Education as a Tool for Reintegrating Formerly Abducted Children of the Lord's Resistance Army in Northern Uganda

A Comparative Case Study of Two Educational Programs

Patrick Carta McGowan

Thesis for the Master of Philosophy in Comparative and International Education

Department of Education

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Abstract

This study focuses on educating formerly abducted children of the Lord's Resistance Army in northern Uganda. While in the bush, most did not attend school, and were seen as victims of the conflict. If they survived, they often returned as villains, rejected by their families and community. Academically behind peers their own age, many were unable to matriculate back into their classroom, contributing even further to their social exclusion.

In the absence of government provisioning for education, many Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) throughout the world, including northern Uganda, have begun to provide formerly abducted children with the opportunity of obtaining an education with a focus on human rights. For this study, two NGOs are in focus: the Friends of Orphans (FRO) in Pader, and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) Youth Education Pack (YEP) Center in Wol. FRO is a locally established NGO, and the NRC YEP Center in Wol is Norwegian. Using the right to education approach, the investigation intends to uncover and compare how education has been provided to formerly abducted children as a means to overcome social exclusion and reintegrate them into society.

Although FRO has fewer resources than the NRC YEP Center in Wol, this study finds that both institutions use both similar and different methods when providing an education for this particular group. Findings suggest that students at both institutions seem overall satisfied with their educational experiences, yet many still struggle economically post completion of their studies. Despite this, the study indicates that education plays a strategic role in enabling such youth to reintegrate back into civil society. However, more research over time is needed to see its full potential influence on the lives of both the students and their communities.

Acknowledgements

This study could not have been completed without the endless support from those who have pushed me to where I am today. The names and faces are endless, and I apologize in advance if I have left you out.

First and foremost, I wish to extend my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Lene Buchert and Helge Brochmann. Your keen ability to inspire me to go beyond my boundaries and awaken a new thought process was at times intimidating yet very much needed. Your guidance, patience, and faith invested in me are very much appreciated. Thank you for your cooperation.

I also wish to extend my gratitude to the teachers and faculty members of the Friends of Orphans School in Pader, Uganda, especially Mr. Richard Anywar. Without your acceptance and knowledge, this study would not have been possible. Thank you.

I also wish to offer my gratitude to the Norwegian Refugee Council, particularly the teachers and faculty members at the YEP Center in Wol, the office in Kitgum, and Katrine Wold at the headquarters in Oslo. Jonah Rodich's and Komakech Johnson's dedication and hospitality were comforting amidst the chaotic realities of conducting fieldwork in remote northern Uganda. Thank you so much for your kind words of wisdom.

I also want to thank my parents and brothers for their relentless support prior to and during this study. Thank you for being there for me.

Finally, my heart goes out to all the brave students I had the honor of meeting and observing from afar. Your ability to persevere from such misfortune is not something I would be capable of doing with such grace and determination. Although our time together was limited, you will forever be in my heart. Thank you for sharing your stories.

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Acronyms

CCF	Christian Counseling Fellowship
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
EFA	Education for All
FAC	Formerly Abducted Child
FRO	Friends of Orphans School
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HHRI	Health and Human Rights Information
HSM	Holy Spirit Mobile Forces/Movement
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IILS	International Institute for Labour Studies
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
PIASCY	Presidential Initiative on AIDS Strategy for Communication to the Youth
UGX	Ugandan Schilling
UiO	University of Oslo
UNEB	Uganda National Examinations Board
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UPDA	Uganda People's Democratic Army
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar
YEP	Youth Education Pack

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Armed conflict affects all aspects of society, including age demographics and the education sector. During 1999-2008, thirty-five countries, whose combined population amount to 116 million children, experienced armed conflict (UNESCO, 2011). In those countries, 28 million primary school-aged children did not attend school, and secondary school enrollment rates were 30% lower than in non-conflict-affected countries (ibid). Today, 300,000 children throughout the world are believed to be engaged directly in armed conflict as child soldiers, 40% of whom are estimated to be girls (Kaplan, 2005; War Child, 2013).

