# THE FORGOTTEN NORTH: INCREASING SCHOOL ENROLMENT OF DISPLACED GIRLS IN NORTHERN UGANDA

By

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#### **Abstract**

Millions of African girls do not have access to basic education without which they face a bleak future. As access to the formal education system is highly constrained in conflict-zones, this study investigates why some young girls living in Internally Displaced Peoples (IDP) camps in Northern Uganda attend school and others do not. Quantitative analysis, based on a survey of 515 girls, reveals that those girls with substantial monetary support from their family are more likely to be in school. Older girls, those who are married or have been pregnant before and girls, who live far from their village of origin where schools are based, are less likely to attend classes. Drawing on empirical results five policy options designed to increase the number of girls in school in Northern Uganda are presented and evaluated. This study recommends construction of classrooms on the fringe of IDP camps.

## **Executive Summary**

#### Purpose and Scope

This study investigates why some girls in Northern Uganda are in school while others are not. Although national enrolments for girls in Uganda have increased since the government instituted Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997, this progress masks the disparities that exist in certain regions of the country. An estimated 53 percent of school-age children in Northern Uganda have never attended school. Moreover, girls make up only 31 percent of total enrolment in primary school in this region. If gender parity in education is to be achieved the Ugandan government must focus their efforts on increasing the number of girls in school in the North of the country. With an eye to designing effective policies to address these gaps and inequities, this study identifies barriers of access to education that young girls living in IDP camps face in Northern Uganda.

#### Method and Analysis

Using logistic regression analysis, this study finds that family income (monetary support), marital status, past pregnancy, age and distance from village of origin, are all significant predictors in determining whether Northern Ugandan girls are in school. More specifically, statistical findings reveal that girls whose main means of livelihood is family income are nearly twice as likely to be in school than girls who engage in petty trade, casual labour or receive relief supplies as their main means of livelihood. Furthermore, girls who are married or have had a past pregnancy are less likely to be in school than girls who are not married and have never before been pregnant. Older girls are also less likely to be in school, when compared to younger girls. Finally, the further the distance between a girl's IDP camp and her village of origin (where schools are located), the less likely they are to be in school.

#### Recommendation

Empirical findings prompt five policy options including: adopting a re-entry policy for pregnant and married girls; developing accelerated learning programs for older children; eliminating additional school fees for all girls in Northern Uganda who attend primary school; secondary school bursaries for girls; and, constructing classrooms on the fringe of IDP camps in

which children currently reside. Four criteria are used to evaluate the five options as compared to the status quo: effectiveness, public acceptance, political commitment and institutional coordination, and cost. The report recommends immediate construction of classrooms in close proximity to existing IDP camps. This recommendation not only stems from analysis of data used for this study but is also consistent with scholarly literature that indicates many girls are not in school because of the insecurity associated with walking long distances in order to attend school.

## **Dedication**

To my parents, Harish and Uma, for their constant support and encouragement, especially their commitment to furthering my education. For this and the wisdom you have imparted upon me, I am forever grateful.

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## Glossary of Acronyms

CAN Canadian Dollars

COPE Complimentary Opportunities for Primary Education

DEO District Education Officer

FAWE Forum for African Women Educationalists

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GoU Government of Uganda

IDPs Internally Displaced Peoples

LRA Lord's Resistance Army

MDGs Millennium Development Goals

MoES Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sport

UGX Ugandan Shillings

UPE Universal Primary Education

WCRWC Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children

#### 1 Introduction

## "The only way we can survive is with education" (District Education Office, Gulu District, Northern Uganda)

Education is an essential human need, yet it remains out of reach to millions of children worldwide. In 2005, the Global Campaign for Education estimated that 60 million girls and 40 million boys of primary-school age were out of school. The persistent problem of the tens of millions of children across the developing world who grow up without receiving the most basic education has attracted increased public attention in recent years. More than 180 governments have committed to addressing this crisis by pledging that every boy and girl will receive a quality basic education by 2015. This target is now firmly established and endorsed as one of the eight United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

In most countries, girls are more disadvantaged educationally than boys. As the 2004 State of the World's Children reports, millions of young girls never attend school at all, millions more never complete their education, and countless numbers never receive the quality education, which is their right (Bellamy, 2004). To reach the overall goal of universal education for children, special efforts are required by policymakers to address the economic, social, and cultural barriers that keep large proportions of girls in poor countries out of school.

The Millennium Development Goal of gender parity in primary and secondary education was to be achieved by 2005, a full ten years before the others. The international community felt that without the foundation of gender parity in education as the necessary step towards the equality of women, any achievements towards the later goals, especially the goal of universal primary education, would not be sustainable. Moreover, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan states that, "...there is no tool for development more effective than the education of girls," (United Nations, 2005)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 2000, eight Millennium Development Goals were adopted by the international community as a way of measuring development progress in all countries up to 2015. The second Millennium Development Goal (MDG 2) seeks to ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2005). For a complete list of the eight Millennium Development Goals, see Appendix A.

Despite thousands of successful projects in countries around the globe, many countries fell short of achieving the 2005 target of gender parity in education (in access to school, successful achievement and completion) and as a result, millions of girls worldwide still remain without access to a basic education. Furthermore, this failure raises concerns about the ability of these countries to achieve the other Millennium Development Goals set for 2015. Thus, the goal of eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education becomes the first step toward meeting the 2015 goals, and now, the most urgent one of all.

Millions of African girls do not have access to basic education without which they face a bleak future. As access to formal education is highly constrained in conflict-zones, this study investigates why some young girls living in internally displaced peoples camps in Northern Uganda attend school and others do not. For the past eighteen years, war has ravaged Northern Uganda. This conflict has had a major effect on the provision of education in this area and as a result, many children remain without access to a basic education. Around the world, children, parents, and teachers face numerous educational challenges in situations of displacement. IDPs often see education of their children as the principal way of ensuring a better future for their family. Just as importantly, education often plays a critical role in creating stability in the daily lives of displaced children. However, education in exile is often less than adequate at promoting either present or future stability and is not accessible to all. If gender parity in education is to be achieved, the Ugandan government must focus its efforts on increasing the number of girls in school in the North of the country. With an eye to designing effective policies to address these gaps and inequities, this study identifies barriers of access to education that young girls living in IDP camps face in Northern Uganda.

## 2 Background and Policy Problem

Located in Sub-Saharan Africa, Uganda is one of the countries that did not achieve the Millennium Development goal of gender parity in education by the 2005 target date. One reason why this country has not achieved this goal is because between 1979 and 1985 the country faced a period of civil and military unrest resulting in the destruction of the economic and social infrastructure, including that relating to education. Uganda has been slow to emerge from this protracted conflict that continues unabated in the Northern region of the country. This on-going conflict in the North makes the task of raising the development levels of a country even more difficult to accomplish. It is here that Joseph Kony and his rebel force, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), profess to fight a spiritual war for the Acholi people against the Government of Uganda (GoU) and its military, the Ugandan People's Defence Forces. Although Kony's political agenda is unclear, he wants the rule of government to be based on the Ten Commandments (Nannyonjo, 2004). However, the LRA has been responsible for countless atrocities committed against it own community, including the abduction and abuse of tens of thousands of children and adolescents, who make up most of the rebel army.

In March 2002, the Ugandan government began Operation Iron Fist, a military offensive against the LRA. Since the operation began, the LRA has intensified its attacks on civilian communities, increasing abductions, forced recruitment and massacres. The number of abducted young people jumped from at least 12,000 children and adolescents as of June 2002, nearly double that by June 2003 and at least 30,000 by May 2004 (Nannyonjo, 2004). These girls and boys are forced to commit unthinkable atrocities against each other and against their communities.

Because of the increased LRA attacks and abductions after Operation Iron Fist was launched, unprecedented numbers of young people and their families in the area have fled their homes and are displaced in camps, with limited access to humanitarian support. In August 2001, there were 480,000 internally displaced persons living in camps, today there are over 1.6 million,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This region is made up of three districts: Gulu, Kitgum, and Pader, which compromise an area of 28,000 square kilometres, and is approximately the size of Rwanda. Over a million people reside between the three districts; this is a ¼ of the national population of Uganda. Prior to the current conflict, 90 percent of those people lived in rural areas. For a map of this region, see Appendix B.

which accounts for over 90 percent of the population in the affected region (Mazurana &McKay, 2004). Nearly 70 percent of the displaced population is under 25 years old (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2004). Access to education, health care and other basic necessities is minimal and security is uncertain in these IDP camps. Girls are particularly vulnerable to abuse, rape and sexual exploitation or enslavement as gender based violence is highly prevalent in armed conflicts, with hundred of thousands of women and girls raped in wars during the last century (Maritime Centre for Excellence in Women's Health, 2002). These atrocities create a generation of traumatized children, leaving them out of school and at a heightened risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases.

The particular history of conflict and war in the Northern region has greatly affected the provision and quality of basic education. While data is scant compared to that from other regions, the high illiteracy rate of 53 percent (67 percent for women), high dropout rates, and low exam scores reveal the long term affects of the war on the provision of basic education (Action Aid Uganda, 2003). The ongoing war has displaced thousands of students and teachers, destroyed schools, and resulted in extremely overcrowded temporary schools in the camps for IDPs, which lack resources to provide basic education. Many children do not finish school, children who have been abducted and escape find it difficult to return to their old classes and have immense difficulties integrating, and the overflow of IDPs to neighbouring districts and their schools has placed a tremendous stress on an already overloaded education system.

The overcrowding of schools explains, in part, the high teacher: pupil ratio, which is as high as 1:150 in some districts in Northern Uganda, while the national average is 1:55. Pupil: textbook ratios are also high in these districts as instruction materials have been destroyed, left behind, or host schools share materials with other IDP students. Recent estimates show that there are approximately 200,000 students displaced within their district of origin. Many more students have gone to neighbouring districts. In Gulu district, over 155 schools are displaced and/or non-functional; over 77 schools have been destroyed (Action Aid Uganda, 2003).

#### 2.1.1 Educational Policy in Uganda

Uganda's formal education system starts with seven years of primary school (ages 6-12), which is followed by six years of secondary education (ages 13-18). Primary and secondary schooling follow a nine-month school year with three terms of school per year. These levels are succeeded by three to five years of University or tertiary education depending on the profession selected by the individual.

Since 1996, the government has focused its priorities on strengthening the economy and reforming governance structures, as key political issues. In this regard, the government set an agenda for economic reform that attempts to alleviate the country's dismal economic ranking as one of the 20 least developed countries in the world. The Poverty Eradication Action Plan is part of Uganda's comprehensive development framework and highlights education as one of the key instruments for enhancing the quality of life of the poor. Primary education is perceived to benefit the poor directly by bringing higher incomes, better health and empowerment, especially for girls. The Education Strategic Investment Plan commits the government to allocate at least one quarter of public expenditure to the education sector. Most of this money has gone towards supporting Universal Primary Education. In 1997, Uganda became the first country in Africa to institute UPE (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (WCRWC), 2004). The UPE policy aims at expanding access, enhancing equity, and increasing efficiency in education systems through a government pledge to meet the costs of schooling for four children per family, while parents meet the costs of school uniforms, meals, exercise books, local materials for building classrooms, and physical labour (Black, et al., 1999). Key UPE objectives include;

- 1. Establishing, providing and maintaining quality education as the basis for promoting the necessary human resource development
- 2. Transforming the society in a fundamental and positive way
- 3. Providing the minimum necessary facilities and resources to enable children to enter and remain in school and complete the primary cycle of education
- 4. Making basic education accessible to the learner and relevant to his/her needs as well as meeting national goals
- 5. Making education accessible in order to eliminate disparities
- 6. Ensuring that education is affordable by the majority of Ugandans (Muhwezi, 2003)

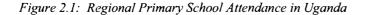
The role of the government increased under the UPE policy, as did the overall education budget. In the early 1990s, the Government of Uganda committed less than 15 percent of its recurrent budget to education. Since the introduction of UPE in 1997, the GoU now commits approximately 31 percent of its recurrent budget to the education sector. Of this, approximately

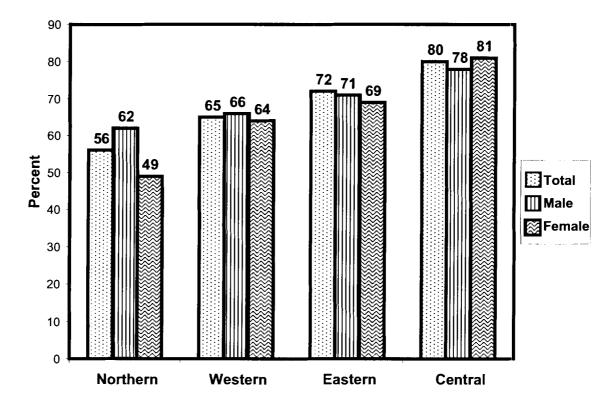
65 percent is allocated to primary education (Ministry of Education and Sport (MoES), 2003).<sup>3</sup> Thus, since 1997, Uganda's education budget has grown from 1.6 percent to over four percent of gross domestic product (GDP). Uganda's commitment to allocate 31 percent of its recurrent budget to education and of that 65 percent to primary education is also a critical undertaking for meeting the requirements of funding and technical agencies that offer budget support to the education sector (over 60 percent of the education budget is provided by funding and technical agencies). Thus while sustained commitment is remarkable, it is also a condition Uganda must meet in order to continue to receive budget support.

#### 2.1.2 State of Girls' Education in Northern Uganda

Uganda continues to make significant strides towards achieving UPE by 2015. For example, school enrolments increased from 2.6 million children in 1997 to 6.9 million in 2002, a stunning accomplishment for a low-income country emerging from civil war. However, the government faces a particular challenge in providing quality basic education to marginalized populations such as the poor, ethnic minorities, and young girls. In this regard, although the total level of enrolment for girls and boys has risen in Uganda, regional disparities in primary school attendance exist. As illustrated in Figure 2.1, according to the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (2004), primary school attendance is highest in the central region (80 percent) and lowest in the northern region (56 percent). Moreover, gender disparity in primary school attendance is notably in the northern region where 62 percent of school-age males and 49 percent of school-age females attend primary school.

<sup>3</sup> In the 2005/2006 budget, the Ugandan government plans to spend a total of \$2.2 trillion Ugandan Shillings (CAN\$1.4 billion) on recurrent expenditures. Of this, \$682 billion shillings (CAN\$427million) is earmarked for the education sector with \$443 billion shillings (CAN\$277 million) of that to be spent on primary education.





Additional statistics from the Uganda Education Survey (2001) reveal Northern Uganda also has a school dropout rate that is three times that of the rest of the country. Dropout rates are high, especially for girls and orphans in the later years of primary school. Simply getting kids into classrooms in Uganda does not guarantee that they will stay. Getting children to complete, not just attend, school is of critical importance, especially in the case of young girls. Indeed, a recent World Bank report on education in Africa highlights the importance of keeping girls in school, as "a majority of adults with less than five or six years of primary schooling remain functionally illiterate and innumerate throughout their lives," (World Bank, 2002). The low attendance rates coupled with the high drop out rates of girls in primary school in the North indicate that more deliberate efforts to diagnose and address girls' specific needs is imperative.

Furthermore, the number of Acholi girls attending secondary school or university is lower than other areas in Uganda and has declined from an earlier period when the area had one of the highest levels of education in the country (Pain, 1997). UNICEF (2004) estimates that while the national average is 29 percent, fewer than 14 percent of Northern Ugandan girls enrol in secondary school. In addition, only a minute number of girls attend university. It is evident that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Northern Uganda, or Acholiland, as it is often referred to, is inhabited predominantly be people of 'Acholi' ethnicity.

young girls in this region are missing the benefits of government Universal Primary Education programs.

