education Office in Pader that the office advertised vacant teaching posts three times during the insurgency but was unable to fill them. They re-advertised in February 2008, and there was an improved response, but it was still unlikely that they would fill all the vacant posts.

This struggle to recruit contributed to very high teacher-to-pupil ratios, particularly in the earlier years of primary school. Lack of teacher housing contributed to this: this was cited as a serious problem, as teachers then had to commute long distances to school, which was too dangerous for them during the height of the conflict, which left schools without teachers. Even now, during a period of relative peace, a lack of teacher housing near schools is a real impediment to the recruitment of staff. Meanwhile, the danger and perceptions of the danger of the region have also been a huge obstacle to teacher recruitment, preventing qualified teachers from moving in. These fears are justified: during the conflict, teachers were killed in schools and while commuting. Exposing them to further danger, teachers used to have to travel from Pader to Kitgum in the neighbouring district to collect their salary (until a bank was established in Pader recently). Teachers were killed making this journey. A further challenge to recruiting and retaining teachers was that some teachers were offered jobs with NGOs that had moved into the region during the conflict. These jobs had better salaries and working conditions and were thought to be safer.

In addition, high HIV infection rates are reportedly eroding the region's teaching force: although antiretroviral treatments are available, stigma reduces people's willingness to be tested and treated. Recruitment challenges are also reported to have a gender component, as women are reported to be very wary of taking postings in such insecure locations. The teaching force in the region has also been undermined by the recruitment of substandard teachers. This was particularly a problem during the conflict, when some applicants reportedly used borrowed papers to support their applications. This was more difficult to address during the chaos of the conflict and, now the teachers are in place, it will take some time to identify them and weed them out.

Teacher motivation and morale were also cited as problem, in both Kaberamaido and Pader. This is perhaps not surprising, given the challenging teaching environment and the trauma experienced by some teachers. This of course affects teaching quality and learning outcomes.

5.2.2.3 Poverty and trauma compromising learning and progression

The poverty and trauma that students experienced as a result of the conflict compromised their capacity to learn. As we have seen, at the height of the conflict, many students were not able to attend school. Commuting was too dangerous, and schools themselves were targeted by the LRA. Some families could not afford to pay for school uniforms and books, and needed children to work or look after younger siblings. Some households were child headed. But even when students were able to attend school, they were often hungry, scared or traumatised; some were returned child soldiers.[17] There were also high levels of dropout, as girls resorted to commercial sex work (some became pregnant) and boys resorted to theft. Meanwhile, as a teacher at Omid Primary School said, *'girls drop out, especially in P4, P5 and P6, and parents are to blame. Some organise early marriages'*.

Many children are still hungry and many others are still traumatised. Constrained livelihoods and income resulting from conflict and insecurity means that good educational attainment has been more difficult to achieve in conflict-affected areas. For example, in an FGD in Ongalo, we were told that, while UPE means that parents do not have to pay school fees, they still need to find money to pay PTA fees and to buy school uniforms, books and pencils. Since there is no market to sell produce (the nearest is 7 miles away) and families have no assets (their cattle has been taken by the Karamojong during cattle raids), they find paying for these education-related costs difficult.

The widespread poverty these communities have experienced as a result of the conflict means that very few students have progressed to secondary education. Analysis of NUBS data shows us that, while primary education enrolment is relatively high across Northern Uganda, post-primary education is low. This situation is even more acute in Pader and Kaberamaido, which are characterised by fewer people attending post-primary education than the average across the full Northern Uganda sample. This finding was confirmed by our qualitative research, which identified high enrolment in primary school at the lower levels but low primary completion rates and low post-primary attendance rates. In Ongalo, for example, the community had produced only one high school graduate in the past 30 years. Four people had completed S4, 13 had finished primary school (up to P7) and 30 had gone as far as P6 (also over the past 30 years). Some had had their education disrupted directly by the conflict factors discussed above (dangerous journeys to school, inability to pay owing to the loss of livestock and disruption of livelihoods, early marriage of girls).

5.2.2.4 Poor local government capacity and outreach

During the periods of conflict and insecurity, there was a decline in the capacity of local government to administer and deliver services, with education no exception. In addition, the

[17] For more on the psychosocial impact of the conflict on children and youth in Northern Uganda, see Annan et al. (2006).

conflict prevented Ministry of Education officials at the district level from visiting schools to monitor and support teachers or to distribute teaching materials. Post-conflict, local government officials struggled to meet their monitoring and staff development obligations, illustrating the circumscribed reach of government and reinforcing a view that the government could not deliver: during the conflict, it had been NGOs that had delivered services, and communities' faith in the ability of the government in this regard had been eroded.

There were also reports of funding delays – for example of UPE payments to schools. As a teacher from Omid Primary School said, *'it is difficult to run the school without money'.*

5.3 Education and resilience

Our second hypothesis was that education is an asset which serves a protective function, helping people to stay out of poverty during conflict and supporting post-conflict recovery (resilience). There has been much work recently on conflict and education, but little of this focuses on the role education plays in supporting resilience (e.g. Buckland, 2005; Davies and Talbot, 2008; Johnson and Stewart, 2007). We find that education contributes to resilience both during and following conflict. In the sections, below we outline the evidence to support this finding.

5.3.1 Education: a portable asset that supports resilience

Respondents who had completed primary school reported in interviews that their lives were easier than those for people without formal education. When they lost their livestock through cattle raids in the late 1970s and1980s, they adjusted more easily. Charles, a man from Omid Amoru with no formal education, said:

> The educated lead an easier life because they were able to cope with the loss of livestock by opting for other businesses as well as adjusting to use of the hand hoes for cultivation from the use of oxen. While others found it hard to cope without their animals, with some resorting to committing suicide by taking poison or hanging themselves, the educated easily coped.

Education also gave people a greater ability to plan and interact with authorities (e.g. writing letters). They were also more able to draw on social networks, adopt new crop varieties and diversify their livelihood strategies. Education gave them the confidence to travel, trade (because of their numeracy) and take on paid leadership roles (e.g. as NGO camp mobilisers in IDP camps or as local government representatives). Edward from Omid Amoru said:

> When you are educated you can learn ways to improve your standard of living by having more projects such as buying livestock, easily adopting new crop varieties, harvesting and marketing produce in Soroti [a market town] – where you increase your profits by reducing middlemen, unlike the uneducated who fear to explore most things.

Male community leaders from Ongalo in Pader concurred:

> Education is more important in protecting you from bad events than land, cattle, good connections or relatives working in town. It provides you with a salary and good connections and networks outside the community [...] People who are educated have an easy life. They are employed and can save money in the bank.

The ability to migrate and escape danger was highlighted by an elderly man from Opuno in Kaberamaido:

> The LRA war clearly showed the difference between the educated and the uneducated. During the conflict, most of the educated who were already living and working outside the district remained safe. Those who were educated and were within [the district] quickly ran away and sought refugee with someone living outside Uganda while others went to other districts and to the city. It's mainly the uneducated who stayed behind to suffer the consequences of the conflict and the floods that followed the conflict.

The section below presents a number of life histories touching on the role that education has played during and after the conflict in the study sites. A narrative summary is presented followed by a graphical representation in the form of a well-being chart and a short analysis. The first life history (Box 2) shows that education gave Matthew status and access to leadership roles. It illustrates how waves of insecurity affected Matthew's home area, making life hard for everyone and interrupting the education of some of his children. His story also illustrates vividly how conflict and insecurity are only some of the sources of hardship that have faced his community. Floods and pests have destroyed crops, bringing food insecurity. Widespread kidney problems and sleeping sickness (caused by tsetse flies) have further challenged the community. Matthew believes his well-being has improved since the low point he reached while living in the camp, but he still feels life is pretty tough.

Box 2: Life history of Okidi Matthew, Omid Amoru, Kaberamaido district

Matthew is a well-educated older man from Omid Amoru in Kaberamaido district. He is 68 and was in education until he was 19, when he completed what was then called Junior 3. Sadly, he had to leave school at that point because his father died, leaving two wives and six children. His father had been a successful farmer with many cattle, who drew on this wealth to educate his children. Unfortunately, the man who inherited these cattle when Matthew's father died managed the inheritance poorly, selling off the cows. This meant there was nothing left to pay for school fees.

Matthew's education has meant that he has been able to take on some interesting formal roles. In the 1960s, he worked as a polling assistant. He was one of the founders of Anyara Primary School, becoming a teacher and later headmaster. In 1978, he went to bible school and in 1980 became a lay leader in Kaberamaido. Between 1981 and 1985, he was parish chief at Adia for four years and then was transferred to Omid Amoru and where he was parish chief for two years (1985-87).

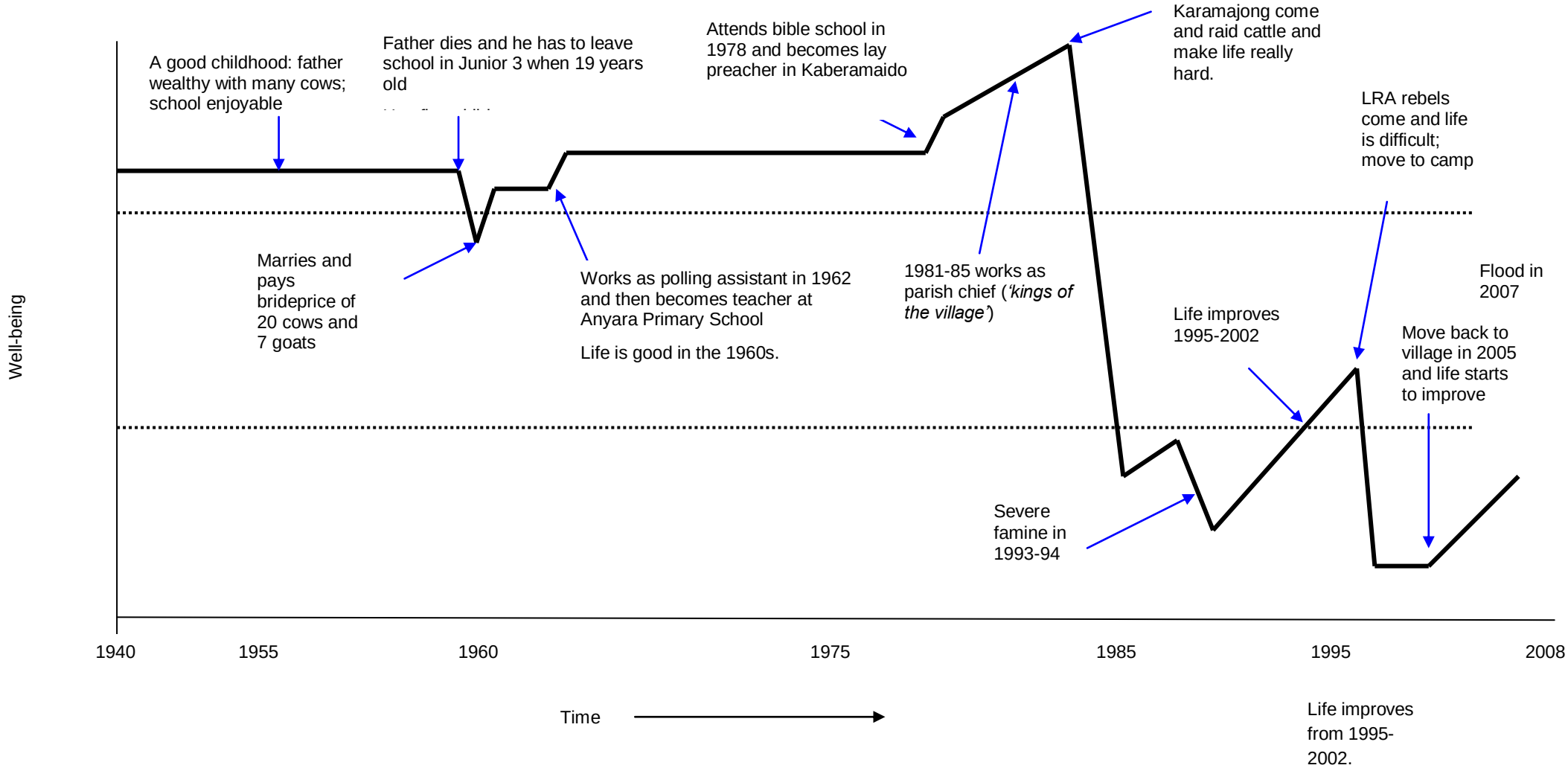
After this the Karamojong raided, killing lots of people. People were impoverished and life became miserable. Because of this, people rebelled against the government. Life became harder, as the UNLA rebels came and would force people to work as porters. Also, because people had lost their cattle, they had to cultivate their land using only hand hoes. Food was scarce and between 1993 and 1994 there was a severe famine, with people forced to eat wild fruits. The UNLA took all the cattle that the Karamojong had left, but in 1995 they began to surrender. Life started to go back to normal and people started farming again.