Over the years, a multitude of laws and reforms have been introduced to prevent the recruitment of, as well as to punish the use of children for the purpose of warfare (UNICEF, 2002). Despite such measures, the number of children forcefully abducted by armed groups and governments has not decreased significantly over the last decade (HHRI, N/D; UNESCO, 2011). For this reason, there is a constant supply of children requiring assistance. Studies conducted by UNICEF (2009) find that programs with an emphasis on formerly abducted children are riddled with complexities. According to Dallaire (2010),

> Picking up the pieces of broken children after a conflict is hugely difficult, the necessary ongoing effort is hard to sustain, and success is unpredictable to gauge … It's better to stop the recruitment and use of children within belligerent forces before it happens than to deal with the complexities of reintegrating children into their home communities - if they even exist - after the conflict is over (p. 152).

It is crucial to understand that many formerly abducted children have lost everything, including their homes and loved ones. This often creates more challenges to an already complicated matter as they are often forced to fend for themselves.

One method used in assisting the reintegration of formerly abducted children is education. Education is thought to play a key role in re-establishing normality for both youth and society. It is also seen as a guidance role for formerly abducted children to find their momentum for an improved future (USAID, 2007). Previous empirical research on the benefits of education during armed conflict suggests positive reinforcement. According to Talbot (2013),

> Education not only saves lives, it also sustains life by giving children a sense of the restoration of normality, familiar routine and hope for the future, all of which are vital for mitigating the psychosocial impact of violence and displacement for individuals and whole communities. Good quality education provided during wartime can counter the underlying causes of violence, by fostering values of inclusion, tolerance, human rights and conflict resolution (p. 5).

At the same time, previous studies have also unearthed a multiplex of negative outcomes on the educational and economic infrastructures due to armed conflict. Regions experiencing armed conflict often encounter an uneven distribution of access, equity, quality, and relevance of education which may prevent economic growth (Betancourt, 2008; INEE, 2013). Furthermore, education can also oppress minority groups by suppressing their culture, language, and religious values (Smith & Vaux, 2003; UNICEF, 2000).

In regards to education and formerly abducted children, negative connotations may also arise. Studies conducted by UNESCO (2011) find that involuntary child abduction for the purpose of armed conflict is a major obstacle to education. Not only are the children not in school, but the threat of abduction, the psychological trauma, and issues of reintegration have far broader effects. Such cases may give reason as to why so many governments and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are committed to, and highlight the importance of education in this particular context.

When attempting to educate formerly abducted children, governments are sometimes criticized as they tend to apply a centralized approach, which "ignores children's cultures and inherent adaptability [and] can be insensitive to cultural differences" (Young, 2007). NGOs often utilize a more community-based approach that attempts to avoid stigmatization while stressing family reunification. Such methodologies adopted by NGOs which have resulted in positive outcomes seem to be more commonplace (ibid.). In countries experiencing armed conflict, NGOs often partner with or complement support by local foundations or governments. According to IIEP-UNESCO (2009), "During conflict, the retreat of the state from the provision of public services creates a gap that is often filled by non-state actors to help ensure continuity of learning".

In the case of (northern) Uganda, the conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Ugandan government lasted approximately twenty years, and left devastating effects on the education sector. NGOs in the region have played an important role in improving the

situation by providing educational opportunities for those made marginal by the conflict, including formerly abducted children.

1.2 Who is an Abducted Child?

According to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), a *child* refers to "every human being below the age of eighteen years" (UN-OHCHR, 1996-2013). A child recruited into armed forces is sometimes referred to as a *child soldier*. The criterion to determine a child soldier differs among organizations and conventions. In 2002, the UN published the Optional Protocol to the CRC in "an effort to strengthen implementation of the Convention and increase the protection of children during armed conflicts (UNICEF, 2005). Accordingly,

> The Optional Protocol raises the minimum age for direct participation in hostilities to 18 years from the previous minimum age of 15 years specified in the Convention on the Rights of the Child and other legal instruments. The treaty also prohibits compulsory recruitment by government forces of anyone under 18 years of age, and calls on State Parties to raise the minimum age above 15 for voluntary recruitment, and to implement strict safeguards when voluntary recruitment of children under 18 years is permitted. In the case of non-state armed groups, the treaty prohibits all recruitment − voluntary and compulsory − under age 18 (UNICEF, 2003: 4).

If a child falls under any of the abovementioned categories which are considered a violation, then he or she is considered a child soldier.

For this study, the focus will be on former child soldiers of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda. Considered child soldiers by the abovementioned definitions, they were also forcefully abducted, and their recruitment was involuntary. For this reason, this study will refer to these youth as *formerly abducted children*.

