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POPULATION-BASED SURVEY
ON PEACE AND EDUCATION

UGANDA

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Population-Based Survey on Peace and Education: Uganda

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study involved a survey of 2,079 randomly selected respondents in Uganda, a nationwide sample of 1,024, and four additional sub-samples of 1,055 individuals to assess factors affecting resilience, social cohesion and security as elements of peacebuilding in Uganda, and the interaction of education with those factors. The study was conducted in partnership with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); the four sub-samples were drawn from four of the regions where UNICEF's interventions have been most active: Acholi, Karamoja, South West and West Nile. The surveys were designed to provide results that are representative of the population over the age of 14 years in Uganda nationally and in the four UNICEF intervention areas. Close to half of study respondents were male, with a little more than one third (36.9%) being between the ages of 14 and 24, and the remainder (63.1%) adults over 24 years.

Access to and Quality of Education

When comparing by age group, 50% of youth compared to 25% of adults completed at least primary level education. This is a positive trend, indicating nearly half of the youth population is finishing primary school, which is double the rate in the older, adult population. This rate for youth is lower, however, than official statistics, which put primary school completion at 64%. In the current national sample, three-quarters of the youth have either completed primary school or are currently enrolled in school. The percentages were similar in all other regions except Karamoja where only one-half of the youth have either completed primary school or are currently enrolled in school.

Overall, slightly more than one-third of respondents in the national sample and the UNICEF intervention areas (with the exception of Karamoja) ranked their access to education and quality of education

as good or very good. This suggests a need to improve both access to and quality of education in Uganda, to align with the overall positive perceptions and attitudes to education.

Attitudes to education

Ugandans still value education highly in spite of reports suggesting that high unemployment and lack of confidence in the educational system have lowered respect for formal schooling. When asked to identify their main priority and concern, the top response nationally was education (29%) followed by job opportunities (9%) and financial issues (8%). This is consistent with studies carried out in other post-conflict and developing countries, and previous studies in Uganda. In the Acholi region of Uganda, the percentage was even higher (43%). The percentage of respondents indicating education as the top priority was lowest in Karamoja (12%), where food (24%) was the top priority for respondents in the current study.

Attitudes toward education were measured using a 7-item scale based on a set of statements provided to respondents. The average index score was .78 in the national sample (index scores range from 0 to 1 with scores closer to one being more positive). They wereslightly higher in the four sub-regions, .82 in Acholi, Karamoja and South West, and .81 in the West Nile regions. The relatively high score overall indicates that Ugandans place a high value on formal education, even in regions where the future adherence of children to the dominant lifestyle (e.g., semi-nomadic) or their involvement in the prevalent livelihood (e.g., agriculture), is not always seen as necessitating formal education.

Poverty

Despite the high value placed on education, families still face a struggle to keep their children in school. Poverty and lack of social support are the most critical factors keeping children at home. Besides illness of the child, illness of a family member, and the need for the child to work are among the most common reasons for missing school.

Correlations are found between families having fewer material assets and more negative coping strategies on the one hand and the likelihood that household members will have positive educational outcomes on the other. A little more than one-half (54%) of the respondents in the nationwide sample, who are currently enrolled in school or have children in school, cited school feeding as the most common source of conflict . Poor feeding is also the type of conflict most frequently cited as being likely to turn violent (50% nationally).

Teachers, parents, students and the community

Relationships among teachers, parents, students (TPS) and their communities were assessed by a series of questions with results calculated as two scores, each with a highest possible value of one. Nationally, the average score for TPS relationships was .68, and for TPS/community relationships it was .70. TPS relationships were slightly more positive in the areas receiving intervention by UNICEF. However, the overall low scores point to a need for strengthening these relationships across the country, and may reflect ongoing tensions in schools arising from teacher absenteeism due to unsatisfactory working conditions or disagreements about curriculum and language of instruction. Teachers' salaries and absenteeism are identified as two of the main sources of conflict in schools, reflecting recent events in Uganda where dissatisfaction with working conditions led to a two-week teacher strike. Yet, with the exception of Karamoja, the majority of students in all regions indicated that they most frequently approach their teachers to resolve conflicts in schools, emphasizing teachers' important social role in mitigating conflict in schools.

Gender

The findings of the current study are consistent with national data on education, indicating that gender disparity is being significantly reduced at the primary level. There was no statistically significant difference between levels of enrollment of female and male youth respondents, whereas there was a significant difference in the level of

education between adult respondents, with 49% of male compared to 36% of female respondents reporting having completed primary school. The study developed a gender equity index composed of scores for a number of factors related to gender equality in schools. The average score for the national sample was .82, and the index had great variation among the four UNICEF intervention areas, from .50 in Karamoja to .77 in West Nile, .85 in Acholi, and .89 in the South West. These results suggest that the Acholi and South West regions have made greater progress in ensuring gender equity in schools than Karamoja and West Nile.

Safety and security

About three-quarters of the respondents in the national sample stated that the environment in school was safe or very safe, with a higher percentage found in all four UNICEF intervention regions. This contradicts other studies on violence in schools, which suggest high levels of insecurity in these regions' schools, but may reflect the population's relative perceptions of safety in their lives generally when compared to their past experience. The majority in all regions except West Nile reported that the security situation in their community had improved compared to one year ago, with 89% reporting improvement in Karamoja. In most regions, when provided a list of types of crime, over 70% of respondents reported that they had not experienced any of the events listed within the past 12 months.

However, rates of direct experience of violence in school are still quite high in some regions. Respondents in Karamoja were more likely to report teacher-on-pupil violence as a conflict in schools than was reported nationally (34% versus 19% nationally) pointing to an ongoing culture of violence in the region, which has been reported elsewhere in the literature. Respondents in Karamoja were also more likely to report challenges to educational policies (23% versus 11% nationally), which may indicate that students and communities are demanding improved educational access and quality. With regard to direct experience of conflict in school, nearly one out of four students (23%) in the national

sample mentioned being called names, insulted, or humiliated at school, and nearly two out of ten students (17%) were the subject of gossip and rumors; one out of five students (10%) have been either discriminated against or threatened with violence (11%). When comparing the four UNICEF intervention regions, the Acholi region had a statistically higher percentage of students who experienced these types of issues in school compared to the national sample and with the other three regions (p<.05). Notably, 22% of respondents in Acholi reported being physically abused by a teacher at school in a way that resulted in pain, discomfort, or injury; 21% reported being threatened with violence in school; and 20% reported that they had not contacted anybody for help to resolve the problem. Only 5% of overall respondents in Acholi contacted their parents (0% among youth respondents), compared to 67% of Karamoja respondents who contacted their parents to resolve a problem in school. The rates in Acholi are higher than both the national sample (14%) and the other UNICEF intervention areas.

Resilience and social cohesion

This study adopted two standardized self-reported indicators of individual resiliency, chosen for their reliability and validity of results (the Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale and the Rosenberg self-esteem scale). On the resilience scale, study respondents in Acholi and West Nile had average scores close to the national average, but those in Karamoja were significantly lower; scores in the South West were higher. The study calculated scores for the youth sample on the self-esteem scale, and found youth in all regions reporting scores within the range considered normal for the general population in any country. The findings are positive, suggesting that the general population and youth in Uganda – even in the regions most affected by conflict – are demonstrating the ability to cope psychologically with their environment and maintain a strong sense of self-worth.

The study developed a Social Cohesion Index which computed scores from 0 to 1 based on factor analyses of eight questions resulting in five

factors: 1) trust, 2) social relationships, 3) civic and social participation, 4) inclusion and attitudes toward social processes and services, and 5) constructive dispute resolution. Scores on the social cohesion index were similar to the national average for the Karamoja, Acholi, and South West regions, and slightly higher for West Nile (.71). The low overall social cohesion scores in all four UNICEF intervention areas and nationally suggested that there is room for improvement in the five themes studied. But looking at the specific dimensions of social cohesion provides more information in areas needing to be strengthened. The civic participation factor was the lowest (nationally and in all four regions), and the nonviolent conflict resolution factor was the highest in all regions. In West Nile and Karamoja, however, the average score for non-violent conflict resolution was notably lower than elsewhere. In Karamoja respondents indicated a high level of unwillingness to bear arms in a conflict, while respondents in West Nile were more inclined toward bearing arms. Trust of people from other ethnic groups and authorities yielded the lowest scores; the national index was .44 and .43, respectively, while trust in family and community were the highest (.76 and .56 respectively). If programming is developed to increase trust, focus should be on inter-ethnic relationships and building trust in authorities. Since respondents reported higher levels of comfort in interacting with people from other religious, political, and ethnic groups, there is a positive foundation of inter-community interaction upon which greater levels of trust can be built. The study also included a 'diversity index' based on a series of questions related to respect for diversity in schools. Low scores nationally and in each region suggest that respect for diversity in Ugandan schools still needs strengthening.

The findings on resilience suggest that among the study population, individual resilience and self-esteem fall within the normal range compared with other studies, with the exception of Karamoja where resilience was significantly lower. These positive results can be viewed in relation to levels of violence versus security in the past year. Acholi residents reported low levels of exposure to crime or violence, while in

Karamoja the rate was higher. Karamoja respondents also had the highest likelihood of using negative coping strategies, such as withdrawing children from school due to drought, lack of resources, or theft. The findings also suggest that while individuals may be coping relatively well with adversity and maintaining normal self-esteem, there is room for strengthening social cohesion in Uganda, particularly civil participation, inter-ethnic trust, and trust in authorities.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, we offer the following recommendations to the Government of Uganda and its partners.

- Ensure regular payment of teachers' salaries as a way to combat absenteeism and increase motivation among teachers.

- Tailore education to the realities of the economy. Continue to encourage and expand vocational education and education relevant to youth. A more thorough assessment of the economic market outlook and youths' interests would help the development of appropriate educational opportunity for youth in Uganda.

- Take steps to address ongoing violence in schools and undertake further research to understand how children perceive the frequency with which they are subjected to abuse in schools.

- Take steps to strengthen the relationship between the community and teachers, parents, and students. This would enable the local authorities to help develop appropriate policy and programming.

- Efforts to improve security, combat poverty, increase food security and resolve land disputes are crucial to improvement in the educational sector.

2. INTRODUCTION

Uganda has been the scene of successive waves of conflict and upheaval since its independence in 1963. In the north of the country, a generation of children, youth and their families are still living with the after-effects of mass-scale violence during the conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Government of Uganda. Other parts of the country have also experienced violence in recent decades. Many in the adult population still live with the legacy of violence committed under the regimes of Idi Amin and Milton Obote from 1971 to 1985, as well as from the more than twenty armed groups that have operated in Ugandan territory since 1985.[1]

Since 2005, when the LRA ceased operations in Uganda, the country has seen a period of relative stability, gains in peaceful consolidation, and progress in meeting its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). However, the effects of decades of violence on resilience, social cohesion, and levels of equality among various sectors of the population are still poorly understood. Moreover, education is assumed to play a critical role in the promotion of peacebuilding goals, as discussed in greater detail in section 3 of this report, but these assumptions are rarely tested. In Uganda, as in many post-conflict countries, regional disparities in educational access and correlations with resilience and social cohesion in the population have not been scrutinized.

This study, implemented in partnership with UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Fund), was designed to fill these gaps. The study included consultation with key informants involved in peacebuilding and educational programming in Uganda, and a survey of 2,079 randomly

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[1]   Knutzen, Anna, and A. Smith. "Uganda Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy Programme: Uganda Conflict Analysis," UNICEF, 2012.

selected respondents, 1,024 respondents in a nationwide sample, as well as 1,055 respondents in separate randomly selected samples in four regions: Acholi, Karamoja, South West and West Nile. The present report focuses on educational outcomes among Ugandan youth, as well as social cohesion and resilience in the adult population.[2]

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[2]   For the purpose of this report, respondents between the ages of 14 and 24 are referred to as 'youth', in line with the United Nations definition of youth as people aged between 15 and 24. United Nations. Definition of Youth. Web. 22 Apr. 2015. http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-definition.pdf

3. BACKGROUND

3.1. Context

In the decades following its 1963 independence from Britain, Uganda has experienced significant turmoil and human rights violations through a variety of conflicts and political upheavals. Many Ugandans are still living with the legacy of the mass-scale violence – estimated to have killed up to 500,000 people – under the presidency of Idi Amin from 1971 to 1979 and during the subsequent regime of Milton Obote and the civil war with the National Resistance Army (NRA) that killed 100,000 people in northern Uganda alone. Since NRA leader Yuseni Museveni became President in 1985, Uganda has achieved relative political stability, improved human rights, democratic reforms, and an impressive rate of economic growth.[3]

Although state-sanctioned violence has declined during President Museveni's rule, Uganda continues to suffer from armed conflict. More than 20 militant groups have operated within the country's borders since 1985, with the most prominent and destructive being the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) led by Joseph Kony. Founded with the intent of overthrowing the government to establish a state based on the Ten Commandments, the LRA became notorious for committing atrocities against the civilian population in Uganda's northern regions.[4] Between 1986 and 2005, it reportedly abducted more than 66,000 children and youth, forcing many to serve as child soldiers or sex slaves. At its height, the conflict displaced more than 2 million people – over 90% of the population of northern Uganda. The LRA was finally driven out of Uganda in 2005, but although diminished in size and influence, it

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[3]   "Uganda: Conflict Profile." *Insight on Conflict*. N.p., Feb. 2014. Web. 28 Nov. 2014. <http://www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/uganda/conflict-profile/>
[4]   Ibid.