In 2003, LRA rebels arrived in the area. Life became very hard. The conflict led to over 130 deaths in the area and people had to move into a camp. Matthew found life very hard in Anyara Camp. There was very little food and many people got sick with diarrhoea and other illnesses. Some people used to try to travel home from the camp to find food in their fields and were killed. The conflict interrupted some of his children's education, who never returned to school, even though they had been doing well.

Matthew left the camp and returned home in 2005 and started growing new crops. Life began to get better, but in 2007 serious floods affected his cassava, potatoes and groundnuts. Some of his neighbours were driven out of their homes and went to stay in town. Some churches came to provide help but did not spread their assistance evenly throughout communities, instead selecting just their followers. Difficulties have continued, with people affected by kidney problems (perhaps from bad cooking oil distributed in camps) and tsetse flies and pests destroying crops.

Below, we present the well-being chart constructed with Matthew at the end of our life history interview with him.

Figure 3: Okidi Matthew's well-being map



Box 3 shows that Okello Janet's life has been marred not just by cattle raids and conflict but also by being raised in a household damaged by alcohol dependence. She sought to escape her difficult childhood by marrying at just 12. Life improved temporarily, but an inheritance dispute led to food insecurity. Later, her husband was killed, she was injured and livestock was stolen during a Karamojong raid. Her unhealed injury from this time means that she cannot do the kind of heavy labour expected of poor rural women – cultivating land, gathering firewood and water. By marrying again, she might have hoped for support for herself and her children, but she is unsupported by her second husband and dependent on others. It is possible that education would have transformed Janet's life – certainly, without it, she has few livelihood options and her resilience has been limited.

Box 3: Life history of Okello Janet, Ongalo Camp, Pader district

Okello Janet is an uneducated 40-year-old widow from Ongalo Camp, Pader district, with four children. She has had a difficult life and suffers from depression. Because her mother died when she was born, she was brought up by her father's uncle and aunt. They were one of the poorest families in their village.

She had a difficult childhood. Her cousins treated her badly, beating her and forcing her to cook for them when her uncle and aunt were not there to protect her. Although one of her cousins was sent to school, she never was and she was not bought clothes or looked after properly. Not only that, but her uncle started to drink heavily when she was four or five. He would sell things belonging to the household so that he could buy alcohol. Her aunt was hardworking and used to cultivate their land. They had good land and lots of it, but it was not well cultivated because of her uncle's drinking. When she was nine or ten her uncle chased her away while he was drunk and told her to find somewhere else to live. She did not have anywhere else to go, so she waited until he was sober and went home again. Because of this difficult situation, Janet married very young, aged only 12.

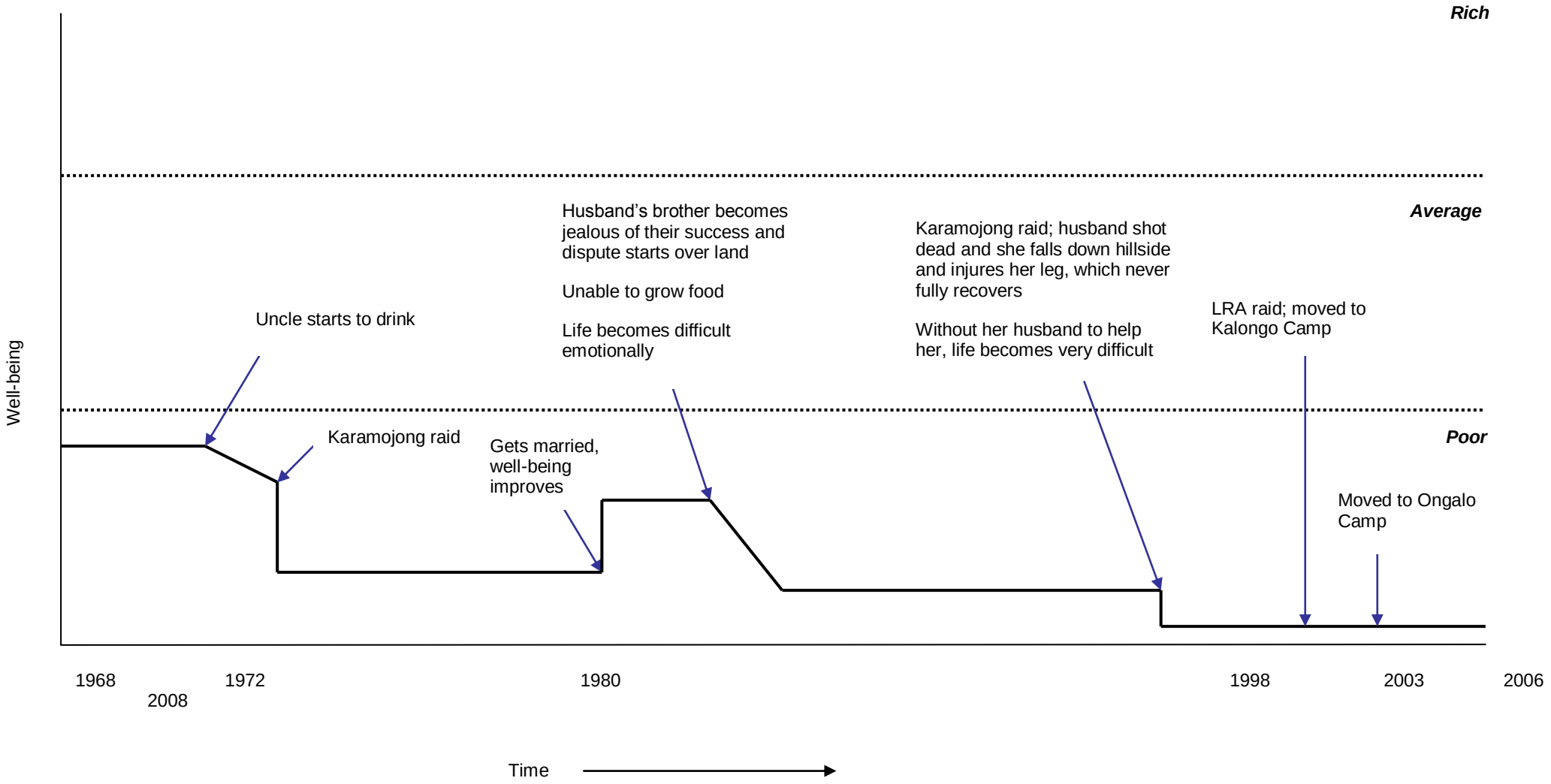
Life improved for a while after her marriage, and she and her husband, Charles, had a lot of food to eat. Charles had a lot of land and they planted many crops. Unfortunately, her husband's brother Simeon got jealous of their success and he made things difficult for them. He wanted to divide the land between the two brothers, but with him taking the larger share. This resulted in a serious conflict and Simeon would not listen to the clan leaders when they tried to resolve it. This meant that she and Charles were not able to cultivate their land anymore and they had to go hungry.

Charles was shot dead, Janet was injured and nine of their ten cows were stolen during a Karamojong raid in 1998. Life was very difficult after this. She had no one to help her cultivate the land or pay school fees. She formed a relationship with a man and had a child with him, but the relationship did not work out.

She and her children were forced from their homes by an LRA raid in 2003 and took refuge in an IDP camp in Kalongo. They slept in the open for two months until a kind person gave them a blanket, and eventually they were given a tent by an NGO. Life in the camp was alright but they needed money all the time to buy water and charcoal and food was limited. They had a good neighbour, who was well off and had food in his house. He used to give it to her children when they needed it. Later, the WFP gave her and her children food.

They stayed in Kalongo (mother) Camp for three years, but in 2006 government officials were keen that they return to their home area and they moved to Ongalo (satellite) Camp. Life in Ongalo is easier – not so expensive because she does not have to pay for water, and firewood can be collected from the surrounding countryside. Her injury from during the Karamojong raids (a twisted knee) means she cannot do heavy manual work and cannot collect water or firewood. This means that she needs to rely on other people. She is now married to her husband's brother, Andrew. He has two other wives and does not look after her or her children, although he promised that he would. Her brother gives her food and her nephew helps her too.

Figure 4: Okello Janet's well-being map



The experiences of Ethel, the wife of a primary school teacher, illustrate two ways in which education has supported resilience: making it more possible for people to leave the conflict zone and providing a steady income post-conflict, enabling the rebuilding of farm-based livelihoods. During the worst of the conflict, Ethel's husband was safe in Busoga. She and the children travelled to join him there in 2003 when there was a lull in the fighting and stayed there for over a year before returning to her village. This meant that their stay in the IDP camp was short, unlike others from her community. Once back home, money from her husband's salary meant she was able to hire labourers to help her to rebuild her house and farm, and they are now able to grow enough to eat. Ethel describes her situation as 'fair' but she knows that the damage done by the conflict is still affecting other families in her community more profoundly.

Box 4: Life history of Ethel Eloja, Omid Amoru, Kaberamaido

Ethel Eloja is a young woman (28) from Omid Amoru in Kaberamaido. She is the daughter of uneducated farmers and describes life being very hard as a child, because the Karamojong took all their cattle in 1986/87, when she was eight. They raided cattle, took goats, killed people and raped women and girls, and education came to a standstill. Parents married off their daughters to get rid of the extra mouths to feed and to gain brideprice. They also married off their sons. They did not have cattle to pay brideprice, so people would accept goats and pigs instead of cattle. The recipients would just eat the animals. If the girl was rich her parents would also ask for Ush.5-10,000. People went hungry at this time and some suffered from kwashiorkor. After her family lost their cattle in the Karamojong raid, they had to use hand hoes to cultivate their land.

The rebels killed her father's brother (1987) and her father brought his wife to live with them and had two children with her (she had no children when she arrived). Ethel's mother got on well with her co-wife. They understood each other, although the husband used to divide them. He used to say that he loved the stepmother more and tried to chase Ethel's mother away, but she came back.

Another problem she remembers from her childhood was when she was 12 and her parents were ill, first with gonorrhoea and then with syphilis. They spent a lot of money on treatment and could not take care of the children properly. But most of the time that Ethel was growing up, they ate well – meat, beans, peas. They were bought clothes at Christmas and between Christmases they received clothes from friends.

