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Obtaining a Second Chance: Education During and After Conflict

Second Chance Education in Northern Uganda: Pathways and Motivation

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Abstract

The provision of education during and post- conflict has been identified as a significant challenge, with resulting impacts for children and young people which are lifelong. The quest to regain education when it has been lost is important for those victims of conflict.   This paper takes as its focus the education of individuals whose schooling was interrupted during and after the conflict in Northern Uganda (1996-2006) and examines the challenges to, and motivations for, pursuing second chance education.   30 life story interviews were conducted in Uganda in 2016, and reveal limited opportunities for education during the period specified, with significant challenges in access and provision. Motivations for pursuing education despite the many barriers to be overcome include education for transformation – material, individual, as empowerment, as catharsis, and as a dynamic for peace. It is clear that while a number of agencies supported educational initiatives during and post conflict in certain parts of the region this was not widespread, uniform, nor sustainable. The type of education offered is also discussed particularly in regard to employment outcomes. Nonetheless, the burning desire to continue on their educational pathway is a primary focus in the lives of young people and the government is urged to put in place initiatives to allow a return to school or a comparable education programme, to strengthen the human capital of the country as well as that of individuals.

Keywords: Second chance education, conflict, programmes, motivation, Uganda

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1. Introduction

Violent conflict in a region devastates lives and livelihoods, both physically and psychosocially. It erodes fundamental human rights and creates barriers which prevent individuals from living their best lives; it prevents the building of sustainable and improved capital assets, especially human. Education is a crucial element within this asset bundle- as a significant catalyst to improve outcomes in individuals' lives, and consequently wider networks of household and extended family. Conflict has an adverse effect on human capital development for children and also the ongoing acquisition of skills at all ages. This means a weakened human resources capacity in the labour force and consequently more vulnerable livelihoods (Justino 2016; Case & Paxson 2006). Education as a 'portable' asset means that its impact is continuous and sustainable; thus the withdrawal of education negates and limits the realisation of sustainable and resilient livelihoods.

Second chance education has been defined as education targeted at those who have had no or incomplete schooling but wish to progress onto a programme or a role for which they are not qualified (UNESCO UIS 2011). For the purpose of this research, the term is interpreted as a second opportunity for education, whether a specific second chance programme or (re)integration into mainstream programmes. Furthermore the context of education provision in many parts of the world means that a regular and organised experience of schooling is lacking *at all times*, not merely during times of crisis, resulting in numerous individuals of all ages constantly aiming to catch up on missed education.

Education is multi-faceted, however, and in simply examining it materially, other more fundamental understandings of the 'purpose' of education are ignored. These can contribute towards a more nuanced and informed perspective of education planning and provision.

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Understanding why education is sought, its value and ethos, is crucial in any research into the field. In particular, the consideration of 'education in emergencies', and second chance education, more specifically during and after conflict raises multiple questions regarding motivations for education, as well as adequate and appropriate provision.

The human right to education, agreed and ratified in multiple global conventions and accords (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966; Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989) is disrupted by conflict in many ways. Despite agreement on the rights to education in *emergencies*, as outlined in statements by UNOCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Guiding Principles on International Displacement) in 1998 and INEE (International Network for Education in Emergencies) in 2004 amongst others, children living in violent conflict situations are prevented from accessing education for many reasons. Indeed, education which is interrupted or terminated has such wide-ranging impacts that UNESCO considers it the 'fourth pillar' of humanitarian interventions along with food, health care and shelter (Justino 2016; UNESCO 2011).

The realities of the relationship between conflict and education are examined in this research by considering individuals' experiences of losing and regaining education. The paper will explore motivations for accessing education despite considerable challenges.

These research questions will be explored through the lens of Northern Uganda and its prolonged period of violent conflict from 1986 to 2006, which caused significant displacement, death and trauma.

The continuous period of insecurity in the region impacted livelihoods, land access and use, the economy, health care and education. When the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) began its

violent campaign, the education system was forced to adapt within the capacities and restrictions which the conflict enforced, with variable results. Ten years on from the end of official hostilities, this case study offered an opportunity to evaluate the education and conflict dynamic and the challenges and motivations for education with some distance and objectivity.

As part of a five country case study research programme funded by the Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute (JICA-RI), Uganda fulfilled the requirement to include a Sub-Saharan post-conflict region. However, the significance of education and its institutions as a key target of the conflict was also an important factor.

Attacks on educational establishments, and the abduction of children from schools by rebel groups suggested that education itself was integral to this conflict causing insecurity and fear. Legacies of the conflict remain to this day, with current generations still experiencing the effects of a disparate and intermittent education experience. Attempts at catching up education result in mixed success, and the process itself necessitates overcoming so many challenges that an understanding of the powerful motivations for recapturing lost education is important to this research, as well as its provision.

This research, then, focuses on individuals whose education was disrupted due to conflict and displacement, and examines their educational opportunities and their motivations for pursuing second chance education; also examining secondary education to complement an emerging body of work on primary basic education provision in emergencies.

This paper will firstly define key concepts and outline the landscape of education and particularly education in emergencies. The Northern Uganda context will be discussed, followed by an examination and rationale for the methodology of the research. An analysis of empirical

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data will highlight pathways and motivation for second chance education followed by a wider discussion of implications and recommendations.

2. Education and conflict

Conflict traumatizes youth, which significantly affects their ability to learn. Education quality is impacted by destroyed schools and lack of teachers. The school environment can become a place where the violence on the outside is replicated, and division is fostered. Yet, education can play positive roles in the lives of conflict-affected areas and restore hope. Its place as a portable and durable asset is especially important in times of displacement, and it can give a sense of security in emergencies (UNESCO 2011: 201-202, Dryden-Peterson 2011: 3, 5).

The majority of the global out-of-school population is in conflict-affected areas; 28 million primary school age children are not in school because of violent conflict - 42% of the total out of school (UNESCO 2015: 119). Overall, 61 million lower secondary age children- 12-14 years, are out of school (25% in conflict areas) and 139 million 15-17 year olds (IISU UNESCAO 2017). These figures show decreasing access to education despite attempts to prevent this. As conflicts can last for several years, an emerging generation is entering adulthood without education.

Opportunities for second chance education are important as a human right, but it is also an 'enabling right' in facilitating other rights (UNHCR 2011: 9, Dryden-Peterson 2011: 2). Bush and Saltarelli confirm the socially constructive and a socially destructive impacts (2000) while Davies argues education contributes more to conflict than peace (2012:44) There is then a growing concern as to its impact on conflict dynamics (Kagawa 2005: 490). Three particular aspects in which education works to trigger or intensify violent conflict include limited

educational opportunities, unequal access to education within different groups and inappropriate content (UNESCO 2011: 160-161). Paradoxically, these all result from violent conflict as well. Equally, access to education can promote reconciliation and prevent conflict.