continues to carry out violent attacks, lootings, and kidnappings along the borders of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Central African Republic, and South Sudan.[5] Uganda also remains vulnerable to inter-communal violence, such as the sectarian clashes that broke out in the Rwenzori district in the west of the country during which at least 90 people were killed in July 2014, and terrorism, including the suicide bombings that killed 76 people in Kampala in July 2010.[6]

Nevertheless, Uganda today is in a period of post-conflict recovery and peace consolidation. GDP growth averaged 7% through the 1990s and 2000s, slowing to about 5% in recent years. According to official figures, the national poverty rate decreased from 31% in 2005–2006 to 22% in 2012–2013. Yet, the absolute number of people living in poverty has not changed significantly, in large part due to the doubling of the country's population since 1990. Moreover, a significant portion of the population remains highly vulnerable to economic shocks: 43% of the population live above the poverty line while 19% are under the poverty line, and it is estimated that if consumption were to fall by 20%, poverty would increase by 50%.[7] While it has made substantial progress toward the Millennium Development Goals, Uganda remains an extremely poor country with Gross National Income (GNI) per capita at $520. Rising inequality is also a concern, with the current income GINI coefficient standing at 44.6.[8] The country still faces significant

[5] "History of the War: 1986 to Now." *Invisible Children.* Web. 21 Apr. 2015. <http://invisiblechildren.com/conflict/history/>

[6] Ntale, Samson. "Death Toll 90 in Uganda Weekend Attacks; President Blames Tribal Leaders." *CNN.* 8 July 2014. Web. 21 Apr. 2015. <http://www.cnn.com/2014/07/08/world/africa/uganda-violence/>

[7] Ugandan Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development. "Uganda: Social Protection Public Expenditure Review." 2012. Web. 27 May 2015. <http://www.socialprotection.go.ug/pdf/Policy%20publications/Uganda%20 Social%20Protection%20Public%20Expenditure%20Review.pdf>

[8] "GINI index." World Bank. Web. 30 Apr. 2014. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI>

developmental challenges such as weaknesses in fiscal management and public infrastructure.[9]

Across Uganda's northern regions, more than 95% of the population housed in internal displacement camps during the LRA conflict has been re-settled to more permanent housing. More than 26,000 people, mainly LRA members, have been demobilized from fighting forces through Uganda's Amnesty Act. Since the conflict abated, northern Uganda has been targeted by several major recovery interventions, spearheaded by both the Ugandan government and foreign agencies. Among the most notable were the Ugandan government's Peace, Recovery and Development Plans (PRDP I, 2009-2012, PRDP II, 2012-2015) for northern Uganda, which seek to coordinate developmental efforts and consolidate peace in the region. A 2013 evaluation of PRDP found some positive results: 69% of respondents expressed confidence in sustained peace and security in their communities, and 77% believed that dispute-resolution mechanisms address community-level security satisfactorily. However, 69.2% said that they still did not have sufficient access to economic opportunities, and many pointed to conflicts over land, livestock, and crops as potential sources of community strife.[10]

3.2. Contemporary Conflict Drivers Affecting Young People

Of particular relevance for this study of the role of education in peacebuilding is Uganda's large youth population: the country has one of the world's youngest populations, with 57% under age 18 and

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[9]   "Uganda." World Bank, 15 Oct. 2014. Web. 28 Nov. 2014.
      <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/uganda/overview>.
[10] International Alert. *Monitoring the Impact of the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan on Peace and Conflict in Northern Uganda.* 2013. Accessed at: http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Uganda_PRDPNorthernUganda_EN_2013.pdf

75% under age 30.[11] A 2012 conflict analysis conducted in partnership with UNICEF identified the country's large youth population as a potential conflict driver, but also a resource to build upon to support sustainable peace and development. Youth consistently report feeling politically marginalized, disengaged, and fearful that they will not have access to natural resources and economic opportunities.[12]

A follow-up conflict analysis carried out in partnership with UNICEF in 2014 in 28 districts in the Acholi, Karamoja, Western, South-West and West Nile regions found that poverty is one of the key conflict drivers affecting education in those districts. The reasons range over parents' inability to cover fees and other school-related costs, schools not receiving tuition revenues, young people being forced to end their education due to being heads of their households, and the education services' straining to accommodate the increasing population.[13]

Unemployment affects children and youth in Uganda as a socio-economic constraint on their families and as poor employment prospects in the formal business sector. Official unemployment in Uganda is relatively low at 4.2%, according to latest estimates by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), but young people are more likely to be unemployed than older generations.[14] The Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBS) reported in 2012 that 64% of the country's unemployed were between 18 and 30 years of age. Moreover, the Ugandan economy's overall reliance on informal employment has

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[11] Ahaibwe, Gemma, and Swaibu Mbowa. "Youth Unemployment Challenge in Uganda and the Role of Employment Policies in Jobs Creation." The Brookings Institution, 26 Aug. 2014. Web. 26 Nov. 2014. http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/africa-in-focus/posts/2014/08/26-youth-unemployment-uganda-ahaibwe-mbowa "Uganda - Youth Watch." BRAC Uganda, n.d. Web. 28 Nov. 2014. <http://uganda.brac.net/youth-watch>.

[12] Knutzen, Anna, and A. Smith. "Uganda Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy Programme: Uganda Conflict Analysis," UNICEF, 2012.

[13] Institute of Peace and Strategic Studies, Gulu University. "Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector in the PBEA Districts," UNICEF, 2014

[14] World Bank Data. Accessed at: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS/countries/ug?display=graph

negative implications for employed youth, of whom only 24% are in wage-paying jobs. Unemployment rates are higher among those with more education, which has been attributed to more highly educated youth pursuing scarce wage-paying jobs. People educated above the secondary school level face difficulty in finding jobs commensurate with their skills, which has been said to undermine the value placed on education overall.[15] Unemployment among youth also tends to be correlated with early marriages, high alcohol consumption, and violence.[16]

Youth unemployment has been attributed to inadequate investment in job creation, insufficient employable skills, and high rates of growth in the labor force.[17] In response to criticism that the formal education system does not provide relevant skills for the workforce, the government has made efforts to establish more vocational and internship programs, though many such programs reportedly lack the resources to have a broad impact.[18] While formal education is traditionally prioritized in Uganda, it appears that youth are becoming more open to vocational training and entrepreneurship, with 90% of participants in a 2011 study expressing interest in learning a new skill,

[15] Ahaibwe, Gemma, and Swaibu Mbowa. "Youth Unemployment Challenge in Uganda and the Role of Employment Policies in Jobs Creation." The Brookings Institution, 26 Aug. 2014. Web. 26 Nov. 2014. http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/africa-in-focus/posts/2014/08/26-youth-unemployment-uganda-ahaibwe-mbowa

[16] Institute of Peace and Strategic Studies, Gulu University. "Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector in the PBEA Districts," UNICEF, 2014

[17] Institute of Peace and Strategic Studies, Gulu University. "Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector in the PBEA Districts," UNICEF, 2014

[18] Ahaibwe, Gemma, and Swaibu Mbowa. "Youth Unemployment Challenge in Uganda and the Role of Employment Policies in Jobs Creation." The Brookings Institution, 26 Aug. 2014. Web. 26 Nov. 2014. http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/africa-in-focus/posts/2014/08/26-youth-unemployment-uganda-ahaibwe-mbowa . "Uganda - Youth Watch." BRAC Uganda, n.d. Web. 28 Nov. 2014. <http://uganda.brac.net/youth-watch>.

and 60% indicating that they would invest in small businesses if given access to resources.[19]

Areas of the country that have been affected by conflict tend to have underdeveloped infrastructure and social services. In the north, tens of thousands of children had their education disrupted by displacement and abduction during the LRA conflict, and a 2012 study found that continuing lack of infrastructure and security were impeding the delivery of education and other basic social services, such as health and sanitation.[20] A 2013 assessment of the impact of PRDP interventions cites a number of indicators where northern regions were performing at lower levels than the national average. In 2009 for example, the proportion of the population below the poverty line was 46% in the north compared to 25% nationally; the proportion getting only one meal per day was 20% in the north versus 9% nationally; and the percentage of household members under 18 years not possessing a blanket was 79% in the north versus 57% nationally. Among the population over 10 years of age, the study cites illiteracy rates for females of 66% nationally and 52% in the north; for males, rates were 79% nationally and 77% in the north.[21] PRDP interventions aimed to bring the north to parity with the rest of the country on each of these indicators by 2015.

Many respondents interviewed for the 2012 conflict analysis expressed concern that the government appears to prioritize investments in the west of the country. A perceived lack of accountability for alleged

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[19] "Navigating Challenges, Charting Hope: A Cross-Sector Situational Analysis on Youth in Uganda." International Youth Foundation, 2011.

[20] Gelsdorf, Kirsten, D. Maxwell, D. Mazurana. "Livelihoods, Basic Services and Social Protection in Northern Uganda and Karamoja." Feinstein International Center, 2012.

[21] International Alert. *Monitoring the Impact of the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan on Peace and Conflict in Northern Uganda.* 2013. Accessed at: http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Uganda_PRDPNorthernUganda_EN_2013.pdf

abuses committed by security forces is also seen as eroding trust in the national government. Land disputes, exacerbated by the massive displacement in the north during the war and rising land prices nationwide, also represent a primary source of conflict in rural areas, and have a direct impact on children and youth due to lack of access to agricultural livelihoods for their families and for their own future prospects. Land disputes can also impact schools directly when the land on which they are built has other claimants.[22]

In addition to the nationwide sample for comparison, this study focuses on four of the regions where the UNICEF Peacebuilding Education and Advocacy Programme (PEAP) is being implemented: Acholi, Karamoja, South West, and West Nile. The following section provides a brief overview of the discourse surrounding education and peacebuilding, with a specific focus on Uganda as a whole and the four regions included in this study.

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[22] Knutzen, Anna, and A. Smith. "Uganda Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy Programme: Uganda Conflict Analysis," UNICEF, 2012.

4. PEACEBUILDING AND EDUCATION

4.1. General Context

Within the humanitarian and peacebuilding communities, two main levels of discourse concern education and types of interventions: i) education as part of humanitarian response and ii) conflict-sensitive education, or education designed to promote reconstruction, reconciliation and peacebuilding. This study falls within the context of the second group, which includes interventions aimed at strengthening education as a 'peace dividend' and as an inherent 'good' that supports peace through development.

Education and 'humanitarian action'. Typically associated with the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) and the protection of education from attack, education as a humanitarian response addresses the need to protect children's right to education during humanitarian crises. Conflict-sensitive educational interventions tend to cut across both humanitarian action and post-conflict or early recovery periods, and act "to minimize negative impacts and maximize positive impacts of education policies and programming on conflict".[23]

Education and Peacebuilding. Educational interventions linked to peacebuilding can be divided into three categories: i) service delivery, ii) educational sector reform, and iii) the contribution of education to broader social transformational processes. Service delivery initiatives in post-conflict settings – outside of humanitarian assistance – aim to provide children with a sense of normalcy after the upheaval of the

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[23] "Conflict Sensitive Education". International Network for Education in Emergencies. Accessed May 19, 2015. http://www.ineesite.org/en/conflict-sensitive-education

conflict, to ensure that access to education is equitable and children are exposed to modes of education that support peacebuilding goals; these include respecting diversity and upholding respect for rights. Governance reform in the educational sector is considered relevant for peacebuilding, since it aims to bring about change at the system-wide (or structural and political economic) level rather than through fragmented programs.[24]

Arguably, the majority of educational programming in post-conflict settings to date falls within the categories of conflict-sensitive education and 'traditional' developmental programming. This categorization is problematic since conflict-sensitive education is not often brought into mainstream developmental processes, which tend to approach education primarily from the perspective of improving efficiency and performance. Moreover, the real contribution of education to promoting security and political, economic or social reform remains poorly understood. According to a literature review conducted for UNICEF in 2011, 'there is a very limited or, in many cases, no rigorous evidence base in relation to the contribution [of these initiatives] to peacebuilding'.[25]

The literature also suggests that there is a lack of evidence-based findings that substantiate a clear theory of change as to how education interacts with peacebuilding. It is often assumed that education will play a positive role in peacebuilding, but it can in reality have 'two faces', potentially driving conflict by fueling grievances and stereotypes.[26] In Uganda as in other post-conflict societies, questions of

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[24] UNICEF, The Role of Education in Peacebuilding, Literature Review, May 2011; Alan Smith, The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education: The influence of education on conflict and peace building, UNESCO, 2011/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/48, 2010

[25] UNICEF, The Role of Education in Peacebuilding, Literature Review, May 2011.