1.3 Aim of the Study

This study aims to examine the kinds of education provided when attempting to reintegrate formerly abducted children of the LRA in northern Uganda into society. Here, the term *reintegration* will be defined according to the Paris Principles (2007), which state:

> [It is] the process through which children transition into civil society and enter meaningful roles and identities as civilians who are accepted by their families and

communities in a context of local and national reconciliation. Sustainable reintegration is achieved when the political, legal, economic and social conditions needed for children to maintain life, livelihood and dignity have been secured. This process aims to ensure that children can access their rights, including formal and non-formal education, family unity, dignified livelihoods and safety from harm (p. 7).

For nearly twenty years, northern Uganda was at the epicenter of a conflict between the LRA and the Ugandan government. At that time, the LRA were notorious for forcefully abducting children to fill their ranks. It is estimated that upwards of 30,000 children were abducted (Invisible Children, N/D). Little research has been conducted on the lives of these children post-captivity (Andersson, 2007), and this study contributes to filling this void.

Many youth post-captivity face ridicule for their involuntary recruitment from the LRA, and what they may have been forced to do. According to Akera (2010), "Many former child soldiers are not offered the support they need, instead, they are discriminated against and stigmatized. After years of suffering, community members find it difficult to stop associating the children with the atrocities they were forced to commit while in LRA captivity". Stigmatization stems from being formerly abducted and linked to rebel organizations. Many return from the bush only to be feared and rejected by their communities, schools, and even their families.

Children who were abducted by the LRA were most likely absent from the classroom while held captive. How far they lag behind peers their own age academically is usually determined by their length of time spent in the bush. This absence from the classroom is thought to be a major deterrent when attempting to fulfill formal educational obligations post-captivity. According to Hill & Langholtz (2003):

Children miss significant portions of their schooling or receive no education at all while they are child soldiers. This is significant for three reasons. First, when the war is over, they lack the skills needed in a civilian economy, which puts them at risk for being re-recruited into the armed forces. Second, when the war ends, it is difficult to enroll the children in school again because they are often at a lower level than other children their age. And third, former child soldiers return to normal society identifying themselves as soldiers rather than as civilians (p. 280).

This is a common experience for many formerly abducted children. Many find it difficult to re-enroll in school as some countries do not have the resources to handle such youth who are below the academic level for their age. Many also find it embarrassing or challenging to be older than their classmates, and find it problematic to deal with authority (USAID, 2007).

In an effort to reduce such exclusionary practices, numerous local and international NGOs have been established throughout the region. While some focus on, e.g., agriculture and health, others concentrate on educating vulnerable youth. For this study, the focus will be on two NGOs which concentrate on educating such youth, including formerly abducted children of the LRA in northern Uganda. One is the Friends of Orphans (FRO), which is a local NGO established and run by formerly abducted children of the LRA. It was assumed that this NGO would have a good understanding of their students as they share similar backgrounds, and that this would be reflected in the educational programs. The other is the NRC YEP Center in Wol, which is an international (Norwegian) NGO. It was assumed that this NGO would be able to provide a rich educational experience as they are likely to have more funds and resources. The aim of the investigation is to gain insight into how such youth are being educated in view of their status as formerly abducted children.

Both institutions adhere to educating vulnerable youth from a right to education perspective. This study therefore aims to examine how this is expressed in the education provided for the students of the two NGOs. It is assumed that education can make a difference for the student's future lives as one way of ensuring their rights and reintegration into civil society.

1.4 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

1.   How is education for formerly abducted children expressed in the provision at the two institutions?

2.   What are the student opinions of their learning experience and its importance for their future lives?

1.5 Structure of the Study

The study has been organized into six chapters. Following this introduction, **Chapter two** sets the context for the issue in Uganda. **Chapter three** introduces the analytical framework which has three conceptual elements: Social Exclusion, Critical Consciousness, and the Rights-Based Approach to Education. In **Chapter four**, the research strategy is presented with emphasis on how the data were collected in the field and their reliability and validity. In

Chapter five, the main findings from the fieldwork are presented for the two institutions according to the rights-based approach to education. The students' opinions of their educational experience and future outlook will also be presented. The findings are discussed in **Chapter six** that also contains the wider perspectives of the study and makes some suggestions for further research.

2 Uganda: The Pearl of Africa

Uganda lies in the heart of East Africa, geographically wedged between Lake Victoria, the Democratic Republic (DR) of Congo, South Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, and Rwanda (Figure 2.1). Often referred to as the pearl of Africa, flat, dry stretches of barren savannah merge progressively with dense tropical rainforests, providing an abundance of ecosystems and wildlife (Kasirye, 2005).