The 'output' of educational interventions *(what happens afterwards)* is important within 'education' *per se,* along with intrinsic value and purpose. Benefits of schooling can be measured in increased livelihood capacity, enhancing the resilience of individuals and households in the face of future setbacks and disasters. Material transformation brought by education may not constitute its sole outcome; the capacity to transform lives and individuals in other ways is equally and often more important.

3. The Uganda case

Uganda's history is one of conflict and insecurity, within dynamics of ethnicity and inequality, geopolitically, between the North and South. Independence in 1962 was followed by the brutal regimes of Milton Obote (1962-1971; 1979-1986) and Idi Amin (1971- 1979). Yoweri Museveni's emergence as leader of his National Resistance Army (NRA), defeated the national army, the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) (comprising primarily Acholi soldiers from the North) in the 1986 civil war (McCormac and Benjamin 2008; Bird *et al* 2011). For the first time the majority Acholi power within the military forces was weakened, and they fled to their home region, with some crossing into Sudan pursued by the NRA who committed considerable human rights abuses in the process (Bird *et al* 2011; McCormac and Benjamin 2008). Some Acholi gathered under Alice Lakwena, a spiritual leader, becoming part of the 'Holy Spirit' movement. When this group was defeated by the national army, Joseph Kony, inspired by Lakwena's leadership, recruited her soldiers to form the Uganda People's

Democratic Christian Army, later the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (Doom & Vlassenroot 1999; Annan *et al* 2006; UNOCHA/IRIN 2004:9).

From the early 1990s Kony led his violent and terrorising campaign into Northern Uganda from southern Sudan (Carlson and Mazurana 2008); attacking communities physically by destroying villages, buildings and crops, and psychologically through murder, rape and abductions. Continuous bouts of displacement amongst the population ensued- initially affecting the Acholi region - Gulu, Kitgum and Pader- but soon expanding south into the Lango and Teso sub-regions (McCormac and Benjamin 2008). At the same time, Dolan contests that the Ugandan government systematically discriminated against the Acholi, by marginalising them from the development progress seen in the rest of Uganda. Effectively the Acholi were caught between both aggressors (Dolan 2009).

At the height of the conflict, internally displaced persons (IDPs) numbered an estimated 1.7 million- civilians were moved into camps and 'protected villages' for their security by the government (Dolan 2010). However, these were no guarantee of safety as they too, were targeted by the LRA.   Attacks and abductions continued to rise (Carlson and Mazurani 2008) with 5000 abductions alone occurring between June 2002 and March 2003 (HRW 2003).   50,000 children, 'night commuters', would travel to local towns to spend each night, fearing abduction from their homes (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children 2004). Abducted boys were forced to become child soldiers and girls used as 'wives' for the rebels.

The magnitude of the crisis in Northern Uganda was highlighted by Jan Egeland[1] (2004)

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[1] Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, and the UN's Emergency Relief Coordinator.

"Where else in the world have there been 20,000 kidnapped children? ... Where else in the world do children make up 80 per cent of the terrorist insurgency movement? For me the situation is a moral outrage".

The Ugandan government engaged in peace negotiations with the LRA in July 2006, which brought an end to the war.[2]

Displacement and death of family members brought with it increased economic vulnerability, with land, property, crops and livestock often destroyed; schooling was interrupted or ceased permanently and children were obliged to work in informal and exploitative labour. Girls seeking more secure lives chose to marry at a young age (McCormac and Benjamin 2008).

Education was outsourced to international non- governmental organisations by a government whose priority was to develop the rest of the country. Here the essence of the conflict seemed to be a tension between power and identity, with development caught in the nexus and education a significant loser within the dynamic. A marginalised north still exists in the political and socio-economic landscape of Uganda (Bird *et al* 2011). Development indicators consistently reveal inequality between regions, with the South favoured by government, to the extent that during the conflict in the North, its distant impacts were barely felt by the remainder of the country (McCormac and Benjamin 2008).

The place of education within this setting, then, is significant. Education as a portable asset and transformative instrument, as well as a human right, gives lifelong benefits to individuals, households, communities and nations.

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[2] The LRA moved its bases into the Democratic Republic of Congo and Central African Republic after the 2006 peace talks, where the remnants of the movement remain today.

4. Methodology

4.1 Research rationale

The loss of education in emergencies can severely influence future lives and capabilities of young people; in turn this shapes communities and nations, and the ability of the latter to integrate within the global world. Often, considerable efforts are made by parents and children to ensure continuity of education in conflict zones, which underlines its importance. Hence, to be given a second chance of education should be seen as a necessary cornerstone of human rights, since education itself is an 'enabling right' of other fundamental rights of individuals.

Whilst second chance education is examined here, it is acknowledged that in certain countries, access to education and its provision can be inconsistent, not only during conflict or disaster, but in normal times, and is systemic within the sector. The means to educational attainment in Sub-Saharan Africa, and in Uganda, is regularly characterised by temporary withdrawals and re-enrolments of students as a *norm* (usually dictated by income availability). Other forms of education, in particular vocational training as a mode of education provision, post primary, is an important sector in the Global South, and nowhere more so than in Uganda. Thus, it is difficult to embark upon a discussion relating to education provision without some inclusion of this co-existing education model.

In examining education for youth and adults who experienced interrupted schooling, this conceptual framework focuses on interpreting the *value* of education as well as the *challenges* of access and provision of programmes. At the crux of this perspective lies the notion of 'motivation' for education, its meaning and value. These were provisionally characterised in education as transformation, as an intrinsic right and as a peace dividend. The life story tool

was utilised to identify pathways to second chance education and the motivation to pursue this; the wider meaning for policy makers and providers is also considered.

The core questions of how and why second chance education was accessed were at the heart of this research. Secondary sources comprised documents from government, multilateral agencies and non-governmental organisations, as well as peer reviewed academic sources, which presented programmes which were available in certain areas, and the target recipients and also evaluated the effectiveness and limitations of the provision.

The primary research rationale is discussed below.

4.2 Case study context and sample

Recruitment of participants was through gatekeepers identified by their related work, either from the research community (The Schools of Education and External Studies, and of Environmental Conservation at Makerere University) or from practitioners such Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Transcultural Psychosocial Organisation (TPO Uganda), Foundation for Inclusive Community Help (FICH), Terra Renaissance and UNICEF.   Furthermore, representatives from these and other organisations, government departments were interviewed regarding programmes, including the Departments of Welfare and Education, War Child, Abaana Ministries and Concerned Parents Association.