However, her family was very poor. They grew crops and kept chickens, which they sometimes sold. Also, her father would buy calves and raise them and then slaughter them in the trading centres. He would use the money for the family and for alcohol. He used to struggle to find money to buy another calf. He got the start-up capital to buy them from an uncle on his mother's side. When there was a famine, her parents would do casual work, clearing land for richer farmers.

Her father was a heavy drinker, and when he drank he 'became very rude' and did not want people near him. He would chase his wife and children away. He drank every day from morning until sunset, not drinking perhaps only once a week. If affected the family because it meant there was no money available for medical treatment and education. It was also very hard on her mother, as the family depended on her to cultivate the fields.

Despite these difficulties, Ethel and her siblings went to primary school and one of her sisters went to secondary school. This sister was brought up by an aunt, who registered her as an orphan, and she received church sponsorship. (She was another man's child and was born while Ethel's father was in prison for a year, following a bar brawl in which another man died.)

Ethel enjoyed school and wanted to become a nurse. She explained that teaching in her school was good when the teachers were not drunk, but some were drunk twice a week and they drank more if they had enough money. Alcohol was easily available because people brewed it near to the school; even the headmaster used to drink, so he did not discipline the other teachers.

Unfortunately, Ethel's parents did not have money for school fees and she had to drop out. Her father claimed that he did not even have the money to buy a pencil; if she asked for one he would ask her what had happened to the one he bought her the previous term. He wanted his daughters to get married so that he could get the brideprice. She married one of her former teachers in December of the year that she finished P7, when she was 14. There was no choice. She could not continue with her education.

She and her husband have been together for 13 years and he treats her well. Her life changed when she got married. He gives her money. He doesn't beat her. He takes her for treatment when she is sick. He buys her things and cheers her up when things are not going well. He helps cultivate their land when he is home and helps look after the animals. He takes care of the children when they are sick and when she is not around. (This was said shyly, as though it was a great source of pleasure for her that she had such a harmonious marriage. It was also clear that none of the things that she mentioned can be assumed by wives and in fact they are all quite unusual.) They have five children so far. The ones who are old enough are in school. Two are in Busoga, where her husband works as a teacher, so that they can go to a better school. The others are with her in Omid Amoru.

Because her husband works in Busoga, she sees him only in the school holidays and twice during each term, which means that she has to take responsibility for cultivating their land and for the children.

Her husband was the only son in his family and so inherited a lot of land. The amount of land that she is able to cultivate depends on the amount of money she has. If she has a lot of money she will cultivate more, as she can afford the inputs and pay casual labourers to help her three times in weeding and harvest plus the team that comes to plough. But sometimes she needs to use the money to buy food for the family and so cannot afford to cultivate so much land.

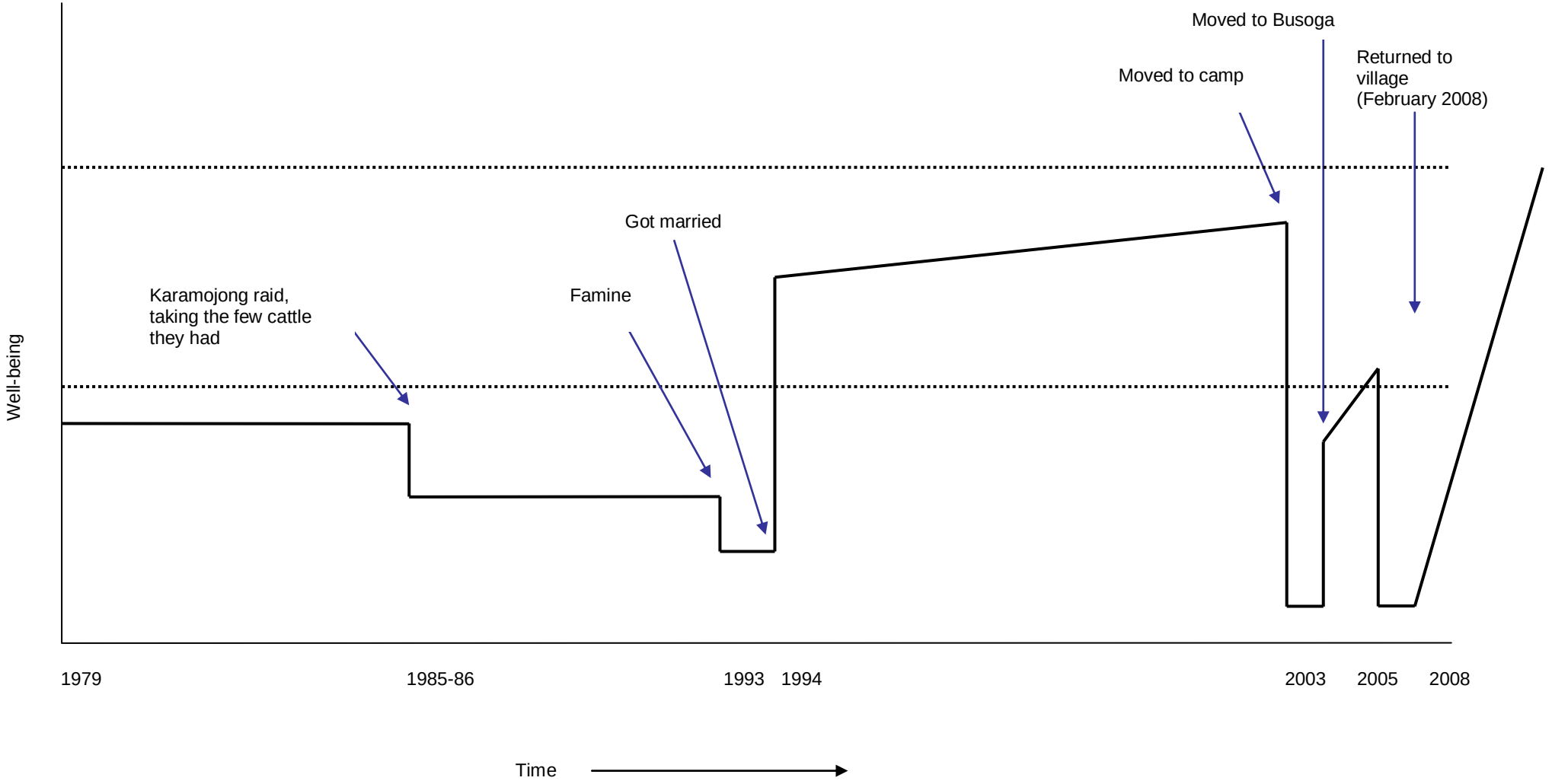
During the worst of the conflict, her husband was in Busoga, teaching. Ethel could not join him there immediately, because of the danger of ambush on the roads. She had to stay in a camp from August to November 2003 with her children. Life was difficult in the camp. They had to leave their crops to rot in the fields, they did not have enough food to eat and the children became ill. They had swollen stomachs and also got diarrhoea and vomiting. All her animals (three bulls, five sheep) died because there was no grazing in the camp. The Arrow Boys [an armed group drawn from across the Teso region mobilised to try to protect the local population from the LRA] were keeping peace in the camp, but some began to rape women. Some women left their husbands for one of the Arrow Boys, as they wanted food to eat and nice clothes.

Ethel joined her husband later in 2003, when there was a lull in the fighting. She stayed in Busoga for a year, then she came back to the village. Life was very difficult in Busoga. Her husband had little money and there was little food (the family was used to depending on food from their own farm, supplemented by his wages, rather than depending fully on his wages). They had only 1kg of maize per day for the whole family (husband, wife, children and wife's younger sister). They used to go to bed hungry.

When Ethel returned to the village from Busoga in November 2005, she had to rebuild everything. Life was hard at first because of famine caused by drought but settled down in early 2006. Her husband gave her money and she employed others to help her. Life improved as she could plant her own food. She planted cassava and now she can have food whenever she needs it. She no longer has to buy food.

Conflict caused famine; even when there was rain they did not cultivate their fields because of fear. The conflict no longer affects her family. They are alright, although other families in the community are still negatively affected – especially widows and other people who lost loved ones.

Figure 5: Eyatu Ethel's well-being map



Although Charles and his family face a number of problems, they are doing much better than many other families in their community. He explains that the time he invests in planning enables him to make good use of his social networks and other assets. His ability to plan could be linked to the education that he received. Although Charles dropped out of school in P6, he had more education than many others in his area. This probably combined with his high social status to help him get elected as village chairman. His experience during the conflict was that education was a source of risk. This is at odds with many of the comments by other respondents and provides an interesting insight.

Box 5: Life history of Odyek Charles, Lapaya, Pader district

Charles comes from a 'rich' family. There were four other households in his community who were as rich. His father had three wives and 12 children. They had a large compound with a good space between the houses. The compound was about an acre in size. It had one house with an iron sheet roof. The house was square and had a wood frame, filled with mud. There were 10 huts in addition. They needed so many because they were a large household. When Charles was a child, an indication of their wealth and status is that their family compound was used as the venue for community events and traditional dancing, and visitors to the village used to be put with them to stay.

His father had a lot of land – 50 acres – and when Charles was a young boy of four or five his family had around 40 cattle and so many goats and sheep they did not know the number. They also had lots of chickens – around 10 cocks and 50 hens and chicks at any time. His parents were mainly farmers, producing food for home consumption (they did not sell the surplus). His mother also used to brew cassava waragi which she sold to pay for school fees. They also sold cattle if they needed money.

As an example of how pleasant life was, Charles explains that he used to drink milk and after lunch he would take the livestock for grazing. He says that he had no problems at that time. They had a very good diet. Life was easy and simple. He never felt sick or had to go to hospital. That did not happen until later.

Charles' father was literate and had completed at least P5 at school. He was a catechist. This meant that he had a community leadership role. His mother had no education. Charles started school in 1969 and continued until he had to drop out of P6 in 1978 as a result of heart pain.

His father gave him some land to cultivate when he got married in 1980. In 1983, he took a second wife. Sadly she died in 1996 when she stepped on a landmine, leaving four children. He and his first wife are raising these four children along with their seven. They live as one harmonious family. Now his father has died he has inherited all 50 acres that his father owned because he was the only son who lived. (He has now passed some of this land on to his sons who have married. He cultivates only some of the remaining land, leaving the rest fallow).

When Charles married his first wife, life was good. They worked together on their land and did not have to do casual labour. Life was very easy: 'if someone does not have a wife, life is hard. If you have a wife you bring your ideas together.' He bought cattle and started breeding them. He had five cattle, 10 goats and 20 chickens before the Karamojong raided their village. They were then displaced by conflict and had to live in a camp from 1997 to 1998, where life was really bad. When they ran to escape the conflict they had to leave all their food at home. In 1999, he went to his brother, who gave him land near the camp to cultivate. On this land, he was able to grow groundnuts, beans and cassava and his children started eating well. His children had only just started at school when they were displaced in 1997 and their education was seriously interrupted.

'Within Lapaya village, people with an education do not exist.' If he looks at neighbouring areas he sees that people with an education have been able to move to nearby towns and get into petty trade: 'it has lifted them up'. But things are changing locally with education. Because of UPE, most children are going to school. More children are completing primary school and getting certificates. Some who have done well are being sponsored by NGOs. Also, their woman member of parliament came to give support to children who had done well.

Charles says that his education helped him in the past and it still helps him. He was elected chairman of an adjacent village – Kibega – in 1986 (when the Museveni government first came in) as a result of his education. He has stayed the LC as village chairman ever since then. Now that they have come back to their home village there is nothing 'oppressing' him. He and his family have been able to recover better from the conflict than other families in the community. They have done this through small-scale farming – growing sesame and beans as cash crops. He thinks that he has done better than others because he sits down and thinks about the future. He plans to make sure that his children can eat and live well in the future. For example, he has vegetables planted around his house, because he cares about what they eat. He feels that planning is the key to his success, rather than having a lot of land or having good social networks. Planning enables him to make good use of his other assets. Another example is that he uses planning to coordinate with his friends. He gets them to come and help him in his garden and when they have finished their work they will sit and drink the waragi together that his wife has distilled.