Figure 2.1: Map of Uganda
Source: InfoPlease (2000-2013)

Today, Uganda is home to roughly 31 million inhabitants who make up 56 tribes and speak upwards of thirty languages from five linguistic families (My Uganda Ltd., 2013; Tourism Uganda, 2013). This juxtaposition of histories, languages, and physical appearances may well be one of the sources of the upheaval that has plagued the country for decades. For example, tensions have escalated between the two major ethnic groups of the Nilotic peoples of the North and the Bantu people of the South as the northern region is often considered inferior to the South (Kelly & Odama, 2011). Additionally, such hostilities may be the backdrop of the LRA's existence.

2.1 The Emergence of Contemporary Uganda

On October 9th, 1962, Uganda gained independence from Great Britain. At that time, Frederick Edward Mutesa II, the Kabaka[1] of Buganda[2] became President, and Milton Obote, a northerner, was elected Prime Minister (Mugabe, 2012). At first, the country maintained a steady economy and a high university graduation rate. This, however; was short-lived. After a brief stint of prosperity, the country experienced two decades of political instability, state-sponsored brutality, economic decline and civil war (Olinga & Lubyayi, 2002).

Within the first two years of independence, there was a steady increase of domestic conflicts reflecting political, ideological, and tribal allegiances. While under British rule, the southern regions, more specifically the Baganda, developed both economically and politically. On the other hand, the northern region and ethnic groups, such as the Acholi, did not experience such prosperity. They were heavily relied upon to supply the rest of the country with cheap labor, and maintained a majority presence in the military (Olinga & Lubyayi, 2002; Otunnu, 2002).

In 1966, Obote declared himself as president after he suspended the constitution. During this time, he proclaimed Uganda a republic, granted himself more powers, and suspended all traditional customs. Things became even more volatile when Obote became an executive president and Uganda was declared a republic. A time of mass hysteria soon followed with people being terrorized and tortured. In 1969, opposition parties were banned and Obote became the supreme leader (Vickers, 2012).

On January 25th, 1971, a military coup led by Idi Amin Dada ousted Obote and his government. Amin eventually suspended the parliament and declared himself president (Nwankwo, 2003). Known for using corrupt practices, he may have been responsible for the economic spirals that took place then, from which Uganda is still recovering today. At that time, Uganda experienced a steep economic regression, social dissolution, and numerous human rights infringements (ibid.).

In 1979, Idi Amin was overthrown, only to have Obote back in office. According to Kasirye (2005), those regimes violated numerous human rights, and had one of the world's worst human rights records. Between 1979 and 1986, upwards of 500,000 civilians were murdered (ibid.). At the time, the Ugandan Bush War between the National Resistance Army (NRA) and the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) occurred, with Yoweki Museveni being a

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[1] The Kabaka refers to the leader of the Buganda Kingdom (The Buganda, N/D).
[2] Buganda refers to the subnational kingdom of Uganda. Buganda is the largest traditional kingdom in Uganda, and   is home to the capital city of Kampala (ibid.).

lead commander of the NRA. The NRA overpowered the UNLA, overthrew then President Tito Okello, an Acholi, and since January 25th, 1986, Uganda has been ruled by President Yoweri Museveni (Bonney, 2012).

When Museveni took office, he and the NRA's seizure of power meant that all socio-economic, political and military powers were concentrated in the south for the first time since independence (Otunnu, 2002). This created anxiety in the north. Eventually, "NRA soldiers plundered the area and committed atrocities, including rape, abductions, confiscation of livestock, killing of unarmed civilians, and the destruction of granaries, schools, hospitals and bore holes escalated" (ibid.). These attacks were thought to be carried out as retaliation for the Ugandan Bush War.

The ethnic northerners, in particular the Acholi, were made even more vulnerable by the powers instilled by Museveni and his government. In May 1986, the NRA, under the command of Museveni:

> Ordered all former UNLA soldiers to report to barracks. The order was met with deep suspicion ... Some ex-UNLA soldiers went into hiding; others fled to Sudan and some decided to take up arms. Soon, these ex-soldiers were joined by a stream of youths fleeing from NRA operations ... On August 20, 1986, some Acholi refugee combatants, led by Brigadier Odong Latek, attacked the NRA. This armed group, known as the Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA), was later joined by the Holy Spirit Mobile Forces/Movement (HSMF/HSM), Severino Lukoya's Lord's Army, ultimately to be followed by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (Otunnu, 2002: 13).