Purposive sampling led to snowball sampling, as individuals identified acquaintances who fulfilled the requirements of the selection for life story interviews. The common denominator was the experience of an "*inconsistent provision of education, usually at both primary and secondary levels*" due, directly or indirectly, to conflict, and who regained, or were 'seeking to regain' education. Different pathways included vocational training; others had experienced

intermittent secondary education preceding vocational training. Some were university graduates who had experienced lost education at all three levels.

30 life stories were collected: from 16 males and 14 females, aged 19 to 60. (Table 1)

Table 1: Details of participants whose life story was collected among those who experienced second chance education

Participant[3]	Gender	Age (2016)	Location	Experience	Highest education level attained[4]
SE	M	31	Entebbe	Abducted, moved from North	S4
RE	M		Entebbe	Moved from North	S4
DE	M	20	Entebbe	Moved from North	S4
KE	M	30	Entebbe	Moved from North	S4
SL	M	28	Lira	abducted	Degree
KAL	F	30	Lira		S4
DL	F	28	Lira		Degree
GL	F	19	Lira	Disabled from injury when running away from rebels	S 4
RL	M	39	Lira		S5 – then teacher
JoL	M	34	Lira		Degree

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[3] Coding system: initials of first name and location
[4] P = Primary education year; S = Secondary education year; PTC = Primary Teacher Training College; Degree = University undergraduate qualification

MK	M	32	Kiryandongo		S4
VA	F	35	Aboke	abducted	Degree
LA	F	35	Aboke	abducted	Degree
SyA	F	35	Aboke	abducted	Degree
SA	F	36	Aboke	abducted	Degree
AO	M	23	Otwal		S4
GEO	M	21	Otwal		S4
EO	F	22	Otwal		S4
SO	F	22	Otwal	abducted	S4 + PTC
WO	F	18	Otwal	abducted	P7 + vocational
HO	F	18	Otwal		S3
DO2	M	21	Otwal		S4
DO1	M	19	Otwal		S4
NO	F	20	Otwal		S4
JO	F	23	Otwal		S4
WaO	M	22	Otwal		S4
GO	M	31	Otwal		P4 + vocational
CO	M	45	Gulu	abducted	P7
KeL	M	23	Loro		S4
MM	F	60+	Lira		Degree

Source: Author

MM who was in her 60s had lost education due to poverty and earlier conflicts; she was included

in the cohort particularly for her contribution on motivation for second chance education.

Nine of the participants in this group had been abducted by the LRA during the conflict, six female and three male. Their inclusion was crucial, as it presented a perspective of education lost (and gained) which differed from others, and informed the discussion on motivation for education after trauma. Four of the women were part of the mass abduction of girls from St Mary's Secondary School, Aboke, and were in captivity for 8 years, whilst the others were captive for between 2 weeks and a year.

4.3 Research methods

Methodological tools utilised in this research were life story interviews, semi-structured interviews, a focus group and observation.

The occurrence of lost education in conflict-affected societies is recognised, yet the lived experience of individuals less so. Life story research is imbued with the subjective (Harrison 2008; Plummer 1990; Bertaux and Thompson 1997), and thus appropriate for this research. Attention is given to the unique context and process specific to each life story, which considers each interviewee's resolve and decision-making. Yet patterns and events revealed in these life stories can inform future educational interventions and policy implications in conflict-affected societies. Personal views and drivers are as important as institutional environments and policies. Finally, the tool gives a voice to those who are often marginalised - unheard and ignored in society.

The method prompted a deeper understanding of the motivations for schooling, and reinforced, for the participants, their education journey, stimulating their thirst for continuing on the journey even more.

While this tool aimed to encourage an uninterrupted narration of individuals' '*education journeys*', expecting a smoothly-told, logical account of each experience proved too simplistic. In the way that primary research often becomes more 'messy' in practice, these life stories, too, grew into conversations rather than monologues, using prompts by the researcher to direct and to clarify the story.   Such interventions enhanced the quality of the data, and at times meant that long- forgotten events were recalled, often for the first time. These prompts included words, a timeline (referred to for clarification of dates and events), maps to identify locations or distance travelled.

Additional methods employed included one focus group, 20 semi- structured interviews and observation. The focus group consisted of five participants (an established friendship group) who had experienced intermittent education due to conflict. Its purpose was to explore the theme, their experiences and to assess the viability of the life story method itself.

Semi-structured interviews were held with key informants: education and government officers, NGO directors and programme managers involved in education programmes during or post conflict or in current initiatives (FICH). Coding was used to analyse the data according to designated themes - education achieved, access, programmes, and motivations for second chance education.

4.4 Location

The wider district of Lira (Northern Region) was selected for most of the research; areas further north- Pader, Kitgum and Gulu, had been more comprehensively researched in the past (WCRWR 2005; Dolan 2005; UNOCHA/IRIN 2005 among others). The Aboke school abduction received considerable attention (Burnett & Shepherd 2016; De Temmerman 2001), however Lira area was targeted over many years and merited further consideration.

4.5 A Life Story

SO's life story condenses the key factors in this study.

SO's story reflects the core elements of this research- conflict, lost and intermittent education, trauma and a strong motivation to regain education:

SO was born in 1994 in Oyam district, and grew up in a humble family. She started school (P1) in 2001, but stopped in P3 because of the conflict, and after her mother was killed, her father took the family to a safe camp in the bush in Ngai.   One evening the LRA entered the camp when everyone was asleep. She heard voices at 10 pm and her neighbours came and told them it was the rebels. Her father called her to run away. She ran to the garden and hid with her younger brother. However, he started to cry and the rebels surrounded her. She was captured (they left her brother) and taken through the forest. She was 10 years old.   She tried to escape but was beaten badly so gave up any attempts. She wanted to leave very badly.

One day, government soldiers came and fought with the rebels. SO saw the soldiers and ran to them, carrying only a jerry can and her clothes. They shot at her, then shouted that if she still alive, she should approach. She dropped everything and they took her, caring for her for 1 week in the bush. They drove her to Ngai and to Caritas (INGO), who took her to a rehabilitation centre for 6 months. There they looked after her health, fed her, counselled her and helped her to fit back into the community. She returned home and went into P4, but failed the year, then repeated it, and moved to P5. She failed P5 and repeated it again.   From there she passed P7 when she was 15, and was supported by the Girls Education Movement Uganda for secondary education. They had been looking for her without success but on hearing about it she applied and was given books, food, and board.