On the other hand, Charles feels that during the conflict it was worst for those with an education. If the rebels caught you and knew that you were educated, they would kill you. They thought that, if you were bright, you might influence government policy against the LRA. It was also worst for children. The rebels would find out who was educated among the children and kill them. Some of the lucky ones with education who were abducted were not killed. But if the LRA did not kill you, they would not release you. They would make you work for them, for example as a field doctor. As such, it was better not to have an education at that time.

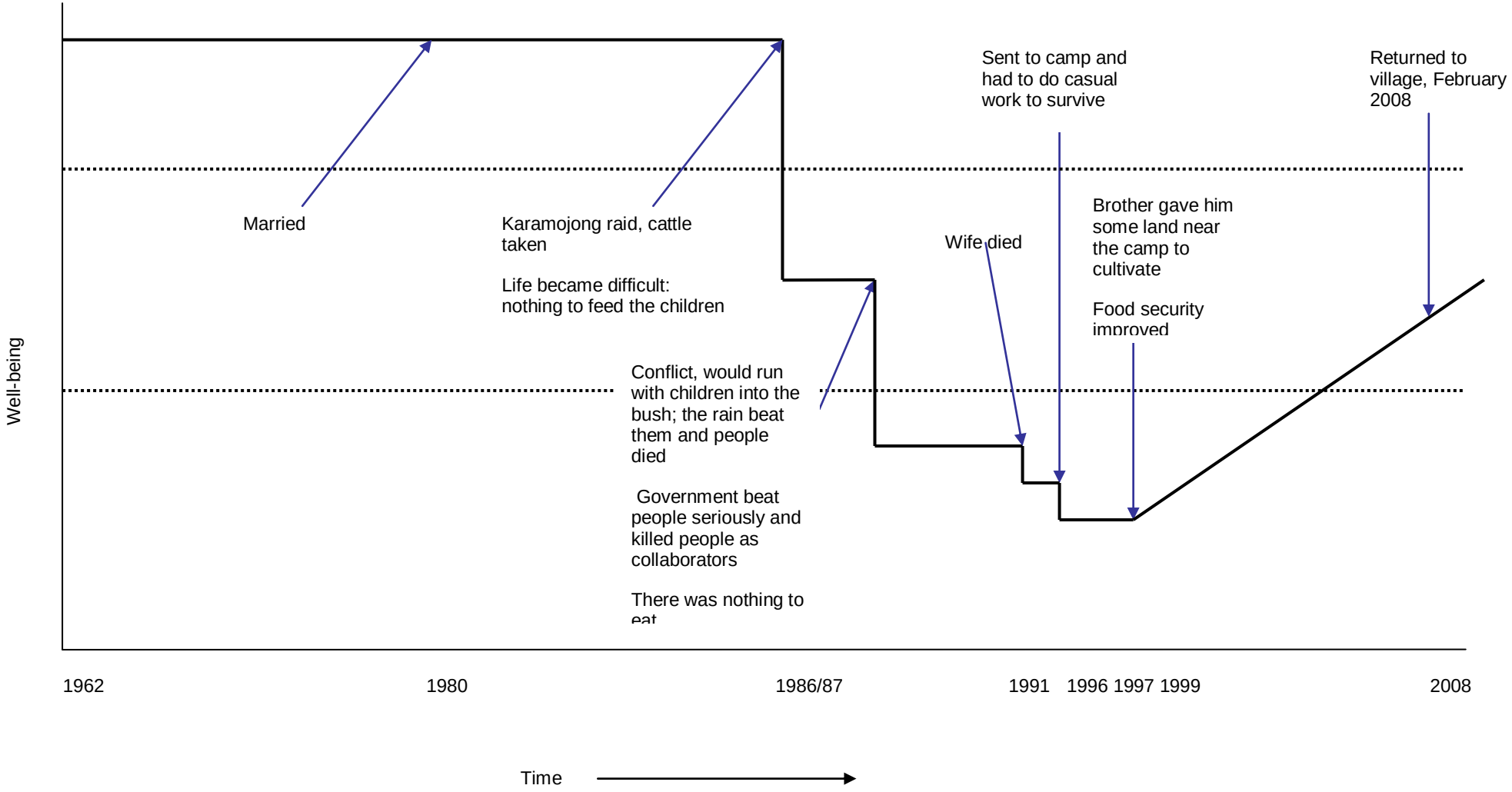
More recently, the family has been affected by ill-health. One of his sons from his second wife has gone blind. His blindness is caused by a fly (known locally as ajonga mye). Charles says that, if it bites you around the eye or in the eye and something goes into the blood, you go blind, although it takes many years before the blindness develops ('river blindness'). The boy started going blind in February 2007 and now can read only by using Braille. He is now going to the special school in Kitgum.

Charles sees this as his family's biggest problem but it is not the only one. Another problem is that one of his children has been hospitalised for two months and his wife has been having to stay with the child. His wife was making cassava chips in the hut and the baby was crawling on the floor and fell over into the cooking pot, burning the back of his head.

Other problems concern education. One of his children was supposed to be in S5 this year, but he has had to stay back because he got a girl pregnant. She was under 18, so he was charged with defilement and taken to prison. Charles had to pay money to get him out (a fine? A bribe?), after which there was no money left for school fees. By the time the case was over, it was too late for him to start the academic year, so he will have to wait until 2009. Another boy sat the end of P7 exam and was supposed to start S1 this year, but he is re-sitting P7 because his father has no money for his school fees and is worried that if he sits at home he will be influenced by his friends who have dropped out of school. He will be affected by 'V culture' (video culture – 'the worst of the West') and will forget about studying.

Life at home would be good if it were not for these problems. He has a good relationship with his children. He does not beat his children or his wife. They all get on well. Looking to the future, he wants to see his children healthy and with a better standard of living than the rest of the community. Although he stopped school at a low level, he wants his children to continue. He wants them to study and to know about the world because 'in the current situation people need information'. He wants his children to 'get better jobs than at the LC3 level' (in other words, he wants them to have jobs that are not confined to the local area and that have some status). He dreams that his children will go to university, including his girls. Unfortunately, one of his daughters was poisoned by her sister's husband and died, leaving a baby of only four months. He is raising the child, who is now walking.

Figure 6: Odyek Charles' well-being map



Gloria is another woman we interviewed who had had an exceptionally tough childhood. As a result, she had little education and had married young. The challenges she faced during her early childhood were fundamentally driven by marital conflict, the absence of her mother and her stepmother's behaviour. These problems were compounded by the effects of conflict and insecurity (loss of livestock, displacement, sister's abduction). Education clearly mattered during the conflict – and Gloria gives a couple of vivid examples of how educated people were at an advantage in the camps. But, despite having almost no education, Gloria has seen her life improve post-conflict. Food security has improved and life is happier. To achieve this, she and her husband must supplement the food they can grow on just 2 acres of land through drudgery-intense livelihoods – charcoal making and distilling – and they have not yet been able to accumulate any livestock. In spite of this hand-to-mouth existence, Gloria has funded her young brother-in-law's education and he is now at technical college.

This illustrates that fit, healthy young couples can recover from destitution post-conflict to some degree through farming and agro-processing activities, but that this does not enable them to accumulate capital and move out of poverty.

Box 6: Life history of Onyuia Gloria, Lapaya, Pader district

Gloria is a young mother of 22. She is heavily pregnant and her baby is due any day. She plans to give birth at the local clinic, one to two hours' walk away. It is her fourth pregnancy, but she has only one living child. Her first baby was a girl and died weeks after birth. Her second pregnancy was also a girl but ended in miscarriage. Her third child was a boy. He was born prematurely and has had chest problems since he was a baby. He is now two years old. She is also responsible for educating her husband's brother. She took on responsibility for him when she got married. He has completed P7 and passed his exams but there was not enough money to pay to send him to secondary school, so he has gone to a technical college instead.

Growing up, Gloria was one of three daughters in a fairly average family. Her family had a nice compound, with flowers and fruit trees. They did not own any cattle but had four goats, three sheep, two pigs and lots of chickens. During the conflict, the LRA took the goats, sheep and chickens during a raid. They killed the pigs but just left them there, because they do not eat pork.

Her parents were farmers but her mother left when Gloria was six, after a quarrel. After this, life became difficult. They used to have abundant food all the year round and were able to sell the surplus to buy other necessities, but after she left there was no one to cook for them. The children used to wake up in the morning and have to go and find the food that they were going to eat that day. Gloria was responsible for cooking but was so young that she could manage to cook only once a day.

Her father remarried but, rather than getting better, life became even more difficult. Their new stepmother used to beat them severely. She also gave them a lot of work to do – more and harder work than was appropriate for children of their age. Also, she used to send them to collect firewood from risky places which exposed them to abduction from the LRA. The children wanted to go to school but their stepmother prevented them. Their father used to step in and try to protect them but when he did she would threaten to leave him.

Her sisters both went to school but she was not able to go regularly, partly because of the conflict but also because their father did not encourage them and used to tell them to go and cultivate their farm or find food. Gloria's education was also blocked by her older sister, who was already married when

their stepmother left (in 2001, while they were living in an IDP camp) and told her that it was Gloria's responsibility to cook for the family and look after her younger sister and her stepmother's children.