#### 2.2 Policy Problem

Although the Ugandan government has made great efforts to recover from the war and educate its young people, the above exploration reveals significant regional differences in terms of school enrolment. That only 56 percent of all Northern Ugandan children enrol in school indicates that much more needs to be done to get young people back to school, with special attention paid to the plight of girls as less than half of girls living in Northern Uganda are attending classes. To contribute to the problem of low school enrolment of girls in Northern Uganda this project investigates why some girls and not others in Northern Uganda are in school. Identifying barriers of access to education faced by displaced girls will allow policy makers to better formulate and implement targeted policy that helps the entire country of Uganda achieve, first, gender parity in education and then truly Universal Primary Education.

## **3** Gender Parity: Importance and Obstacles

### 3.1 Importance of Gender Parity in Education

Extensive evidence from developing countries in widely different circumstances, including conflict situations, shows that education, especially for girls, has enormous economic and social benefits. This sub section explores the benefits of educating girls including: increased income and productivity; smaller, healthier, better-educated families; women's empowerment; HIV/AIDS and other disease prevention; and increased child protection. By highlighting these benefits, the importance of achieving gender parity in education in Uganda becomes clear. Making education more accessible to an increasing number of girls in Northern Uganda should be a key concern and priority for the community, the locality and the Government of Uganda. A summary of these benefits is presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Importance of Achieving Gender Parity in Education

#### BENEFITS OF EDUCATING MORE GIRLS

- 1. <u>Education and Income and Productivity Growth</u>: Educated girls receive higher earnings and, educating girls leads to faster economic growth for a country
- 2. <u>Education and Smaller, Healthier, Better-Educated Families</u>: Educating girls leads to smaller, more sustainable families, it saves children's lives and, helps educate the next generation
- 3. <u>Education and Empowerment of Women</u>: Female education can reduce sexual exploitation
- 4. <u>Education and HIV/AIDS</u>: Educated girls are less likely to contract HIV and school-based education programs help prevent HIV infection among vulnerable young girls
- 5. <u>Schools and Child Protection</u>: Schools can provide security to girls and help them to survive conflict

#### 3.1.1 Education and Income and Productivity Growth

Both primary and secondary education has been shown to elicit higher earnings for both men and women. However, in terms of future workforce participation, research indicates that the overall returns of educating women, whether they attend primary or secondary schools, are even higher than for men. Paul Schultz (2002) shows that investments in women's human capital, especially education, should be a priority for countries seeking both economic growth and human welfare. These macro benefits are of particular relevance to Uganda, which is ranked 158 out of 175 countries on the UN Human Development Index (World Food Program, 2005). Educated women are more likely to enter the formal labour market, where they often reap greater wage gains than in the informal sector (Kasente, 2003). There is evidence to show that during the last decade as the gender gap in access to primary education in Uganda has been narrowing, the gender gap in ownership of business has shifted, especially in sectors that do not require high levels of education. There are some sectors (hotels, insurance, manufacturing, social services, and trade) where women have exceeded men in ownership of business (Kasente, 2003). This was not the case in the 1980s. Increased women's education is one of the key factors contributing to this trend of increased control of resources by young girls and women in Uganda.

There is also research to demonstrate the link between girls' education and economic growth. Cross-country studies by the World Bank find that female education promotes per capita income growth and that deliberate efforts to educate girls, particularly where barriers to female education exist, can help shift the development process into high gear. Increasing the share of women with secondary education by 1 percentage point boosts annual per capita income growth by 0.3 percentage points on average (Dollar & Gatti, 1999). Such an increase would have significant benefits for Uganda as the annual per capita income growth for the country averages around two percent (McNamara, 2005).<sup>5</sup>

#### 3.1.2 Education and Smaller, Healthier, Better-Educated Families

A wealth of cross-country and individual country studies from Africa, Asia, and Latin America over the past 25 years reveals that women with more education have smaller, healthier, and better-educated families (Klasen, 1999; Subbarao & Raney, 1995; UNESCO, 2000). As women become more educated and earn more their family and social position also changes, resulting in smaller families and larger investments in child health and education. Educated women have fewer children because they generally marry later, have more opportunities to earn

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For the 1998-2004 period

income outside the home, have more influence in family decisions and use contraceptives. A cross-country analysis of the relationship between fertility and secondary school attainment among women in 65 low and middle-income countries found that doubling the proportion of women with a secondary education reduces average fertility rates from 5.3 to 3.9 children per women (Subbarao & Raney, 1995). This same study concludes the expansion of female secondary education may be the best single policy for achieving substantial reductions in fertility. These findings are important for both the Northern region of Uganda as well as the rest of the country as it has been pointed out that enrolment increases have not kept pace with population growth in these areas, and as a result, access to education has in fact faltered or declined (World Bank, 1999).

Female education has also been linked to decreases in infant mortality (Schultz, 1993). An analysis of African data revealed that children born to mothers who had received five years of primary education were on average 40 percent more likely to survive to age five (Summers, 1994). In addition, Klasen (1999) found that the wider the education gender gap, the greater the under-five mortality rate tends to be in the developing world, especially in Sub-Sahara Africa. It is estimated that this region's under-five mortality rate in 1990 would have been more than one-quarter lower after controlling for income, schooling, and other differences if Sub-Sahara Africa had had rough parity between male and female education.

In terms of education, Filmer (2000) shows that having an educated mother helps ensure that children go to school longer and study more while Ridker (1997) suggests mothers with a basic education are substantially more likely to educate their children, and especially their daughters, even controlling for other influences, such as culture. Ominde (1952) acknowledges that a child's father emerges as key in deciding a child's enrolment in school, with this trend being more prevalent in the rural areas and highest in the Northern region. What the findings from Ridker (1997) may suggest then is that educating girls also helps to break down power dynamics in families and allows girls and women to strengthen their position within their respective families. This thinking is tied to the next impact of educating girls, namely their increased empowerment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Uganda's *average total fertility rate* for 2000-2005 is reported as 7.1 children per average woman (EarthTrends, 2003).

#### 3.1.3 Education and the Empowerment of Women

Increased female education is often one of the most powerful tools to empower women within the family and society. With that empowerment, women not only improve their own welfare but, through their 'agency,' act to improve the well-being of their children and help to transform society itself (Sen, 2000). Girl's education ranks among the most powerful tools for reducing girls' vulnerability by empowering them to stand up for themselves. In this regard, research by Heise, Elsberg and Gottemoeller (1999) has uncovered that girls and women with no formal schooling are less likely to resist violence than girls with some schooling. This is important for girls in Northern Uganda as Muyinda (2001) notes that young girls may be one of the most vulnerable groups in the North. Girls who are abducted into the LRA act as sexual slaves to the LRA rebels, and girls who have not been abducted are subjected to different forms of sexual coercion, from outright rape to intimidation; young girls may enter casual sexual relationships with older men whom they cannot easily oppose. Furthermore, due to the lack of earning opportunities in IDP camp circumstances, girls are forced into prostitution and more often than not, exploited (WCRWC, 2001). Education provides girls with skills and information that helps protect them from sexual exploitation. In addition, educated girls are also less vulnerable to extreme forms of intra-family violence (UNICEF, 2004). While education is not a foolproof solution to sexual exploitation, it is widely seen as the most fundamental contributor to giving women more voice and standing in their families and communities.

#### 3.1.4 Education and HIV/AIDS

HIV is spreading faster among teenage girls than in any other group, primarily through sexual relationships with older men. In a number of African countries, including Uganda, five to six girls in the 15 to 19 year old range are infected for every one boy. Despite the fact that Uganda has won international recognition for its progress in HIV research and prevention in its Southern regions, Gulu district is now considered one of the worst affected districts in the country (Ugandan Ministry of Health, 2001). The UNAIDS Inter-Agency Task Team on Education and HIV/AIDS emphasize that, "Women and girls are made vulnerable to HIV/AIDS because of the greater power than men and boys generally have in sexual relations. The education sector, and the classroom in particular, have a key role to play in engaging young people in rethinking gender roles and in the process reducing the risk of HIV/AIDS," (Sperling, 2003).

A growing body of research is emerging that affirms that since a vaccine for the virus or a cure for the disease is lacking, education is the single best way to prevent the spread of

HIV/AIDS. A Rwandan study found that AIDS spreads twice as fast among uneducated girls. During the 1990s, HIV infection rates for uneducated women stayed constant while HIV infection rates among educated women fell by half, suggesting that educated women may be better able to defend themselves against infection (Vandemoortele & Delamonica, 2000). Furthermore, research also shows that girls who stay in school are more likely to delay sexual activity (UNICEF, 2002). This is important as Falk (2004) notes that youth in Uganda begin sexual activity at young ages, putting them at an increased risk of contracting HIV.

In addition, education can be one of the best defences against HIV/AIDS because school-based HIV education programs discourage risky behaviour among young girls in particular. Schools provide a ready-made infrastructure to educate the world's children on healthy sexual behaviours before they become infected (UNESCO, 2002). Traditionally, among the Acholi people of Northern Uganda, grandmothers and the huts in which they reside, were pivotal in the transmission of sexual health knowledge and mentoring of young girls. In the book, Luo Girl published in 1952, the author Sam Ominde describes a pattern of sex counselling that was essentially a grandmother's role. "Girls in the old traditional society had a more deliberate or conscious sex education than they receive in modern times. An old woman of the village, whose hut served as a communal sleeping place for girls, formerly gave instruction on the nature of sexual relationships. This old woman was one who must have stopped giving birth to children. She was either a grandmother or an elder wife in a polygamous homestead". This traditional mechanism of sexual knowledge transmission and mentoring has now been destroyed by the war, as Acholi compounds and huts no longer exist. It is therefore important that more girls in this region are enrolled in school and exposed to school-based sexual education programs.

Furthermore, while media campaigns are more focused on disseminating information on the definition of HIV and other communicable diseases, school programs work to inform youth on prevention and risk minimization behaviour. This difference is important to note, as in a recent study by the Human Rights Watch (2005), it was found that widespread awareness of HIV/AIDS in Uganda does not translate into knowledge of how to prevent infection, particularly among women and girls. In 2001, some 13 percent of Ugandan women did not know any method of avoiding AIDS, compared to 5 percent of men. Women were less likely than men to know that condoms prevent HIV, less likely to know that limiting one's number of sexual partners prevents HIV, and less likely to know that a healthy-looking person can be infected with HIV. Such gender disparities in knowledge of HIV prevention may be partly explained by girls' unequal access to formal education.

#### 3.1.5 Education and Child Protection

The last benefit associated with educating girls deals directly with conflict situations and illustrates how schools can provide security to young children. Recent research shows that schools can provide protection to girls during the day from possible abduction and sexual exploitation that they may otherwise experience while sitting idle, hungry, and alone in their IDP camps (Spittal & Patel, 2006). A report by UNICEF (2004), found that after families, schools are the next perimeter of a protective environment for children. Attendance at school can increase a child's chances of surviving conflict; simply going to school each day can transform the lives of children living in conflict and benefit the generations that follow. Schools are vital in protecting children and supporting their emotional and social development by giving them security, comfort, and opportunity. In this regard, schools can provide girls physical security as schools act as "safe places" where girls can go during the day. Girls increase their security by spending less time in risky situations, and thus decrease their chance of being abducted by the LRA. The vital child protection role of schools is extremely important in the North, as traditional Acholi compounds that served as mechanisms of child protection have now been destroyed by the war (Ominde, 1952). It is thus imperative that the number of girls in school be increased in Northern Uganda.

#### 3.2 Obstacles to Girls' Education

If girl's education brings such benefits to girls themselves, their families, and society, why do we not see more girls educated for longer? Girls face many barriers in their attempts to gain an education. Below is a brief description of some of the reasons, identified through a literature review, that keep displaced girls in Northern Uganda out of school. This review of literature also facilitates in choosing the nine independent variables that were later employed in the analysis.

#### 3.2.1 School is Too Expensive

Since education is not compulsory in Northern Uganda, the decision to educate children falls to the parents, who incur costs now, yet cannot capture most of the benefits until later, since they accrue across a child's lifetime and to society as a whole. Especially for poor parents, education may seem unaffordable. While primary school tuition fees have now been abolished in Uganda, parents are still required to pay fees of various kinds; in many cases, these fees are far higher than the tuition fees. They include charges for books, stationary, exam fees, uniforms, contributions to 'building funds', levies imposed by school management committees, informal

'tips' to teachers, and travel costs (Global Campaign for Education, 2004). Studies show that these school fees can amount to 5-10 percent of average household income, or 20-30 percent for poorer families. In Uganda, education spending ranked on average as the second or third major household expenditure, in a survey of poor households (Bolye, et al., 2002). In this regard, 22.5 percent of girl respondents from an Education Survey in Uganda cited monetary costs as a key reason for never attending school (Kasente, 2003). Further, in a Women's Commission interview with the District Education Officer (DEO) in Kitgum (2004), the DEO noted that paying for school is a real issue, as people in IDP camps have no money.

#### 3.2.2 Girls Have too Much to do at Home

There are also indirect or opportunity costs associated with educating girls. 'Needed at home' and/or 'need to earn money' are major reasons why poor girls drop out of school in most countries. 'Opportunity costs' refer to labour time lost to the parent when the child goes to school. These opportunity costs are usually much higher for girls than for boys, since girls are expected to do more domestic work than boys do. In Uganda and many other African countries, girls fall victim to a self-fulfilling prophecy. As they are expected to do more, the opportunity cost of educating them seems higher and so they are kept home (UNICEF, 2002).

#### 3.2.3 Son Preference

Cultural and social beliefs, attitudes, and practices prevent girls from benefiting from educational opportunities to the same extent as boys. There is often a powerful economic and social rationale for investing in the education of sons rather than daughters. In Uganda, both the public and private sectors continue to be dominated by men. Consequently, the chances of young women, especially from poor rural backgrounds, finding a 'good job' remain extremely limited. Given the very direct link between education and obtaining a good job, this has been a major disincentive for parents to educate girls. Furthermore, in Northern Uganda, parents commonly regard girls' education as a 'lost investment', because it is the future husband's family who reap the returns, not the girl's own family. Therefore, if families do have money to send their children to school, it is most likely that they will choose to send their sons to school and not their daughters, as the Acholi people believe that an educated boy is of more benefit to the family than an educated girl (Girling, 1960).

#### 3.2.4 Early Marriage and Pregnancies

The low value attached to girls' education reinforces early marriage, and vice versa. In Uganda, parents' unwavering expectations of marriage for their daughters are combined with cultural traditions that dictate that the woman enters into her husband's family upon marriage and, is in many ways, 'lost' to her parental family (GCE, 2003). Early marriage is also a result of poverty, as marriage dowries serve as incentives for poor families. However, the necessity to give dowry impedes education, because many families have to choose between saving money for their daughters' dowry and saving it to pay for their education.

A body of literature points out that early pregnancies and marriages help to explain both the low enrolment of girls in school as well as their low retention rates. Girls get pregnant early and are forced to drop out of school and then never return. The story is the same for girls who marry young (Mazurana & McKay, 2004). National school policy in Uganda stops girls from reentering the formal education system after giving birth or after marriage; these girls are now considered women and women do not go to school, rather their role is now to be a caregiver to both their children and their husbands (Ominde, 1952).