However, she was abused and stigmatised in the Secondary School she attended, and segregated from the other students, because of her background and the fact that she was a bursary student. This affected her work, so moved school to Kampala in 2014, where she was also able to have treatment for injuries she received during the abduction. She returned home after a year, but could not afford to go back to Kampala.

She then heard about another initiative which paid for education for those affected by war, so waited until she could begin a course. Although she wanted to do nursing they suggested Primary Teacher training, which she is currently undertaking, paid for by FICH.

Her motivation for pursuing education stems from her childhood when in P3 she would see people coming in dressed nicely and she wanted to be like that. Teachers always advised her to study, and she wants to support her family and help younger children. She believes a child brought up with education is one well brought up, with good morals and values, and is a good citizen. Education is important as it makes communities safe.

She is a role model in the community, the first to go to PTC and others look up to her. She and her family are proud of her achievements.

The following discussion explores these points further.

5. Pathways to education

5.1 Availability

Delivery of education was compromised for many years during the conflict. Part of the LRA strategy was to attack and destroy schools, resources, and the students themselves, in particular by abducting girls and boys. Schools were constantly closing and reopening because of threats and attacks, disturbing teaching and learning. The disruption and insecurity led to the government establishing 'Learning Centres', institutions where schools from surrounding communities would share a building or a designated area such as under trees, in or near Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps (IDMN RC) or an existing school, and would provide a safe learning environment for the children. In the Kitgum area, over 140 primary schools were distilled into 30 learning centres (for 106,000 children) (WCRWR 2005).

Learning centres faced many limitations, and had to manage the psychosocial challenges of 'widespread trauma among students, teachers and parents' (Lynd 2007: 1). Pupil teacher ratios of 300:1 were normal; attendance at secondary schools was low – continuing into the post conflict period, with secondary enrolment rates in 2011 standing at 5.8% of males and 3.7% of females (CSOPNU 2006; DHS 2011).

The government's education policy for displaced people and refugees has always been to provide education through state provision (Dryden-Peterson 2003:6). [Even when hosting large numbers of refugees, as in 2018 with 1 million South Sudanese refugees crossing Uganda's border (Coggio 2018), the government's preferred way of integration is to settle refugee families into villages, where a house and a small area of land is provided (OPM 2018).]

Education can be supported directly by other agencies – international, non-governmental or faith based organisations - or with technical and resource support in schools such as teacher training, customised curricula such as peace building and reconciliation perspectives.

The introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) nationally had led to more children than ever attending school, adding more pressure in insecure situations. Limited government provision of the resources necessary meant interventions by external agencies were crucial. However a lack of co-ordination and weaknesses within the system (including the duplication of programmes) resulted, whereas a more grounded and synchronised undertaking was required (McCormac and Benjamin 2008: 29). For 9 participants in the study, it took longer than the seven years required to complete primary education. Even now, many children do not experience continuous schooling and fail to pass the leaving exam in 7 years.

5.2 Access

Cost was the single most significant barrier to continued and second chance education in the sample group. Despite supposedly free UPE, financial levies imposed in the centres precluded many from attending. Conditions in IDP camps were extremely poor, with limited opportunities for income generation and a consequent deteriorating of already fragile livelihoods. Money for school fees, uniforms, books and lunches was scarce, and many parents opted to withdraw children from school either permanently or temporarily, when they were unable to afford it. Few students could progress through and between primary to secondary schooling, leading to sporadic education, as Annan *et al* term – "education interrupted by periods of 'idleness'" (Annan *et al* 2006:7).

Poverty was induced through a variety of factors- KeL stated:

'Loss of my parents seriously affected my studies. Had my parents not been killed by rebels I would have been a doctor. Land grabbing by my uncle who wanted to take our land left by our parents and spoilt the relationship with him and some family members who were supporting him'

Several potentially life changing consequences of conflict are identified here- for KeL, war had caused the premature death of his parents, which robbed him of financial and emotional support for continuing education. Family division and estrangement caused by land grabbing (and a weak legal system to support orphans' right to land inheritance) meant assets which could have sustained livelihoods and funded schooling were lost, as was potential psychosocial support from extended family networks. All of this is part of the trauma experienced by victims of conflict.

Lack of security was another hindrance to accessing education. Participants described erratic patterns of attendance over time as attacks and school closures delayed their education. The journey to school, often long, brought risks of attack and abduction. Rumours of potential attacks would reach students, who were frequently forced to run away to avoid the rebels.

'At 12 years old I remember running from my village with friends after a warning, we all had books with us to read whilst we hid in the swamps, when I came back I wondered where had everyone gone? This experience made me hungrier for an education and to better myself' (SL)

Parental will was another factor in accessing education. Differences of opinion towards the purpose of schooling were evident- 12 participants said their parents were determined to send their children to school, believing it was the only way for change to happen, for individuals and communities, that education leads to improved employment possibilities but also reduces

conflict in society. Extended family also intervened to help with education, with 2 moved to live with relatives to be educated locally.

Conversely, 3 stated that their parents had reservations about the 'purpose' and 'value' of education within the context of a conflict whose duration was unclear, where the future was uncertain, and so withdrew them. DL faced resistance to pursuing education from her father, and only achieved it due to a government scholarship. Such opposition persists: a local government officer stated that some adults have fatalistic attitudes as a result of their experiences in the conflict- they believe it may happen again and do not value education.

Inadequate governmental forward thinking and planning for IDP camp returnees, coupled with the need for adults return home to begin preparing their land to plant crops led to some parents leaving children alone in the camps and learning centres (IDMC NRC 2010). This increased their vulnerability, prolonging their time as 'displaced' persons, and postponing reintegration into communities, thus affecting social cohesion. The restoration of normality would be delayed further.

Trauma induced by the conflict, including experiencing, witnessing or fear of attacks, took its toll on the children. A physical inability to attend school was often partnered by the psychosocial impact – it was difficult to focus on schoolwork when in fear of attacks, or when surrounded by reminders of the violence– GO, GL and KeL experienced this. Furthermore, the conflict robbed children of family members- parents, brothers and sisters-, which traumatised the population. As a consequence, some were forced to retake the academic year several times before being able to proceed to the following year. None of these situations was conducive to learning, or to encouraging long term planning (Bird & Mackay 2011). This psychological impact manifests itself in a variety of different ways- from depression and anxiety to violence and dependency,

and levels of post conflict trauma remain high despite the length of time since the end of the conflict (Dokkedal *et al* 2015).