Despite the atrocities which took place in the 1980s, Uganda began a period of drastic transformation. In 2005, the social and economic growth rates for the country were between 6% and 7%, and the national government and an ever increasing number of NGOs began to work throughout the country addressing many of the continued challenges, such as education and the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Kasirye, 2005). Today, Uganda has the highest number of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS worldwide (Save the Children, 2013).

2.1.1 Lord's Resistance Army

The Lord's Resistance Army originated in the 1980s. Formerly known as the HSM, it was led by Alice Lakwena, an illiterate prostitute and fish vendor who claimed to be the spirit of a dead Italian soldier (Magoba, 2012). Accusing president Museveni of poor treatment of the

Acholi people, their initial intention was to overthrow the government. Over time, resentment towards the Ugandan government increased and supporters congregated to Lakwena until a battle was won by the government leading to Lakwena's banishment (War Child, 2013). She later died at a refugee camp in Kenya in 2007.

Missing a main figure, Joseph Kony, who claimed to be Lakwena's cousin took over as leader, and in 1986 gave the group a new name, the LRA (War Child, 2013). As an extreme Christian militant group, his goal was to overthrow the government and rule the country following the Ten Commandments and cultural values of the Acholi people. Both his persona and ideals were perhaps too extreme which caused his popularity to suffer and recruitment numbers dwindled (ibid.). Unable to attract a steady flow of enlisters, Kony would abduct children to fill the ranks of his army (Invisible Children, N/D). Adolescent girls were also abducted and primarily used for the purposes of sexual slavery and marriage. Furthermore, an estimated 1.9 million people have been displaced from their homes in northern Uganda due to the LRA (Human Rights Watch, 2005).

Neither Kony nor the LRA are believed to be dedicated to their original objective of overthrowing the government. In 2006, dialog between the LRA and the Ugandan government were to take place in an effort to reconcile the two. Known as the Juba Peace Talks, they dismantled after two years. Kony had yet to sign the agreement, and the Ugandan government considered military action to cease the LRA's insurgence (Kiranda, 2008). Today, the LRA are no longer alleged to be operating in Uganda. Instead, they have most likely moved into the neighboring countries of Southern Sudan, DR Congo, and/or the Central African Republic. Although the fear of abduction may have faded in Uganda, children elsewhere may be their next targets.

Many leaders of the LRA, including Kony, are wanted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) on charges of crimes against humanity. Kony has recently been the focus of much international attention as his whereabouts are still unknown. The international community has affirmed their commitment to both locating and arresting him. The American government has deployed troops to neighboring countries, and Invisible Children's Kony 2012 campaign has pledged millions of dollars to assist in his capture. To date, arrest warrants have been issued but the ICC is unable to proceed with prosecution until his arrest (New Vision, 2012).

2.2 The Education System in Uganda

According to Hoppers (2011), when president Museveni took office in 1986, "Uganda embarked upon a major program for national reconstruction and a fresh effort to construct policy in education" (p. 532). Due to the instabilities plaguing Uganda's economic and political infrastructure, "donor dependency came to set the norms for pursuing educational reform" (ibid.). For this reason, Uganda "produced an education terrain with considerable differentiation in education access and quality" (ibid.). With the educational sector branching out in numerous directions, the Ugandan education system was then characterized by copious disparities regarding quality and access. The government relied heavily upon international consultants and donors to help produce a viable system. This eventually led to the many reforms and changes that have shaped the education system of today.

Following Malawi's 1994 groundbreaking decision, Uganda eliminated all primary school tuition fees in 1997. Subsequent to the introduction of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) program in 1997, Museveni stated, "all children of school-going age should benefit from Universal Primary Education" (Aguti, 2002: 5). The main objectives of the UPE program are:

> making basic education accessible to the learners and relevant to their needs as well as meeting national goals, making education equitable in order to eliminate disparities and inequalities, [and] establishing, providing and maintaining quality education as the basis for promoting the necessary human resource development (ibid.).

Uganda's UPE program maintained many features mirroring their colonial past. Retaining the British 7-4-2-3 system, students have seven years of primary school, four years at the secondary 'O' level, two years of secondary 'A' level, and a minimum of three years at the university level (ibid.).