#### 3.2.5 Government Schools are Too Few and Too Far

In Uganda, the average distance to school exceeds 7 km in rural regions; in the capital region, the average distance is less than 1 km (Watkins, 2000). Ministry of Education planners do not always consider girls' enrolment targets when determining how many schools should be built and the proximity of these schools to living quarters. The need to travel long distances to school is a particular barrier for girls, especially in a conflict-torn region such as Northern Uganda. For reasons of safety and security, most parents are reluctant to let their daughters walk long distances to school. Many parents worry that their girls may be subjected to attack or sexual assault on their walk to and from school. Thus, most parents opt to keep their daughters at home instead of in school (UNICEF, 2002). Although learning centres are slowly being built on the fringe of IDP camps to help mitigate this problem, not all children yet have access to them. In a survey of girls aged 16-18 in Northern Uganda, 26.3 percent of girls cited the distance to school as a key reason for non-attendance (Kasente, 2003).

#### 3.2.6 Ill-informed Parents

Experience shows that a top-down approach to girls' education is not only ineffective, it may create resistance and resentment that will ultimately be counter-productive; a leading cause

of implementation failure in girls' education (Ramachandran, 1998). If parents are not adequately informed of the benefits to educating girls, it is likely that they will not change their ways. In the North, there is a lack of workshops, seminars, and campaigns, to inform the public about educational reforms. Researchers claim that this is one reason why there are few girls enrolled in school in this region (WCRWC, 2005).

## 4 Study Sample and Key Variables

This study analyzes survey data from girls in Northern Uganda to investigate why some girls and not others are in school. This section provides information on data source and sample size as well as key descriptive statistics. Information about the dependent variable and the independent variables used for regression analysis in subsequent sections are also reviewed.

#### 4.1 Data Source

This study employs data from a quantitative data set provided by Dr. Patricia Spittal from the BC Centre for Excellence in HIV/AIDS. The data were originally collected in 2004/05 for a research study titled *The Scourge of War: Exploring Traditional Mechanisms of Child Protection to Combat the Spread of HIV and AIDS in Northern Uganda*. The following institutions were involved in the original study, which was carried out in June/July 2004: The Liu Centre for the Study of Global Issues, the University of British Columbia in conjunction with researchers from Makerere Medical School in Uganda, Faculty of Medicine. Financial support for the study was provided from CIDA Child Protection Research Fund. A 20-page questionnaire was delivered to over five hundred Northern Ugandan girls, living in displacement camps all heavily devastated by abduction and disease. Five-hundred fifteen questionnaires were collected from three camps in Gulu district: Palanga (64 cases, population 10, 591, 0.006% of population sampled), Awer (92 cases, population 18,543, 0.005% of population sampled), and Pabbo (359 cases, population 54,000, 0.007% of population sampled).

#### 4.2 Sample Size and Characteristics of the Sample

From the 515 cases, 11 are eliminated, as they do not include responses to questions relating to key independent variables. This results in a final sample of 504 girls. Table 4.1 presents descriptive statistics about this sample.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Further information on the questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable Name	(N)	%
School Status		
In School	(216)	42.9
Not in School	(288)	57.1
Living Arrangement		
Both Parents	(133)	26.4
Single Parent, Relative, or Husband	(371)	73.6
Main Means of Livelihood		
Family Income	(157)	31.2
Petty Trade, Casual Labour, or Relief Supplies	(347)	68.8
Marital Status		
Married	(181)	35.9
Not Married	(323)	60.1
Past Pregnancy		
Yes	(201)	39.9
No	(303)	60.1
Past Abduction		
Yes	(65)	12.9
No	(439)	87.1
Past Sexual Exploitation		
Yes	(58)	11.5
No	(446)	88.5
<u>Age</u>		
13	(67)	13.3
14	(71)	14.1
15	(51)	10.1
16	(48)	9.5
17	(82)	16.3
18	(80)	15.9
19	(105)	20.8
IDP Camp		
Palanga	(60)	11.9
Awer	(90)	17.9
Pabbo	(354)	70.2
Distance From Village of Origin (School Location)		
0-5km.	(105)	20.8

Variable Name	(N)	%
5.1-10km.	(193)	38.3
10+km.	(206)	40.9
Reasons No Hope of Rejoining School		
Married with children	(99)	49.7
Can't keep up with what is being taught	(38)	19.1
Can't afford school fees	(62)	31.2

#### 4.3 Dependent Variable

The question, 'Are you in school?' was used as the dependent variable in this study. Those respondents who answered 'yes' were coded as '1' and those who answered 'no' were assigned a value of zero. This created a dichotomous dependent variable (two categories) or dummy dependent variable, allowing for logistic regression analysis. As shown in Table 4.1 above, 216 (42.9%) of the girls included in this study are currently in school, while 288 (57.1%) of them are not.

Table 4.2: Descriptive Statistics Explaining Dependent Variable

Variable Name	(N)	%
Level of School		
Primary	(197)	91.2
Secondary	(19)	8.8
Not in School		
Drop Out	(199)	69.1
Never in School	(89)	30.9
Level of School (Drop Out)		
Primary	(188)	94.5
Secondary	(11)	5.6

Figure 4.1: School Status of Girls in Sample

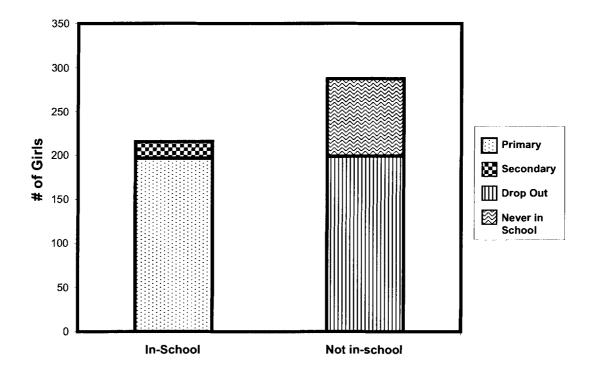


Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1 provide a more detailed breakdown of those coded as in or out of school. Out of the 216 girls attending school, 197 (91.2%) are at the primary level. This high percentage is reflective of the fact that only 32 percent of all Ugandan primary school students are in the appropriate grade for their age (Uganda Demographic and Health Survey, 2004). Of the 288 girls currently not in school, 199 (69.1%) had previously been in school but have now dropped out, while 88 (30.9%) have never attended a single class. Of the 199 girls who dropped out of school, 188 (94.5%) were in school up to the primary level and then subsequently dropped out. In sum, 42.9 percent of the 504 girls sampled are in school, 39.5 percent dropped out of school and thus are not currently in school, and 17.6 percent of the girls in the sample have never attended.

### 4.4 Independent Variables

This study uses nine independent variables to determine barriers of access to education faced by young girls in Northern Uganda including: living arrangement, main means of livelihood, marital status, past pregnancy, past abduction, past sexual exploitation, age, IDP camp and, distance from village of origin where schools are based. This sub section presents a

description of each independent variable; relevant descriptive statistics; cross-tabular analysis; a discussion of relevant literature and a hypothesis statement.

#### 4.4.1 Variable 1: Living Arrangement (Two-Parent Family)

Living arrangement is measured by the following survey question, 'With whom do you live?' and is recoded to a dichotomous dummy variable where a value of 1 represents living with both parents and a value of 0 signifies living arrangements whereby the respondent is living with either a single parent, relatives, or her husband. Descriptive statistics reveal that 133 (26.4%) girls in the sample live with both parents while 371 (73.6%) girls live with a single parent, relative, or husband. Crosstabular analysis reveals that 76.7 percent of the girls who live in a two-parent family are currently in school while 30.7 percent of girls who live with a single parent, relative or husband, are in school.9

Table 4.3: Arrangements of Girls Living in IDP Camps

"With whom do you live?"	(N)	%
Both Parents	(133)	26.4
Single Parent, Relatives, or Husband	(371)	73.6

Human Rights Watch (2005) reports that girls who live with both their parents are more likely to be in school than girls who live with their relatives, a single parent, or their husband. Parents are more likely to have the financial means to send girls to school. Either a single parent does not have the adequate funds to send their daughter to school or the living situation requires the girl to be home to care for them and replace the lost parent by picking up more household responsibilities and duties. <sup>10</sup> Girls who live with their relatives also face a barrier in access to education as within their extended family, their education is not a priority for the household, and thus they receive no financial support for their studies. The same logic helps to explain why girls who live with their husbands are less likely to be in school. Educating their wives is not priority

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The statistical program 'SPSS' is used to conduct logistic regression analysis in this study. Expect where the variable is continuous in nature, SPSS classifies variables as 'categorical' with '1' set as the predictor and other values are treated as '0'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The output for all cross-tabs analysis in this report can be found in Appendix D

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Most single parents have lost their partner to HIV/AIDS and are more likely then not to have the disease themselves. This situation requires girls to care for the ill parent and remain at home instead of in school (Human Rights Watch, 2005).

and any extra household money is not used to fund school-aged wives' education. Results from the Education Survey (2001) in Northern Uganda show that most of the girls that access primary and, much more so, higher levels of education tend to come from two parent families (Kasente, 1995). In sum, it is hypothesized that girls who live with both their parents are more likely to be in school as they have both the time (as they are not home taking care of ill parents, relatives etc.) and the monetary support that affords them the opportunity to attend.

#### 4.4.2 Variable 2: Main Means of Livelihood (Family Income)

The second independent variable is main means of livelihood and is measured using the survey question, 'What is your main means of livelihood?' Respondents' answers were recoded into two categories to create a dummy variable where the value of 1 indicates that the respondent's main means of livelihood is family income and a value of 0 indicates that family income is not their main means of livelihood (but rather, petty trade, casual labour, or relief supplies). Descriptive statistics reveal that 157 (31.2%) girls in the sample indicate that family income was their main means of livelihood while 347 (82.8%) girls engage in petty trade, casual labour or receive relief supplies as their main means of livelihood. Crosstabular analysis finds that 84.1 percent of girls whose main means of livelihood is family income are in school while 24.2 percent of girls, whose main means of livelihood is petty trade, casual labour or relief supplies are currently in school.

Table 4.4: Means of Livelihood of Girls Living in IDP Camps				
"What is your main means of livelihood?" (N)				
Family Inc	(157)	31.2		
Petty Trac	le, Casual Labour, or Relief Supplies	(347)	68.8	

Monetary support for school effects both primary school enrolments for girls, as fees for books, uniforms and meals is not covered, as well as girl's enrolment in secondary school, where tuition and school fees must be covered entirely by the student. At both levels of schooling, the most common reason women gave for leaving school was the inability to pay school fees (Uganda Demographic and Health Survey, 2004). Displaced children often do not have the means or livelihoods that allow them to contribute money. As a result, many children are denied access to schools. Rates of school attendance among displaced girls are especially low. (Refugee

Law Project, 2004) Most girls in IDP camp circumstances in Northern Uganda are exposed to a very limited number of paid labour opportunities. The amount of money girls make in Northern Uganda through casual labour or petty trade is definitely not enough to cover educational costs either at the primary or secondary level; this money usually just supplements household income which is enough to survive but is not disposable income that can be used for education (WCRWC, 2005). Thus, it is hypothesized that girls whose main means of livelihood is family income are more likely to be in school than girls whose main means of livelihood is not family income.

#### 4.4.3 Variable 3: Marital Status

Marital status is measured using the yes/no survey question, 'Are you currently married'. Respondents who answered 'yes' were coded as '1' and respondents who answered 'no' were coded as '0'. This created a dummy variable in which 181 (35.9%) of the girls indicated they are currently married while 323 (64.1%) indicated they are not. Of the married girls, the mean age of first marriage is 15.8 and the range is 9 years. The minimum age of first marriage is 10 and the maximum age is 19. Crosstabular analysis reveals that 97.8 percent of married girls in the sample are currently not in school.

Table 4.5: Marital Status of Girls Living in IDP Camps

(N)	%
(181)	35.9
(323)	64.1
	(181)

Table 4.6: Descriptive Statistics of Married Girls in Sample

"Age of first marriage?"	Mean	Range	Min.	Max.
(years)	15.8	9	10	19

Early marriage, especially in the case of girls, is a common strategy used by poor families in Uganda to raise income for the rest of the household members and is more practiced in rural than urban areas. Many girls perceive marriage as an escape route from family poverty while the common cultural practice of charging bride wealth brings quick and substantial income to her

family. A report by Human Rights Watch (2005) stated that poverty, coupled with traditional marriage practices of dowries given to the girl's parents, leads to girls being married off early, at age 12 or 13; at that point, the girl no longer attends school. Girls sometimes withdraw themselves from school, especially if their parents/guardians do not meet their needs for supplies like shoes and dresses. In other cases, parents encourage girls to drop out, fail to pay their educational costs and arrange marriages for them, or encourage them to get married. Most African societies define femininity in relation to marriage and girls have been socialized to accept that perspective. This social construction that relates femininity closely with marriage also lowers girls' aspiration for secondary and higher education as most of them do not see the need to excel in education as a value related to their ability to get married (Kasente, 2003). It is therefore hypothesized that girls who are married are less likely to be in school than girls who are not married.

### 4.4.4 Variable 4: Past Pregnancy

The independent variable 'past pregnancy' is measured using the yes/no survey question, 'Have you ever been pregnant'. A positive answer to the question was coded as '1' and a negative response was coded as '0', creating a dummy variable. Of the girls sampled, 201 (39.9%) girls indicated they had been pregnant before while 303 (60.1%) girls indicated they had never been pregnant. Of the girls who have been pregnant before, the mean age of first pregnancy is 16.3 and the range is 7 years. The minimum age of first pregnancy is 12 years old and the maximum age is 19. Crosstabular analysis reveals that 98.0 percent of the girls in the sample who indicated they had been pregnant before are currently not in school.

Table 4.7: Incidence of Pregnancy Among Girls Living in IDP Camps

"Have you ever been pregnant?"	(N)	%
Yes	(201)	39.9
No	(303)	60.1

Table 4.8: Descriptive Statistics of Pregnant Girls in Sample

"Age of first pregnancy?"	Mean	Range	Min.	Max.
(years)	16.3	7	12	19

The Forum for African Women Educationists (FAWE) in Eastern and Southern Africa suggests school careers of many girls are cut short because of pregnancy as girls withdraw from school once pregnant (Kasente, 2003). Literature shows that parents in Uganda believe that educated girls might not produce babies. Hence, the dropout rate for girls aged 13/14 is very high as girls are told to engage in small business to assist with income for the family. If they stay home, they may begin to engage in sex, become pregnant, and then do not go back to school (Mazurana & McKay, 2004). In addition, research also shows that many girls do not re-enter school after giving birth due to the stigma attached with attending school with younger peers and not being able to keep up with school lessons. In African countries, where re-entry policies for pregnant girls exist, such as Zambia, this stigma keeps girls from taking advantage of the policy and re-entering school after delivery (Falk, 2004). It is hypothesized that girls who have been pregnant before are less likely to be in school than girls who have not.

#### 4.4.5 Variable 5: Past Abduction

Past abduction is measured using the yes/no survey question, 'Have you ever been abducted?' Those girls who responded 'yes' were coded as a value of '1' and those who responded 'no' were coded as '0'; this created a dummy variable. 65 (12.9%) girls in the sample have been abducted before and 439 (87.1%) indicated they have not. Of the girls abducted, the range of time spent in captivity is equal to 899 days. The minimum length of time in captivity is one day and the maximum time is 900 days. The average time spent in captivity is 139.7 days. Crosstabular analysis reveals that of the girls in the sample who have been abducted before, 67.7 percent are currently not in school.