5.3 Adequacy

Education in the learning centres was poor due to numbers, limited space, resources and teachers. Many of the original teachers fled to larger towns in the region or further afield, resulting in a shortage of teachers, which led to the recruitment of 18 year olds with a high standard of literacy and numeracy were invited to teach primary level classes, often teenagers who were themselves students in the Learning Centres. RL was part of this programme. This could lead to enrolment in formal training courses later on as in his case – an example of conflict opening up opportunities which would not have been possible before- or of a digression from one's intended career choice.

5.4 Abducted children

The many thousands of children abducted during the conflict received little or no education during this time. On their return, they often had difficulties in fitting in to the formal school system (IDMC NRC 2010). Many were rejected by families and communities, moving to rehabilitation centres, usually run by non-governmental organisations, before being assimilated back into wider society when possible. Returning to education after so many years was psychologically challenging, and also brought with it mixed emotions - a consideration of years wasted, loss of childhood (and innocence), the desire for acceptance and an end to stigmatisation, and hope for the future. Those who were abducted from schools themselves found returning to school traumatic. The need to pay school fees was another hurdle- often unwelcome at home they were obliged to find money themselves to attend school, although some programmes assisted in this (such as World Vision, UNICEF, Norwegian Refugee Council).

The UN's 4 essential features of a right to education- Availability, Accessibility, Acceptability and Adaptability - were not adhered to in the case of Northern Uganda's conflict: education was not *available* universally - in particular secondary provision; not *accessible* due to cost and fear of abduction and attacks; not *acceptable* due to inadequate infrastructure, too few teachers and resources, overcrowded, and not *adaptable* - education must be flexible during times of conflict. While the Ugandan government made some attempt to deliver an education in response to the crisis, weaknesses were endemic. This included the location of the learning centres within highly insecure areas, and insufficient support from external agencies such as NGOs (IDMC &NRC 2010).

6. Programmes

Organisations involved in providing support for education during the conflict were forced to withdraw intermittently, in particular in 2002, due to security concerns. They would work from more accessible areas which caused some displacement of conflict affected populations to these safer areas in order to access such assistance. Second chance education was offered by some small organisations, but could not provide for all those in need in the region.

The provision of education in learning centres still required funds. Funding from organisations was sporadic – GO's school fees were paid by the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) but this was intermittent and ended suddenly. Nine participants received support from external sources during and after the conflict, but these were not always consistent or were limited to a certain number of years or cycles within the education system. Three are still receiving support from FICH.

GL's case illustrates the vulnerability in this dependence- having successfully passed her Primary Leavers' Examination (PLE), she was sponsored in S1 and S2 by an organisation which then ceased to function, leaving the fees unpaid. A church organisation intervened, but the money it donated, as part of the boarding costs for the children it supported, did not reach the school - this corruption then meant another interruption to education.

Government policy on supporting education fees was often incumbent on the grades achieved by the students – local government supported DL through private secondary school as she achieved the highest marks and was the proposed by the community for this assistance –as she says '*the community badly needed a student*'. Financial assistance was sometimes delayed, which meant daily hardship for such students who have no other source of income for food.   SL was able to pursue his secondary and university education after years of intermittent schooling; the government paid his undergraduate fees, however he struggled to afford accommodation and food.

Since IDP camps included provision for formal schooling, the government did not consider NRC plans for providing non-formal education during the conflict to be necessary (Barnes *et al* 2013). After the conflict, the NRC Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP) (Primary) was recommended to accommodate the over -subscription of students due to UPE.   However, those completing ALP were unable to proceed to formal secondary education if their family's financial capacity remained unchanged. Universal Secondary Education (USE) requires some costs to be paid, but the need for children to contribute to household activities, and systemic poverty results in limited opportunities for children to attend.

UNICEF and the NRC's ALP for primary education comprised the condensing of 7 years of primary schooling into 3, taught in non-formal environments. This programme, for out- of-

school youth post-conflict, was fundamental to young people in certain districts completing primary education. Although vocational skills training was offered after the ALP, support for formal secondary education was minimal, and identified as an area for action by the NRC (Barnes *et al* 2013). This programme was not available in the Lira area, however.

Many organisations such as Save the Children, World Vision and UNICEF contributed to programmes designed to strengthen the capacity of education provision in government schools and learning centres, such as including peacebuilding into the curriculum with teacher training, psycho -social, infrastructure, and plans for accelerated learning programmes. NGOs such as WFP worked in Gulu, Kitgum and Pader districts providing school feeding programmes but all programmes were limited to certain districts (WCRWC 2005).

Lost education contributed to a growing challenge after the conflict.

> 'We now have two generations of students. Those who grew up without education during the war don't fit anywhere now. This is a lost generation; and yet there is no national programme to absorb these people' (GULU Human rights advocate as cited in IDMC/NRC 2011:23).

Few education programmes specifically for IDP returnees existed; definitions were indistinct – were they development programming or emergency 'humanitarian' projects? This meant implementation, focus and funding sources were sometimes blurred.

When participants engaged in SCE endured stigmatisation by other students and teachers because of poverty, or their status as former abductees. SO, a former abductee recalls that she and other returnees were abused by and segregated from other students; JO was sent home from school when she had no money for fees. Students who fled to other regions were called 'Kony's

kids', 'Kony wife' a reference to the LRA leader, and taunted about the conflict (KAL, SL and SO).

The ongoing impact of interrupted or no education on livelihoods led McCormac and Benjamin to recommend that the Government of Uganda compensate their citizens for the lack of schooling due to the conflict (2008:32).

The number of functioning secondary schools was very low with only 7% of communities having a secondary school. This, coupled with fees constituted the most significant barriers to continuing education. In 2002, only 5.2% of the population had completed secondary and beyond; only 26% of students who enrolled in primary continued on to secondary school. The government planned a substantial recovery and development programme in 2007 (Republic of Uganda 2007), however its implementation was delayed until July 2009 (IDMC NRC) and then expected to run until mid-2012; but humanitarian funding requests did not achieve the target required. Overall the recovery effort began far later than planned, minimising its success, and resulting in consistently lower secondary enrolments in Northern Uganda compared to other regions. The majority of those attending secondary school came from the richest 20% of households (Ward *et al* 2006:170).

Little has changed since then: many, even when older, still seek second chance education, but the processes and support for doing so are limited.   One grassroots organisation helping with this is FICH which supports conflict affected girls' return to education, formal and vocational and currently sponsors HO, WO and SO.

22 participants remained eager to recommence their studies, at all levels. Even key informants working in NGOs or government were participating in courses at postgraduate and diploma level- determined to attain further qualifications, such is the value placed on education.