[26] Alan Smith, The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education: The influence of education on conflict and peace building, UNESCO, 2011/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/48, 2010. Lyndsay Bird. (2009). Think piece prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011 The hidden crisis: Armed

curriculum and language of instruction have been found to be persistent sources of tension.[27] According to Harris and Morrison (2013) 'peace education' is a key strategy of peacebuilding that teaches knowledge, builds skills, and provides students with images of peace and information about achieving security". Furthermore, peace education promotes respect for diversity, tolerance, human rights, justice, and the use of nonviolent means of expression and dispute resolution.[28] For Johnson and Johnson (2005), peace education aims to help children establish positive interdependence, teaching students how to make difficult decisions and how to resolve conflicts constructively.[29] This study, carried out in collaboration with UNICEF, addresses some of these questions And gaps in knowledge UNICEF's approach to peacebuilding has historically focused on peace education; however, with the proliferation of conflicts and the related increase in peacebuilding programmes, UNICEF's approach has broadened by expanding into conflict-affected regions and creating learning environments that encourage peaceful practices in students.[30]

4.2. Education and peacebuilding in Uganda

Official figures indicate that 96% of Ugandan children enroll in primary school, with rates increasing dramatically in the last few years, and with little disparity between boys and girls. The official, national youth literacy rate is 89.6% for males, compared to 85.5% for females, which

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conflict and education Promoting resilience: developing capacity within education systems affected by conflict. 2011/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/41

[27] Golubeva, M., Powell, S., Kazimzade, E., Nedelcu, A. (2009) Divided Education, Divided Citizens? A comparative study of civil enculturation in separate schools, Network of Policy Centers

[28] Harris, Ian M. and Mary Lee Morison. *Peace Education*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, Inc. 2013

[29] Johnson, David W. and Roger T. Johnson. "Essential Components of Peace Education." *Theory Into Practice* 44, no. 4 (2005): 380-292

[30] UNICEF, The Role of Education in Peacebuilding, Literature Review, May 2011

are both encouragingly higher than the current adult literacy rate of 73.2%. However, primary school completion is only at 64%, and enrollment plummets over the course of secondary school, at 34.9% for lower secondary school and decreasing to only 15.1% for upper secondary school. Girls are especially likely to drop out of school at the higher levels, believed to be partly due to the high proportion (20%) of Ugandan females between 10 and 19 years of age who are already married.[31] According to UN data, the government of Uganda spent 3.3% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on education between 2006 and 2012 compared to 5.6% in the United States over the same period.[32] Uganda has been reported to have a notably high rate of violence against children both in schools and at home, with 98.3% of children participating in a 2005 study having experienced physical violence.[33]

An unpublished 2015 report on inequality in Uganda's educational sector found that mean years of schooling had increased significantly across the country since 1991, but that the mean years in Karamoja (3), the northern regions (6), and West Nile (approximately 5.5) continue to lag behind the national mean (approximately 6.5). The report's analysis of data from the Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) on pupil:teacher and pupil:classroom ratios across regions finds that Karamoja is the most under-served, with a pupil:teacher ratio of 37:1 and a pupil:classroom ratio of 108:1 in the Kotido district in 2013, compared to the national-level ratios of 22:1 and 55:1 respectively. The analysis suggests that pupil:teacher ratios have stayed the same or improved since 2009 in all regions, but that pupil:classroom ratios have

[31] UNICEF Statistics for Uganda. Accessed at:
    http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/uganda_statistics.html#117
[32] UN Data for Uganda. Accessed at:
    http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crname=Uganda
[33] Dipak Naker. Violence against Children: The Voices of Ugandan Children and Adults. Raising Voices and Save the Children – Uganda. 2005.

deteriorated, reflecting reduced investment in educational infrastructure.[34]

The 2012 conflict analysis carried out in partnership with UNICEF concluded that education can have a role in solidifying Ugandan peace in several respects. Improving the reach and quality of educational services is a way for the government to demonstrate that normalcy has returned and the government is strong and capable in the delivery of essential social services. Training of teachers and curriculum development should promote conflict sensitivity by avoiding exacerbating inequalities and animosities, and by addressing different educational outcomes across regions. Education can directly address attitudes toward violence, develop healthy ways of dealing with conflict, and increase political awareness and harmonious social relations.[35]

The cycle of poverty affects students through the interruption of education when parents are no longer able to pay school fees, and under-resourced schools have difficulty providing quality services. Substance abuse, such as alcoholism, and domestic and gender-based violence negatively impact the welfare of children and their ability to access education, while these factors among teachers significantly diminish the quality of education they can provide.[36]

The Ugandan government has taken steps to address the range of conflict drivers affecting schools through the promotion of Universal Primary Education (UPE), Universal Secondary Education (USE), the adoption of thematic curricula, and the promotion of the use of local languages for instruction. However, government funding for UPE has been found to be incommensurate with the promise of free national

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[34] FHI 360 Education Policy and Data Center. (2015) Investment in Equity and Peacebuilding: Uganda Case Study. Unpublished draft.
[35] Knutzen, Anna, and A. Smith. "Uganda Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy Programme: Uganda Conflict Analysis," UNICEF, 2012.
[36] Ibid.

access to education, leading to conflicts when schools ask for parents to pay fees.[37]

USE is primarily promoted through a grant available to students who successfully complete primary education, intended to allow them to continue at least through lower secondary, and through a second tier of the USE policy, to advance to upper secondary. However, the grants available through the USE policy have been found to be inadequate for the real cost of secondary education, in part because they do not take into account the location of the school relative to the recipient's home. Students in the Karamoja region have faced particular challenges in taking advantage of the USE program, so that access to secondary education is still at a low level in that region.[38]

With respect to curriculum changes, they are found to be implemented unevenly across districts, based on the ability to train teachers and update materials. Many teachers are ill equipped to teach in native languages; parents and students often object to, and do not value, native language instruction, placing a higher value on learning through Swahili or English.[39]

When financial constraints are present, the education of male children is very often prioritized over the education of female children. Moreover, in many regions, gender roles dictating that women should marry young and stay at home also prevent girls from accessing educational services.[40]

An unpublished 2015 report on inequality in education in the northern regions of the country finds that government policies – including USE;

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[37] Ibid.
[38] FHI 360 Education Policy and Data Center. (2015) Investment in Equity and Peacebuilding: Uganda Case Study. Unpublished draft.
[39] Institute of Peace and Strategic Studies, Gulu University. "Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector in the PBEA Districts," UNICEF, 2014. Investment in equity 2015.
[40] Ibid.

PRDP; and policies on teacher-recruitment, national curriculum, and language of instruction –are not yet meeting students' and teachers' expectations of equality in access to education and in the way education is provided. Respondents in northern regions and West Nile reported the view that the whole of the north remains severely disadvantaged in terms of access to all services, including education. Policies aimed at recruiting qualified teachers for schools in the remotest areas of the country, and attracting teachers to work outside their native regions, have not succeeded in creating a consistent, talented pool of educators for the northern regions. The report also gave grounds for optimism, however,; respondents whose children had been exposed to peace-promoting extra-curricular activities, such as sports, clubs, or peacebuilding programs, spoke of an overwhelmingly positive effect from these initiatives, suggesting grounds for the expansion of this kind of programming.[41]

This study contributes to the discourse around education and peacebuilding in two main ways. First, the study assesses the experience of both adult and youth Ugandan respondents in attending school as well as their levels of educational attainment, quality of education, and disputes or conflicts in schools and how these are handled. Questions also address the existence of discrimination, exclusion, marginalization or violence in schools, and how these are handled. Second, the study gathered data on broader factors affecting resilience, social cohesion and sense of security among the study respondents. Resilience and social cohesion are seen as crucial elements in building peace, and this study examines in detail the relationships between these two factors and educational experiences. These questions were addressed to two groups of Ugandans: youth aged 14 to 24 and adults over the age of 24.

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[41] FHI 360 Education Policy and Data Center. (2015) Investment in Equity and Peacebuilding: Uganda Case Study. Unpublished draft.

4.1. Acholi Region

The conflict analysis carried out for UNICEF in 2012 found that trauma, limited access to education and other social services among the population of northern Uganda caused by the LRA conflict continues to hinder development, particularly given that the LRA leader, Joseph Kony, remains at large. The population in the north is reported to have unprecedented rates of domestic violence, alcoholism, and post-traumatic stress, which are both a 'legacy of conflict' and factors potentially creating pressure for new conflict.[42] The 2014 update to the conflict analysis found that conflict drivers identified in 2012 persist but also identified a broader range of tensions. In Gulu, language of instruction (English versus the local language); lack of teacher attention to those with learning difficulties; inadequate funding for UPE; misunderstanding among both school administrators and parents as to who is responsible for educational costs; poverty, which keeps children from poor families out of school and de-motivates teachers who regularly do not receive their salaries; and unemployment, which leads to poverty and discourages young people from pursuing their education seriously, all affect the quality of education. Land conflicts lead to disputes over and sometimes destruction of school property. Students lack discipline, and teachers use excessive or violent forms of discipline.. Poverty and alcoholism lead to gender-based and domestic violence, and violence between parents affects children's ability to perform at school due to stress, fatigue, or being forced to take care of themselves and younger siblings. Conflict in schools and weak school administration also have a higher impact on the most vulnerable groups of students, such as 'physically and intellectually impaired learners, HIV/AIDS positive learners, former child soldiers, children born in LRA captivity, orphans and abandoned children', since the school is poorly equipped to respond to their needs. In other Acholi districts, conflict drivers tend to arise primarily from the high level of

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[42] Knutzen, Anna, and A. Smith. "Uganda Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy Programme: Uganda Conflict Analysis," UNICEF, 2012.

poverty and frequency of land disputes. Teachers are frequently absent due to lack of payment of their salaries, leading them to pursue other sources of income. Land disputes affect schools because families spend money on dispute resolution instead of educational costs for their children, and children are kept at home to help protect the land. Girls' educational opportunities also suffer as a result of poverty, since families do not see educating girls as a worthwhile investment. In the Nwoya district, a district official estimated that 80% of government-assisted schools are affected by land disputes, to the point where teachers feel threatened and school facilities are compromised. Other conflict drivers include gender-based and domestic violence affecting children's school performance; poor teacher motivation and irregular payment of teacher salaries; alcoholism among teachers and parents; and some ethnic and religious tensions in schools.[43]

4.2. Karamoja

Karamoja, home to 1.2 million people in the northeast of Uganda, has the poorest human developmental indicators in the country. Climate variability and insecurity threaten traditional pastoral lifestyles, with the result that the region has been hugely dependent on foreign aid for decades. Governmental development initiatives tend to prioritize sedentary and agrarian lifestyles, creating tension with traditional practices. Chronic poverty and dietary insecurity resulting from the scarcity of food and water in the region exacerbate conflict in the area, and present immense challenges for development and peacebuilding.[44] This region has the lowest school enrollment and literacy rates in the country, largely because the semi-nomadic

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[43] Institute of Peace and Strategic Studies, Gulu University. "Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector in the PBEA Districts," UNICEF, 2014

[44] Report on the Activities of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Human Rights Situation in Uganda: Nov. 2011 to Sept. 2013. OHCHR, 2014. Accessed April 2, 2015. http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/UG/OHCHRUganda2011_2013.pdf

lifestyles of the Karamojong complicate access to formal educational facilities.[45]

The widespread practice of cattle rustling became far deadlier with the introduction of automatic weapons in the region in the 1980s; violence surged dramatically in the subsequent decades as severe droughts in east Africa heightened competition for scarce resources.[46] In 2001, the Ugandan government launched the Karamojong Integrated Disarmament and Development Plan (KIDDP) to clamp down on the spiraling cycle of violence in the region, and a key element of the push for security involved the forceful disarmament of the Karamojong. While disarmament has produced remarkable improvements in public security, the process has left its own scars with the Ugandan army accused of human rights abuses, leading to mistrust of the army among civilians in the region.[47]

While cattle rustling has been reduced, reports still point to violence by young men who act alone to commit theft and other crimes, often against their own communities, due to pressure to establish their economic status and the lack of opportunities to do so through legitimate channels.[48] There are concerns that governmentalefforts to promote commercial mining, while meant to help develop the Karamojong region, may foster yet more conflict if not approached with sensitivity. Mining companies have been accused of

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[45] Gelsdorf, Kirsten, D. Maxwell, D. Mazurana. "Livelihoods, Basic Services and Social Protection in Northern Uganda and Karamoja." Feinstein International Center, 2012.

[46] Karamajong and Related Groups. Minority Rights Group International. Accessed Apr. 2, 2015. http://www.minorityrights.org/5032/uganda/karamojong-and-related-groups.html

[47] Report on the Activities of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Human Rights Situation in Uganda: Nov. 2011 to Sept. 2013. OHCHR, 2014. Accessed April 2, 2015. http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/UG/OHCHRUganda2011_2013.pdf

[48] Engaging Male Youth in Karamoja, Uganda. LOGiCA, 2014. Accessed Apr. 2, 2014. http://fic.tufts.edu/assets/LOGICA_StudySeriesNo3_UGA.pdf

environmental damage, exploitation, and failure to take into consideration the needs of the community.[49]

These tensions are reflected in the 2014 conflict analysis, which finds that resources – including disputes over school land and theft of cattle – are still the most prevalent source of conflict. Resource-based conflicts include inadequate funding to schools, lack of accommodation for teachers and students, and district officials having difficulty reaching remote schools. Widespread poverty also prevents families from covering children's school fees or other school-related costs. The history of poor relations between the Karamojong and other ethnic groups in the region also continue and can still result in active conflict. Problems were also identified at the level of school management and allocation of resource to schools, some of which were seen to be associated with political interests. According to respondents in conflict analysis, education is commonly not given priority by families in Karamoja since it is seen as taking both girls and boys away from their traditional way of life. Yet many girls reportedly see school as being safer than home, with some leaving home permanently in order to continue in school.[50]

4.3. South West

The South West region of Uganda has a history of rebel activity, but in recent years, the region has been even more strained by the influx of Congolese refugees and ongoing tribal clashes. Increased migration has led to high tensions over land ownership and access.[51] Floods of

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[49] Burnett, Maria, and J. Evans. "How Can We Survive Here?" *The Impact of Mining on Human Rights in Karamoja, Uganda*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2014. Accessed Apr. 2, 2014.
http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/uganda0214_ForUpload.pdf

[50] Institute of Peace and Strategic Studies, Gulu University. "Conflict Analysis of the Education Sector in the PBEA Districts," UNICEF, 2014

[51] Knutzen, Anna, and A. Smith. "Uganda Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy Programme: Uganda Conflict Analysis," UNICEF, 2012.

refugees have entered the region since 1997, with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimating the number at more than 220,000 as of January 2015. Both local and national governments have struggled to cope with the scale of the humanitarian need.[52] Recent improvements in the security situation in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (EDRC) have led so many refugees to express willingness to be repatriated, that the present challenge for Uganda is to facilitate their transition. [53]