Table 4.9: Incidence of Abduction Among Girls Living in IDP Camps

"Have you ever been abducted?"	(N)	%
Yes	(65)	12.9
No	(439)	87.1

Table 4.10: Descriptive Statistics of Abducted Girls in Sample

"Time spent in captivity?"	Mean	Range	Min.	Max.
(days)	139.7	899	1	900

Abduction of young girls by the LRA is occurring at increasing rates in Northern Uganda. Abducted girls serve as domestic servants for commanders and their households. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, many are forced into sexual slavery as "wives" of LRA commanders and subjected to rape, unwanted pregnancies, and the risk of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS (Nannyonjo, 2004). It has been documented that there exists a certain amount of neglect from the Ugandan government and local NGOs when it comes to re-integrating abducted girls in Northern Uganda, who survive and escape from the LRA, back into society and specifically back into the formal education system. Mazurana & McKay (2004) note that while the Ugandan government is responsible for the protection and welfare of its citizens, it repeatedly displays disregard for the welfare of returnee children - especially young girls. As a result, many girls re-enter communities without passing through rehabilitation centres and thus are not privy to material, physical and emotional assistance needed to adequately reintegrate them back into society and more specifically, back into school. Therefore, it is hypothesized that girls in Northern Uganda who have been abducted before are less likely to be in school than girls who have not been.

## 4.4.6 Variable 6: Past Sexual Exploitation

The independent variable of 'past sexual exploitation' is measured using the yes/no survey question, 'Have you ever been forced to have sex with anyone?' A response of 'yes' was given a value of '1' and a 'no' response was coded as a '0', creating a dummy variable.

Descriptive statistics reveal that 58 (11.5%) of the girls sampled have been forced to have sex with someone before and 446 (88.5%) girls have not. Of the girls who have been sexually exploited before, the mean age of first forced sex is 13.5 and the range is 9 years old. The minimum age of first forced sex is 9 years old and the maximum age is 18 years. Crosstabular analysis revealed that 67.2 percent of the girls who had been forced to have sex with someone before are currently not in school.

Table 4.11: Incidence of Sexual Exploitation Among Girls Living in IDP Camps

"Have you ever been forced to have sex with anyone?"	(N)	%
Yes	(58)	11.5
No	(446)	88.5

Table 4.12: Descriptive Statistics of Sexually Exploited Girls in Sample

"Age of first forced sex?"	Mean	Range	Min.	Max.
(years)	13.5	9	9	18

During times of war, gender-based violence is very prevalent. A recent report by the Uganda Child Rights NGO Network (UCRNN) indicated that over 50 percent of children under the age of 10 in Uganda have experienced various forms of sexual abuse. The report noted that sexual abuse of children was highest in Northern Uganda (Barton & Mutiiti, 1998). Sexual exploitation of adolescents in the North does not only result from interactions with soldiers and abduction. It is also a result of living in the harsh physical conditions of forced displacement camps. Gendered or sex based violence, in the broader context of discrimination, constrains the freedom of movement, choices, and activities of its victims. It frequently results in: intimidation, poor levels of participation in learning activities; forced isolation; low self-esteem or self-confidence; dropping out of education or from particular activities or subjects; or other physical, sexual and/or psychological damage. It erodes the basis of equal opportunity realized through equal access to education (Wolpe, 2000). In this regard, it is hypothesized that girls who have been forced to have sex with someone, are less likely to be in school than girls who have not been sexually exploited before.

## 4.4.7 Variable 7: Age (Older Girls)

The independent variable of age is measured with the open-ended survey question, 'Age of respondent'. This produces a continuous variable with values from 13 to 19, inclusive. The mean age of girls in the sample is 16.3 and the range is 6 years. A frequency graph for this independent variable is presented in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Frequency of Age

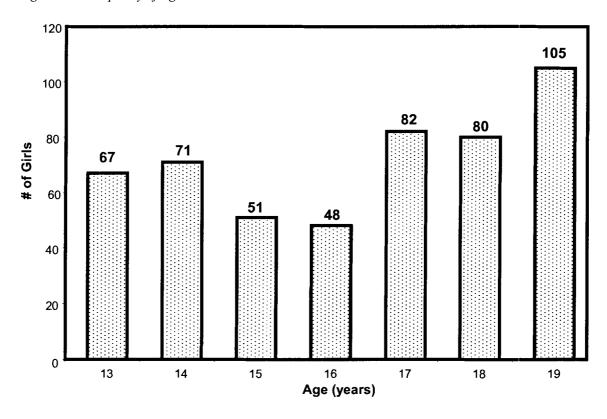


Table 4.13: Age of Girls Living in IDP Camps

"Age of Respondent?"	Mean	Range	Min.	Max.
(years)	16.3	6.0	13	19

A wealth of literature explores the relationship between poverty, gender and education in the country of Uganda and describes the ways in which girls are found to be disadvantaged in relation to boys. Poverty often serves to worsen already existing gender biases. When schooling costs become a pertinent issue (i.e. in secondary and higher levels of school, which is not free) and a choice has to be made to send a boy or girl, the boy is usually given precedence. This choice is driven by societal construction of gender where male children are expected to carry on the family tree across generations and are therefore accorded more value than girl children are. Perceived returns to parents of educating their daughters beyond primary school tend to be lower than for their sons, particularly in patrilineal systems where girls join their husbands. Reluctance to educate older girls for the other family into which they are expected to marry is compounded

by the opportunity costs which continue to get higher for poor households who depend considerably on the labour of their children in order to supplement household income and help to take care of the sick, especially in this era of HIV/AIDS (UNICEF 1999, Government of Uganda 1999). Therefore, due to 'son preference', when families in Northern Uganda can afford to continue to send a child to school after primary school, they often choose their sons (Kasente, 2003). Furthermore, additional research shows that girls generally join the education system at older ages than boys due to household responsibilities that keep girls at home (Mazurana & McKay, 2004). This information validates results from the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (2004) that reveal that for females, the highest attendance ratio is at age 11 when approximately 71% of females attend. After the age of 11, female attendance drops off rapidly and the enrolment of girls in secondary school is very low. In addition, girls who have left school for whatever reason or are joining the education system for the first time at an older age are not likely to access the school system, if given the opportunity. This is due to the lack of accelerated schooling programs or complementary options for primary education, for older girls who have missed several years of education (UNICEF, 2000). These programs help to catch girls up in school and thus help to alleviate the stigma associated with attending school with younger peers, and make it more likely that older girls will choose to access the formal education system. Therefore, it is hypothesized that older girls are less likely to be in school compared to younger girls.

#### 4.4.8 Variable 8: IDP Camp

There were three camps sampled during the collection of this data, Awer, Pabbo, and Palanga. Respondents self-identified which IDP camp they were currently living in and for this study, Palanga was given a value of 1, Awer, a value of 2 and, Pabbo a value of 3. 60 (11.9%) girls live in Palanga camp, 90 (17.9%) girls currently reside in Awer camp and 354 (70.2%) girls live in Pabbo IDP camp. Crosstabular analysis reveals that 76.7 percent of girls living in Palanga camp are currently in school, 32.2 percent of girls living in Awer camp are in school, while 39.8 percent of girls living in Pabbo camp are currently in school.

Table 4.14: IDP Camp		
"IDP Camp?"	(N)	%
Palanga	(60)	11.9
Awer	(90)	17.9
Pabbo	(354)	70.2

All three of the IDP camps are located in Gulu district in Northern Uganda. Out of the three camps, Palanga is located closest to town (Gulu) while, Pabbo, is considered to be the most vulnerable of IDP camps, partially because of its distance from town making it more vulnerable to attack. Most of the schools in Kitgum and Gulu district are located within the town proper, making them less vulnerable to attack by armed groups and more secure for both teachers and students (WCRWC, 2005). In Uganda, children in urban areas are more likely to attend primary school than children in rural areas. In urban areas, 80% of children ages 6 to 12 attend primary school compared to 67% in rural areas (Uganda Demographic and Health Survey, 2004). It is inferred, therefore, that children living in camps close to urban centres would have much easier access to school than children living in camps in the countryside or rural areas. Thus, it is hypothesized that girls who live in Palanga camp, close to town, are more likely to be in school than girls who live in Pabbo camp, which is located a fair distance from Gulu town.

### 4.4.9 Variable 9: Distance From Village of Origin (School Location)

The last variable employed in this study is one that measures, with an open-ended question from the survey, a girl's distance, in kilometres, from her village of origin. The specific question "How far from here is your village of origin?" was asked. This variable is employed in the analysis as a continuous variable and includes values between zero and 54 kilometres. The mean distance from a girl's IDP camp to her village of origin, where schools are based, is 9.2 km and the range is 54 kilometres.

Table 4.15: Distance from IDP Camp to Girl's Village of Origin

"How far from here is your village of origin?"	Mean	Range	Min.	Max.
(kilometres)	9.16	54	0	54

To further aid in the description of this variable, respondents' answers to this question were separated and into three categories. The first category includes values between zero and five kilometres and is assigned a value of '1', the second category includes values between 5.1 and 10 kilometres and is assigned a value of '2', and the third category includes all responses over 10 kilometres and is assigned a value of '3'. Figure 4.3 displays frequencies for this independent variable, based on these categories.

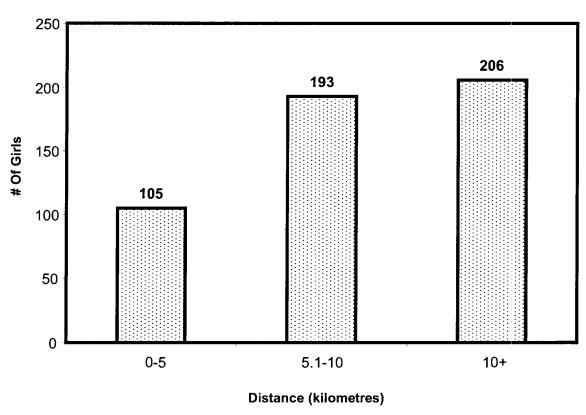


Figure 4.3: Frequency for Distance from Village of Origin (School Location)

It is evident that nearly 80 percent of the girls in the sample live more than 5 kilometres away from their village of origin where schools are based. A crosstabular analysis reveals that of the 288 girls currently not in school 18.1 percent are girls who live between zero and five kilometres away from their village of origin, 36.8 percent live between 5.1 and 10 km. away while, 45.1 percent of the girls currently not in school live more than ten kilometres away from their village of origin where schools are located.

Many schools have been destroyed and displaced in Northern Uganda due to the conflict. However, some do remain in the original villages that were inhabited by the Acholi people prior to being displaced into IDP camps. Learning centres and classrooms have begun to replace destroyed schools and some of these replacements have been built in rural areas, close to IDP camps. However, these learning centres are not able to house all the school-going children from all the surrounding IDP camps and therefore, some children still walk to and from their village of origin everyday to attend school (UNICEF, 2002). The need to travel long distances to school is a particular barrier for girls, especially in a conflict-torn region such as Northern Uganda. For reasons of safety and security, most parents are reluctant to let their daughters walk long distances to school (Watkins, 2000). Due to this insecurity, it is hypothesized that the further away girls live from their village of origin, where schools are located, the less likely they will be in school.

### 4.4.10 Summary of Independent Variables

Table 4.16 presents a summary of the information contained in the variable section of this report.

Table 4.16: Summary of Variables, Measurements and Hypotheses

VARIABLE	MEASUREMENT	HYPOTHESIZED SIGN (Supporting Literature)
Living Arrangement (Two-Parent Family)	With whom do you live: both parents/relatives or husband	Girls who are living with both their parents are <u>more likely</u> to be in school than girls who are living with either a single parent, relative, or their husband (Human Rights Watch, 2005)
Main means of Livelihood (Family Income)	What is your main means of livelihood: family support /not family support	Girls whose main means of livelihood is family income are <u>more likely</u> to be in school than girls whose main means of livelihood is either petty trade, casual labour, or relief supplies (Refugee Law Project, 2004)
Marital Status	Are you currently married: yes/no	Girls who are married are <u>less likely</u> to be in school than girls who are not married (Human Rights Watch, 2005)
Past Pregnancy	Have you ever been pregnant: yes/no	Girls who have been pregnant before are less likely to be in school than girls who have never been pregnant (Kasente, 2003)
Past Abduction	Have you even been abducted: yes/no	Girls who have been abducted before are less likely to be in school than girls who have not been abducted (Mazurana & McKay, 2004)
Past Sexual Exploitation	Have you ever been forced to have sex with any one: yes/no	Girls who have been sexually exploited before are <u>less likely</u> to be in school than girls who have not been sexually exploited (Wolpe, 2000))
Age (Older Girls)	Age of respondent (13-19 years)	The older the girl, the <u>less likely</u> they will be in school (Kasente, 2003)
IDP Camp	Palanga/Awer/Pabbo	Girls living in Palanga camp are <u>more likely</u> to be in school than girls living in Pabbo camp (WCRWC, 2005)
Distance From Village of Origin (School Location)	How far from here is your village of origin: 0-5km/5.110km or 10+km	The greater the distance from a girl's IDP camp to her village of origin, where schools are based, the <u>less likely</u> they will be in school (UNICEF, 2002)

# 5 Quantitative Analysis Results

This section evaluates the relationship between the previously outlined dependent variable and nine independent variables using logistic regression. Logistic regression is used when a dependent variable of interest is dichotomous in nature and predictor variables are continuous or categorical (Field, 2000). This technique allows one to estimate whether or not independent variables help predict membership in one of the two available dependent variable categories. In this study, the included independent variables are used to estimate whether or not a girl is more or less likely to be attending school.

# 5.1 Model Strength

Of the 504 girls included in the regression analysis, 42.9 percent were in school and 57.1 percent were not in school. Without any independent variables in the model, one could correctly classify girls either as in school or out of school, 57.1 percent of the time by simply guessing that all girls are not in school. After adding the nine independent variables into the model, the predictive power increases by 33.4 percent to 90.5 percent. Thus adding the nine independent variables to the model increases the probability of accurately predicting whether a girl is in school to 91 percent. A logistic regression of the data set yielded a model with a Nagelkerke (Pseudo) R<sup>2</sup> value of 0.764. This number indicates that the regression model accounts for 76.4 percent of the variance in school status. Thus, there is a strong association between the independent and dependent variables employed in this study. The model displays no evidence of multicollinearity among the independent variables. 12

# 5.2 Explanation of Significant Variables

Table 5.1 provides the Beta (B) coefficients, and Exponent Beta (Exp (B) coefficients for the nine independent variables employed in this study. The B coefficients of the model indicate the direction of the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable. A

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Appendix E for a detailed regression analysis output

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> A multicollinearity check is testing whether a predictor variable has a strong linear relationship with the other predictors (Field, 2000). A detailed description of this test is provided in Appendix F

positive number indicates a positive relationship or a 'more likely' scenario, while a negative number indicates a negative relationship or a 'less likely' scenario. The exponent B coefficients of the model estimate the impact of a variable on the probability or likelihood that a girl will be in school. The likelihood that a person is more or less likely to be in the dependent variable category of interest (here "in school") is determined by subtracting 1 from the Exp B value and multiplying the result by 100. For example, for the variable 'marital status', the Exp B value of .124 subtract 1 is equal to -0.876. When multiplied by 100 this score indicates a married girl is 87.6 percent less likely to be in school than a girl who is not married. As shown in Table 5.1, a single asterisk denotes variables found to be significant at the .05 level, two asterisks at the .001 level. Significant variables are those that show a statistical relation to the dependent variable and help predict whether a girl is in school. Of the nine variables included in the model, five proved significant.