The 'why' of second chance education is a critical question; in challenging and sometimes dangerous circumstances, people sacrifice, plead and sometimes even prostitute themselves to pursue their educational goals. The following section will explore these strong motivations for continuing and second chance education.

7. Motivation

As suggested earlier, intermittent schooling, as experienced by many in the Global South, is not an anomaly, and occurs frequently in Uganda. Understanding what drives individuals to resume education is crucial to shape policy and programming by governments and other agencies. Wider impacts on community, regional and national levels can be considerable. Equally, examining motivations also reveals a more profound understanding of the value and purpose of education for individuals.

7.1 Education as Transformation

Education as a transformative tool was agreed by all participants to be a fundamental reason for continuing education. 'Transformation' was interpreted as the all-encapsulating means of improving one's life (quality and/or choices) -'get a job, support children' (GO), 'to create jobs' (DO1), 'develop skills' (EO), 'self-reliance' (DO1). It is accepted as a recognised outcome of education, clearly acknowledged within the many initiatives and goals set out by international agencies, and in Human Rights legislation, such as the Convention of Rights of the Child. Global goals such as the Millennium Development Goals included the target of universal primary

education (MDG 2), and the Sustainable Development Goals extend this - SDG 4 - *to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all.* This incorporates those who have missed education during their school lives. Nevertheless, 'transformation' *per se* is not merely a correlation with education for increased income opportunity (*material*), but comprises a range of other constructs, such as *personal* transformation, *identity* transformation and as *catharsis*.

7.1.1 Material transformation

The ability to earn an income and to support family was considered paramount: participants stated that it will permit one to *'live a better life'*, *'you can go and get a job, it gives you knowledge'* [SA]. VA states education is to *'gain employment and survive with (your) children';* AO concurs: *'[it is] to gain an income and support the family'*. GO was able to equate education with development at household and national levels, seeing benefits for all groups in society whilst regretting his lack of progression through secondary education. The basic premise remains central - education opens doors to income opportunities for individuals who then support families. These life stories revealed impoverishment in childhood, where access to education at the primary level was intermittent due to poverty. Families were barely surviving-their subsistence agriculture livelihoods vulnerable to the natural disaster of drought or the human disaster of conflict, where the LRA destroyed land, stole and burned crops.

As WaO stated: *'the bad climate …affected the agricultural yields where we were hoping to get funds for next year's study'*. KeL, male from a rural area states*: 'I started paying my tuition through doing small business of selling simsim, beans and ground nuts'*.

For these, education permitted an end to dependence on land. The 'portable' asset of education was the key to broader opportunities.

Self- reliance was part of this motivation, and the capability of educated people not only to be employed but also to create jobs for others. This perspective was offered by DO1-

> *'you have to create your own job and work hard [..] make a better job; develop your people and acquire more skills- then you can participate more in life. It is for self-reliance. Should be self-employed and not in government jobs. Through doing that you can create jobs for others and help with their livelihoods'*

Dependency on others was frowned upon, and self-reliance was learned from personal experiences, also the responsibility to pass skills learned on to others.

A belief that education would enhance financial well-being as well as the broader capacity to do and be things they value was expressed, linking to Sen's notion of development as freedom (1999).

> *'with education you have your own money, you are free, free to socialise, to do what you want' (JO)*

> *'A child might feel education a joy that...you feel you can access anything you want' (GL)*

The opportunities which education offered were highlighted; females emphasised the importance of educational opportunities for girls: EO stating

> *'Once a girl is educated, a nation is educated. [You can] transform through sharing skills. Promote girl education to support the needy.'*

> *'There is nowhere to go without studies'* (JO)

Most participants want to return to school, higher education institutions or vocational programmes; although only four were engaged in some type of education at the time of this research.

Few individuals who had completed secondary education up to S4 or S6 could attest to its transformational impact in improved employment opportunities, however. 7 had caught up with their secondary education then studied at university, but only three were employed in formal posts appropriate to their training (SA and SL both worked in graduate level positions). The effectiveness of pursuing education, second chance or traditional, is questionable; overcoming barriers to access education often requires considerable sacrifices of resources and time, by individuals and their families (Vavrus 2003). If this does not result in outcomes which 'transform' lives materially, the lack of opportunities for employment should be addressed. The type of education acquired- formal or vocational- and associated opportunities need to be aligned.

Those seeking SCE tend to remain at home, dependent on family members, in rural areas eking a precarious living from subsistence farming. Faith put into the power of education is immense. A disinclination to divert from their chosen education pathway despite reaching an impasse in accessing SCE was noticeable- only one participant stated that vocational training was better than formal. Others were determined to complete formal 'academic' school, and despite being unable to afford it, would not enrol in vocational skills training even when subsidised. It is seen as the standard system, and individuals still wanted to complete it if they had lost it- to conform to the expected, to be like everyone else, for acceptance, or as a right. Vocational training is considered second best, and academic pathways promise better futures- four participants who wanted to become nurses, doctors or teachers agreed. The implication that less intelligent students enrol in vocational training can also be a factor. Nevertheless, a practical skill would

have furnished some individuals with the means of income generation, potentially helping to pay for future SCE.

Such intransigence also surfaced in a lack of knowledge about support available to continue education. Four were unaware of NGOs implementing relevant programmes in their area, even though information was available, which could suggest limited dissemination by providers.

These findings suggest considerable numbers of people are waiting for second chance education to 'transform' their lives.   Yet this outcome is not definitive in this study.

7.1.2 Transformation of self

Transformation encompasses abstract perspectives of change as well as material. Interpreted as *personal* transformation, many expressed confidence in the notion that education can transform one's *place* in society. *'Education means you can fit into society at any level' (KAL).*

The relationship between education and an elevated social status was important- to be '*presentable*' in the community, WaO, a young male stated -one's place has to be earned and proven. MM stated: *'at first I felt I had to get more knowledge so I would not feel so small in society'*- having experienced interrupted education as a child, she returned to second chance education when in her 30s, because she felt inferior -her husband held an national position within the church, and she felt unable to engage in meetings and workshops she was required to attend. She has subsequently completed an undergraduate degree.

The related matter of being respected is also important: *'[Education means] to be respected in the village because educated people are so much respected together with their families' (AO).*

Others related the importance of education to one's image: *'[Education] makes you look smart, someone organised and someone people can love' (WO).*

The notion that being educated equates to being loved suggests almost the converse may be believed- that if you are not educated, you are not loved or loveable. The illiterate and uneducated in communities may be the marginalised; not invited to participate in communities, or decision making, and left uninformed about support. If one of the major causes of a lack of education is poverty, then a natural inference is that the poor are and remain 'unloved'.