4.4. West Nile

Prior to a 2001 peace agreement, the West Nile region was primarily affected by the activity of two rebel groups operating out of theE DRC, the West Nile Bank Front (WNBF) and the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF II).[54] More recently, the war between government and opposition forces in South Sudan in 2013 has sent more than 125,000 South Sudanese refugees fleeing across the border, and the Ugandan government has struggled to provide adequate assistance, given already stretched resources due to support of Congolese refugees.[55],[56] The region was also heavily affected by the LRA and remains highly volatile, yet stakeholders perceive that it has received relatively little attention. The population is highly transient, complicating the delivery of social services and rehabilitation programs. The large Muslim population is perceived to have benefited most under Idi Amin, which

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[52] 2015 UNHRC Country Operations Profile: Uganda. UNHRC, 2015. Accessed Apr. 2, 2015. http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e483c06.html

[53] Biryabarema, Elias. "Uganda says to begin repatriating 184, 000 Congolese refugees." Reuters, 2015. Accessed Apr. 2, 2015. http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/04/29/us-uganda-refugees-idUSBREA3S0NA20140429

[54] "Uganda: Conflict Profile." *Insight on Conflict*. N.p., Feb. 2014. Web. 2 Apr. 2015. http://www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/uganda/conflict-profile/

[55] "2015 UNHRC Country Operations Profile: Uganda." UNHRC, 2015. Accessed Apr. 2, 2015. http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e483c06.html

[56] "Thousands cross into Uganda to escape fighting in South Sudan." UNHRC, 2014. Accessed Apr. 2, 2015. http://www.unhcr.org/52cc062f9.html

exacerbates tensions between Christian and Muslim communities in this region, although conflicts do not typically result in violence. [57]

4.5. Resilience and social cohesion in peacebuilding

In recent decades, the concept of resilience has gained increasing currency among practitioners and policy-makers in the peacebuilding field and more broadly in social science and policy-making. There is no commonly accepted definition or meaning of resilience in relation to peacebuilding: Table 1, below, provides a summary of definitions recently used by scholars and practitioners in the field.

Table 1: Definitions of Resilience [58]

Reference	Definition
Cadell, Karabanow, and Sanchez (2001)	"…the ability to adapt to, cope with and even be strengthened by adverse circumstances." [59]
Frankenberger et al. (2007)	the "collective capacity to respond to adversity and change and maintain function. A resilient community can respond to crisis in ways that strengthen community bonds, resources, and the community's capacity to cope." [60]
Cutter et al. (2008)	"The ability of a social system to respond and recover from disasters and includes those inherent conditions that allow the system to absorb impacts and cope with an event, as well as post-event adaptive processes that facilitate the ability of the

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[57] Knutzen, Anna, and A. Smith. "Uganda Peacebuilding, Education, and Advocacy Programme: Uganda Conflict Analysis," UNICEF, 2012.

[58] Adapted from United States Agency for International Development (USAID). *Community Resilience: Conceptual Framework and Measurement Feed the Future Learning Agenda.* 2013.

[59] Cadell, Susan, Jeff Karabanow, and Miguel Sanchez. "Community, empowerment, and resilience: Paths to wellness." Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health 20 (2001): 21-36.

[60] Frankenberger, Timothy R., and James L. Garrett. "Getting connected: Reducing livelihood insecurity by investing in social capital," 1998.

	social system to re-organize, change, and learn in response to a threat." [61]
Norris et al. (2008)	"a process linking a set of adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation after a disturbance." [62]
Pasteur (2011)	"the ability of a …community…to resist, absorb, cope with and recover from the effects of hazards and to adapt to long-term changes in a timely and efficient manner…" [63]
DFID (2011a)	"…the ability of …communities… to manage change, by maintaining or transforming the living standards in the face of shocks or stresses…without compromising their long-term prospects." [64]
UNDP (2011)	"…a country's resilience reflects its ability to counteract (quickly recover from) or withstand (absorb) the impact of a shock." [65]
Arbon, Gebbie, Cusack, Perera, and Verdonk (2012)	"…when members of the population are connected to one another and work together, so that they are able to function and sustain critical systems, even under stress; adapt to changes…; be self-reliant...; and learn from experience to improve itself over time." [66]
Béné, Wood, Newsham, and Davies (2012)	"…the ability to resist, recover from or adapt to the effects of a shock or a change." [67]

[61] Cutter, Susan L., L. Barnes, M. Berry, C. Burton, E. Evans, and E. Tate. "A place-based model for understanding community resilience to natural disasters." Global Environmental Change 18 (2008): 598-606.

[62] Norris, Fran H., S. Stevens, B. Pfefferbaum, K. Wyche, and R. Pfefferbaum. "Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capabilities, and strategy for disaster readiness." American Journal of Community Psychology 41.1 (2008): 127-150.

[63] Pasteur, Katherine. "From vulnerability to resilience: A framework for analysis and action to build community resilience," RAND Corporation, 2011.

[64] Department for International Development (DFID). "Defining disaster resilience: A DFID approach paper," 2011a.

[65] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). "Toward human resilience: sustaining MDG progress in an age of economic uncertainty," 2011.

[66] Arbon, Paul, K. Gebbie, L. Cusack, S. Perera, and S. Verdonk. "Developing a model and tool to measure community disaster resilience: Final Report." Australia: Torrens Resilience Institute, 2012.

[67] Béné, Christophe, R. G. Wood, A. Newsham, and M. Davies. "Resilience: new utopia or new tyranny? Reflection about the potentials and limits of the concept of resilience in relation to vulnerability reduction programmes," Working Paper 2012/405 (Institute of Development Studies 2012).

USAID (2012)	"…the ability of people, households, communities, countries, and systems to mitigate, adapt to, and recover from shocks and stresses in a manner that reduces chronic vulnerability and facilitates inclusive growth." [68]
Frankenberger et al. (2012)	"The ability of countries, communities, and households to efficiently anticipate, adapt to, and/or recover from the effects of potentially hazardous occurrences (natural disasters, economic instability, conflict) in a manner that protects livelihoods, accelerates and sustains recovery, and supports economic growth." [69]
Mitchell (2013)	"…the ability of households, communities and states – layers of society – to absorb and recover from shocks, whilst positively adapting and transforming their structures and means for living in the face of long-term stresses, change and uncertainty." [70]
UNICEF (2014)	"…the ability of children, communities and systems to anticipate, prevent, withstand, adapt to and recover from stresses and shocks advancing the rights of every child, especially the most disadvantaged" [71]

The majority of definitions use language derived from one of the earliest definitions of resilience in engineering, describing the behavior of a spring in terms of 'the ability to store strain energy and deflect elastically under a load without breaking or being deformed'.[72] In the peacebuilding context, resilience is understood in similar terms; most definitions refer to the capacity of an individual, community or society to cope with, deal with, adapt to, resist, absorb and withstand the effects of adverse circumstances, stress, threats, crisesand

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[68] United States Agency for International Development (USAID). "Building resilience to recurrent crisis: USAID Policy and program guidance," 2012.

[69] Frankenberger, Timothy R., T. Spangler, S. Nelson, and M. Langworthy, "Enhancing Resilience to Food Insecurity amid Protracted Crisis", TANGO, 2012

[70] Mitchell, Andrew. "Risk and Resilience: From Good Idea to Good Practice," Working Paper 13 (OECD Development Co-operation 2013).

[71] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). "Compilation of Tools for Measuring Peacebuilding Results around Social Cohesion and Resilience," 2014.

[72] The Community and Regional Resilience Institute (CARRI), *Definitions of Community Resilience: An Analysis*, 2013, quoting Gordon, J. (1978). Structures. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books.

emergencies, disasters, and shocks. Some definitions also emphasize the ability to recover from and counteract the negative effects of stressors. Frankenberger et al. (2012) introduce the idea of anticipating stress and shocks, an idea built on by UNICEF's 2014 definition that resilience is "...the ability of children, communities and systems to anticipate, prevent, withstand, adapt to and recover from stresses and shocks advancing the rights of every child, especially the most disadvantaged". This study does not seek to propose a new definition of resilience, and given its focus on youth, families and the educational sector, it relied on the elements of the UNICEF definition in its design and analysis.

Resilience operates at the level of individuals, communities and, more broadly, society. From an individual perspective, resilience is most often studied in terms of the effect of traumatic life events on mental health,focusing on psycho-social aspects. There is a large body of work that assesses factors that relate to resilience at the individual level. Personality traits such as optimism, equanimity, and self-reliance are associated with lower rates of lifetime major depression, and the ability to mitigate the effects of childhood abuse and neglect.[73] A sense of coherence,which refers to the ability to view life as structured, predictable, and explicable, has emerged as an important concept that correlates with better adaptation to adverse life events as well as a lower risk of mortality.[74] Other psychosocial factors associated with heightened resilience include cognitive flexibility (i.e., the ability to reappraise one's judgements or perceptions) and active coping skills

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[73] Schulz, Andrea, Mathias Becker, Sandra Van der Auwera, Sven Barnow, Katja Appel, Jessie Mahler, Carsten Oliver Schmidt, Ulrich John, Harald J. Freyberger, and Hans J. Grabe. 2014. "The Impact of Childhood Trauma on Depression: Does Resilience Matter? Population-Based Results from the Study of Health in Pomerania." *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 77 (2). Elsevier Inc.: 97–103. doi:10.1016/j.jpsychores.2014.06.008.

[74] Surtees, Paul G., Nicholas W J Wainwright, and Kay Tee Khaw. 2006. "Resilience, Misfortune, and Mortality: Evidence That Sense of Coherence Is a Marker of Social Stress Adaptive Capacity." *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 61: 221–27. doi:10.1016/j.jpsychores.2006.02.014.

(e.g., efforts to frame statements positively), as well as maintaining a supportive social network, attending to physical well-being, and embracing a personal moral compass.[75]

Research focused on children and youth has illustrated that traumatic events or mistreatment in childhood are associated with a person's resistance to or risk of mental illness in later life. The high incidence of traumatic life events has been linked to a lower sense of coherence in adolescents, which was also associated with higher self-reported psychopathology.[76] The high stress associated with childhood experience of adversity also manifests itself in poorer physical health outcomes with age.[77] There is even evidence that the ramifications of major trauma can pass down through generations: the children of Holocaust survivors were found to suffer from a higher incidence of anxiety and depressive disorders, compared to controls, and the researchers posit that weakened cohesion in families with a history of trauma may keep children from developing strategies to cope with adversity in their own lives.[78]

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[75] Iacoviello, Brian M, and Dennis S Charney. 2014. "Psychosocial Facets of Resilience: Implications for Preventing Posttrauma Psychopathology, Treating Trauma Survivors, and Enhancing Community Resilience." *European Journal of Psychotraumatology* 5 (October). Co-Action Publishing: 10.3402/ejpt.v5.23970. doi:10.3402/ejpt.v5.23970.

[76] Ristkari, T, a Sourander, J a Rønning, G Nikolakaros, and H Helenius. 2008. "Life Events, Self-Reported Psychopathology and Sense of Coherence among Young Men--a Population-Based Study." *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry* 62: 464–71. doi:10.1080/08039480801984313.

[77] Logan-Greene, Patricia, Sara Green, Paula S Nurius, and Dario Longhi. 2014. "Distinct Contributions of Adverse Childhood Experiences and Resilience Resources: A Cohort Analysis of Adult Physical and Mental Health." *Social Work in Health Care* 53 (8): 776–97. doi:10.1080/00981389.2014.944251.

[78] Fossion, Pierre, Christophe Leys, Caroline Vandeleur, Chantal Kempenaers, Stéphanie Braun, Paul Verbanck, and Paul Linkowski. 2015. "Transgenerational Transmission of Trauma in Families of Holocaust Survivors: The Consequences of Extreme Family Functioning on Resilience, Sense of Coherence, Anxiety and Depression." *Journal of Affective Disorders* 171. Elsevier: 48–53. doi:10.1016/j.jad.2014.08.054.

Studies have sought to identify factors that contribute to building resilience in young people, with most finding that family or social support has the most significant role. Educational levels, interpersonal and emotional abilities, connection to social systems, and the ability to attribute blame externally are also related to higher levels of resilience.[79] Having a positive role model, such as a teacher or an athlete, is associated with healthier behaviours in adolescence,[80] as does improved family support.[81] The severity and frequency of the trauma to which individuals are exposed is also related totheir vulnerability or resistance to impaired mental health, as are external factors such as socio-economic and domestic conditions. Female gender consistently emerges as a risk factor for lower psychological resiliency.[82]

There is ongoing debate regarding the way resilience is best conceptualized in the peacebuilding context. What are the capacities for coping, adaptation and transformation that strengthen individuals, communities and societies in the face of shocks such as conflict, political upheaval or natural disasters? Resilience involves complex adaptive systems and changes over time; it is unclear what strategies are most effective in building it, either from the point of view of local

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[79] Domhardt M, Münzer A, Fegert JM, Goldbeck L. Resilience in Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse: A Systematic Review of the Literature. Trauma Violence Abuse. 2014 Nov 10. Van Damme L, Colins O, De Maeyer J, Vermeiren R, Vanderplasschen W. Girls' quality of life prior to detention in relation to psychiatric disorders, trauma exposure and socioeconomic status. Qual Life Res. 2014 Nov 28.

[80] Yancey, Antronette K., David Grant, Samantha Kurosky, Nicole Kravitz-Wirtz, and Ritesh Mistry. 2011. "Role Modeling, Risk, and Resilience in California Adolescents." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 48 (1). Elsevier Inc.: 36–43. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2010.05.001.