Table 5.1: Girls in School, Northern Uganda

Independent	Beta	Exponent (B)	Hypothesis	
Variables	Coefficient	Coefficient	Confirmed	
Two-Parent Family	.441	1.555	N0	
Family Income	.990*	2.691	YES	
Marital Status	-2.091**	.124	YES	
Past Pregnancy	-2.051**	.129	YES	
Past Abduction	.351	1.421	NO	
Past Sexual Exploitation	080	.923	NO	
Older Girls	607**	.545	YES	
IDP Camp (Palenga)	.906	2.475	NO	
IDP Camp (Awer)	568	.566	NO	
School Location	063*	.939	YES	

<sup>\*</sup>Significant at the .05 level

N: 504

<sup>13</sup> Unlike linear regression, independent variables included in a logistic regression model cannot be ranked based on the strength (exp (B) values) of its impact on predicting the likelihood of a girl being in school.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Significant at the .001 level Nagelkerke (Pseudo) R<sup>2:</sup> .764

#### 5.2.1 Positive Relationships

Only main means of livelihood (family income) is positively correlated with the dependent variable. Girls whose main means of livelihood is family income are 1.7 times more likely to be in school than those whose main means of livelihood is petty trade, casual labour or, relief supplies. This result is in line with past research cited earlier and supports hypothesis two in the study that predicted a positive relationship between a girl's main means of livelihood (family income) and current school status.

### 5.2.2 Negative Relationships

Marital status, past pregnancy, age and, school location are also significant, but negatively correlated with the dependent variable. Statistical findings reveal that married girls are 87.6 percent less likely to be in school than those who are not married. This finding supports hypothesis number four in the study that predicted a negative relationship between marital status and a girl's likelihood of being in school.

Model results also support hypothesis number three predicting a negative relationship between past pregnancy and a girl's likelihood of being in school. Girls who have been pregnant are 87.1 percent less likely to be in school than girls who have never been pregnant before.

Furthermore, age is also statistically significant. For every one-year increase in age, the probability of a girl being in school decreases by 45.5 percent. This finding supports hypothesis number seven in this study that predicted that the older the girl, the less likely that they will be in school. In addition, the distance between a girl's IDP camp and her village of origin is also significant and negatively correlated to the dependent variable. Statistical findings reveal that for every one-kilometre increase in distance from school the probability of a girl being in school decreases by 6.1 percent.

All of these statistical results, which reveal a negative relationship between the predictor variable and the dependent variable, are quite telling in terms of barriers of access to education faced by displaced girls living in Northern Uganda. These findings are also indicative of the type of targeted policy change that is needed in order to increase both the number of girls in school in Northern Uganda, as well as the number of girls who stay in school. These policy alternatives are further expanded in the options section of this paper.

# 5.3 Explanation of Non-Significant Variables

Not all of the independent variables employed in this study are significant including, living arrangement, IDP camp, abduction and sexual exploitation. While not all the aforementioned insignificant variables are entirely surprising, it is somewhat perplexing that the abduction and sexual exploitation predictors and IDP camp variable are insignificant in determining which girls in Northern Uganda are in school. The insignificance of either having been abducted or forced to have sex, shows that past sexual trauma has no predictive power in regards to the determination of whether a girl is in school in this sample. It also disproves the hypothesis that abducted girls are less likely to be in school than girls who have not. Perhaps these findings can be partly explained by literature. Save the Children (2001) suggest schools can provide protection for children in conflict-torn areas. In this sense, victims of abduction choose to return to school almost immediately after returning to their communities to decrease their chances of possibly being again abducted. Schools afford security during the day and this benefit outweighs the emotional suffering from sexual trauma that could potentially keep children out of school forever.

Furthermore, the IDP camp in which a girl resides is also not a significant predictor in determining whether a girl is in school in this sample. This result points to the extent that these findings can be generalized to other IDP camps in Uganda with similar circumstances.

# 5.4 Summary

A logistic regression revealed that a girls' main means of livelihood (family income), marital status, past pregnancy, age (older girls) and distance from village of origin (school location), are all significant in predicting whether a displaced girl living in an IDP camp in Northern Uganda is currently in school. Drawing on these empirical findings, the nest section presents five policy options designed to increase the number of girls in school in Northern Uganda.

# **6** Policy Options

This section proposes policy options to address the findings from the last section and compares them to the status quo. Suggested alternatives are aimed at the Government of Uganda and more specifically the Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sport. The objective is to have the government review these options and factor the cost of implementation of the recommended alternative into current budgetary plans for the education sector. In this regard, the proposed alternatives focus on ensuring the GoU expenditures on education in the immediate future are concentrated on the target population of school-aged girls in the Northern region of the country.

# 6.1 Status Quo

In 1997, Uganda was the first country in Africa to introduce Universal Primary Education. This particular program's objective is to increase total enrolment of children in primary school through the elimination of school fees. It can not be denied that UPE has begun to attract more school-aged children to the education system, however, barriers still exist that deny boys and girls of school going age from attaining access to primary school education. Moreover, the scales are tipped generally in the boys' favour, as a larger proportion of girls remain out of school in the country. Furthermore, the benefits of UPE have not been felt equally across the country. Disparities in education in particular regions and in rural areas in the country have in fact worsened. Specifically, Northern Uganda, which once had the highest enrolment in primary and secondary school in the country, now not only has the lowest enrolment overall but also the lowest enrolment of girls (Uganda Education Survey, 2001). Although it cannot be denied that the on-going conflict in the region and the mass displacement of peoples into IDP camps can help to partly explain these disparities in enrolment, other specific barriers that fail to be addressed help to understand why some girls are in school, while others are not. For example, in the previous section the findings from this study indicate that monetary support, marriage or pregnancy, age and distance from village of origin are all important factors influencing school status of girls in Northern Uganda. Currently, UPE has failed to address these inequities, and has therefore not yet met its objective of providing a basic education to all children in the country.

# 6.2 Option #1: Re-entry Policy for Pregnant and Married Girls and Bridging Centre Construction

This first policy alternative entails the Ministry of Education in Uganda adopting a reentry policy for young girls who fall pregnant or get married, and as a result, drop out of school. Currently, due to restrictive national policy, many girls are denied the right to an education and dropout rates are very high; this was also true of the population sampled for this project. Being married with children was a primary reason given by the girls' sampled for this study as to why they dropped out of school and had no hope of rejoining in the future. Furthermore, statistical findings in the previous section indicate that either being married or having a past pregnancy are important predictors in determining whether a girl is in school in Northern Uganda.

Pre-marital pregnancy among girls is stigmatized both in school and in most African communities mainly on moralistic grounds. In addition, there is also a stigma associated with older girls re-entering the school system with their younger peers. Thus, it is essential that facilities, to ensure that girls who are re-entering the education system are not excluded from full participation because of there situation and stigma, are constructed when the GoU adopts an official re-entry policy for pregnant and married adolescent girls. In this regard, it is proposed that the Ministry support the development of special bridging centres, attached to government schools, for young mothers where they could continue with their formal education and/or specialized training while their children are cared for. The idea of attaching bridging centres to a government school would seem sensible and likely to reinforce the importance of the mainstream.

Based on similar policies being successfully implemented in Zambia, Kenya and Malawi, education officials in these countries make clear that successful implementation of the re-entry policy is only achieved if supplemented with community awareness campaigns and well-informed and trained teachers. It is through the further education of teachers that community awareness to the benefits of having girls in school are also garnered (Mpesha, 2000). It is therefore suggested that strategic partnerships (including Ministry officials, district education officers, head teachers, administrators of NGOs, chiefs, local leaders and community members), focused on the sensitization and increased community awareness to the benefits of educating girls also be implemented with this option. This could help to legitimatise the proposed re-entry policy and programmes in the North, given the values and deeply entrenched cultural practices among the Acholi people of Northern Uganda. It is understood that a partnership with all stakeholders is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Refer to Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics on page 19

critical in any intervention for change. However, in this case, it is important to emphasize that the community is a very important partner, a factor often ignored by education policies and practice.

#### 6.3 **Option #2: Accelerated Learning Programs in the North**

In the previous section, a regression analysis revealed that older girls were less likely than younger girls to be in school in Northern Uganda. There are potentially many reasons for this but the suggested alternative focuses on the 19.1 percent of girls in the sample who had dropped out of school and had no hope of rejoining in the future because they felt that they would not be able to keep up with what is being taught upon re-entering school.<sup>15</sup> This fear is often a reason why girls who either have dropped out or have never had any contact with the education system before; decide not to attend school (UNICEF, 2000).

To relieve this anxiety and increase the number of girls in school in Northern Uganda, it is proposed that accelerated learning programs be implemented in the North. Since 1995, UNICEF Kampala has managed technical and financial support for a complementary basic education initiative in Uganda's southwestern region. This initiative, Complementary Opportunities for Primary Education (COPE), was conceived as a cost-effective means for meeting the educational needs of groups of disadvantaged and excluded children, especially older girls. COPE was designed to provide an accelerated primary education program (to P5 in three years) through the use of adequate quantities of high quality materials, an abbreviated school day, and paraprofessional teachers supported by ongoing training and supervision. It is suggested that the GoU look into implementing initiatives such as these in the Northern region of Uganda.

#### Option #3: Free Primary Education for Girls in the North 6.4

Effective government intervention to get girls in school must offset the costs for parents to enhance the benefit side of the equation for both parents and the country as a whole. Education for girls will have to be of a lower cost to persuade more parents to invest in girls' education. This alternative addresses schooling costs and the statistical finding in the previous section that indicates that income and thus ability to pay for school is important in determining whether a girl is in school in Northern Uganda.

Although Uganda has enacted a policy of Universal Primary Education, its universality is highly contested. Fees for books, uniforms, meals and building and Parent-Teacher association

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Refer to Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics on page 19

fees are not covered and therefore the entirety of these costs are incurred by the student and their families. In the face of poverty, both boys and girls are threatened with lack of access to schooling. However, because of the little value placed on girls' education in Uganda, the girls are more likely to stay out of school in the case of unaffordable school fees. Lack of school fees accounts for the majority of girl's dropouts at primary and secondary school levels (Kayita & Kyakulaga, 1997). Indeed, among the group of girls sampled for this study, monetary costs were cited as a primary reason why girls dropped out of school and had no hope of rejoining. <sup>16</sup>

To address this, it is proposed that the Ugandan Ministry of Education, work with the districts and sub-districts in the North, as well as local NGOs, to provide funds for the 'extras' that keep girl children out of school. What is being suggested is similar to the government stipend program for girls in need that was introduced in Bangladesh in 1998 and is reported as being highly successful in increasing the enrolment of girls in school (WCRWC, 2005). The major difference between what is being proposed for Uganda and the Bangladesh stipend program is that the former is not based on need; rather all girls in Northern Uganda enrolled in primary school should have all their school fees, along with their tuition, paid for by the government. The on-going conflict in the region and the widespread abject poverty in the IDP camps, where over 90 percent of the population resides, is indicative of the fact that almost all school-aged girls living in these circumstances are in 'need' of financial support for education.

In relation to girls' however, free primary education alone has not necessarily eliminated the cultural attitudes that place little value on girls' education or that push girls towards early marriage. It is necessary therefore to also supplement this alternative with a strategic partnership focused on community sensitization and awareness to the benefits and value of educating older girls. Since a child's father in Northern Uganda is key in deciding children's enrolment in school, fathers can be key players in enhancing girls' access to education if sensitized to the benefits of educating girls. In this regard, it is important that the GoU develop and implement strategic partnerships, which include community members' involvement in decision-making, when eliminating school fees for girls in the North.

# 6.5 Option #4: Bursaries for Girls in Secondary School in the North

This alternative entails the increased provision of secondary school bursaries specifically for girls in the Northern region of Uganda. Research shows that many poor parents in Northern Uganda cannot afford secondary education and therefore many children drop out of school after

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Refer to Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics on page 19

the primary level (Kayita & Kyakulaga, 1997). Indeed, descriptive statistics from the sample illustrate that 94.5 percent of the girls who dropped out of school in the sample did so after primary school.<sup>17</sup> Statistical findings in the previous section indicate that older girls are less likely to be in school than younger girls. In addition, trend data available shows that girls' enrolment at the secondary school level in Northern Uganda has consistently lagged behind that of boys by about 25 percent and the gap is persistently wider than at the primary school level (Kasente, 2003).

In recent years, quite a number of governments have mainstreamed bursaries for needy children in their national education budgets, such as Kenya, Tanzania, and Gambia. Furthermore, Kenya and Tanzania have affirmative action in place, which provides for additional quotas of bursaries for needy girls in the effort to increase their enrolment and retention. Currently, the Ugandan chapter of Forum for African Women Educationalists, a women led NGO, has mobilized funds to provide scholarships to girls in Uganda from poor households who perform well on their national examinations they write when leaving primary school, but fail to join secondary school because their parents or guardians cannot afford the monetary costs involved. This alternative entails the GoU supporting bursary initiatives like these that specifically target girls in Northern Uganda where girls' secondary school enrolment rates are the lowest in the country (Education Census, 2004).

# 6.6 Option #5: Construction of Classrooms on the Fringe of IDP Camps

Removing fees or offering scholarships provides little help where children have no schools to attend. In general, there is a need for more classrooms in Northern Uganda. Due to the on-going conflict in the region, most schools in the affected sub-counties of Kitgum, Gulu and Pader districts have been closed, leaving only one to two schools operating in each sub-county. Many of the students in the closed schools have moved to the few schools that are operating, creating an urgent need for additional classroom space. Education statistics in Gulu district show that in the 15 schools/sites where 35 primary schools have been displaced, the pupil population has increased from 14,339 to 30,135 thus doubling the pupil classroom ratio; the pupil to classroom ratio has increased from 112:1 to 234:1. The ideal set by the Ministry of Education is 40:1 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2004). It is evident that there exists a strong need for classrooms in the north. This alternative acknowledges this need and suggests that these

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Refer to Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics on page 19

additional classrooms be built in convenient locations so as to attract and provide access to a larger proportion of school-aged children in the region.

In this regard, common sense suggests distance of schools matters for any child, but it seems to matter particularly for girls. The farther girls have to walk or travel, the greater their parents' concerns for actual safety. In this regard, it has been documented that concern about a girl child's safety and school distance top the factors that drive parental decisions to enrol girls in school (Kasente, 2003). Statistical findings from the previous section reveal that the further away a girl lives from her village of origin, where schools are based, the less likely she will be in school. As it was previously noted that most schools in Northern Uganda are located in villages where IDPs used to live prior to the conflict, this statistical finding indicates that by moving schools closer to the children or IDP camps, the number of girls enrolled in school should increase. This alternative addresses the statistical finding by proposing that the MoES and District Education Officials (DEOs) in the North support the construction of classrooms in close proximity to current IDP camps in Northern Uganda. These classrooms should be used to educate children at both the primary and secondary school level. Most of the classrooms that have been re-built in the North have been constructed close to urban centres such as Gulu town. The need around IDP camps, which are primarily located in remote, rural areas of the region, is the same and has not yet been met (WCRWC, 2005). By moving schools closer to IDP camps, it is inferred that insecurity associated with walking long distances to and from school, especially for girls, will be minimized and thus more parents will be willing to enrol their girl child in school.

# 7 Recommendations

# 7.1 Key Considerations for Policy Alternatives

This section presents evaluation criteria by which policy options in the previous section are assessed. In this study, several broadly utilized criteria are employed and are all aimed at evaluating and comparing the proposed alternatives. The suggested alternatives are intended to increase the number of girls enrolled in school in Northern Uganda. The criteria are used to evaluate how close different proposed policy alternatives will come to meeting this objective.

#### 7.1.1 Effectiveness

The criterion of effectiveness focuses on whether the proposed policy or program will have its intended effect. In this regard, a key consideration during assessment is whether the proposed alternative will increase the enrolment of girls in Northern Uganda, both in primary and secondary school. Effectiveness was measured by using high, moderate, or low levels, upon review of this key consideration.