Fitting into society was difficult without education, even though many people within the same communities had undergone similar experiences.   An awareness of the increasingly literate and educated globalised world has supported and indeed consolidated this schism between those who are educationally privileged and those who are not.

Participants' perceptions of education as transformation also emerged from role models of 'educated' people in their lives- SO suggested that education meant one could *'dress nicely'* like the teachers in her primary school.

Conformist behaviour, was also a reason: *'education helps people know how to behave in the community' (WO);* another said *'(you will be) well brought up if in education, good morals and good citizen' (SO).* Thus, education could secure a role and position in society, as a vector for inclusivity and not marginalisation …and furthermore this could encourage individuals to advocate for others. In turn, society itself can be shaped.

7.1.3 Education as empowerment

Education not only transforms materially and socially but also psychologically. Long acknowledged as one of its outcomes is the notion that one's sense of self is heightened. Confidence grows, and self- esteem is increased.

> *'Once a girl is educated... [it can] protect[s] from abuse- defilement, early marriage, and it is confidence building, and gives empowerment' (EO).*

This perspective of empowerment is crucial - "one word can summarize why education makes a difference and 'that word is 'empowerment'' (Machel 2012). Developing self-knowledge can be allied with the capacity to critique and self-examine; by-products of the educational process as seen in Rowlands' identification of empowerment as 'developing a sense of self and individual confidence and capacity, and undoing the effects of internalised oppression' (1995:4). Furthermore Rowlands' linking of this element with Freire's notion of conscientisation, self-awareness – a context which leads to action (in this case to obtain SCE) is borne out in this study (Freire 1970).

> *'Education means you can be someone and be somewhere' (JO)*

Having significance, *a presence,* in communities is an important element of transformation. Linked with this is a pride in oneself, and wanting their family to be proud of them: *'you are proud to be educated- you lift the name of your family' (GL).*

Status and place in society, individual and family, is interwoven with educational achievements. The enabler and bearer of respectability for the family is a position laden with responsibility; education can not only give status to the family within the community, but can facilitate new opportunities for enhancement (programmes), since in a prominent position, they become more visible to external actors. If people are educated, they are more likely to be called upon as

representatives, translators, negotiators or intermediaries when government or non- government actors need to engage with local communities.

Finally the extent to which education can transform character was expressed by JoL -*'Education can also give a 'high sense of integrity'*.

7.2 Education as catharsis

As previously acknowledged, education has a substantial significance within the context of the Northern Ugandan conflict.   Education institutions, targeted for violent attacks and abductions, meant that individuals associate education with negative memories, death and injury, recalling dreadful and fearful experiences. These can cause people to turn away from education or face it.

One apposite example concerns three female participants in this research who were abducted with 136 other schoolgirls from St Mary's Secondary School, Aboke on October 9th, 1996, referred to earlier in this paper. 109 were returned after the headmistress of the school followed them into the bush, pleading for their release (Burnett and Shepherd 2016).   When the remaining 30 abductees, many with young children, returned after eight years in captivity, they did not want to resume their education. The trauma of their experiences and the fact that the place of their abduction was a school, affected their attitude towards education, and they initially rejected offers of support.   However an awareness that the cycle of trauma had to be broken was evident, as VA stated: *'I was at school when I was abducted- so it is very important to go back'*.

The 'relationship' with education needed to be renewed. All three eventually returned to school and continued on to university. VA was welcomed by her parents on her return, unlike others,

and was supported through school by a local organisation, Concerned Parents Association (CPA).

VA continues -*'when you have nothing to do, school helps you to forget the pain, the past, what is in your mind. At school you have limited time to think of the past'*. She acknowledges that this was not immediate – at first they found it difficult to concentrate as their minds would recall their experiences, but soon, studying meant they had less time to think of the past when in school. They grew in confidence and were role models for the others, encouraging one another. This relationship between trauma and education is corroborated by Betancourt *et al* (2015:2).

SyA was *'motivated because friends who were formerly abducted had gone back to school';* SA states *'I was among the last ones to come back, so the fact that most of my friends had gone back to school, this motivated me to go back and study also'*.

Finally, VA noted that *'It helped people in my family to trust me, they said "you showed us resilience and make us to be better people"' (sic).*

Strength of character and resilience made these women excellent role models for their communities. Returnees experienced great challenges when they were released- for many, family and community did not accept them – but all three were fortunate in having support. The need to reconcile within themselves some of what had happened in their lives was met by second chance education.

Thus, transformation in different forms can motivate a renewal of one's educational journey. The following section outlines another reason.

7.3 Education as a right

The concept of rights has been much debated over the past century. Many question whether the concept of human rights *per se* is universal, with postcolonial critics arguing that it is a Western construct.   The belief that education is an intrinsic right was rarely volunteered by respondents- only three mentioned it at all.   Individuals may have never been apprised of the notion that they have 'entitlements' as a natural *endowment* of humanity.

However RL states *'it is a basic right for everyone and a fundamental thing you must achieve'*; whilst WaO mentioned that education itself allowed him to learn of his rights.

Such abstract concepts can mean little within the context of motivation for second chance education. Whether participants concurred with education being a right or not, all expressed their belief that the Ugandan government should provide good quality education, conventional and second chance, affordable to all.   In this, one can discern the implication that education is a 'human right'.

7.4 Education as peace dividend

> *'I know that I wanted to return to my area with an education that could help them and stop anything like what happened, happening again' (SL)*

The potential for education to contribute to change in the post-conflict context is substantial; it shapes attitudes to violence, induces behaviour change and exerts a positive influence upon institutions like security services and the law. It informs citizens about political systems and institutions, facilitating understanding of the place of law in society. Finally it enables people to build more sustainable livelihoods for post-conflict reconstruction (UNICEF 2011:8).

However, as discussed earlier, it can also be a potential driver of conflict – in Uganda, marginalisation of the North through limited resources for infrastructural development including education, led to exclusion and inequality regionally and nationally, fomenting division, and causing citizens to hold grievances between one another (McCormac and Benjamin 2008; Khan 2000).

Participants believed education was important to prevent regional or national conflict, with claims that educated people did not want to engage in conflict -

> *'If educated you can't start a war. When you talk of conflict …other ways you can stop it. Even at home there are conflicts like land issues where education is a benefit'* (KL)

> *'Ignorance causes conflict'* (MM)

They claimed that educated people know how to handle conflict, understand the causes of war and how to prevent them, that education enables people to look at all perspectives of situations. This ability to look at the world in a different way was reiterated by NO -education '*brings discipline*'; DO2, that education '*brings wisdom to make a difference*'.