[81] Siriwardhana, Chesmal, Shirwa Sheik Ali, Bayard Roberts, and Robert Stewart. 2014. "A Systematic Review of Resilience and Mental Health Outcomes of Conflict-Driven Adult Forced Migrants." *Conflict and Health* 8 (August). BioMed Central: 13. doi:10.1186/1752-1505-8-13.

[82] Panter-Brick C, Grimon MP, Kalin M, Eggerman M. Trauma memories, mental health, and resilience: a prospective study of Afghan youth. J Child Psychol Psychiatry. 2014 Nov 11.

agencies or of international actors. UNICEF's guidance tool for measuring resilience and social cohesion suggests three dimensions of resilience which must be assessed together: risks, individual skills or coping strategies, and assets. In a series of community consultations in Somalia in 2012 and 2013, UNICEF aimed to identify strategies to help build household and community resilience in the country. The key findings included building economic support systems (e.g., access to credit and collectives or individual welfare payments); improving livelihoods, health care, hygiene, water supply, and mobility; and improving access to education. Improving social support among people and groups was also mentioned.

Social Cohesion. Given the number of studies that point to the importance of family and social support in building resilience, assessing levels of social cohesion is important when addressing resilience. Community resilience in post-conflict societies – and the efforts of external actors to support community resilience – are also inherently tied to social cohesion. 'Resilience thinking' has been described as a useful lens through which to view a society's efforts to overcome violence since it recognizes and builds upon a community's existing experience and capacity to manage conflict.[83] Social cohesion has been described in terms of the attitudes and behaviours of individuals toward membership in society.[84] UNICEF's measurement guidance tools highlight three key domains for social cohesion: 1) belonging and inclusion; 2) respect and trust (tolerance); and 3) civic and social participation. Belonging is related to an individual's sense of being connected to a community that in turn recognizes the individual as a member of that community. Belonging is also related to an individual's sense of connectedness to the state (e.g., perceptions of state legitimacy), social networks, social capital, as well as equality of opportunities and access. 'Respect and trust' are related to an

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[83] Van Metre, Lauren. Resilience as a Peacebuilding Practice: To Realism from Idealism. Web. 28 May 2015.
[84] Friedkin, Noah E. 2004. Social Cohesion. Annual Review of Sociology. 30:409–25

individual's acceptance and tolerance of diversity in other groups. 'Participation' is related to an individual's involvement in political, social, and civic life. These domains can be measured through inquiry on attitudes about the responsiveness and inclusiveness of the state; mutual respect and trust among groups and individuals; attitudes toward other members or groups; group participation; and structural equity and social justice.

This study includes a series of questions aiming to assess resilience and social cohesion in the community and in individuals. Questions were adapted from the literature on resilience and included whether individuals feel able to adapt to change, can deal with whatever comes, can see the humorous side of things, are strengthened by coping with stress, tend to bounce back after illness or hardship, think they can achieve their goals, can focus under pressure, and are not discouraged by failure and other factors found to indicate resiliency. Key questions on social cohesion included those on prevalent types of dispute and how they are addressed, confidence in government, equality in access to services, participation in public life, trust and respect among people and groups, relations and level of comfort in interactions between people and groups, and participation in political processes. In order to correlate resilience and social cohesion with education, responses to these sets of questions were analyzed in relation to educational outcomes and demographic factors among the study population.

5. STUDY METHODS

The study involved a survey of 2,079 randomly selected respondents, a nationwide sample of 1,024, and four additional sub-samples of 1,055 individuals to examine the relationship between education and resilience, social cohesion, and human security in Uganda. The surveys were designed to provide results that are representative of the population over the age of 14 years in Uganda as well as individuals from the four UNICEF intervention areas.

5.1. Survey Design and Sampling

With the support of the Uganda Bureau of Statistics, during the first stage of sampling, enumeration areas (EAs) were randomly selected with a probability proportionate to size (PPS) for each of the five sampling schemes (one nationally representative sample of EAs and four regional strata). For the nationally representative sample, we selected 30 EAs randomly from a database of all the EAs, with an additional 60 EAs selected as replacements. The EAs were listed in the order in which they were selected. Replacements, when needed, were selected based on that list. In the final nationally representative sample, only 1 EA from the original 30 selected was replaced because of inaccessibility due to a destroyed bridge. In each of the four sub-samples, which corresponded to the four UNICEF intervention regions, 16 EAs were randomly selected with an additional 9 EAs selected as replacements. In Karamoja, 2 originally selected EAs were replaced; 1 EA was replaced in the Acholi region; and in the South West region, 2 EAs were replaced. Inacessibility necessitated the replacements. No EAs were replaced in the West Nile region.

At the second stage, each EA was geographically divided into 4 quadrants, and each team of 2 interviewers (one male and one

female) was instructed to randomly select two dwellings to interview. Male interviewers were assigned to male respondents at one of the two selected dwellings, and female interviewers were assigned to female respondents at the other selected dwellings. In each selected dwelling, interviewers randomly selected one adult in the household (defined as a group of people normally sleeping under the same roof and eating together) to be interviewed from a list of all eligible respondents. Three attempts were made to contact a household or individual before replacing them with another. In total, a minimum of 16 interviews were conducted in each EA.

The minimum target sample size for the national sample was 1,000 and 250 for each of the 4 UNICEF intervention regions. For the national sample, the interviewers approached 1,447 dwellings. At 463 (31%) of these dwellings, the interviewers could not conduct interviews. Among the 463 dwellings where interviews could not be conducted, 239 (52%) were due to the house's being empty, 68 (15%) were due to the household's refusal to participate, 67 (15%) did not have eligible respondents, 62 (13%) were due to all eligible respondents' being away, and 27 (6%) were due to other reasons. At the 1,024 dwellings where interviews occurred, interviewers approached a total of 1,246 eligible participants who reported being 14 years old or older and conducted 1,024 interviews. Among 222 individuals who did not participate, 108 (49%) of these individuals were not interviewed because they were not home, 66 (30%) of the eligible participants refused, and 48 (22%) were due to other reasons.

With regard to the 4 UNICEF intervention regions, a total of 1,055 people were interviewed (Karamoja: n=260, Acholi: n=256, West Nile: n=259, and South West: n= 277). A total of 1,381 dwellings were approached; in 326 (24%) of the dwellings no interviews were conducted. The reasons included the following: the houses were empty when the interviewers arrived (53%), household members refused to participate (10%), no eligible household members were at home (18%), no eligible household member resided at the house (13%), and other factors (6%). The survey's margin of error for the entire

sample is ±3.0 percentage points. This means that in 95 out of every 100 samples drawn using the same methodology, estimated proportions based on the entire sample will be no more than 3.0 percentage points away from their true values in the targeted population.

Table 2: Sample Groups and Number of EAs Selected

Sample Group	# of EAs	Districts included in the sample
1 – Nationwide	30	All districts and Kampala
2 – Karamoja	16	Abim, Amudat, Kaabong, Kotido, Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Napak
3 – Acholi	16	Agago, Amuru, Gulu, Lamwo, Kitgum, Nwoya, Oyam, Pader, Otuke
4 – West Nile	16	Arua, Nebbi, Yumbe, Zombo, Moyo, Adjumani, Maracha, Koboko
5 –South West	16	Bundibugyo, Kabarole, Kasese, Kyenjojo, Ntoroko, Kisoro, Kabale, Kanungu, Ntungamo
TOTAL	94	

The research was reviewed independently by the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at Partners Healthcare in Boston, Massachusetts, and Research and Ethics Committee at Makerere University School of Public Health in Kampala. Approval to conduct interviews was also obtained from Uganda National Council for Science and Technology as well as from district and local authorities at survey sites. The interviewers obtained oral informed consent from each selected participant; neither monetary nor material incentives were offered for participation.

5.2. Survey instruments

Interviews were conducted by trained interviewers using a standardized structured questionnaire with open-ended questions installed on a tablet. The questionnaire included sections addressing: demographics, priorities, access to and perception of services, education, security, exposure to violence, sense of cohesion and resilience factors. The questionnaire took approximately one hour to one and one-half hours to administer. The identification of indicators was guided by consultation with local experts and UNICEF key staff members. The research team developed the questionnaire and consent form in English. The final version was translated and back-translated into the five major languages of Uganda and provided to each interviewer in five key primary languages.

Response options based on pilot interviews were provided to the interviewer for coding but were read to study participants only forquestions employing a scaling format (e.g., the Likert scale). An open-ended field was always available for interviewers to record complete responses. These answers were coded for analysis.

Once the questionnaire was finalized, it was programmed into Android Nexus 7 Tablets running KoBoToolbox, our custom data collection package.[85] The use of the tablets allowed interviewers to enter the data directly as the interviews were conducted. Built-in verification systems reduced the risk of skipping questions or entering erroneous values, resulting in data of a high quality.

5.3. Data Collection and Analysis

The data were collected over a period of 3 weeks, in November and December 2014, implemented by 5 teams of interviewers with each

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[85] Since 2007, the authors have developed KoBoToolbox, a set of tools to facilitate electronic data collection – www.kobotoolbox.org

team comprising 4 to 8 interviewers for a total of 26 interviewers. The teams conducted the interviews under the guidance of 5 field coordinators and 1 lead field researcher. The interviewers were professionals who were selected on the basis of their past research experience and trained by the lead researcher for 5 days in close collaboration with a local partner organization.

Prior to collecting the data, the interviewers participated in a weeklong training that covered interview techniques, the content of the questionnaire, the use of tablets for digital data collection, troubleshooting, and methods for solving technical problems. The training included mock interviews and pilot-testing with randomly selected individuals at non-sampled sites. The research protocol required each team to collect data in one location per day. Interviews were conducted one-on-one, anonymously, and in confidential settings. When possible, data were synchronized with a central computer, enabling the lead field researcher to check data for completion, consistency, and outliers. The lead field researcher and supervisors discussed any issues that arose with the team prior to the next data collection. Once the data collection was completed, the database was imported into Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 16 for data analysis. The results presented here are adjusted for the complex sampling design.

5.4. Data Visualization

After analysis, all of the results were imported online in an interactive map platform to enable users to browse detailed results stratified by the 5 samples (i.e., sample from the nationally representative sample and the 4 UNICEF intervention regions). The 4 UNICEF intervention areas were sampled to represent those regions and are also part of the nationally representative sample statistics.

Figure 1: Interactive Maps – www.peacebuildingdata.org
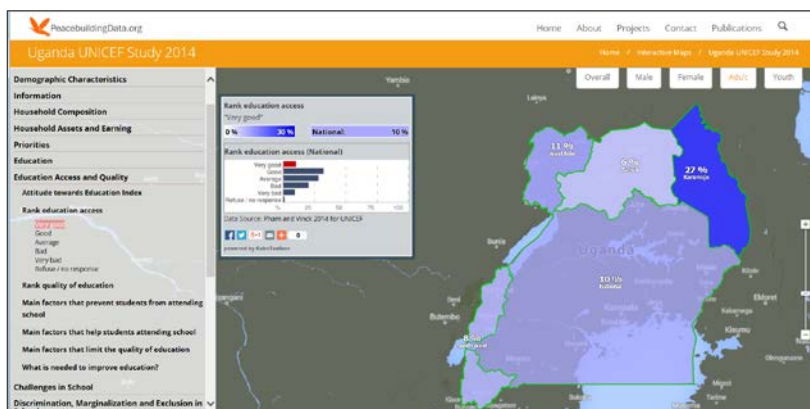
5.5. Limitations

The present study was developed and implemented carefully to ensure that the results would accurately represent the views and opinions of the youth and adult population, aged 14 years and older, residing in the nation of Uganda and the 4 UNICEF intervention areas during the data collection period in November through December 2014. As with any social science research, there are limitations.

Some selected individuals could not be interviewed for various reasons (see section 4.1: 'Survey Design and Sample'). It is uncertain how responses from individuals who could not be interviewed would have differed from those of the sampled individuals, but the sampling approach was designed to reduce any potential for selection biases. Results also represent the adult population at the time of the survey, and opinions may change over time.

The study relies on a self-reported method of data collection. A number of factors may have affected the quality and validity of the data collected. These factors include inaccurate recall of past events, misunderstanding of the questions or concepts, reactivity to the

interviewer due to the sensitive nature of the questions, and intentional misreporting (e.g., for socially unacceptable answers). We minimized such risks through careful development of the questionnaire to make the questions sufficiently clear and to reduce potential bias.

6. RESULTS

6.1. Characteristics of Respondents

By design, the gender composition in the study is almost evenly distributed with 50% male respondents and 50% female respondents in the national sample, with a minor (1%) discrepancy in three of the regional samples: Karamoja, West Nile, and South West. In the national sample, the average age of the respondents is 32.8 (SD=15.8). Respondents from Karamoja and Acholi tended to be slightly younger than the national sample while the respondents from the West Nile and South West regions tended to be older. When the respondents are grouped by age categories, a little more than one-third (36.9%) of the respondents are between the ages of 14 and 24 while the remaining ones are adults (63.1%). We did not sample any children aged 13 years or younger since interviewing younger children would require a separate questionnaire designed in accordance with their level of cognitive development, which would have limited our ability to compare results across the study population. About one-third of the respondents were single and have never been married, and the remainder either were or have been married, lived with a partner, or were divorced / separated, or widowed. In the nation-wide sample, nearly one-half of the respondents (49.2%) are head of their household. In the South West sub-sample, a higher percentage of the respondents (62.1%) were head of household compared to the national sample and the other regional samples. A lower percentage of respondents from Karamoja (41%) reported that they were head of household. The average number of people in each household sampled nationally and in South West was six people. The average number of people in the households in Karamoja and West Nile was 8, while the average in the Acholi region was 7.