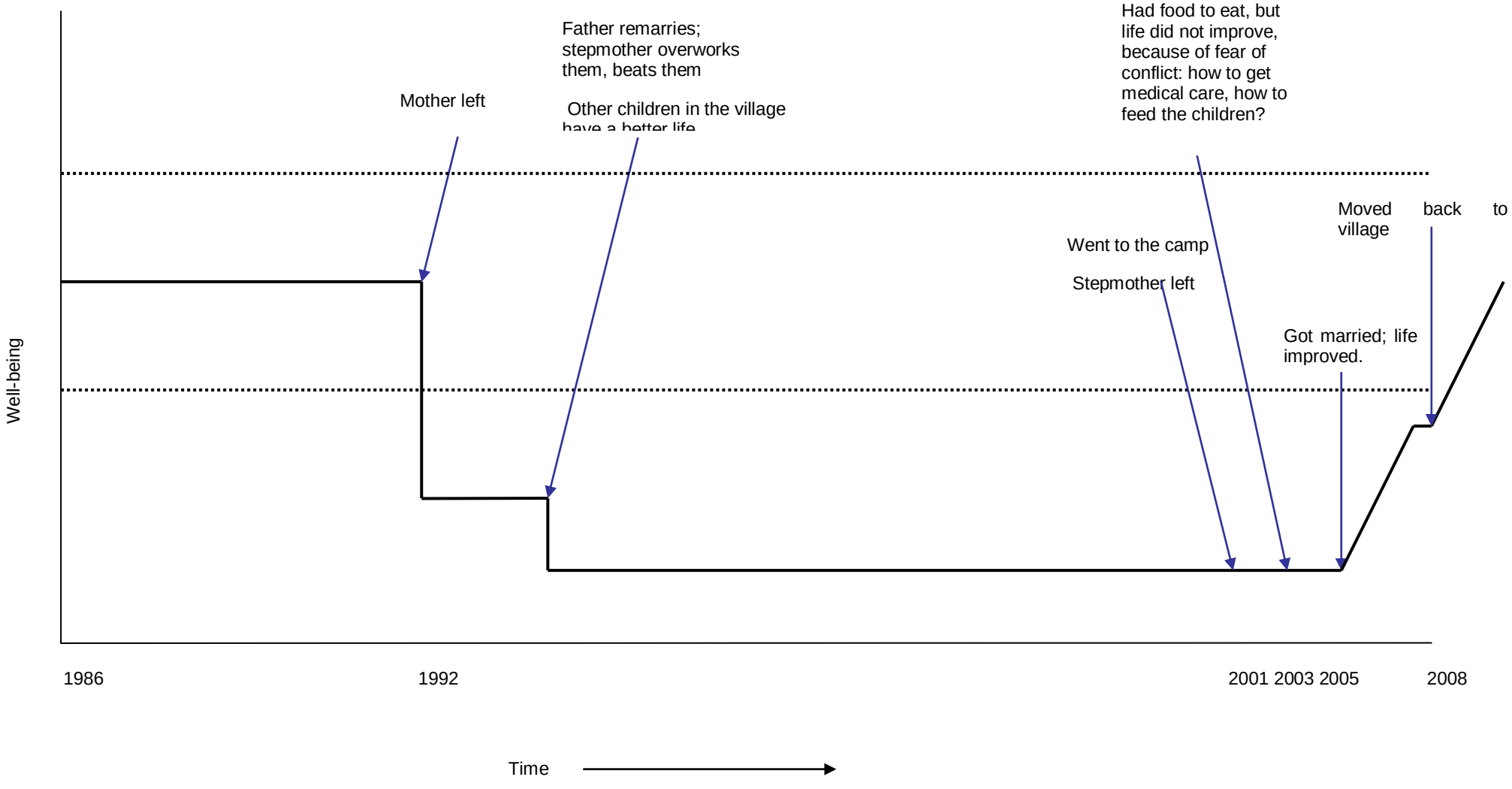
Gloria explained that her generation has been affected badly by the conflict, and this has been the situation for the whole time that they have been alive. Some of her age mates were abducted. Some were killed. Very few of her age mates went to school. Her younger sister went to school in 2001 and 2002 but then she was abducted by the LRA, when she was 11. She stayed in the bush for a year. She was given to one of the soldiers, as a 'wife'. She was also told to kill friends that she had been abducted with. She was freed and World Vision looked after her for a month and then she came back to the community and was welcomed back. Unfortunately, her experiences traumatised her: 'an evil spirit overwhelmed her'. The evil spirit used to bother her constantly. She would 'become possessed' and would rush into the bush. Her family would have to rush after her and they would try to subdue her and tie her up to bring her home. Gradually, she recovered. She went back to school in 2004-2005 but her problems led to her dropping out of school.

During the conflict, living in the IDP camp was difficult. Educated people were at an advantage. Their ability to read helped them to earn a living. Because they could read signposts they could travel outside the camp to buy things for resale within the camp. Also, NGOs sometimes sent letters to camp residents to inform them about food distribution or other benefits. People who were illiterate had to find someone else to read the letter for them. By the time they had done this, they might have missed the benefits. Gloria was responsible for feeding several children and she had to rely on casual work, which was sometimes difficult to complete because of raids.

Gloria got married in 2005 and she passed over responsibility for the children to her father. Her husband was hardworking and life got easier. She became a mother and had a better life. They were able to eat twice a day.

Now that they are living back in her husband's village, life is more comfortable than it was in the camp. They grow crops and do casual work. Gloria makes waragi from time to time and her husband makes charcoal. They do not have any livestock (they had one chicken, but it was stolen). Unfortunately, the conflict means that they are not able to access all of her husband's land, but they can access some of it (2 acres) and they do not have to rent land to cultivate, as they did when they were staying in the IDP camp. Also, they can access firewood easily rather than having to buy it. However, she does miss having a health unit and market close by. Now they have to walk to the nearest trading centre to go to the clinic or buy soap or salt, which is one to two hours' walk. Literacy does not make much difference now that they are back in the village. Everyone is living the same life. But, over time, she feels that people with an education may see their lives improve. They might do this by investing profits from agricultural sales in petty trade. People without an education would struggle to run a kiosk because their illiteracy would mean that they would not know what to buy.

Figure 7: Onyuia Gloria's well-being map



Robert had a fairly comfortable start in life. Although his family was not rich, they had some assets and could afford primary education and medical treatment. Having some education meant that Robert could escape the drudgery and low status of casual labour to migrate for work on sugar plantations. His family were displaced by war and spent some time in a camp – where Robert's education helped him to get an official position. Now that they are back home, they are taking time to recover, with the whole family squeezed into just one hut. But he clearly values what education can achieve, as he is 'draining his resources' to send his son to secondary school.

Box 7: Life history of Aryenyo Robert, Omid Amoru, Kaberamaido.

Robert came from a family he described as average, neither rich nor poor. His parents were farmers. They had four to five cattle that they used for ploughing and they were able to raise a fair amount of food. If they were ill, his father was able to pay for medical treatment. Their compound contained about 10 huts and there were goats, chickens and sheep as well as the cattle. He had a happy childhood and was sent to school when he was 11. He had eight brothers and sisters (four boys and four girls), who also went to school. Sadly, Robert had to drop out in P7 because his father did not have enough money to enable him to continue. He reported that only those from wealthy families, or those with assistance from outside the family, were able to continue.

When he left school, Robert went home and started planning to marry. He got married in 1986 and set up his own compound, with two houses. He and his wife had three children together. She died in 1996 of a disease that made her stomach, arms and legs swell. When she died, he had to sell his goats to pay for the funeral. After his wife died, he endured seriously difficult times. Their youngest child was still a baby and he had to look after her as well as working. This limited the farming he could do and so they were hungry at home. He had to work as a casual labourer in other people's gardens to feed his children. When the baby was old enough, he left his children with his mother and migrated to Kakira (near Jinja) to find work on a sugar plantation. He was there between 1997 and 2000. He married again in 1998 and brought his new wife home with him when he returned. They have had five children together (including twins, a boy and a girl), so he now has eight children in total.

In 2003, the LRA came and they had to seek refuge in the camps. They left in a hurry, leaving their animals behind and the food to rot in their fields. Life in the camp was miserable. They had to sleep outside for safety, and there was no food.

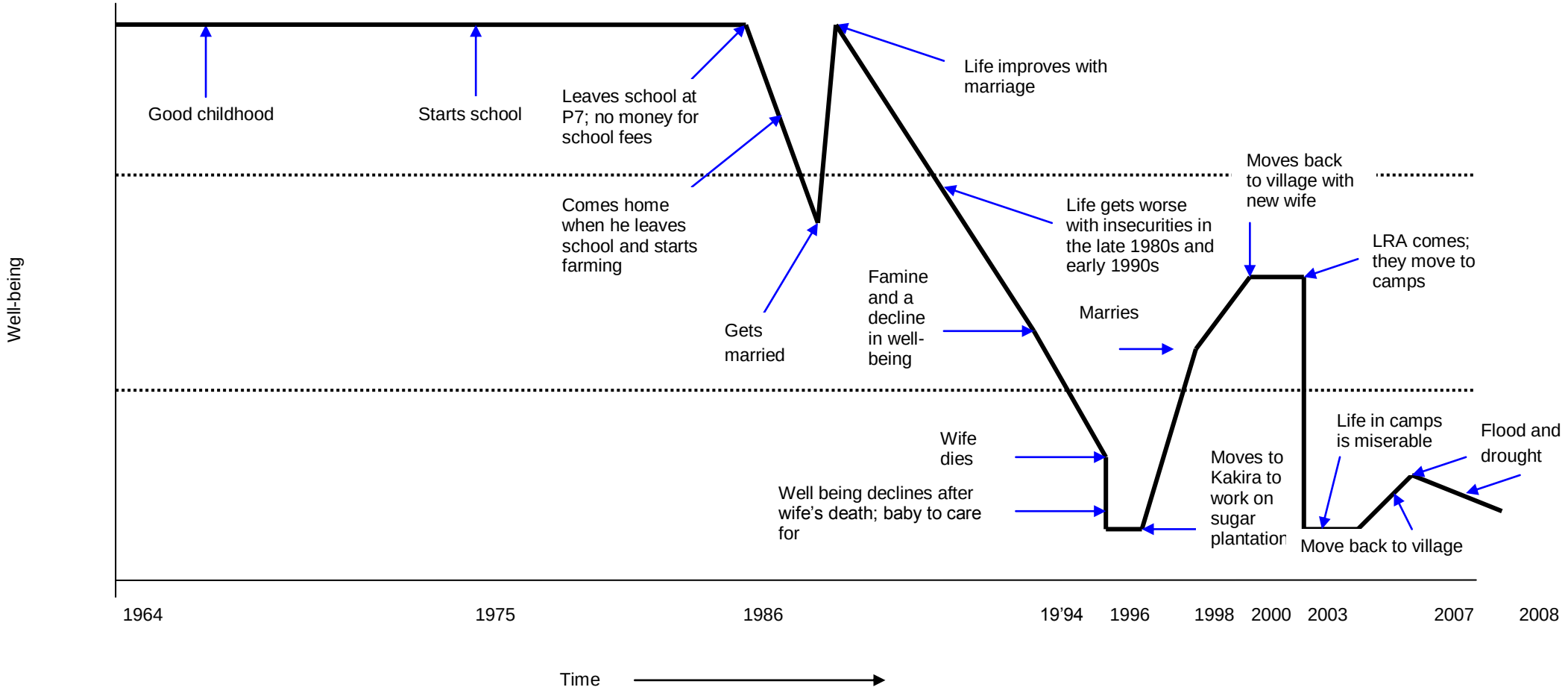
He returned to his village again in late 2004. Since then, his biggest challenge has been to get a good yield from his farm. The weather has been unpredictable and pests are causing problems. The family have also had health problems. He and his wife get stomach pains and the children get malaria. They are living crowded together into one small hut. If he compares his level of well-being with others in the village, he thinks he is now quite poor. This is because there is little food at home. He and his wife have been sick and their yields have been poor. Also, paying for his son to go to secondary school has drained his resources. He has one cow, which has had a calf. He was given the cow and eight goats by an old man in the village in return for looking after his animals. He has chickens too (but he is not certain of the number).

His dreams that his children will have a better life and that they will be in a position to work in the future. He really hopes his children go to secondary school, but this depends on the yields of his crops and so on the availability of rain. He does not have any social networks that he can rely on – he can depend only on himself.

His thinks that his education has helped him during his life. Although he left school in P7, he can write and speak English. This meant that he could migrate to Kakira to earn money. Old school friends who continued with their education have formal sector jobs. One went on to be an agricultural extension officer; another went to be a fisheries officer, and others are politicians (e.g. an LC3 in Anyara).

During the conflict, education helped him. He was camp security officer and had to keep order and ensure that when there was a visitor things were done in a orderly way. He also knew to follow advice and stay in the camp. Others who were not educated insisted on returning to their farms, even when they were told things were insecure. On returning to his village too his education helped him. It makes him popular. It has also enabled him to get elected positions. For example, he is zone chairman for his clan; LC1 secretary of defence; head of the Church of Uganda in the village; and chairman of a local self-help group (20 local people share the returns from four bulls, three milking cows, eight goats and one billy-goat, given to them by Temele Development Organisation). His education also helps him with his farming, helping him to plan well and plant his crops using perfect 'line work'. He also says 'my education gives me the courage to try new crops'.

Figure 8: Aryenyo Robert's well-being map



Daniel's education was cut short by insecurity – he had to drop out of school following a Karamojong raid. Joining a farmers' group made crop cultivation easier. Later, migrating to work on a sugar plantation and then as a security guard enabled Daniel to accumulate assets. Much of this improvement was destroyed when his assets were stolen by LRA soldiers and the family had to seek shelter at an IDP camp. He fought to defend his community and left the camp as soon as he could to try to rebuild his life at home. Floods have made recovery difficult but the family has been able to recover sufficiently to own livestock.