SyA believed that only by going to school could she come to terms with the past (catharsis), stating that education unites people and promotes peace. None had experience of the peace education programmes delivered in some school areas.

The interpretation of the word 'conflict' was far-reaching when discussed in the context of this research. Initial responses interpreted conflict at a local or domestic level. A decade on from the end of the war, people focus on daily realities, thus, conflict is *local* and *personal*. Reference to the benefits of education in peace-making was within the context of land disputes, a major source of conflict in the region, or of helping to rebuild houses. Others referred to

domestic violence, praising the positive role played by education in the case of alcohol abuse in the home, a common problem in rural areas.

> *'Education helps you to learn about conflict resolution' (EO), it 'means you can analyse things differently, [have a] critical eye on things' (GO)*

> *'No education in home leads to conflict and disputes at home; if [one is] study[ing] [one] can buy land' (MM)*

> *'Reduce[s] domestic violence- can teach about impact of alcohol' (EO)*

Unequal access to opportunities was exacerbated by corruption - KAL states:

> *'[it would be] better if there was no corruption- this is everywhere; too many organisations and programmes will be mishandled and where there are not the right systems in place and where they give places and benefits to their families or people they know. The community leaders do nothing and they are usually in the same situation- they have nothing and no opportunities.'*

Education's role in ensuring safety and security within communities was also raised by SO: *'Education makes communities safe'*.

The longer term benefits of education for girls were highlighted: MM advised that *'young girls should be educated so men don't disturb them for their future'*, while KAL's experiences led her to state: *'Education would help girls especially; education means a lot to me. If you are not educated, men take advantage. I just pray for the right husband to come along'*.

Since the conflict men have *'the mind-set of violence'* and thus *'It is very unsafe here, at night girls must stay inside'*.

Finally the role of education in reconciliation processes was suggested:

> *Education is positive for reconciliation. Educated people have forgiven the deaths from the conflict (even with the Karamojong[5]) (JL).*

The case for education as a vehicle for peace is justified here. Peace within households and communities may present the most immediate concern, but substantial faith is placed in the role of education to ensure understanding, acceptance and reconciliation at all levels. Its achievement is often dependent on external and seemingly immovable factors which determine the destiny of the people.

8. Conclusion

Education provision during and after emergencies is limited and often inadequate. An abyss exists between the fulfilment of relevant and quality education and what is delivered in practice. The reasons for this are numerous, and include lack of funding, vision, access and support. In the case of Uganda, the availability of appropriate, affordable and accessible education was insufficient for the substantial numbers of children who were forced to lose education due to displacement, fear, insecurity and poverty. Systemic failures to reconcile development in the North of Uganda with that in other areas, continues and the significant task of providing education in Northern Uganda remains in crisis. Oversubscribed, under resourced schools and poor teaching persists, with a consequent growth in the private education sector, creating a two tier system, and decimating the state system of good teachers. This private sector is less regulated than state schools, providing education of varying quality. Violence and defilement of students is part of school life, and the educational space, instead of being one of safety, continues to be one of danger (Annan *et al* 2006).

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[5] A long standing conflict over land and cattle in Eastern Uganda

During the conflict non state actors provided education in many areas- this continues to some extent, but such support needs to be sustainable- for enduring change a holistic approach to education provision should be taken - top down initiatives led by government and community directed programmes should coexist and coordinate as a crucial movement towards a real growth in human capital (Mendenhall 2014). Peace and reconciliation should form part of curriculum content.

Despite seemingly insurmountable barriers, individuals have a yearning to catch up on their lost education. These young people were motivated to complete what they had started, and to enable them to build the foundations for sustainable and resilient livelihoods.

A more extensive discussion is required, however, in regards to the type and quality of education provided from a perspective of its transformative purpose- reviewing the curriculum to assess whether *formal* education is truly relevant when vocational skills may be more advantageous to building resilient livelihoods. However this research shows that young people who have experienced interrupted education during conflict often reject vocational training programmes or adult literacy programmes preferring formal education. Even if they are working, they desire a return to 'normalisation' and as part of a process of restoration, want to repair the gap in their educational journey.

However, education for material transformation was not the sole motivation - a broad range of equally important reasons justifies the process of catching up education. Transformation of oneself, empowerment, and education as catharsis emerged as motivations; resuming education is the antithesis of the dehumanisation inflicted upon individuals by the LRA. Furthermore,

education for building peace was considered important for the reconstruction and renewal of communities.

The government needs to be a decisive and effective agent of change, considering the relevance and significance of the methods of education provision. Increased engagement with non-state actors such as UNICEF would enable them to build on current initiatives, especially at the community level. Further examination of the structure and processes of education provision would aid in planning, not only for the building of economic and social assets nationally, but for the personal development and fulfilment of each individual. Without these essential steps, the people of Northern Uganda will continue to be constrained to poor livelihood options, with unsustainable and vulnerable futures.

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Abstract (in Japanese)

要約

紛争中や紛争後の教育機会の提供は、子どもや若者に生涯に渡り影響を及ぼすという意味で、重要な課題だと認識されている。したがい、失われた教育機会の回復に関する研究は、紛争の被害者にとって重要な研究であるといえる。本論文は、ウガンダ北部紛争時と紛争後（1996-2006）に教育の機会を失わざるを得なかった個人に焦点を当て、彼らの教育機会の回復（セカンド・チャンス教育）への動機と回復に向けた課題について研究するものである。

本研究では、2016 年にウガンダにおいて、教育機会を失った人々30 名へライフストーリー・インタビューを行った。この結果、アクセスと教育提供に関して多大な課題があるため、紛争下では教育機会が限定されていたことが明らかになった。このように教育機会の回復に向けて数々の障壁がある中でも、彼らには再び教育を受けることへの動機が存在した。それは、物理的、個人的、エンパワメント、カタルシス、平和への原動力といった意味で、変革のための教育が必要だという想いであった。多数の教育機関が紛争地域の一部で紛争中と紛争後の教育イニシアティブを支援していたが、それらは広がりを持たずバラバラに行われており、持続可能でなかったことも明らかとなった。

教育機会の回復時に提供される教育プログラムの種類が論じられる際には、雇用に繋がる教育に焦点が当てられることが多い。にもかかわらず、本研究で明らかになったのは、必要な教育を受け続けたいという若者の非常に強い願望が、政府が国家の人的資本を増強する為だけではなく、個人の能力強化の為にも、学校で学ばせるかそれと同等の教育プログラムに対するイニシアティブを導入することを強く促していることである。

キーワード：セカンド・チャンス教育、紛争、プログラム、動機、ウガンダ

Working Papers from the same research project

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