Table 3: Characteristics of Respondents

	Karamoja	Acholi	West Nile	South West	National
Female (%)	49.2	50.2	49.4	50.9	50.4%
Age (mean)	30.0	30.4	34.4	35.5	32.8
Youth (% 14-24 yrs.)	34.6	43.6	25.1	29.6	36.9
Young adult (% 25-35yr)	36.9	27.0	37.8	31.0	29.5
Older adult (% >35 Yr.)	28.5	29.3	37.1	39.4	33.6
Marital status (%)					
Single, never married	33.1	36.7	18.5	28.2	32.9
Married (monogamous)	32.7	26.3	48.6	52.7	45.5
Married (polygamous)	28.8	13.5	23.6	5.1	8.4
Partner/living together	0.0	13.1	1.9	3.2	3.3
Divorced/separated	0.4	4.6	4.6	5.1	4.6
Widowed	5.0	5.8	2.7	5.8	5.0
Household composition					
Total number (mean)	7.8	6.8	8.1	5.6	6.0
Children <6 (mean)	1.9	1.7	2.2	1.2	1.6
Children 6-12 (mean)	1.7	1.6	2.1	1.2	1.2
Children 13-18 (mean)	1.4	1.7	1.2	1.2	1.3
No. of children per respondent (mean)	1.4	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.8

6.2. Priorities

When asked to identify their main priority and concern, the top response in the national sample was education (29%), followed by job opportunities (9%) and financial issues (8%). Similar responses were found in the South West (30% stated education as a top priority) and West Nile regions (29%). In the Acholi region, the percentage was even higher (43%). The percentage of respondents indicating education as the top priority was lower in Karamoja (12%), where food (24%) was the

top priority for respondents. Despite the slight variation across regions, education is clearly a top priority for most respondents.
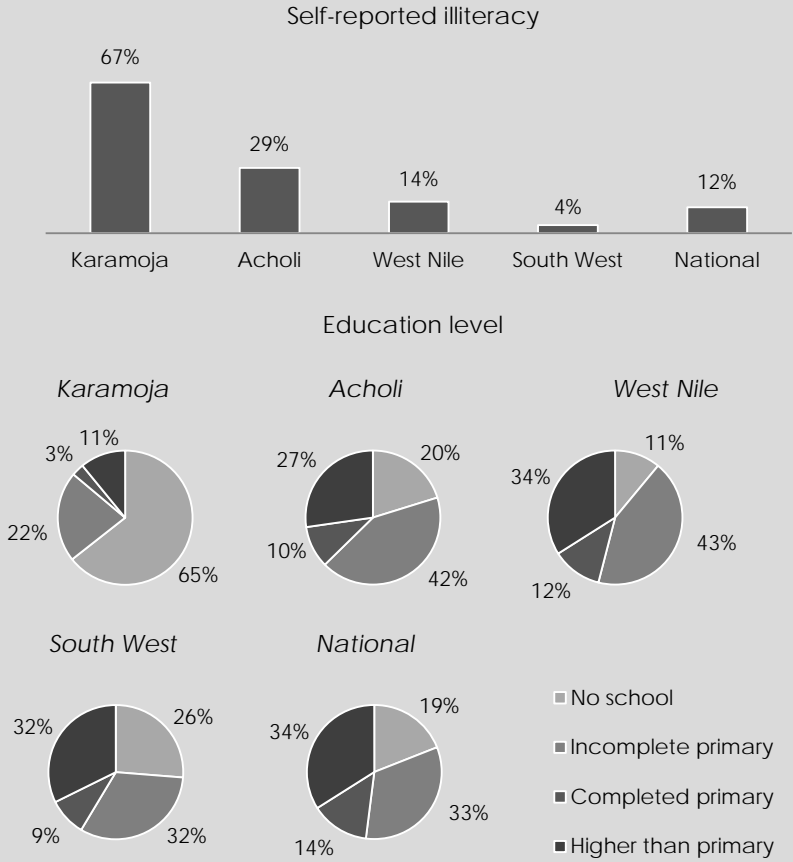
6.3. Education

As illustrated in Figure 2, 46% of the respondents in the national sample reported that they completed at least primary education. When comparing by age group, 50% of youth compared to 25% of adults have completed at least primary level. This is a positive trend; nearly half of the youth population is finishing primary school, which is double the rate in the older generation. The rate is lower than official statistics, which put primary school completion at 64%, but it includes 47% of youth respondents who were currently enrolled in school. Among them 28% are still enrolled in primary school. In the current national sample, 672 of 1,024 (61%) of the respondents had children of school age (over the age of 5 years). Among these respondents, 77% of them reported that their children were enrolled in school. In three of the four UNICEF intervention areas, the percentage of respondents with children of school age whose children were enrolled in school was higher than in the national sample (Karamoja, 77%; West Nile, 84%, and South West 91%). In the Acholi region, the proportion of respondents with children of school age whose children were enrolled in school was 75%, slightly lower than the national rate.

Furthermore, the trend in the current survey is consistent with national data on education indicating that gender disparity is being significantly reduced at the primary level. There is no statistically significant difference between levels of enrollment between female and male youth respondents. There is a significant difference in the level of education between adult respondents, with 49% of male compared to 36% of female respondents reporting having completed primary level. However, among youth there is no statistical difference in the percentage of females versus males who completed primary level (65% and 68%, respectively). Comparing across regions, the highest percentage of people completing at least the primary level of

education are youth in the South West region (59%) followed by youth in the West Nile region (52%).

Figure 2: Literacy and Education

Self-reported illiteracy

	Karamoja	Acholi	West Nile	South West	National
	67%	29%	14%	4%	12%

Education level

Karamoja

11%
3%
22%
65%

Acholi

20%
27%
10%
42%

West Nile

11%
34%
43%
12%

South West

26%
32%
9%
32%

National

19%
34%
33%
14%

- No school
- Incomplete primary
- Completed primary
- Higher than primary

These trends are consistent with the self-reported data on literacy (Figure 2). The lowest percentage of respondents completing at least the primary level of education were in the Karamoja region;65% of the total sample reported having had no formal schooling) and were similar to those with the highest percentage of respondents indicating

that they could not read or write (67% overall, 48% for the 14-24 age group). Study participants in Karamoja were on average slightly younger than in the other three intervention areas and the national sample. However, nearly three-quarters (73%) of the youth respondents in Karamoja stated that they were currently enrolled in school, and the majority of these respondents (79%) were enrolled in primary school. This corroborates other reports of low adherence to universal secondary education policies in Karamoja, since the youth respondents were between 14 and 24 years of age, an age group that can be expected to have moved from primary to secondary education. It also suggests that in spite of high school-enrollment rates, young people are not acquiring basic literacy skills. In spite of this, 96% of Karamoja's youth enrolled in school at the time of the survey reported that they plan to complete it. In the other regions, the Acholi Region had the second highest rate of illiteracy (29% overall), significantly higher than the national rate of 12%, even though a very large number of youth respondents reported being enrolled in school at the time of the survey. West Nile had the next highest rate of illiteracy (14% of the overall sample); and South West, the lowest rate at 4%. Among respondents reporting no formal education, the rate in Acholi (20%) was slightly above the national rate (19%), while West Nile was lower (11%) and South West notably higher at 26%.

Among those who were currently enrolled in school, the majority (81%, national sample) reported that their parents or guardians met at least once per year with their teacher. In all UNICEF intervention regions except the West Nile region (75%), the percentage of parents meeting with teachers was higher than the national sample.

6.3.1. School Attendance

Among the 466 respondents in the national sample who reported that they have children currently enrolled in school, about 91% reported that their child was attending school regularly. The top three reasons for not attending school were: 1) illness among the students (57%), 2) distance of school from home (25%), and 3) financial hardship requiring

the student to work (21%). In Karamoja, the rate of students being prevented from attending school due to the need to work at 46% was noticeably higher than in other regions, as was the reported rate of schools in insecure areas (19%). Youth enrollment rates in Karamoja were higher than other regions and the national sample, and higher than official data on school enrollment in the region. This could be a result of a combination of two factors: 1) intense investment in education and development concentrated in those areas, and / or 2) youth may feel compelled to report enrollment in school because of these investments. The high enrollment rate also does not correspond to high school completion rates: the study found that primary school completion was extremely low among youth in Karamoja (8%) compared to the national sample (16%). When further asked what factors help students to attend school, the top three responses in the national sample were: 1) supportive family members (65%), (2) supportive teachers (45%), and (3) bursaries (58%).

Figure 3: School Enrollment among Youth 14-24 Years Old
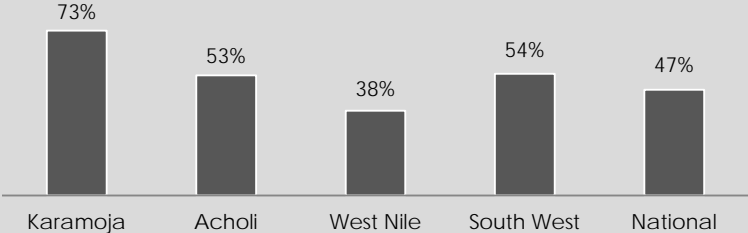
6.3.2.   Access to and Quality of Education

Attitudes toward education were measured by a 7-item scale based on a set of statements provided to respondents. Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the seven statements about education (e.g., "Education is important to have a better future), and responses on these 7 questions were combined and averaged to create an index of attitudes toward education. The

average score was .78 in the national sample (scores ranged from 0 to 1 with a score closer to one being more positive) and slightly higher in the four sub-regions, at .82 in Acholi Karamoja, and South West, and .81 in West Nile. The overall high score was consistent with previous studies' findings that Ugandans place a high value on formal education, even in regions where the future adherence of children to the dominant lifestyle (e.g., semi-nomadic) or their involvement in the prevalent livelihood (e.g., agriculture), were not always seen as necessitating formal education. The findings contradict reports that Ugandans are losing interest in formal education due to the lack of formal employment opportunities for young people. Rather, they suggest that interest in education is strong, but that the educational system needs to continue to adapt to the realities of Uganda's economy and labor market. The attitudes to education scores display some regional and demographic variations. In West Nile, female respondents (at .85) reported more positive attitudes than males (at .78); while scores were reversed in Karamoja (.85 for males vs .77 for females). Also in Karamoja, adults scored slightly higher than youth (.82 vs .79). The high scores for positive attitudes to education may also indicate that the population aspires to higher levels of education than they can currently access.

The study found that only 37% of the respondents in the national sample, Acholi, and South West reported that they had good or very good access to education. In West Nile, 41% of the respondents reported good or very good access to education. This percentage is the highest in the Karamoja region where 70% of the respondents reported that they had good or very good access to education. With respect to quality of education, only about one-third of the respondents in the national sample, Acholi , and South West reported that the quality of education was good or very good. For the majority – around two-thirds – quality of education was considered average, bad or very bad. As with access to education, the highest percentage of respondents (63%) reporting that that quality of education was good or very good was in Karamoja.

The figures from Karamoja may seem surprising given frequent reports from the region of poor infrastructure and large distances between schools hindering both students and teachers from accessing educational resources. In this study, however, only 17% of respondents in Karamoja stated that school was too far, with illness of the respondent, family member illness, or the need to work being the more frequently cited reasons for failing to attend school. This could also mean, however, that our interviewers may have missed respondents from harder to reach areas. Reports also suggest that there have been significant improvement in service provision in Karamoja in recent decades. One study on disparities in educational attainment based on ethnicity and religion found that inequality in Karamoja was still higher than in other regions, but had decreased from a 'disproportionately high level' in 1991. The same study found that Karamoja's educational infrastructure also remained very poor, with high teacher:pupil and pupil:classroom ratios, but that these levels had also improved in recent years. The improvement today compared to past years may have caused respondents in this study to report higher levels of satisfaction with their access to education than in other regions, even if real educational resources remained comparatively weaker. The three indicators combined, however, suggest that there is still a need to improve access and quality of education in Uganda, to better align to the overall positive perceptions and attitudes to education.

6.3.3. Parents' and Communities' Roles in Education

The relationships among communities, parents, teachers, and students were assessed through two sets of questions. One set of questions asked about the frequency with which parents met with respondent's teachers and frequency with which the community participated in the management of schools. The second set of questions asked respondents to rank the relationships among the students and relationships between student and teachers, teachers and parents, community and students, community and parents, and community and teachers. For the second set of questions, a teacher-parent-student relationship index and community-teacher-parent-student

relationship index were calculated based on responses to the six questions assessing perception about the quality of the relationships; the closer the score was to one, the better the relationship. Among the youth respondents (aged 14-24 years), 43% of the national sample reported that their parents met at least once a month with teachers and 28% reported parents met with their teachers a few times a year. About one-fifth (19%), however, reported their parents never met with teachers. This number was higher among respondents in the West Nile intervention region, where 21% of the respondents reported that their parents never met with their teachers. On the other hand, a much lower percentage of respondents in the Acholi (5%) and South West (7%) intervention regions reported that their parents never met with their teachers.

A little less than one-third of the respondents (32%) in the national sample reported that the community made little or no contribution to the management or functioning of the school. This percentage was similar in three of the UNICEF intervention regions (Karamoja, West Nile, and South West) but was higher in the Acholi UNICEF intervention region (41%). The average teacher-parent-student index for the national sample was .68. It was higher in all of the UNICEF intervention areas, and the higher index was statistically significant in Karamoja, West Nile, and South West compared to the national sample. With regard to the community-teacher-parent-student relationship index, the average was .70 for the national sample, and the differences between the national sample and the 4 UNICEF intervention regions were not statistically significant. Both indexes in all regions were significantly lower than 1 and suggest that these relationships still need strengthening across the country. This corresponds to the findings of previous studies that teacher absenteeism can be a source of conflict, and that tensions exist between parents and teachers, for example, on the question of whether children should be taught in local languages or in English.