Daniel values education highly and believes that by educating his children he will enable them to escape inherited poverty. But his own poverty makes it unlikely that his children will be able to complete secondary school, despite his dreams.

Box 8: Life history of Edopu Daniel, Omid Amoru, Kaberamaido

Daniel is a 31-year-old father of five. He tells us that his life was hard when he was a child. His father did not have any bulls for ploughing, and those without bulls had to work as labourers for those with bulls if they wanted their land ploughed. They did not produce a surplus that they could sell. They were a poor family. Even his grandfather was poor. He did not have wealth or resources and had only one daughter, so was not able to build up wealth through brideprice. Also, his grandfather liked drinking, so did not help the family much.

His aunt's husband paid for Daniel's school fees for P1 and P2, then his father took over and paid the fees using money from selling millet. His sister did not go to school. Daniel's mother had died when he was eight and his sister had to help at home. Daniel had to drop out of school in P6 when he was 15, when the Karamojong raided their village. They took everything – chickens, goats, cassava and everything from the houses.

Daniel married in 1991, when he was 19, and joined a farmers' collective, which worked in groups of five to help each other cultivate their land. Things got a little better during this time. In 1993, he and his wife had their firstborn (they now have five children). After this, he decided to migrate to Kakira to work on a sugar plantation. He was one of quite a number of people from his village to go. He worked there for three years then went to Jinja to work as a security guard for just under two years. Life was 'fair' working on the sugar plantation. He was able to save money to buy ploughing bulls. This was important as he had not been able to accumulate much through hand hoe cultivation. As a security guard, his life was really good, but life at home was difficult for his wife and a neighbour had started to encroach onto his land so he decided it was time to go home (2001). His time away had enabled him to build a new house and buy mattresses, a radio, a bicycle and goats. When he returned home he sold the goats and bought a bull, which he then sold and bought two bulls. He felt that going to Kakira and Jinja was worthwhile also because he met so many different people and was able to gain new knowledge on life and learn more about how to plan for life.

Then LRA rebels attacked his village in 2003. They raided his home while he and his family were sleeping nearby, and took mattresses, clothing, goats and chickens. The rebels pointed a gun at him and chased him and abducted his wife and one of his children. He ran to one of the camps and mobilised soldiers, who found his wife and child. After this, Daniel joined the Arrow Boys out of frustration. They protected the camp from LRA attacks and accompanied people to their homes if they needed to go back to their fields to harvest food. Daniel was involved in three different confrontations with the LRA. He lived in the camp with his family, but would go out with the Arrow Boys as part of the camp battalion.

Daniel complains that in the camp 'there was no life'. There were no latrines and there was faeces all over the place. It was really smelly and dirty. The roads were 'infested with LRA' and humanitarian relief could not get through. There was no food and the camp was terribly crowded. Life was very

difficult but if you tried to go home you were met by rebels. Later, after the roads became safe, relief arrived. When the situation normalised a bit, people in the camps formed groups according to villages and would organise and go to cultivate their fields with a gun. They would dig in the morning and move to and from the village together as a group.

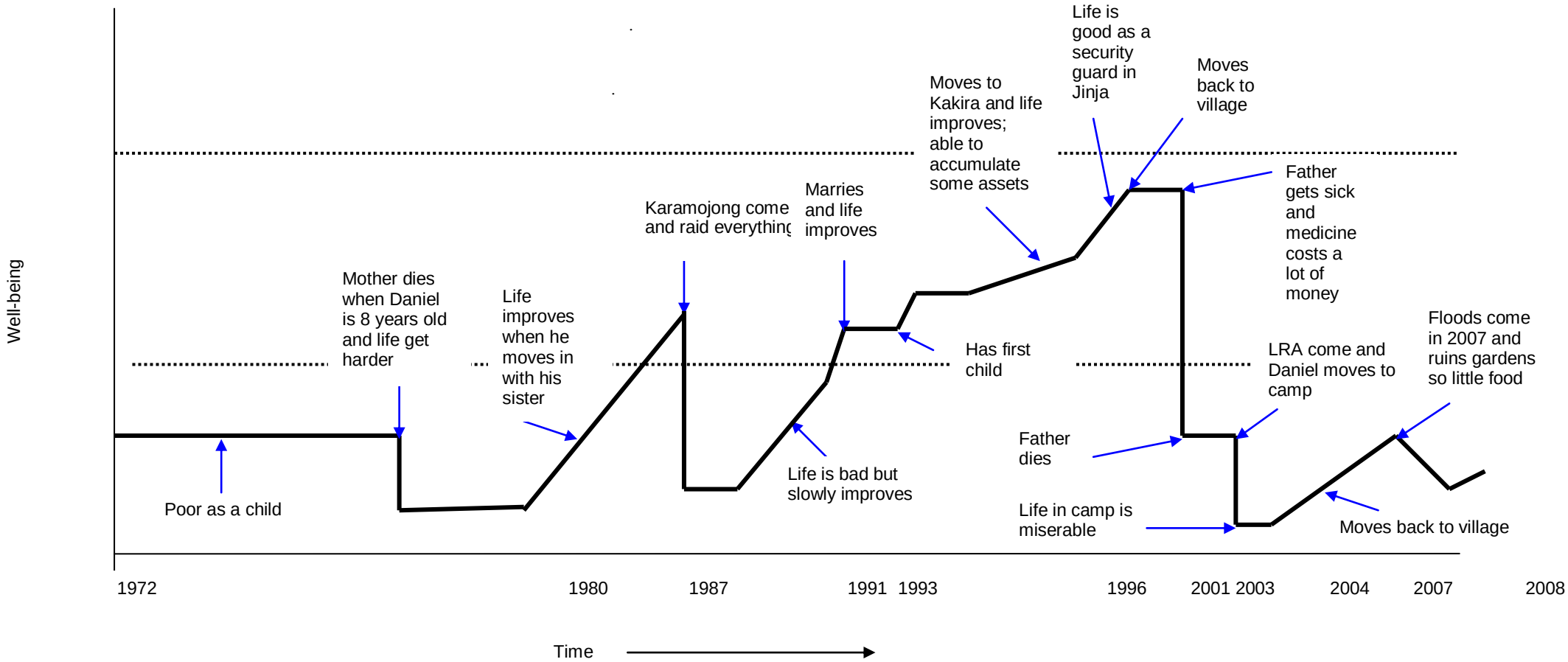
His family was one of the first to move back to the village in 2004, because of the awfulness of camp life. Others returned later, in 2005 or 2006. Life has been alright since he returned to the village, but last year (2007) they had floods and food rotted in the fields. This means that their granaries are empty this year but he is a good farmer and he knows that farming is the only way to make a living. 'If you refuse to dig, you have no way to survive.'

He now has two bulls that he uses for ploughing, one sheep, one pig and chickens. When he looks at his lifestyle, he thinks he is poor compared with others in the village. He has gained some things through luck, but others who have relatives in town have more than him and those who did not have their property taken during the conflict are lucky.

He tells us that educated people had an easier time during the conflict and in the camps. Educated people who had work could hire vehicles in town and pick up their property and family and drive somewhere safe. Educated people in the camp, such as teachers and chiefs, were still paid their salaries, so they were able to get food. They also had the money to rent permanent houses.

He wants to educate his children 'so they don't have to inherit poverty that my grandfather passed on. They can have a better life in the future.' He wants his daughter to go to secondary school but for this to happen he will need to find someone to share the cost of her fees. Otherwise, he cannot see any way that she will be able to continue with school, as the output from his farming is too little to meet all the demands of the household (school fees, changes in diet, clothes and soap).

Figure 9: Edopu Daniel's well-being map



Williams is one of the very few villagers we interviewed with more than secondary school education. His education gives him high status in his community and his work is very much appreciated. He describes himself as being beyond others in the community, but in concrete terms he relies on agriculture as his source of livelihood, as do those around him.

Box 9: Life history of Arac Williams, Ongalo Camp, Pader district

Williams is a 28-year-old health worker at the health clinic in Ongalo in Pader district. He had a difficult childhood because of the cattle raids in 1982 and 1989 and his father's death in 1987. His family lost everything in the raids.

Williams got ill in 1992 and had to spend two years in hospital. He almost became lame. This made things very hard for his family because their mother was bringing them up alone and had to spend a lot of her time at the hospital with him. So, she had limited time left to work, meaning there was little food for the other children in the family. When Williams' health improved in 1994 and he was able to return home, things got better for the family because his mother could now cultivate their land.

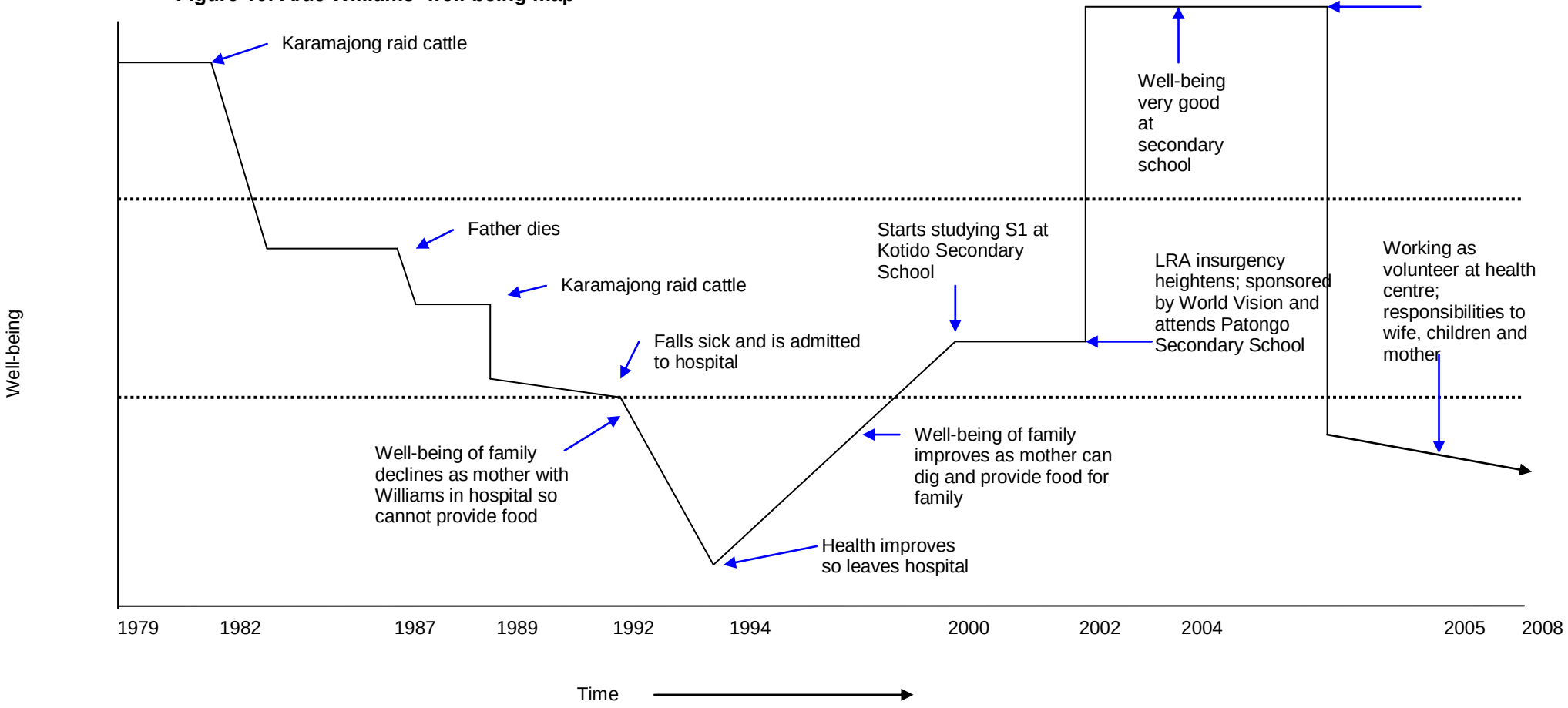
World Vision decided to sponsor Williams because of the time he spent in hospital and because his mother was an elderly widow, and in 2000 they sent him to Kotido Secondary School to start S1. He then transferred to Patonga Secondary school for S2 through to S4. Even though this was the time of the LRA insurgency, his time at school was very happy and he had a very high level of well-being. However, in 2005, when he was in S4, World Vision moved to Gulu and the sponsorship programme in their area was stopped.