Since its introduction, the primary school enrollment rates have skyrocketed nationwide, from three million in 1997, to an estimated 7.6 million in 2011 (Tamusuza, 2011). This has caused classrooms to become overcrowded. The quality of teaching deteriorated, and the government lacked the finances to supply proper learning materials. With the help of donors and NGOs, Uganda was able to accommodate some of these flaws. More schools were built, more teachers were trained, and things slowly began to show signs of improvement.

Uganda ranks 134th (out of 173) regarding educational spending as the government only spends 3.3% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on education (CIA, 2012). If the

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government reduced its military spending from the current 2% of GDP to 1.8%, an additional 180,000 children could gain access to primary education (UNESCO, 2011: p. 151). As of 2010, the literacy rate among males ten years and above was 79%, while the corresponding literacy rate for females was 66% (UBOS, 2012). Nearly 18% of Ugandan school-aged children are not enrolled in school, and more than half of the student population drops out before the seventh grade. Fewer will make it to the high school or university level. Although tuition fees may have been waivered, fees pertaining to uniforms, school supplies, safety, and transportation to and from school are often left to the parents (Save the Children, 2013).

2.3 Northern Uganda

Northern Uganda is approximately 85,000 square kilometers in size and comprises 36% of the nation's total geographic land mass (Figure 2.2). Divided into thirty districts, the region has an estimated population of 7.5 million inhabitants belonging to fifteen ethnic groups (GeoHive, 2000-2013; Joshua Project, 2011-2013). The region has a tropical climate characterized by both extreme drought and heavy rainfall which affects crop productions. Furthermore, food security is extremely vulnerable as the region is prone to animal diseases, inadequate post-harvest handling practices, land access insecurities, and poor water management (UNOCHA, 2011). This makes the economy particularly susceptible as it is largely agriculturally based.
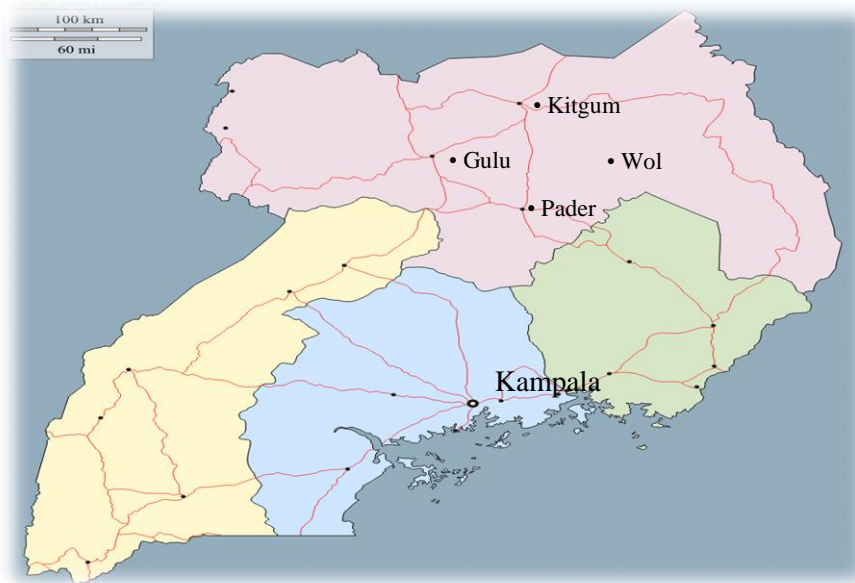
Figure 2.2: Map of Northern Uganda
Source: D-Maps (2007-2013)

The people of northern Uganda suffer from an inadequate health care infrastructure. Prior to 2002, only 50% of health units in the northern districts were operating, and since then, even more have closed down while less than one third of all major health centers are fully operational nationwide (Carlson, 2004; Kielty, 2013). Only 30% of the population has access to latrines, which may be one of the causes for the numerous water-borne diseases prevalent in the region (UNOCHA, 2011).

Due to the rising danger which stemmed from the tensions between the LRA and the government, as many as 1.8 million people were forced to live in "protected villages" during 1996-2005 (IMDC, 2012; UNHCR, 2012). Otherwise known as internally displaced people (IDPs), these people lived in camps throughout the region for the purpose of safety against the conflict, as well as to prevent child abductions. They often lived in squalor conditions, with limited access to food, water, and proper sanitation. Educational facilities were rarely available, and many IDP children suffered academically. Today, 30,000 IDPs remain in the camps due to poverty, land disputes, and poor health (IDMC, 2012).