6.3.4.   Conflicts and Diversity in School

There were two sets of questions about conflicts and discrimination within the school system. One set of questions asked more generally about the most common types of dispute or conflict happening in school. The second set asked directly whether the respondents personally experienced the conflicts identified in the study. With regard to general perceptions of the types of conflict within the school system, poor feeding of students emerged as the most frequently cited issue. A little more than one-half (54%) of the respondents in the nationwide sample, who were currently enrolled in school or had children in school, cited school feeding as a common source of conflict in school. The rate was higher than the national sample in Karamoja (84%); this is consistent with other studies that have found that food insecurity was a prevalent concern in the region. In South West, 63% of respondents identified poor feeding as a source of conflict, pointing to poverty among families negatively affecting children's ability to perform at school. Teachers' salaries (42%) and teachers' absenteeism (34%) were other major drivers of conflict identified by respondents, corroborating reports elsewhere in the literature that payment of teachers was frequently irregular, leading to absenteeism due to low morale and pursuing other sources of income. Poor school leadership was identified by 33% of the national sample and was higher in all of the UNICEF intervention regions (44% in South West and West Nile, 40% in Karamoja, and 39% in Acholi). About 41% of respondents in Karamoja cited accommodation as a source of conflict, consistent with previous studies' findings and reports from UNICEF that students and teachers traveled long distances to reach schools and found poor standards of accommodation at school. Notably, respondents in Karamoja (48%), Acholi (30%) and West Nile (21%) also reported more frequent disputes arising from school land issues than the national sample (13%), reflecting previous studies' findings that land disputes were affecting schools in those regions.
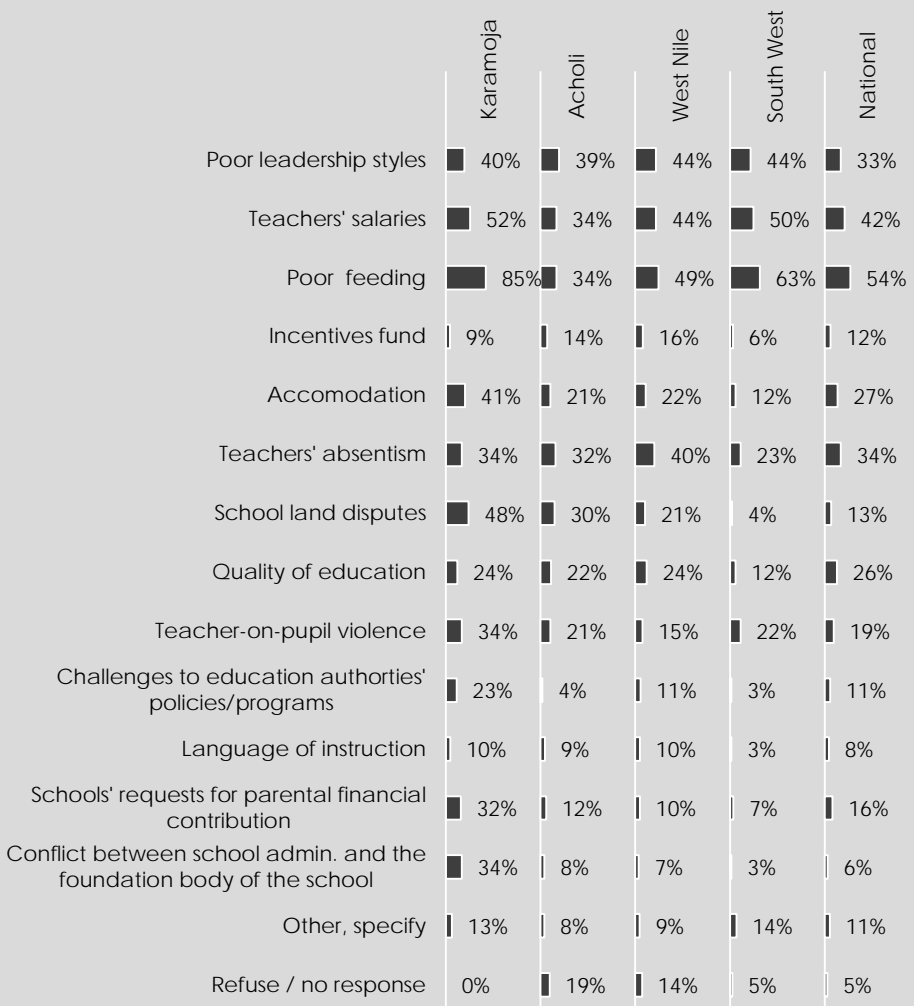
Karamoja respondents also reported higher levels of teacher-on-pupil violence (34% versus 19% nationally), pointing to the ongoing culture of

violence reported elsewhere in the literature, and challenges to educational policies (23% versus 11% nationally), which may point to students' and communities' demands for improved educational access and quality. With regard to direct experience of conflict in school, in the national sample nearly one out of four students (23%) mentioned being called names, insulted, or humiliated at school, nearly two out of ten students (17%) were the subject of gossip and rumors ,and one out of five students (10%) have been either discriminated against or been threatened with violence (11%). When comparing the four UNICEF intervention regions, the Acholi region had a statistically higher percentage of students who experienced these types of issue in school compared to the national sample and the other three regions (p<.05). Notably, 22% of respondents in Acholi reported being physically abused by a teacher at school in a way that resulted in pain, discomfort, or injury; 21% reported being threatened with violence in school; and 20% reported that they had not contacted anybody for help with resolving the problem. Only 5% of overall respondents in Acholi contacted their parents (0% among youth respondents), compared to 67% of Karamoja respondents who contacted their parents to resolve a problem in school. The rates for contract parents in Acholi are lower than both the national sample (14%) and the other three UNICEF intervention regions.

When asked how often these conflicts occur, nearly one half (46%) in the national sample said 'rarely' and 16% said 'never'. In Karamoja, respondents were significantly more likely to state that conflicts happened 'sometimes', 'often'or 'very often'. The highest percentage of respondents reporting conflicts in schools occurring often or very often (27%) was also in Karamoja. Poor feeding is also the type of conflict most frequently cited as being likely to turn violent (50% nationally), followed by teachers' salaries (39%), and poor leadership styles (29%). Teachers' salaries was one of the issues motivating the recent teacher strike in Uganda, which delayed the start of schools'

second term by almost two weeks and ended with a government commitment to a 15% pay increase for teachers in 2016.[86]

Figure 4: Main Disputes in Schools

	Karamoja	Acholi	West Nile	South West	National
Poor leadership styles	40%	39%	44%	44%	33%
Teachers' salaries	52%	34%	44%	50%	42%
Poor feeding	85%	34%	49%	63%	54%
Incentives fund	9%	14%	16%	6%	12%
Accomodation	41%	21%	22%	12%	27%
Teachers' absentism	34%	32%	40%	23%	34%
School land disputes	48%	30%	21%	4%	13%
Quality of education	24%	22%	24%	12%	26%
Teacher-on-pupil violence	34%	21%	15%	22%	19%
Challenges to education authorties' policies/programs	23%	4%	11%	3%	11%
Language of instruction	10%	9%	10%	3%	8%
Schools' requests for parental financial contribution	32%	12%	10%	7%	16%
Conflict between school admin. and the foundation body of the school	34%	8%	7%	3%	6%
Other, specify	13%	8%	9%	14%	11%
Refuse / no response	0%	19%	14%	5%	5%

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[86] The Observer. Uganda: Teachers End Strike With a 15 Percent Promise. 27/05/15 http://allafrica.com/view/group/main/main/id/00020950.html

A specific series of questions was also asked about discrimination, marginalization, and exclusion in school due to gender, ethnicity, religion, economic status, or political affiliation. Two indexes were computed based on responses to these questions: 1) a gender equality in education Index, and 2) a diversity in school index. Again, the indexes ranged from 0 to 1 with numbers closer to one indicating more equality and diversity.

Figure 5: Percentage of Students Reported Being Subject to Discrimination and Conflicts in School

	Karamoja	Acholi	West Nile	South West	National
Insulted / Called names	14%	32%	21%	18%	23%
Excluded / Discriminated	7%	10%	5%	8%	9%
Subject of gosips, rumors	15%	29%	15%	9%	17%
Threatend with Violence	14%	22%	14%	8%	11%
Physically abused	10%	24%	9%	14%	14%
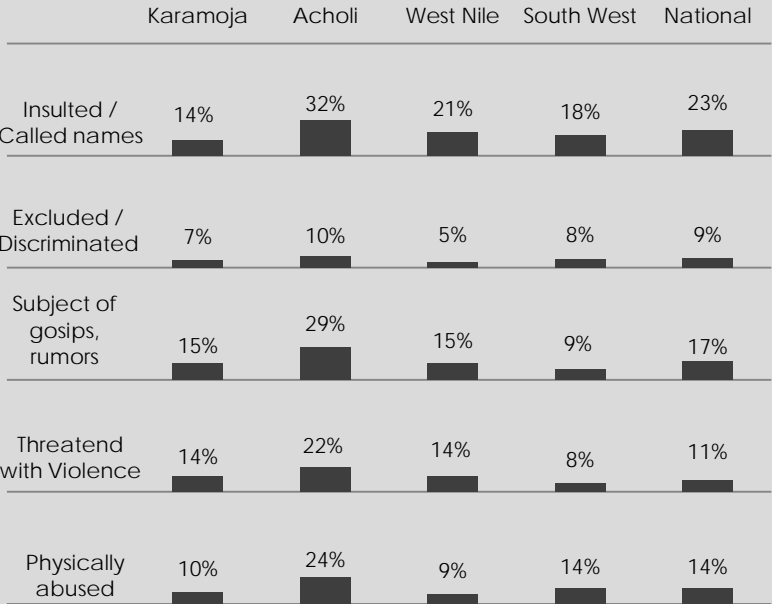
With regard to the gender equality index, the mean score for the national sample was .82. This index had great variation among the four UNICEF intervention areas. In Karamoja, the index was .5; in West Nile it was .77, and in the Acholi and South West regions, the scores of .85 and .89, respectively, were higher than the national sample. These results suggest that the Acholi and South West regions have made greater

progress in ensuring gender equality in schools than Karamoja and West Nile. However, since the scores in all regions are still significantly less than 1, girls' access to education remains an area for improvement. For the other scale, the coding was designed to measure levels of acceptance of diversity in school. The mean score for the diversity scale is .71 in the national sample with similar average scores in the Karamoja, Acholi, and South West regions. The score was higher in the Acholi region, indicating higher acceptance of diversity in that region. Again however, scores from all regions demonstrate that there is still a need to strengthen respect for diversity in Ugandan schools.

6.3.5.   Who resolves conflict

When asked in the national sample who resolves conflict between students, the majority (83%) report that teachers are the people most likely to help resolve the conflict. Similarly when asked who normally resolves conflict between teachers and students, the majority (63%) stated the head teacher and a minority (13%) stated the school committee. The pattern of response in the four UNICEF intervention regions was similar to the national sample. With respect to conflict between teachers and parents or the community, 51% of the respondents reported that the Parent Teacher Association was the body that usually resolved the problem. One-third of the respondents (33%) stated that school management committees intervened to resolve conflict between teachers and parents/committees.

When asked about specific conflicts, there were variations in responses among the four UNICEF intervention regions. There were variations in responses by gender as well. Among the respondents who stated that they have personally experienced exclusion, marginalization, and discrimination in school, 58% in the Acholi region, 33% in the South West region, and 64% in the national sample stated that they would reach out to their teacher. Nobody in Karamoja stated that they would approach a teacher in this instance. In Karamoja, the two main groups approached for support were parents (67%) and other students (67%).

In the Acholi region, the main people they sought to resolve the conflicts were also teachers and other students, but 17% stated they did not go to anybody for support. When asked if the respondents were satisfied with the outcome, the majority stated yes except in the Karamoja region.

6.3.6. Security in school

With regard to security in school, about three-quarters of the respondents in the national sample stated that the environment in school was safe or very safe. This percentage was higher in all four UNICEF intervention regions. However, this contradicts other studies on violence in schools which suggested high levels of insecurity in these regions' schools. The data may reflect the population's relative perceptions of safety in their lives generally when compared to their past experience: the majority in all regions except West Nile reported that the security situation in their community had improved compared to one year ago, with 89% reporting improvement in Karamoja. In most regions, when provided a list of types of crime, over 70% of respondents reported that they had not experienced any of the events listed within the past 12 months. The self-reported perceptions of children on safety in schools may merit further research, considering that the sample for this study did not include children 13 years of age or younger. A significant proportion of respondents in the Acholi region reported experiencing violence in school, and a similar proportion did not report the violence to anyone.