#### 7.1.2 Public Acceptance

Since most of the gender constraints to education emanate from deeply entrenched cultural values, attitudes and practices of parents, community leaders and community members in general, changing these attitudes requires the community's effort. Many communities see such cultural practices as the enshrinement of their identity and survival and they take it as their sacred duty to protect and perpetuate such practices. As such, unless the community is convinced of the need and benefits to change such practices, little success can be gained in trying to change them. In this regard, the criterion of public acceptance estimates the success of policy or program outcomes in terms of the acceptance from the public. The central consideration when examining this criterion is whether one or more alternatives will be acceptable or can be made acceptable to the public, given the entrenched cultural practices and beliefs of the Acholi people. The extent of public acceptance was measured by using high, moderate, or low levels.

#### 7.1.3 Political Commitment and Institutional Coordination

The criterion of political commitment and institutional coordination seeks to assess the commitment of top government administrators to the implementation of the policy option and, the ability of the MoES to implement the proposed policy, in terms of generating adequate resources. UNICEF (2004) reports that the successful implementation of policies in Uganda will depend on the political commitment of the government to address the conditions of education in the North, and the coordination of the MoES to generate additional resources for basic and secondary education through their sustained interaction with civil society. In this regard, key considerations when examining this criterion against all options is whether the GoU will be committed to implementing the option, and whether the MoES can generate resources and coordinate initiatives with District Education Officers in the North and various NGOs to implement the suggested alternative. The extent of political commitment and institutional coordination is measured by high, moderate, or low levels.

#### 7.1.4 Cost

The concept of cost is central to policy analysis. The criterion of cost seeks to assess the direct monetary costs associated with implementing each alternative. Ultimately, this assessment of cost seeks to determine whether the adoption and implementation of proposed alternatives is feasible given Uganda's current expenditure on education. Key considerations when evaluating each option and delineating level of cost include, the cost of suggested programs, the cost of additional resources needed to implement the option, and the identification of any long-run costs. It should be noted that only estimates were made when evaluating the alternatives against this criterion and the estimations are made relative to the cost of other options. The total cost of an option is measured using a scale of high, moderate, or low, given all the issues of economic costs.

# 7.2 Evaluation and Comparison of Policy Alternatives

The following section explains how each alternative measures against the chosen criteria. All criteria employed in the analysis are weighted equally and the type of measurement for each criterion is not in absolute terms but rather a ranking approach of high, moderate, or low. A measurement of high receives a score of '3', moderate a score of '2', and low a score of '1'. However, with respect to the criterion of cost, because lower cost is preferable, the scoring is reversed with a low cost option receiving a score of '3', moderate, a score of '2', and high, a

score of '1'. Upon reviewing key considerations of all four criteria, each option receives a total score out of 12. Table 7.1 summarizes the assessment of criteria against each policy alternative.

Table 7.1: Evaluation of Policy Alternatives

Table 7.1: Evaluation of Policy Alternatives							
CRITERIA  POLICY OPTIONS	Effectiveness	Public Acceptance	Political Commitment and Institutional Coordination	Cost (estimates in CAN\$)	TOTAL (out of 12)		
Status Quo	LOW (1)	LOW (1)	MODERATE (2)	LOW (3)	7		
1. Re-entry Policy for Pregnant and Married Girls and, Bridging Centre Construction	HIGH (3)	MODERATE (2)	MODERATE (2)	MODERATE (2) \$28280 <sup>+</sup> per bridging centre	9		
2. Accelerated Learning Programs	HIGH (3)	HIGH (3)	MODERATE (2)	LOW (3) \$655/student	11		
3. Free Primary Education for Girls in the North	HIGH (3)	HIGH (3)	MODERATE (2)	HIGH (1) \$1.7 million <sup>+</sup> per year	9		
4. Bursaries for Girls in Secondary School	HIGH (3)	HIGH (3)	MODERATE (2)	LOW (3) \$956/bursary	11		
5. Construction of Classrooms on the Fringe of IDP Camps	HIGH (3)	HIGH (3)	HIGH (3)	LOW (3) \$5633/classrm	12		

# 7.2.1 Status Quo

Effectiveness: It is undeniable that Uganda has made significant progress in reaching out to primary school aged children; however, providing a quality and equitable education for all has yet to be achieved. Significant numbers of children are dropping out and many children, especially in the rural and war-torn areas of Northern Uganda, still lack access to basic

education.<sup>18</sup> Although Uganda has made progress in increasing enrolments in primary education since the introduction of UPE in 1997, it has failed to achieve gender parity in education by 2005, an MDG goal set by the international community in 2000. As a result, many girls remain out of school in Uganda, particularly in the North. The fact that UPE has not yet attracted all children shows that making schooling somewhat 'free' does not necessarily ensure all children will attend school. More effort is required to address the problems that continue to create regional disparities in school attendance and that keep the gender gap in access in place. Therefore, in reviewing the set policy objectives and key considerations of effectiveness, the status quo is assessed as *low*.

Public Acceptance: Within most communities in Northern Uganda, there is still widespread resistance to UPE and thus gender equality in education both because of inadequate knowledge of the meaning of gender equality and traditional perceptions that put men in a privileged position in all decision making. Many researchers have also pointed to the lack of community awareness programs and sensitization workshops, as well as the limited involvement of district chiefs and community members in decision-making to help explain this resistance (UNICEF, 2002). Experience shows that a top-down approach to girls' education is not only ineffective, but it may create resistance and resentment that will ultimately be counter-productive, a leading cause of 'implementation failure' in girls' education (Ramachandran, 1998). In this regard, parents are left with little knowledge about the benefits of educating girls, in particular, and thus most have a lax attitude towards educational reform. This has resulted in very few girls benefiting from UPE in the North, thus their low enrolment levels. After a review of key considerations, the status quo is assessed as low in regards to public acceptance.

Political Commitment and Institutional Coordination: A useful indicator of political commitment to education is sustained levels of government spending. In this regard, the Government of Uganda would appear to be highly committed to primary education.<sup>19</sup> In addition, there is evidence of political commitment to UPE throughout government; the Ministry of Finance views UPE as the highest priority with the Poverty Eradication Action Plan and protects the necessary allocations, while the Ministries of Local Government and Public Service are critical in resolving teacher problems (Murphy, 2002). This sustained commitment of government financial resources to primary education over the past 7 years has meant a consistent funding base to implement UPE and to attract and sustain the attention of funding and technical agencies. Stable funding from donor agencies has sustained the ability of the MoES to coordinate

<sup>18</sup> Refer to section 2.1.2 for statistics on girls' education in the North

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Refer to section 2.1.1 for information on Uganda's education budget

effectively with district education officials, and civil society and NGOs to provide the resources necessary to implement on-going efforts in terms of UPE.<sup>20</sup> However, it is agreed that this commitment and coordination has failed to address disparities in access to education, specifically in the Northern rural region of Uganda. For example, the May 2003 Education Sector Review, placed the education in Northern Uganda on the agenda for the first time. Yet two generations of children in the Northern region have suffered because of lack of school facilities and teachers. The overall commitment to and success of UPE must address these regional and gender differences in access to education and completion rates, if UPE is to achieve its intended objective of providing all school-aged children in Uganda access to a basic education. After a review of the key considerations, the status quo receives a level of *moderate* in terms of political commitment and institutional coordination.

Cost: Districts in Uganda are responsible for the disbursement and management of the funds received to implement UPE, namely the UPE capitation grant and School Facilities Grants. These conditional grants make up the bulk of district budgets for education. The capitation grant, based on enrolment figures, allocates resources to schools to cover operating costs, including teacher's salaries. The standard allocation of money for capitation grants is as follows: every school in a given district receives 100,000 Ugandan Shillings (UGX) per month/school year, which is approximately CAN\$67.<sup>21</sup> Schools also receive an additional 4,785 UGX per student/school year (CAN\$3) (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005). For indication purposes only, for 2003/2004, the combined amount of money given to the three districts in the northern region of the country through the UPE capitation grant was about 1.7 billion UGX (CAN\$1.1 million). Further, over the last 3 years the GoU has been releasing a total 53 billion UGX a year (CAN\$33 million), to district officials, to construct classrooms under the Primary School Special Facilities Grant (SFG). The sustained commitment of government financial resources to primary education over the past seven years has meant a consistent funding base to implement UPE. In this regard, it is felt that maintaining the status quo, or UPE, will not result in the government incurring any additional costs. Therefore, the status quo is assessed as low, in terms of cost.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The 1997 Local Government Act, which decentralized the provision and supervision of social services, transferred the responsibility for implementation of UPE to districts and communities. This means, for example, district officials are responsible for teacher recruitment, deployment, and supervision.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> One Canadian dollar is equal to 1,596.81 Ugandan Shillings, as of March 7, 2006 (Ugandan Currency Converter, 2006)

# 7.2.2 Option #1: Re-entry Policy for Pregnant and Married Girls and Bridging Centre Construction

Effectiveness: Countries such as Zambia and Kenya have already successfully implemented re-entry policies for pregnant and married adolescent girls. In a report by Mpesha (2000), it is noted that the re-entry policy in Zambia has boosted the country's plans to reduce gender disparity in accessing education by benefiting the girl-child and the rural school-going pupils in many ways, primarily by giving girls a second chance to improve their lives. In addition, bridging centers for older students have been cited as instrumental in the success of re-entry policies for pregnant and married girls in other countries. A study in Kenya (Lokskin et al., 2000) concludes that low cost bridging centers help offset the opportunity cost of educating girls by freeing up girls time to continue with their studies, instead of having to care for their children during the day. This study also indicates these girls tend to continue on into the formal primary school program. Based on an analysis of the success of re-entry programs in other countries, such as Zambia and Kenya, this policy alternative is assessed as high in terms of effectiveness.

Public Acceptance: Given the cultural attitudes of the Acholi people to early marriages and pregnancies, it is inferred that the immediate implementation of this option will be met with community resistance. However, it is believed that public acceptance can be garnered through the formation of strategic partnerships focused on sensitizing the community to the benefits of educating girls, including ones that are married and have children. Mpesha (2000), reports that strategic partnerships and high community awareness were pivotal to the successful implementation of the re-entry policy for pregnant and married girls in Kenya. It was only through the formation of strategic partnerships (including ministry of education officials, parents, community leaders and chiefs) focused on sensitizing parents, especially fathers, on the importance of girls' education as well as the disadvantages of early marriage and pregnancy, that public acceptance among community members was garnered; this allowed for the successful implementation of the re-entry policy. In this regard, there is potential for strong public acceptance to the implementation of this alternative in Uganda. After a review of key considerations, this alternative was assessed as moderate for the criterion of public acceptance.

Political Commitment and Institutional Coordination: Mlama (2005), states that there is a positive climate supporting the need for gender equality within most governments and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Mpesha (2000) is reporting on work done in Kajiado district in Kenya. In this area, inhabited by the Maasai, who are pastoralists, little value is placed on girls' education and early marriage is practiced widely.

especially ministries of education in the African continent. This provides great potential for support, at policy level, for interventions in gender and education. Furthermore, there is considerable pressure being put on the GoU to immediately re-assess current policy that keeps girls from re-entering school after delivery or once married, by NGOs such as FAWE. However, the successful implementation of this alternative in Uganda requires strong institutional coordination. In this regard, the MoES and DEOs in the north will need to strategically coordinate with NGOs to develop and administer several programs to ensure the successful implementation of this alternative. Coordination among many players ultimately leads to competing priorities and expectations, which can hinder the successful implementation of alternatives (Howlett & Ramesh, 2000). The process of implementation will also be timely. In this regard, sustained political commitment and institutional coordination throughout the entire implementation of this option is questionable. Therefore, based on a review of key considerations, political commitment and institutional coordination for this alternative is estimated to be a level of *moderate*.

Cost: The costs of constructing bridging centres needs to be assessed and considered. Although the adoption of the re-entry policy would be a national initiative directed at all girls in Uganda, it is important that these bridging centres be first built in the north, where there is a lack of schools to begin with. Bridging centres usually consist of a five classroom block with 15 desks in each classroom; 180 students could attend classes here (Humanitarian Update, 2003). The cost of building one classroom is estimated by the Ugandan Ministry of Education to range between 6 million and 11 million UGX depending on where the school is built. The average cost is 8.5 million UGX and includes the provision of iron desks and teaching materials (Ross, 2005). Therefore, the construction of one bridging centre would cost about 42.5 million UGX (CAN\$26615), based on the average price of which it costs to construct one classroom. Furthermore, the cost of teacher's salaries and the amount of money needed to implement strategic partnerships and community awareness campaigns have to be considered. In the North, a teacher's salary is about 531,000 UGX a year (CAN\$333) (Ugandan Bureau of Statistics, 2004). Therefore, the annual cost to staff one bridging centre with a teacher in each of the five classrooms would be 2.6 million UGX (CAN\$1665). The cost of developing partnerships and community awareness campaigns could not be estimated due to lack of information however, it is recognized that their implementation comes with a price. This cost has been represented by a (+) in the assessment matrix. Therefore the costs associated with this option are 42.5 million UGX (CAN\$26615) per bridging centre, 2.65 million UGX (CAN\$1665) per year in teachers salaries for each bridging centre, and the cost of partnerships which are currently unknown. After a

review of the key considerations, this alternative is assessed as a *moderate* cost option, relative to the cost of other alternatives.

## 7.2.3 Option #2: Accelerated Learning Programs in the North

Effectiveness: It was mentioned earlier that UNICEF has instituted accelerated learning programs or COPE in the southwestern region of Uganda. Informal testing and anecdotal accounts indicate that children attending the program for the entire three years do reach a P5 equivalent (UNICEF, 2000). Furthermore, it is noted that accelerated learning programs in Kampala, Uganda are effective in catching older children up in school, and ensure disadvantaged populations such as girls, access to a basic education. Similar learning programs for older children have also been implemented in Kenya. These initiatives also have been assessed as effective; especially in terms of getting older school-aged children back into the formal education system and introducing poor children from illiterate families to the school environment (Lokshin et al., 2005). Based on these findings, there is no reason to think that the implementation of this alternative in Northern Uganda would not result in having the same positive effects on the enrolment of older girls in this region. Therefore, this alternative is assessed as high in terms of effectiveness.

Public Acceptance: It is documented in UNICEF (2000) that the implementation of COPE programs in Kampala, Uganda has demonstrated that a significant demand for flexible, basic education alternatives for older children exists. The high initial enrolment and demand from areas not served by the program illustrate this need. Furthermore, interviews in the communities in the southwestern region of Uganda also indicate that the methods and materials are attractive to both participants and parents (UNICEF, 2000). In addition, in a working report by Spittal & Patel (2006), a woman living in an IDP camp in Gulu district is documented as saying that, "For girls, education is their only hope...maybe peace will prevail but for older girls, there is an urgent need for education". After a review of key considerations, this option is assessed as high in terms of public acceptance.

Political Commitment and Institutional Coordination: Judging from the sustained political commitment to a similar initiative that was developed and implemented in Kampala, Uganda beginning in 1995, it is estimated that political commitment to the implementation of accelerated learning programs in Northern Uganda would be the same. However, in terms of institutional coordination a report by UNICEF (2000) notes that despite efforts on the part of the MoES, there has been an underinvestment in building local capacity. It was estimated that only

approximately CAN\$200 per year was invested in building local capacity. Given the crucial role of local actors and the potential improvements to the internal efficiency (lowering the cost per completer), greater investments in developing local capacity should be a priority when implementing this alternative in Northern Uganda. After a review of key considerations, this alternative is assessed as *moderate* in terms of political commitment and institutional coordination.