Williams really enjoyed school and was disappointed when he had to leave. (His sisters and brothers went to school but were not sponsored to continue and had to drop out at the primary level.) When he had to leave school, he came home and his mother found him a wife. He now works at the health centre in Ongalo as a volunteer with another local boy who also has some secondary education. He was trained by Medair as a community health worker and vaccinator.

He feels that being educated through to S4 has made him different to other people around him. All the same, it is not enough education for him to get a paid formal sector job. (He needed two more years of education to finish.) But he has benefited from his education. He thinks life becomes easier when you have an education and he has medical knowledge from his training. He feels that his is 'beyond others in the community'.

Williams would love to get more training as a health worker, so he could do more in the health clinic. He wanted to go to the Primary Teachers' College but there was not enough money to pay the fees so he had to stay at home. Also, as the lastborn in the family, he has responsibilities – to his mother, his wife and now his two children, who are now one and four years old.

Figure 10: Arac Williams' well-being map



Reviewing the evidence from these and other life histories and from a number of key informant interviews and qualitative exercises, we see that people with even two years of education were described as being more likely to educate their children and to take their children to the local clinic when they were sick. Educated respondents reported that they see the value of education and are more likely to strive to educate their own children – there is significant evidence of intergenerational transmission of educational attainments from adults to the children in their care.

Table 2 illustrates the returns to education during and immediately post-conflict, according to young men in Ongalo.

Table 2: Returns to education during and immediately post-conflict

Educational level	During conflict/insecurity	Post-conflict
Primary 2	Might be expected to work as a casual labourer during the conflict, because not able to work for themselves.	Likely to face a difficult life. Will struggle to get money. Will depend completely on farming as a livelihood or might diversify into charcoal burning. Alternatively, might join NRM army.
Primary 7	Might have been employed by an NGO in the IDP camp to build and maintain latrines.	Will live the same life as someone with P2 education or someone who has not gone to school at all. Will be farmers.
Technical College	Could make furniture in the camps or get building contracts.	Can construct secondary or more vocational schools. This will give them an easy life.
Secondary 4	Might have paid employment with an NGO recording names. Their salary would mean they could get food for their family	Will have an easy life – similar to someone with S6 but with less knowledge. Might work in a village health clinic.
Secondary 6	Might have been in boarding school during the conflict, so avoided being affected directly conflict. Once they left school and went to live in the camps would have been able to get paid work. Not an easy life, but at least an income.	Have a different life to everyone else in the community. Will have a good future. For example, might work as a community nurse.

Source: FGD with young men, Ongalo Camp, Pader district.

Analysis of the NUBS data supports and amplifies these qualitative findings. Across the NUBS sample, level of education is strongly associated with household income quintile, with links to type of economic activity. Three-quarters of households in the sample work in agriculture, with the vast majority farming for home consumption (or being family workers); those engaged in this activity are fairly uniformly distributed across the first four quintiles. It is being able to work in non-farm activities, in particular non-farm wage activities, that makes households able to accumulate and become better-off. Such activities are represented disproportionately in the highest quintile. The most common forms of non-farm wage activity are in public administration and education, which are well-paid compared with the alternatives. Within non-farm self-employment, wholesale and retail trade and manufacturing predominate. These are less concentrated in the top quintile than non-farm wage activities are, but they are still overrepresented there.

What is particularly striking is the role of education in relation to this (see Table 3). Looking at the distribution of jobs by education level, it is apparent that having some post-secondary education is almost a requirement for accessing a non-farm wage job, as the single most effective route out of poverty. Education also helps significantly in enabling people to work in non-farm self-employed activities. Those with lower levels of education seem to be restricted largely to agriculture, where poverty levels are significantly higher. Thus it seems that, without a complete secondary education, it is very hard for people in the region to access the types of economic activity most likely to enable them to move out of poverty.

Again using the NUBS data, we looked at the relationship between households living in a conflict-affected district, or individually affected by conflict, and education. More children currently aged 18 or below in the more conflict-affected districts had never attended school, and fewer were at secondary school. This was the case even in locations where the conflict had ended many years before. Among adults, the effects are even more striking: in the more conflict-affected districts, many more had lower levels of educational attainment (many had no education or incomplete primary) and many fewer had attended secondary or higher compared with in non-affected districts.

Table 3: Occupation type of household head, by education level, Northern Uganda (%)

Occupation	Education level						
	None	Incomplete primary	Complete primary	Post-primary	Complete secondary	Post-secondary	Total
Agriculture: own account	20.8	17	32.4	19.6	7.5	7.1	19
Non-agriculture: own account	6.8	4.8	11.8	9.3	12	8.3	6.3
Agricultural employee	1	0.7	0.7	0.6	0	0.2	0.8
Non-agricultural employee	0.9	1.2	5.3	8.8	15	67.9	3.6
Agricultural family worker	16.9	10.8	12.5	6.3	3	0.7	11.9
Non-agricultural family worker	0.9	0.5	1.2	0.8	3	1	0.7
Not working	6.3	2.6	5.6	4.6	8.3	6.3	4.1
Studying	21.4	55.9	21.4	42.1	44.4	3.9	41.5
Domestic	25.1	6.5	9.1	7.7	6.8	4.6	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: UBoS (2004).

Table 4 indicates the intergenerational dimension of education acquisition, also supporting qualitative findings from the field.

Table 4: Children attaining a given level of education, by education level of household head (%)

Household head's education	Child's education (%)				
	No qualification	Primary school complete	Secondary complete	Post-secondary complete	Total
No qualification	44.1	51.5	*4.2*	0.2	100
Primary completed	36.4	54.1	9.1	0.3	100
Secondary completed	24.6	56.5	18.1	0.8	100
Post-secondary completed	25.1	54.3	19.4	1.2	100

Source: UBOS (2004).

6 Policy and humanitarian practice

A third hypothesis was that government and non-government provisioning of education does not meet the needs of conflict- and insecurity-affected populations in Northern Uganda. Our research found that, while attempts are being made by both types of actors to deliver education, the needs of the population are not being met. This has implications for the resilience of the generation of children and young people who grew up during and following the period of conflict and instability and therefore for their chances of exiting severe and chronic poverty.

6.1 Government policies and programmes

Education features centrally in a range of government policies and programmes in Uganda. Uganda was the first African country to commit to a policy of UPE (1997) and government provisioning of primary education continued despite the conflict and insecurity experienced in the north. In addition, in 2007 the government made a commitment to Universal Secondary Education (USE), when it launched the initial implementation phase of the policy. These commitments have been made in the context of Uganda's broader national development plan, the Uganda Poverty Eradication Action Plan, with education a priority within the plan's 'human development' pillar.

Education also featured as part of the Ugandan government's response to the crisis in the north. It is recognised as a general provision of the government's National Policy for Internally Displaced Persons (known as the IDP Policy) which, instituted in 2004, was the response to mass displacement in Northern Uganda. The mission of the IDP Policy is 'to ensure that Internally Displaced Persons enjoy the same rights and freedoms under the Constitution and all other laws like all other Ugandans' (OPM, 2004: 1). In relation to education, it states that 'the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) and the Local Government shall ensure that Internally Displaced Persons, particularly displaced children, have the same access to education as children elsewhere in Uganda'. Further, it recognises the lower economic base of IDPs and the inadequacies of education provided in the camps and commits to developing affirmative action schemes for IDPs to enable them to access and attain the same educational standards as students elsewhere in the country.

The more recent Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for Northern Uganda, launched by President Museveni in October 2007, further supports education provision in the north. This is the government of Uganda's policy framework for supporting stabilisation and recovery in Northern Uganda and includes a Community Recovery and Development Programme which has education at its core. The education-related objectives of this programme are to prevent dropouts to enhance completion rates and to provide alternative training to school dropouts. It prioritises addressing high pupil-to-classroom ratios, lack of teachers and lack of school materials. A MoES needs assessment was carried out in November and December 2007 across districts of Northern Uganda. One objective of this

was to derive baseline data to inform the PRDP in the determination of an appropriate sectoral response (MoES, 2008).

Communities reported that they were grateful for and recognised the value of UPE. The policy was seen as beneficial because it gave everyone – especially those from poorer households – a chance to go to school. In the FGD in Lapaya, we were told that, *'if it was not for the government introducing UPE, many of our children would not be in school'.*

But concerns were expressed, from community members and officials, that UPE, combined with the challenges conflict and insecurity brought to the sector, had led to a decline in education quality. As the district planner from Kaberamaido noted, *'UPE is about getting large numbers of children into school. But what is the point if the teacher-to-student ratio is 1:100? This means that quality is seriously compromised.'*

There was also a concern – expressed for example through an FGD in Lapaya – that MoES officials at the local government level were not doing enough to monitor and ensure quality primary education. Funding problems (slow and unpredictable release of education funds to local government) and challenges faced in recruiting and retaining good staff in the region (particularly women) also have negative implications for education provision. Alongside poverty, food insecurity and education interruption as a result of insecurity and ill-health, these problems are contributing to high dropout rates and compromised learning outcomes.

The extension of universal provision to Northern Uganda, scarred by long-run conflict and insecurity, is not enough. It must be supplemented by additional interventions that enable the populations in these areas to catch up on missed education and overcome current barriers to accessing education.

6.2 Non-government policies and programmes

Our fieldwork identified that NGO and UN interventions remained important to local communities in the post-conflict period. There was concern that the quality of provision would fall when humanitarian agencies withdrew and handed over to local and national government, potentially leaving a gap in provision.

In three main study sites (of the five), education delivery was being supported by non-governmental actors. For example, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), Goal, Medair, the African Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF), Save the Children, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), World Vision and AVSI were cited as providing a range of support, including school materials, school construction, accelerated learning for dropouts, vocational training, teacher training and sponsorship initiatives for vulnerable children. The WFP's school feeding programme was considered highly effective by a number of respondents, thought to support school attendance and enhance student learning. In Pader, we were told

by OCHA that the WFP targeted 600 000 children in 2008, but the programme was being phased out as it was not identified as a PRDP priority.

An education sector working group has been established in Pader district. The working group is chaired by the district education officer and all government and non-governmental actors working in the education sector are encouraged to report on their work. This is seen as a useful process for limiting duplication and enhancing efficiency. Despite this, we found there was still duplication, and the high number of different actors means that coordination poses a challenge. There are also still many gaps and much need. One NGO working in Pader lamented that, despite the amount of NGOs in the district, they still had not managed to fill the service delivery gap.

The education sector featured in the Northern Uganda Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP)[18] for a number of years. Table 5 shows how much funding was requested and how much was committed for the whole response and for the education sector at the height of the LRA conflict and related displacement, from 2000 through to 2008. Table 6 places education within the total CAP by showing how education requests featured as a proportion of all requests and how education funding featured as a proportion of all funding.