In the national sample, the top three reasons why the school environment was unsafe were: 1) crimes and theft (52%), (2) alcohol-related issues (51%), and (3) other types of issues such as conflict within schools. These reasons were similar in the Acholi, West Nile and South West regions. In the Karamoja region, the main security issues were ethnic problems (67%) and crimes and theft (37%).
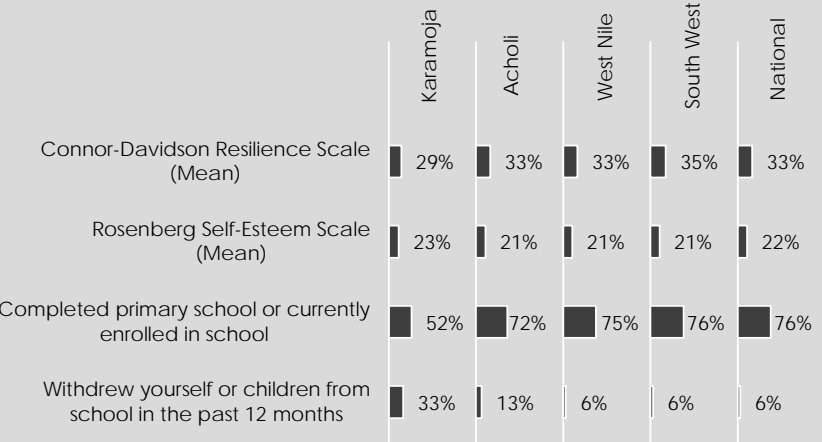
Figure 6: Sense of Safety in School
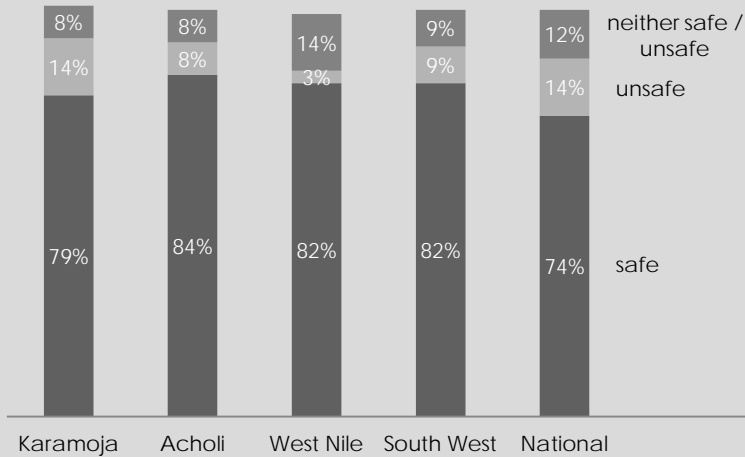
6.3.7.   Resilience and Educational Outcome

This survey adopted two standardized self-reported indicators of resiliency: the 10-item Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-R) and the Rosenberg (R) Self-Esteem Scale. The CD-R comprises 10 questions utilizing a 4-point Likert scale to measure an individual's capacity to overcome adversity. The Rosenberg (R) Self-Esteem Scale is also a 10-item, 4-point Likert scale to measure global self-worth. The range of scores or the CD-R scale is 0–40, with higher scores reflecting greater resiliency. For the Rosenberg scale, higher scores indicate higher self-esteem. In two general population surveys in the United States using the Rosenberg scale, the mean score was 31.8 (S.D. = 5.4).

In Uganda, the average CD-R score for the national sample was 33.2 (S.D.=7.2). The CD-R score for the Acholi and the West Nile regions were comparable to the national sample, but the CD-R score for the Karamoja region (mean=28.7, S.D.=5.4) was significantly lower than the national sample (p<.001), whereas the CD-R score in the South West

region (mean=35.2, S.D.=7.2) was significantly higher than in the national sample(p=.001). Based on the standard scale, an R-self-esteem score between 15 and 25 is within the normal range with a standard population and anything below 15 indicates low self-esteem. The R-self-esteem average total score among youth was 21.9 (S.D.=3.7) for the national sample, which is within the normal range. The score was similar across all four regions. This means that among the youth who participated in the survey, the group average scores for self-esteem are within the normal range. The findings are positive, indicating that Ugandan youth have a strong sense of self-worth and normal coping mechanisms in spite of the sources of adversity they face.

Figure 7: Resilience and Education Indicators

	Karamoja	Acholi	West Nile	South West	National
Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (Mean)	29%	33%	33%	35%	33%
Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Mean)	23%	21%	21%	21%	22%
Completed primary school or currently enrolled in school	52%	72%	75%	76%	76%
Withdrew yourself or children from school in the past 12 months	33%	13%	6%	6%	6%

In addition to the psychological measures of resilience and self-esteem, we also measured other behavioral responses to stress and shocks. One of the indicators pointing to resiliency is the ability of youth to stay in school and or have completed it despite adversity (stress and/or shocks) they have encountered during the course of their development. In this analysis, we combined the results of two questions in order to group youth among those who were currently enrolled in
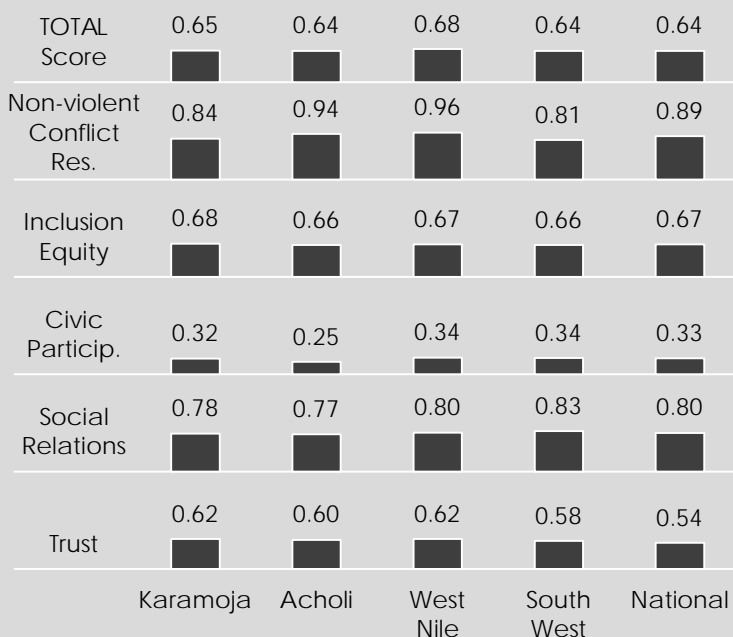
school or had at least completed primary school and those who had not. With regard to the national sample, three-quarters of the youth had either completed primary school or were currently enrolled in school. The percentages were similar in all other regions except Karamoja, where only half of the youth had either completed primary school or were currently enrolled in school.

With regard to responses to stress and/or shock, 6% of youth in the national sample reported that they had either withdrawn themselves or their children from school within the past 12 months. The three main reasons were health, crop failure, and financial difficulties. Consistent with other findings, the number of youth withdrawing themselves or their children was higher in Karamoja (33%) than in the other regions. The main reasons cited in Karamoja for withdrawing children from school were drought, health, theft (other than land seizure), financial difficulty and crop failure.

6.3.8.   Social Cohesion and Peacebuilding Education

A Social Cohesion Index was created based on factor analyses of eight questions, resulting in five factors: 1) trust, 2) social relationships, 3) civic and social participation, 4) inclusion and attitudes towards social processes and services, and 5) constructive dispute resolution. An index ranging from 0 to 1 was created based on the percent of the total score of the set of questions. Figure 8 shows the overall average score for social cohesion at .64 for the national sample, which is similar to the average scores for the Karamoja, Acholi, and South West regions. In West Nile, however, the average score is slightly higher at .68. When looking at the specific dimensions of social cohesion, the civic participation score was the lowest (nationally and in all four regions), and the nonviolent conflict resolution score was the highest.

Figure 8: Average Social Cohesion Index by Sampling Strata

	Karamoja	Acholi	West Nile	South West	National
TOTAL Score	0.65	0.64	0.68	0.64	0.64
Non-violent Conflict Res.	0.84	0.94	0.96	0.81	0.89
Inclusion Equity	0.68	0.66	0.67	0.66	0.67
Civic Particip.	0.32	0.25	0.34	0.34	0.33
Social Relations	0.78	0.77	0.80	0.83	0.80
Trust	0.62	0.60	0.62	0.58	0.54

Trust is a composite score for the level of self-reported trust of family members, the community, ethnic groups, authorities (elected officials and community leaders), and NGOs. Trust scores toward people from other ethnic groups and authorities were the lowest (the national scores were .44 and .43, respectively). The scores for the other four regions were slightly higher but not much. If programing is developed to increase trust, the focus should be on inter-ethnic trust and trust of authorities. On the other hand, respondents reported a higher level of comfort in interacting with people from other religious, political, and ethnic groups. Notably, the scores for access to services, a subcomponent of the factors, were also low.

7. CONCLUSIONS

When comparing by age group, an encouraging trend emerges; nearly half of the youth population is finishing primary school, which is double the rate in the older generation. There is no statistically significant difference in levels of enrollment between female and male youth respondents, whereas there is a significant difference in the level of education between adult respondents, with 49% of male compared to 36% of female respondents reporting having completed the primary level. These findings of the current study are consistent with national data on education indicating that gender disparity is being significantly reduced at the primary level. However, only slightly more than one-third of respondents in the national sample and the UNICEF intervention regions (with the exception of Karamoja) ranked their access to education and quality of education as good or very good. This suggests a need to improve both access to and quality of education in Uganda, to align better with the overall positive perceptions and attitudes to education.

Ugandans still place a high value on formal education in spite of reports suggesting that high unemployment and lack of confidence in the educational system have lowered respect for formal education. When asked to identify their main priority and concern, the top response nationally was education (29%) followed by job opportunities (9%) and financial issues (8%). Despite the high value placed on education, families still struggle to keep their children in school. Poverty and lack of social support are the most critical factors keeping children at home; illness of the child, illness of a family member and the need for the child to work are the most common reasons for missing school. Negative correlations are found between families having fewer material assets and more negative coping strategies with the likelihood that household members will have positive educational outcomes. A

little more than one-half (54%) of the respondents in the nationwide sample, who are currently enrolled in school or have children in school, cited school feeding as the most common source of conflict in school. Poor feeding is also the type of conflict most frequently cited as being likely to turn violent (50% nationally).

Teacher-parent-student relationships are slightly more positive in the UNICEF intervention regions. The overall low scores point to a need for strengthening these relationships across the country, and may reflect ongoing tensions in schools arising from teacher absenteeism due to unsatisfactory working conditions or disagreements on curriculum and language of instruction. Teachers' salaries and absenteeism are identified as some of the main sources of conflict in schools, reflecting recent events in Uganda where dissatisfaction with working conditions led to a two-week teacher strike.

About three-quarters of the respondents in the national sample stated that the environment in school was safe or very safe, with a higher percentage found in all four UNICEF intervention regions. This contradicts other studies on violence in schools which suggested high levels of insecurity in these regions' schools, but may reflect the population's relative perceptions of safety in their lives generally when compared to their past experience. The majority in all regions except West Nile reported that the security situation in their community had improved compared to one year ago, with 89% having reported improvement in Karamoja. However, rates of direct experience of violence in school were still quite high in some regions.

Finally, this study adopted two standardized self-reported indicators of individual resiliency, chosen for their reliability and validity of results (the Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale). The findings on resilience suggest that among the study population, individual resilience and self-esteem fall within the normal range found in other studies, with the exception of Karamoja where resilience was significantly lower. These positive results can be viewed in relation to levels of violence versus security in the past year. Acholi

residents reported low levels of exposure to crime or violence, while in Karamoja the rate was higher. Karamoja respondents also had the highest likelihood of using negative coping strategies, such as withdrawing children from school due to drought, lack of resources, or theft. The findings also suggest that while individuals may be coping relatively well with adversity and maintaining normal self-esteem, there is room for strengthening social cohesion in Uganda, particularly civil participation, inter-ethnic trust and trust in authorities.

The study developed a Social Cohesion Index ranging from 0 to 1 based on factor analyses of eight questions measuring five factors: 1) trust, 2) social relationships, 3) civic and social participation, 4) inclusion and attitudes towards social processes and services, and 5) constructive dispute resolution. Scores on the Social Cohesion Index were similar to the national average in the Karamoja, Acholi, and South West regions, and slightly higher in West Nile (.71). The low overall social cohesion scores in all four UNICEF intervention areas, as well as nationally, suggested that there is room for improvement in the five factors studied.
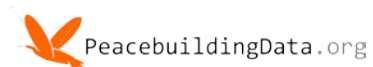
Karamoja

The study findings from the Karamoja regioncorroborate in many ways the need for continued investment in strengthening efforts toward development, non-violent conflict resolution, and the rule of law, as well as building better access to quality education in the region. However, they also indicate positive trends, particularly as regards more positive perceptions of educational access and quality of services. The regions receiving UNICEF intervention that have the lowest percentage of respondents completing at least the primary level of education were in the Karamoja region (65% of the total sample reported having had no formal schooling). Karamoja also had the highest percentage of respondents indicating that they could not read or write (67% overall, 48% for the 14-24 age group).

Nearly three-quarters (73%) of the youth respondents in Karamoja stated that they were currently enrolled in school, and the majority of these respondents (79%) were enrolled in primary school. This reflects other studies' findings of low adherence to universal secondary education policies in Karamoja since the youth respondents were between 14 and 24 years of age, an age group that can be expected to have moved from primary to secondary education. Notably, respondents in Karamoja (48%) also reported more frequent disputes arising from school land issues than respondents in the national sample (13%), reflecting previous studies' findings that land disputes were affecting schools in those regions. The next highest rates of land disputes affecting schools were in Acholi (30%) and West Nile (21%).

On the other hand, the study found that 70% of Karamoja respondents reported that they had good or very good access to education, compared to slightly more than one-third of the respondents in the national sample and other regions, and 63% reported that thequality of education was good or very good in Karamoja, again compared to approximately one-third of respondents in the national and other regional samples. While this may be attributable to the interviewer' inability to reach more remote areas for the study, it may also reflect improved educational service provision in the region in recent years, influencing respondents to report higher levels of satisfaction than in other regions, even if real educational resources remained comparatively weaker.

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