Cost: In a document by UNICEF (2000), the approximate cost of an accelerated learning program, on a per student basis, is estimated to be 1 million UGX (CAN\$655). This is the total cost for one student, who is joining the education system at a later age than normal, to complete the accelerated program (which last three years) and leave with a P5 equivalent education. Based on this amount, this initiative is conceived as a cost-effective means for meeting the educational needs of groups of disadvantaged and excluded children, such as older girls. Therefore, after a review of key considerations, this option is assessed as a *low* cost option relative to the cost of other alternatives.

## 7.2.4 Option #3: Free Primary Education for Girls in the North

Effectiveness: The whole or partial abolition of additional primary-school fees has been a central element of recent strategies for Universal Primary Education in many countries, including Kenya, Tanzania, Gambia, Malawi, Ethiopia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, and Nepal. Removing these fees has signaled government commitment to education as a right, and has helped to release enormous pent-up demand for education, causing massive increases in both girls' and boys' enrolments (World Vision, 2004). This increase in enrolment is proof that many parents in these countries are too poor to afford school fees. Furthermore, it is unrealistic to expect that people living in IDP camps with negligible sources of income would have the necessary funds to send their children to school. A body of literature reveals that lack of money is the principal force excluding children from the formal schooling system (Nishimura et al., 2005), WCRWC, (2005). Moreover, findings from the previous section validate this research. Statistical findings reveal that girls who receive monetary support through family income are nearly two times more likely to be in school than girls whose main means of livelihood is petty trade, casual labour or relief supplies. It is therefore felt that the extra allocation of monies by the GoU to cover student fees for girls in the North would be effective in enrolling more girls in school in this region. Covering the costs of additional school fees, including the cost of meals at school has the potential to have a major impact on school attendance. Bangladesh eliminated the

fees for meals at primary school Under the Food for Education program in mid-2002, and the impact of the program on schooling attendance has been very positive (UNICEF, 2004). In addition a study by Vermeersch, (2002) found that in Kenya the provision of free meals at school increased girls' enrolment in primary school by about 50 percent. Implementing this option in Northern Uganda would likely have the same effect considering the abject poverty, drought and persistent food shortages characteristic of IDP camp living in Northern Uganda. In this regard, covering the cost of meals, and other school fees, could provide a real incentive for parents to enroll their girl child in school. Therefore, after a review of key considerations this alternative, in terms of effectiveness, is assessed as *high*.

Public Acceptance: The introduction of UPE in 1997 in Uganda signalled that access to basic education was a child's right. Parents themselves have cited the fact that due to the lack of funds for additional school fees, they are unable to send their girl child to school and afford them the same right to education as other children (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005). In this regard, lack of money to cover school fees keeps children from taking advantage of the benefits provided by UPE. Furthermore, given the extent of widespread poverty and abject hunger in IDP camps in Northern Uganda, it is estimated that public acceptance of an option that provides free meals to children at school while also releasing household income (that was previously earmarked for school fees) to be used for other necessities, will be undoubtedly high. After a review of key considerations, this alternative is assessed as high in terms of public acceptance.

Political Commitment and Institutional Coordination: In a report by the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2005), the authors report that in each of their meetings/interviews with District Education Officers in both Kitgum and Gulu districts, education was seen as one of the main sources of hope for the future of Northern Uganda. Primary education was the main focus of most organizations; however, the education of girls was also cited as very important. In addition, NGOs have increased pressure on the GoU to eliminate school fees for girls in the North in recent years (Mazurana & McKay, 2004). In this regard, this pressure has the potential to garner a high level of political commitment for this proposed option. However, given the high cost of this option, sustained political commitment for this alternative is questionable. In terms of institutional coordination, the MoES and DEOs in the north will have to monitor the success of this alternative closely and respond with the appropriate increase in resources needed to sustain these efforts. For example, the elimination of school fees will undoubtedly attract more girl students meaning that strong coordination in supplying additional

classrooms and teachers will be needed. After a review of key considerations for both political commitment and institutional coordination, this alternative was assessed at a level of *moderate*.

Cost: It has been documented that additional fees for school materials, uniforms, parentteacher association fees, lunch and building fees can amount to approximately 5000 UGX (CAN\$3) per term of school. For example, 1000 UGX (CAN\$0.63) is approximately what it costs for the World Food Program to provide lunch to one student per term (Nishimura et al., 2005). Therefore, it is estimated that the additional cost to the Ugandan government for covering school fees of girls enrolled in primary school in Northern Uganda, would amount to about 15,000 UGX (CAN\$9.40) per student, per school year. Considering that there are approximately 182,000 girls enrolled in primary school in the North<sup>23</sup>, the total cost of eliminating these 'user fees' would be about 2.7 billion UGX (CAN\$1.7 million) per year. This total is about 0.4 percent of funds allocated specifically for primary school education under the entire educational budget for 2005/2006.<sup>24</sup> It is important to note, however, that this estimation of cost is based on immediate implementation, which would cover the cost of additional school fees for young girls who are currently enrolled in primary school in the North. However, it is projected that once implementation of this alternative occurs, additional costs will be incurred. Free education for girls in the North will ultimately attract more girl students, and therefore a need for additional classrooms and teachers will have to be met. A hard number could not be attached to all these future costs, as the exact number of increased enrolment could not be made. Therefore, these future costs are represented by a (+) in the assessment matrix above, to denote that long-term future costs are attached to this option. After key considerations, the total cost of this alternative is assessed as *high*, relative to the cost of other options.

#### 7.2.5 Option #4: Bursaries for Girls in Secondary School in the North

Effectiveness: In the case of secondary education, which is generally not free, provision of bursary schemes for needy girls has proved very successful in giving access to girls and keeping them in school. Bursaries for secondary-school girls have been particularly effective in not only increasing secondary enrolments, but also creating strong incentives for girls to enter and complete primary school. In Bangladesh, districts where secondary-school bursaries were introduced experienced a sharp decline in child marriages, as well as soaring girls' enrolments

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> This enrolment number is based on the most recent publicly available data from the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2004) and combines primary school enrolment numbers from Kitgum, Gulu and Pader districts in the North

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Refer to section 2.1.1 for budgetary allocations in regards to primary education

(UNICEF, 2004). As was pointed out earlier, girls in Northern Uganda constitute a mere 14 percent of total enrolment in secondary schools in this region. Early pregnancies, marriages, and lack of monetary support to cover secondary tuition are main reasons why these low numbers persist. In this regard, secondary school bursaries for girls in need could help to alleviate these barriers and thus increase the number of girls enrolled in school. Therefore, this alternative is assessed as *high*, in terms of effectiveness.

Public Acceptance: NGOs that have implemented similar bursary schemes in other African countries such as Kenya, Zambia, Ghana and Rwanda, where successful implementation was questioned due to cultural practices and beliefs, have suggested that public acceptance was in fact quite high. However, it was noted that high public acceptance could be a result of efforts taken to inform the public about bursaries for girls in need (FAWE, 2001). In addition, since bursaries are based on need and achievement in primary school, girls who apply for these bursaries most often do so with family support. Parents and pupils place a high value on access to secondary schools. Their hopes for future employment and stability hinge on these opportunities. Parents whose daughters perform well in primary school recognize the potential of further education to be of benefit to the family and therefore encourage their daughters to continue with their studies in secondary school (Refugee Law Project, 2004). Therefore, after a review of key considerations this option was assessed at a level of high, in terms of public acceptance.

Political Commitment and Institutional Coordination: In a report by FAWE (2001), it is noted that bursary schemes in Kenya started out small, but because they were managed effectively and the results and performance of the girls that were supported were monitored, the project has recently attracted large funds from donor agencies. As a result, quite a large number of girls in Kenya are now in secondary school sponsored by local NGOs. In essence, bursary schemes have had a multiplier effect, which has caused NGOs to adapt and implement this project in the areas where they operate. Given the increased pressure by FAWE and other NGOs, on the GoU to institute bursary schemes for girls in need in the Northern region of the country, the political commitment for this option is assessed as moderate. Furthermore, if implementation in Uganda is as successful as other countries, in terms of having a multiplier effect and attracting other NGO's efforts and support of the initiative, then institutional coordination is also assessed as moderate. Therefore, after a review of key considerations, this option was assessed at a level of moderate, in terms of political commitment and institutional coordination.

Cost: Average annual secondary school tuition in Uganda is about 367,000 UGX (CAN\$230) (Ross, 2005). Bursary programs for girls in need will cover the cost of tuition for four years of secondary school and any additional school fees, which were previously estimated to be about 15,000 UGX (CAN\$9) per year; thus, the total cost of one year of secondary school is estimated to be 382,000 UGX (CAN\$239) per student. Therefore, one bursary would come at a total cost of 1.5 million UGX (CAN\$956). Thus, this option is assessed as a *low* cost alternative, relative to the cost of other options.

## 7.2.6 Option #5: Construction of Classrooms on the Fringe of IDP Camps

Effectiveness: Research by (Duflo, 2001) suggests that building decent schools nearby and providing trained teachers, teaching materials, and a reasonable curriculum are often enough to bring most girls into school; Indonesia achieved nearly full enrolment of girls by building and staffing more than 60,000 conveniently located schools. In post-conflict countries like Sierra Leone and Rwanda, building affordable, sustainable schools, close to children's homes have been a crucial step in assisting these countries to rebuild their shattered educational system (UNICEF, 2005). Moreover, district officials in Sierra Leone note that decreasing the distance that children have to walk to school has particularly increased the enrolment of girls. An analysis of similar initiatives in countries such as Egypt and Pakistan uncover promising results as well.

Specifically, in Egypt is was found that girl's enrolment increased sharply when schools were located less than 1.5 kilometers away, while in Pakistan the threshold was one kilometer (Rugh, 2000). It is expected that the construction of classrooms on the fridge of IDP camps in Northern Uganda will also garner the same positive results in terms of increasing the number of girls who enroll in school. Thus, after a review of key considerations, this option is assessed as high in terms of effectiveness.

Public Acceptance: Many parents of school-aged children in Uganda have pointed to the distance of schools as a barrier of access to basic education, for their daughters in particular (Uganda Education Survey, 2001). Moreover, some parents in Northern Uganda refuse to send their daughters to school due to the insecurity associated with them walking far distances to and from school (WCRWC, 2005). In a working report by Spittal & Patel (2006), many Acholi women suggested the building of schools close to IDP camps, when asked for their thoughts on what can be done to restore education to this war-torn area. The construction of classrooms does not challenge any cultural practices and evidence suggests that the community members

themselves have identified a need for schools that are closer to IDP camps. Thus, after a review of key considerations, this alternative is assessed as *high* in regards to public acceptance.

Political Commitment and Institutional Coordination: The GoU has recognized that there exits a shortage of schools, whether that be in urban centres in the country or in rural areas where most IDP camps are located (WCRWC, 2005). Inadequacies associated with school infrastructure have been a common complaint and NGOs have put pressure on the government to respond. In this regard, political commitment to alleviating these inadequacies in the north is estimated to be high. Coordination of efforts between the MoES and NGOs to build classrooms in secure areas in the north has also begun. However, an increased amount of coordination is needed to ensure that DEOs in the north spend a large portion of their primary school SFG on the construction of schools around IDP camps. This is important, as this is where the greatest shortage of schools exists. With this in mind and after a review of key considerations, a level of high was assigned to this option in terms of political commitment and institutional coordination.

Cost: Using the money allocated for primary school classroom construction under the Special Facilities Grant, the Ministry of Education claims to build 3,500 classrooms per year when the efficient would be 6,300 (Ross, 2005). In this regard, it has been estimated that if the entirety of the SFG were actually spent on the construction of classrooms, then the country of Uganda would benefit from an additional 2800 primary classrooms a year. The current number of primary classrooms that are needed in the North is estimated to be 3125 (Ugandan Bureau of Statistics, 2005). As noted earlier, the average cost of building a classroom is about 8.4 million UGX (CAN\$5300). This includes the cost of desks and learning materials. Additional costs for the implementation of this alternative includes, teacher's salaries which were estimated to come at an annual cost of 531,000 UGX (CAN\$333) per teacher. Therefore, after a review of key considerations, this option is assessed as a *low* cost option, relative to the cost of other suggested alternatives.

## 7.3 Recommendation

Based on the analysis of this study, the Government of Uganda may choose to adopt most of the policy options proposed or a combination of a few. An important decision to consider is to dismiss the alternative of maintaining the status quo. Although it appears that it fairs well relative to other alternatives, it fails the effectiveness criteria. Maintaining the status quo would only help to preserve current gender disparities in education, specifically the low enrolment of girls in Northern Uganda.

The amount of time required for the implementation of a certain alternative should also be considered given the dire situation of education in the North. It is quite clear that the current situation requires an immediate response, one in which the benefits of what is being implemented can be realized almost immediately. With this is mind, the immediate implementation of option #5 is a viable strategy to adopt. Constructing additional classrooms in close proximity to IDP camps in Northern Uganda appears to be the dominant policy alternative and therefore should be implemented first. Additional classrooms is a responsive and appropriate step to addressing the gender inequality in access to education; thus its high level of effectiveness and public acceptance. It is estimated that a classroom takes about five days to construct (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005). This short time makes this a viable alternative to implement immediately.

# 7.3.1 Implementation Suggestion

A report by WCRWC (2005) suggests that some schools are now being built closer to IDP camps, reducing the insecurity associated with long walks to and from school. These efforts can be seen in Kitgum district where approximately 50 semi-permanent additional classrooms have been built close to IDP camps in that district (WCRWC, 2005). However, in Gulu district, where all girls sampled for this study currently reside, there is a strong need for this that has yet to be met. In interviews with District Education Officers in Gulu districts, conducted by the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2005), one official was quoted as saying that even seven classrooms would help in Gulu district. Furthermore, a crosstabular analysis revealed that 50.0 percent of the girls sampled who live in Pabbo IDP camp live more than 10 kilometers away from their village of origin, where schools are based. Moreover, 74.0 percent of girls not in school in the sample reside in Pabbo camp.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, it is suggested that classrooms first be built around Pabbo IDP camp in Gulu district.

Furthermore, it is important to consider that with the construction of more classrooms comes the need to also hire more teachers. Data from the Ugandan Bureau of Statistics (2004) indicates that in Northern Uganda there is a shortage of approximately 900 teachers. The student to teacher ratio in the districts in the north is estimated to be 150:1 while the ideal set by the MoES is 40:1 (WCRWC, 2005). In this regard, it is imperative that the GoU focus their efforts on attracting more teachers to the north. Salary incentives and a guarantee of enhanced security are options to consider.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Refer to Appendix D (pg.72+74) for crosstabular outputs

# 7.3.2 For Further Consideration

Once an adequate number of classrooms are built in the north, then the other suggested alternatives can be further researched and considered for implementation. In this regard, option #2 and option #4 deserve further consideration. Bursaries for girls in secondary school and accelerated learning programs for older girls are both assessed at a high level of effectiveness and undoubtedly will have an effect on the number of girls who finish primary school and subsequently enter secondary school. Furthermore, both alternatives are also assessed to have a high level of public acceptance as parents and pupils place a high value on access to secondary schools. It is important to remember, however that high community awareness and involvement is instrumental for successful implementation of any policy option. Values and behaviours shape how people deal with and understand an issue. These values may be influenced by religion, custom, class, gender, ethnicity, or age. Often changes in values and behaviours are necessary in order to address the challenges of education in displacement. Schools can play a central role in educating parents, pupils, and community members about the value of sending children to school or of educating girls, for example, while taking care to respect individual cultures (Refugee Law Project, 2004). It is therefore highly recommended that strategic partnerships, that include community members in the decision-making process, and community awareness campaigns, focused on sensitizing the public to the benefits of educating girls, be researched and developed when further considering the implementation of these alternatives. There are various examples of how strategic partnerships have been successfully formed with communities towards eliminating gender constraints to education, which Northern Uganda can explore and learn from.