Table 5: Requests/funding and education requests/funding, Uganda CAP, 2000-2008

	Total requested (US$)	Total funding (US$)	Total funding (% of requested)	Education requested (US$)	Education funding (US$)	Education funding (% of requested)
2008	374,363,536	265,394,180	71	18,394,659	11,208,038	61
2007	350,520,867	279,512,549	80	16,302,052	3,849,941	24
2006	263,446,401	225,981,865	86	15 896 512	3 998 203	25
2005	188 777 892	146 212 606	77	10 468 682	3 514 651	34
2004	142 880 013	112 291 217	79	1 500 000	120 710	8
2003	148 135 670	123 567 180	83	1 600 000	0	0
2002	68 114 892	42 503 632	62	2 550 800	281 430	11
2001	79 814 162	35 451 595	44	2 313 000	520 506	23
2000	27 414 380	17 237 656	63	0	0	0

Source: OCHA (2009).

[18] The CAP is the UN's coordinated funding mechanism for humanitarian emergencies.

Table 6: Education requests/funding, Uganda CAP 2000-2008 (% of total requests/funding)

	Education funds requested (% of total requested)	Education funding (% of total funding)
2008	4.9	4.2
2007	4.6	1.3
2006	6	1.7
2005	5.5	2.4
2004	1.0	0.1
2003	1.0	0
2002	3.7	0.7
2001	2.9	1.5
2000	0	0

Source: OCHA (2009).

Table 5 shows that funding requested for the education sector through the CAP has increased significantly since 2000. Humanitarian funds devoted to education have also increased. The proportion of requests funded in the education sector has been relatively varied, though: apart from the 61 per cent peak in 2008, no more than 34 per cent of education requests have been met since 2000. Table 6 shows how the education sector has fared compared with the response on the whole. It indicates that education has been just a small proportion of requested funds for the CAP in Northern Uganda. It also shows that, prior to 2008, education funding as a percentage of total funding was significantly less than education funding requested as a percentage of total funding requested. This indicates the sector is less successful at attracting funding from the international community than the CAP on the whole, suggesting other humanitarian sectors are more successful.

6.3 Connecting rhetoric with reality

6.3.1 Policies in place but needs not being met

Through our qualitative research, we found that conflict and insecurity had affected the quality of education provision. It had also affected the ability of many households to keep their children in school. This is despite the universal and regionally specific policies of the government of Uganda and support for the education sector flowing through the internationally supported humanitarian response. While comparative analysis between needs and the response across sectors (e.g. food aid, shelter and health) was beyond the scope of this study, we anticipate that this gap is not unique and exists in other vital sectors.

In the education sector, there is range of potential explanations for the gap. First, and critical during the humanitarian emergency phase, is the fact that education is not 'life saving' and therefore it is not traditionally considered a central pillar of either government or non-governmental humanitarian responses. While this appears to be shifting, through research

and advocacy on the importance of supporting education in emergencies and humanitarian crises, it may hold some explanatory power, particularly given that education fares relatively poorly in the CAP process.[19] Another potential explanation is that, while there is compelling evidence of the government's recognition of the need for additional education resources in the north, in practice funds are not disbursed at a rate or level at which policies can become an actuality. Further, we found that, given the hiatus in much local government service delivery during the LRA conflict, government capacity and community trust had eroded. As a district leader from Pader noted, *'the community is not used to seeing us'.*

6.3.2 The humanitarian to development transition

Our research shows that the extension of UPE provision to Northern Uganda, scarred by long-run conflict and insecurity, is not enough, and must be supplemented to address education provision challenges, to overcome barriers to accessing education and to enable young people in these areas to catch up on missed education. In policy terms, these supplementary interventions exist. The IDP Policy and the PRDP commit the Government of Uganda to addressing the education gaps that communities in Northern Uganda experience as a result of the LRA, and other, conflicts.

However, our research highlighted the challenge of the humanitarian transition. During our fieldwork in 2008, Northern Uganda was undergoing a transition from 'humanitarian relief', led by humanitarian agencies and funded by the international community, to 'development', delivered by national and local government through standard budgeting routes. This transition can be difficult to manage, and there were concerns in Northern Uganda that an abrupt shift would see the quality of service provision – including in education – decline.

A number of concerns were expressed:

- There was worry regarding the relatively sudden withdrawal of humanitarian actors and the government's capacity to fill the service delivery gap. There was also a feeling that the local government had lost its capacity to deliver services and had not yet rebuilt these, and that communities had received little or no attention from central or local government for many years, and as a result were not used to engaging with government entities.

[19] The third annual *Last in Line, Last in School* report by Save the Children examines recent trends in donor support for education for children living in conflict-affected fragile states and those caught in emergencies. Its overall conclusion is that, although donors have increased their focus on meeting the education needs of children in such countries and situations, there is still a long way to go. The report notes that, on average between 2005 and 2007, conflict-affected states received just over a quarter of basic education aid, despite being home to more than half – 40 million – of the world's 75 million out-of-school children. Further, while education is now recognised more widely as a component of humanitarian aid, with financing of education in emergencies rising from $147 million in 2007 to $235 million in 2008, still less than half – 47 per cent – of requests for education funding through the CAP were met in 2008.

- Local-level government structures have been disrupted. During mass displacement, camp commanders were elected to govern camps and provided with training by NGOs. As communities return to their villages, the LC system is being used, creating tensions between the camp commander structure and the LC structure and power struggles at the local level.
- Coordination between local government and NGOs is still relatively weak and difficult, more so for longer-term development initiatives than for initiatives during the emergency phase.
- Programmes people were relying on – like school feeding provided by WFP – were withdrawn while people were still reliant on them. There is a fear that poverty may increase during the transition phase and vulnerable households will see their well-being decline.

7 Conflict, education, resilience and the intergenerational transmission of poverty: what can we conclude?

Our research confirms our hypothesis that extended conflict and insecurity in Northern Uganda have resulted in chronic and intergenerational poverty. It also confirms our hypothesis that education supports resilience during and post-conflict, protecting children and their families from declines into poverty throughout their lives and limiting the potential for chronic and intergenerationally transmitted poverty. The 'portability' of education means that, when other assets are lost or compromised, it can be drawn on to better cope in and recover from difficult circumstances.

The immediate and long-term value of education leads us to suggest that, while meeting immediate life-saving needs, such as food, health and shelter, in situations of conflict is obviously fundamental, governments and donors should also support education. Our evidence from Northern Uganda demonstrates that it can both limit the poverty impact of conflict on households during the conflict but also support a speedier post-conflict recovery.

Building and maintaining the assets of poor people is essential if downward movement into poverty is to be avoided. We know that children who grow up in poverty and are exposed to deprivation can experience irreversible damage. For example, childhood food insecurity – particularly *in utero* and during the first five years of life – can lead to life-long cognitive impairment and physical stunting, limiting quality of life and earnings. Meanwhile, interruptions to education are hard to overcome. Once a child has spent three months out of education, they are much less likely to return to full-time education, again affecting life-long earnings. These 'irreversibilities' are both difficult and costly to mitigate. Far better is to avoid them in the first place by ensuring that parents are not driven to reduce meals or to withdraw their children from school. However, many families in Northern Uganda have spent decades in poverty and their children have inevitably been affected. Without action on a range of fronts, these children will continue to grow up in poverty and will then pass their poverty on to their children. This suggests that specific measures are needed in Northern Uganda to reduce both the numbers of people living in poverty (poverty incidence) and the depth of their poverty (poverty gap). The provision of universal policies in Northern Uganda is not enough: more is needed to 'level the playing field'.

We suggest that enhanced education provision should be a strong component in any package of interventions in Northern Uganda, and in other conflict-affected communities. Education is known to enable higher returns on other interventions, such as health care provision and agricultural extension. Education is also a 'portable' asset: if people migrate for work or to avoid conflict, they take their education with them, unlike many other assets they might accumulate. As this paper shows, education is also crucial for resilience and poverty exits.

Evidence from elsewhere in Africa shows that conflict-affected countries face a higher-than-usual risk of conflict re-emerging during the 10 years following peace. This suggests that stability in Northern Uganda is fragile. Our data vividly illustrate the negative consequences that conflict and insecurity have had. It illustrates that, for this region to enjoy economic growth and poverty reduction, the government must ensure security and support peace building. Public services can play an important role in this and in the development of a constructive relationship between citizens and the state. This is particularly important given that communities require a package of interventions from the state to support them in their attempts to recover from the impacts of long-run conflict and insecurity. These include core service provision in the areas of education and health plus interventions to stimulate local markets and economic growth, enabling greater poverty reduction.

The problems facing communities in Northern Uganda in their attempts to recover from the impacts of long-run conflict and insecurity require a package of interventions by the state to stimulate local markets and economic growth, enable poverty reduction and deliver public services. If the current window of opportunity is missed, poverty and low levels of growth are likely to become embedded, and it is likely that the widespread chronic poverty in the area will be transmitted intergenerationally.

In the area of education provision, there are good models that the government can replicate and scale up. These include those piloted by international CSOs and humanitarian agencies.

- Evidence from our research suggests a need for 'catch-up', basic, non-formal and technical education. Catch-up education programmes would enable those who missed months or years of formal education to receive age-appropriate education to help them to complete their primary or secondary education, rejoining their age cohort at an appropriate stage in the process. Basic and non-formal education would be targeted at those who had missed out on formal education and did not want to rejoin the formal school system, either because of age or because of conflict-related trauma. These individuals might nevertheless benefit from basic literacy and numeracy.
- Efforts are needed to improve physical infrastructure, in terms of school buildings and teacher accommodation. Many schools also need supplementary teaching materials.
- Efforts are needed to recruit teachers to the area, and to motivate, reward and up-skill the existing teaching force. Teacher training is key and school monitoring by local government officials is important. Hardship allowances – to attract and reward teachers in difficult areas – should be considered. Teachers in post-conflict settings also need to be trained and equipped to deal with and support conflict-affected students, particularly those who have experienced traumatising events and former child soldiers. Special attention needs to be paid to recruiting female teachers.

- High poverty incidence and the depth of that poverty in Northern Uganda means that more parents here struggle to send their children to secondary school than elsewhere in the country. This suggests that USE should be rolled out Northern Uganda even more rapidly in than elsewhere in the country. In the meantime, the state needs to provide a substantial number of merit-based bursaries. These will encourage pupils in the later years of primary education to stay on until their exams at the end of P7, slowing drop out. However, neither USE nor bursaries will be enough on their own. School infrastructure is inadequate and a major programme is required to build additional secondary schools to ensure there is adequate capacity close enough to where it is needed.
- Sluggish economic growth means that few employment opportunities are available in the region. This suggests that, for many, self-employment in micro enterprise may be their best hope for the future. However, competition is likely to be high and profit margins low. In order to enable people to use self-employment as a route out of poverty despite the paucity of local markets, good quality technical education which matches training provision to local market opportunities and provides individuals with realistic skills and the tools to begin self-employment could form an important component of any education strategy for the region.
- Service provision is not enough. The depth of poverty in Northern Uganda means that many parents need support to keep their children in school. This is likely to include social protection, incorporating conditional and unconditional cash transfers and an expanded school feeding programme. Alongside measures focused on education, training and social protection, there is a need to enable poor people to rebuild their asset bases and their livelihoods, as without this they cannot keep their children in school. This is a significant challenge, and one which will require a set of policy instruments and interventions that falls outside the remit of this paper. However, it seems likely that the application of agriculture and growth-enabling policies available elsewhere in Uganda to the Northern Ugandan context will not be enough to support recovery: additional programmes will be required.

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