Furthermore, although eliminating all school fees for girls in the North (option #3) comes at a high cost to the government, monetary support, or lack there of is the most common reason cited for not attending school (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005). Indeed, this study found that girls whose main means of livelihood was family support were 1.7 times more likely to be in school then girls whose main means of livelihood was not family support. This is an important option to consider, in light of the low enrolment of girls in schools, as the gender balance is tipped away from girls in Uganda; even if family support is available to send children to school, son preference ultimately leaves girls out of school. The total cost of this option is what ultimately assessed it at a lower level of viability than the recommend option. However, as the cost of education has been the main obstacle to children attending and staying in school, especially in the case of young girls, the long-run benefits are still estimated to outweigh

the costs associated with eliminating all school fees. Without doubt the, elimination of fees for primary school girls in the North should be further considered by the GoU.

In addition, the adoption of a national re-entry policy for pregnant and married adolescent girls (option #1) also deserves more consideration. It ultimately failed to be recommended as public acceptance and political commitment and institutional coordination for the alternative were both assessed at a level of moderate. Even though it is possible to garner public acceptance through strategic partnerships and sensitization of community members to the benefits of educating girls, this will take time and success is unknown. However, statistical findings from this project reveal that marital status and past pregnancy are real barriers of access to education that girls currently face in Northern Uganda. Thus, it is important for the GoU to also further research this alternative.

# 7.4 Conclusion

An overwhelming body of research demonstrates that investing in girls' education delivers high returns for economic growth and broad benefits ranging from smaller families, to disease prevention, to women's well-being. Educating all girls in Uganda is an achievable goal and attainable in the near term, if substantial resources are matched with comprehensive nationally owned plans for education reform that include measures of accountability and a commitment to ensure all children are in school. Realizing steady improvements also comes down to national and international commitment, political leadership, and an emphasis on tailoring policies to local circumstances to meet the distinct challenges that Uganda and its diverse regions face. Serious efforts, even in a country with highly constrained resources, are likely to yield impressive results, both for educational outcomes and for the society as a whole. In this regard, there may be no better investment for the health, development, peace and reconstruction of Uganda, than investments to educate more girls.

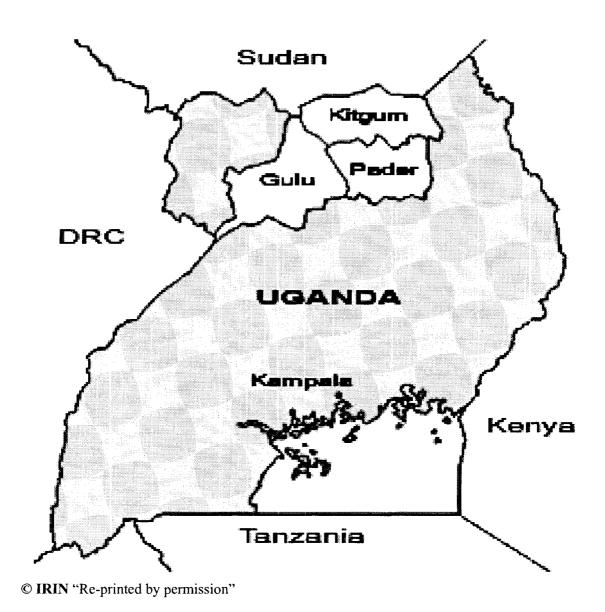
# **Appendices**

# Appendix A: Millennium Development Goals

# MDG GOALS 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger 2. Achieve universal primary education 3. Promote gender equality & empower women 4. Reduce child mortality 5. Improve maternal health 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria & other diseases 7. Ensure environmental sustainability 8. Develop a global partnership for development

Source: The Millennium Development Goals Report, United Nations (2005)

Appendix B: Map of Uganda and Districts in the North



Source: http://www.irinnews.org/S\_report.asp?ReportID=47568 (2006)

# **Appendix C: Survey Instrument**

### **MAJOR SECTIONS**

# **Demographics and Background Information**

-23 questions/10 were relevant for this study

# Knowledge of HIV/AIDS/STDs modes of Transmission

-46 questions on knowledge and perception of HIV/AIDS/STDs, on HIV/AIDS avoidance behaviour and, on 'talking about sex'/none were used in this study

# Sexual Activity/Practices and Relationships

-19 questions on girls' sexual lives/1 was relevant for this study

### Forced Sex

-8 questions on sexual exploitation/2 were relevant for this study

### Survival/Livelihood Activities

-9 questions on means of livelihood and sex for material gain/1 was relevant for this study

### **Traditional/Cultural Practices**

-13 questions on traditional healers and witchcraft/none were used in this study

### Questions on HIV/STDs

-24 questions on HIV/STD risk and symptoms/none were used in this study

### HIV/STD/AIDS Prevention and Condom Use

-24 questions on prevention information and condom use/none were used in this study

### Information on Sex-Related Issues

-13 questions on source of sexual health information/none were used in this study

# Family Planning Questions

-14 questions on use of family services and abortions/none were relevant to this study

# Pregnancy

-16 questions on pregnancies/2 questions were relevant for this study

### Marriage

-5 questions on marital status/2 questions were relevant for this study

# Appendix D: Crosstabular Analysis Output

# 1. School Status and Living Arrangement

			With whom d	o you live?	
				Single Parent, relatives,	
			Both Parents	husband	Total
Are you in	No	Count	31	257	288
school?		% within Are you in school	10.8%	89.2%	100.0%
 		% within With whom do you live	23.3%	69.3%	57.1%
		% of Total	6.2%	51.0%	57.1%
ĺ	Yes	Count	102	114	216
		% within Are you in school	47.2%	52.8%	100.0%
		% within With whom do you live	76.7%	30.7%	42.9%
		% of Total	20.2%	22.6%	42.9%
Total		Count	133	371	504
		% within Are you in school	26.4%	73.6%	100.0%
		% within With whom do you live	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	26.4%	73.6%	100.0%

# 2. School Status and Main Means of Livelihood

			Main mear	ns of livelihood	
		i		Petty trade, relief	
			Family Income	supplies, casual labor	Total
Are you in	No	Count	25	263	288
school?		% within Are you in school	8.7%	91.3%	100.0%
	!	% within Main means of livelihood	15.9%	75.8%	57.1%
	1	% of Total	5.0%	52.2%	57.1%
	Yes	Count	132	84	216
<b>)</b>		% within Are you in school	61.1%	38.9%	100.0%
		% within Main means of livelihood	84.1%	24.2%	42.9%
		% of Total	26.2%	16.7%	42.9%
Total	<u>.                                      </u>	Count	157	347	504
		% within Are you in school	31.2%	68.8%	100.0%
		% within Main means of livelihood	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
}		% of Total	31.2%	68.8%	100.0%

# 3. School Status and Marital Status

			Are you currently		
			marr		
			Yes	No	Total
Are you in	No	Count	177	111	288
school?		% within Are you in school	61.5%	38.5%	100.0%
		% within Are you currently married	97.8%	34.4%	57.1%
		% of Total	35.1%	22.0%	57.1%
	Yes	Count	4	212	216
		% within Are you in school	1.9%	98.1%	100.0%
		% within Are you currently married	2.2%	65.6%	42.9%
		% of Total	.8%	42.1%	42.9%
Total		Count	181	323	504
		% within Are you in school	35.9%	64.1%	100.0%
		% within Are you currently married	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	35.9%	64.1%	100.0%

# 4. School Status and Past Pregnancy

			Have you ever been pregnant?		
	_		Yes_	No	Total
Are you in	No	Count	197	91	288
school?		% within Are you in school	68.4%	31.6%	100.0%
		% within Have you ever been pregnant	98.0%	30.0%	57.1%
		% of Total	39.1%	18.1%	57.1%
	Yes	Count	4	212	216
		% within Are you in school	1.9%	98.1%	100.0%
		% within Have you ever been pregnant	2.0%	70.0%	42.9%
	]	% of Total	.8%	42.1%	42.9%
Total		Count	201	303	504
		% within Are you in school	39.9%	60.1%	100.0%
		% within Have you ever been pregnant	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	39.9%	60.1%	100.0%

# 5. School Status and Past Abduction

		Have you ever been abducted?				
			Yes	No	Total	
Are you in	No	Count	44	244	288	
school?		% within Are you in school	15.3%	84.7%	100.0%	
		% within Have you ever been abducted	67.7%	55.6%	57.1%	
	}	% of Total	8.7%	48.4%	57.1%	
	Yes	Count	21	195	216	
:			% within Are you in school	9.7%	90.3%	100.0%
		% within Have you ever been abducted	32.3%	44.4%	42.9%	
		% of Total	4.2%	38.7%	42.9%	
Total		Count	65	439	504	
		% within Are you in school	12.9%	87.1%	100.0%	
		% within Have you ever been abducted	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
		% of Total	12.9%	87.1%	100.0%	

# 6. School Status and Past Sexual Exploitation

			Have you ever been forced to have sex with any one?		
			Yes	No	Total
Are you in	No	Count	39	249	288
school?		% within Are you in school	13.5%	86.5%	100.0%
<u> </u>		% within Have you ever been forced to have sex with any one	67.2%	55.8%	57.1%
		% of Total	7.7%	49.4%	57.1%
ĺ	Yes	Count	19	197	216
}		% within Are you in school	8.8%	91.2%	100.0%
		% within Have you ever been forced to have sex with any one	32.8%	44.2%	42.9%
	 	% of Total	3.8%	39.1%	42.9%
Total		Count	58	446	504
		% within Are you in school	11.5%	88.5%	100.0%
		% within Have you ever been forced to have sex with any one	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	11.5%	88.5%	100.0%

# 77. School Status and IDP Camp

				IDP Camp		
			Palanga	Awer	Pabbo	Total-
Are you in	No	Count	14	61	213	2 288
school?		% within Are you in school	4.9%	21.2%	74.0%	100.0%
	1	% within IDP Camp	23.3%	67.8%	60.2%	57.1%
	)	% of Total	2.8%	12.1%	42.3%	57.1%
			1		7.7.1	040
	Yes	% within Are you in school	21.3%	13.4%	65.3%	100.0%
Į.		% within IDP Camp		20 201	^^ ^^_	40.007
	' !	% of Total	9.1%	5.8%	28.0%	42.9%
Total		Count	60	90	354	504
		% within Are you in school	11.9%	17.9%	70.2%	100.0%
Ī		% within IDP Camp	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	11.9%	17.9%	70.2%	100.0%

# 8. School Status and Distance From Village of Origin (School Location)

		How far from here is your village of origin?				
	_		O-5km.	5.1 - 10km.	10+km.	Total
Are you in	No	Count	52	106	130	288
school?		% within Are you in school	18.1%	36.8%	45.1%	100.0%
		% within How far from here is your village of origin	49.5%	54.9%	63.1%	57.1%
		% of Total	10.3%	21.0%	25.8%	57.1%
į	Yes	Count	53	87	76	216
		% within Are you in school	24.5%	40.3%	35.2%	100.0%
		% within How far from here is your village of origin	50.5%	45.1%	36.9%	42.9%
		% of Total	10.5%	17.3%	15.1%	42.9%
Total		Count	105	193	206	504
		% within Are you in school	20.8%	38.3%	40.9%	100.0%
		% within How far from here is your village of origin	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	20.8%	38.3%	40.9%	100.0%

# 9. IDP Camp and Distance Village of Origin (School Location)

			How far fro	m here is your origin?	village of	
			O-5km.	5.1 - 10km.	10+km.	Total
IDP	Palanga	Count	27	29	4	60
Camp		% within IDP Camp	45.0%	48.3%	6.7%	100.0%
		% within How far from here is your village of origin	25.7%	15.0%	1.9%	11.9%
1		% of Total	5.4%	5.8%	.8%	11.9%
	Awer	Count	25	40	25	90
		% within IDP Camp	27.8%	44.4%	27.8%	100.0%
		% within How far from here is your village of origin	23.8%	20.7%	12.1%	17.9%
		% of Total	5.0%	7.9%	5.0%	17.9%
	Pabbo	Count	53	124	177	354
<b>!</b>		% within IDP Camp	15.0%	35.0%	50.0%	100.0%
: :		% within How far from here is your village of origin	50.5%	64.2%	85.9%	70.2%
		% of Total	10.5%	24.6%	35.1%	70.2%
Total		Count	105	193	206	504
		% within IDP Camp	20.8%	38.3%	40.9%	100.0%
		% within How far from here is your village of origin	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	20.8%	38.3%	40.9%	100.0%

# **Appendix E: Regression Results**

# **Logistic Regression**

# **Case Processing Summary**

Unweighted Cases	N	Percent	
Selected Cases	Included in Analysis	504	100.0
	Missing Cases	0	.0
	Total	504	100.0
Unselected Cases	0	.0	
Total	504	100.0	

If weight is in effect, see classification table for the total number of cases.

# **Dependent Variable Encoding**

Original Value	Internal Value		
No	0		
Yes	1		

# **Categorical Variables Codings**

			Paramet	er coding
		Frequency	(1)	(2)
IDP Camp	Palanga	60	1.000	.000
	Awer	90	.000	1.000
	Pabbo	354	.000	.000
Main means of livelihood	Petty trade, relief supplies, casual labor	347	.000	
	Family Income	157	1.000	
Are you currently	No	323	.000	
married?	Yes	181	1.000	
Have you ever been	No	303	.000	
pregnant?	Yes	201	1.000	
Have you ever been	No	439	.000	
abducted?	Yes	65	1.000	
Have you ever been	No	446	.000	
forced to have sex?	Yes	58	1.000	
With whom do you live?	Single Parent, relatives, husband	371	.000	
	Both Parents	133	1.000	

# Variables in the Equation

Variables	В	S.E	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Two Parent Family(1)	.441	.365	1.459	1	.227	1.555
Family Income (1)	.990	.361	7.535	1	.006	2.691
Marital Status (1)	-2.091	.602	12.047	1	.001	.124
Past Pregnancy (1)	-2.051	.595	11.870	1	.001	.129
Past Abduction (1)	.351	.584	.361	1	.548	1.421
Past Sexual Exploitation(1)	080	.556	.020	1	.886	.923
Older Girls	607	.103	34.642	1	.000	.545
Palanga (1)	.906	.557	2.649	1	.104	2.475
Awer (1)	568	.419	1.838	1	.175	.566
School Location	063	.028	5.310	1	.021	.939
Constant	10.453	1.675	38.936	1	.000	34639.975

Variable(s) entered on step 1: Two Parent Family, Family Income, Marital Status, Past Pregnancy, Past Abduction, Past Sexual Exploitation, Older Girls, Palanga, Awer, School Location.

# Appendix F: Test for Multicollinearity

# **Collinearity Statistics**

Model/Variables	Collinearity Statistics			
Wiodel/ Valiables	Tolerance	VIF		
Two Parent Family	.726	1.378		
Family Income	.604	1.656		
Marital Status	.502	1.991		
Past Pregnancy	.423	2.362		
Past Abduction	.768	1.303		
Past Sexual Exploitation	.804	1.244		
Older Girls	.450	2.221		
IDP Camp	.859	1.164		
School Location	.911	1.098		

Notes: The variance inflation factor (VIF) values indicate whether an independent variable has a strong linear relationship with other predictor variables. Related to the VIF is the tolerance statistic, which is its reciprocal (1/VIF). A VIF score greater than 10 or a tolerance value below 0.1 is an indication of a problem of multicollinearity (Field, 2000). As such, there is no evidence of multicollinearity in this model.

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