Throughout the conflict, many children would flee their homes for fear of abduction. As of 2003, as many as 30,000 children in northern Uganda were thought to be "night commuters" (Amnesty International, 2005). Without the safeguard of adults or family members, children would walk (often in groups) several kilometers to established centers in towns and outskirts

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often run by NGOs. Children would also sleep at shelters, hospitals, bus terminals, and other public places (ibid.). Today, northern Uganda, and specifically the Acholi sub-region, is overshadowed by high unemployment, corruption, lack of medical facilities, poor educational infrastructure, and a culture and language that is judged as inferior to those of other ethnic groups in Uganda.

2.3.1 Education in Northern Uganda

There are substantial differences in the quality and performance of education in northern Uganda when compared to other regions of the country. As can be seen in Table 2.1, northern Uganda ranks last on two out of the three indicators and falls well below the national average on all three.

Table 2.1: Education Quality Indicators in Uganda, 2004 - 2006

	Pupil: Teacher Ratio (2004)	Pupil: Classroom Ratio (2004)	Literacy (18+ years) (%) (2005-2006)
Central	43	63	80
East	55	90	61
North	*58*	*92*	*59*
West	59	73	66
National	50	79	69

Source: Bird & Higgins (2009)

This can be partly explained by the fact that during the conflict, countless schools were looted and destroyed, forcing several to shut down or relocate. Students may be difficult to teach as many are traumatized by the atrocities that have taken place whether or not they were formerly abducted (Higgins, 2009). Furthermore, in northern Uganda, many teachers commute long distances from their homes to their workplace and live in temporary housing during the school week, only to return to their homes on weekends and during holidays. They do not receive compensation for temporary housing and/or commuting. This additional financial burden may be one of the major reasons why it remains difficult to attract, hire, and

maintain a reliable teaching force in the region. It may also suggest why many choose to teach at institutions run by NGOs where they are paid more (Higgins, 2009).

Despite these challenges, the situation seems to be slowly improving. The Ugandan government has introduced campaigns and programs to alleviate provision disparities. For example, an Internally Displaced Person (IDP) Policy was introduced stating that IDP (children) are entitled to, and should have the same standards and access to education as other children and regions of the country. The literacy rate in northern Uganda has increased from 56% in 2002/3, to 59% in 2005/6, to 64% in 2009/10. Nevertheless, the northern region still has the lowest literacy rate per person over the age of ten and the dropout rate of 37% is well above the national average of 13% (Steve Sinott Foundation, 2012; UBOS, 2012).

2.3.2 Education of Formerly Abducted Children in Northern Uganda

The issue of attempting to educate formerly abducted children is riddled with complex challenges. Previous studies of institutions and NGOs which concentrate on educating such children in northern Uganda are few, suggest minimal performance, and that what is being done does not meet the needs of such youth (Annan et al., 2007, 2009). According to Annan et al. (2007):

> [The] targeting of formerly abducted youth is likely to be unsuccessful in reducing vulnerability, in addressing needs and in improving long-term reintegration. The principal reason is that abduction status is a crude and unreliable predictor of need; large numbers of non-abducted youth exhibit serious educational, economic, social and health challenges … Moreover, targeting based on abduction experiences also carries the risk of stigmatization (p. 1).

Nevertheless, efforts are made to reintegrate vulnerable and formerly abducted children in education. This study sets out to examine the education provided by the two different institutions and how this might have benefited the youth concerned. The following chapter introduces the concepts used for the analysis of this study.

3 Overcoming Social Exclusion via Education

This study investigates the role education plays to help formerly abducted children of the LRA in northern Uganda overcome social exclusion and reintegrate into society. It is guided by an analytical framework that is rooted in the concepts of Social Exclusion and Critical Consciousness and ties these to the Rights-Based Approach to Education.

The study examines and compares how the two selected institutions address the students' right to education and what the students' opinions are regarding the importance of their learning experiences for their future lives. Although the analysis is three tiered, its core focus is the educational institutions situated on the meso level (Figure 3.1). The curriculum and content of the courses and their relevance to the local context will be analyzed through the rights-based lens. This is viewed as important for several reasons. First, education is seen as a vital tool to enable students to overcome social exclusion and allow reintegration into society (macro level). Essential to this is their critical consciousness raising (micro level). The human rights-based approach to education is considered an essential tool to achieve this (meso level).
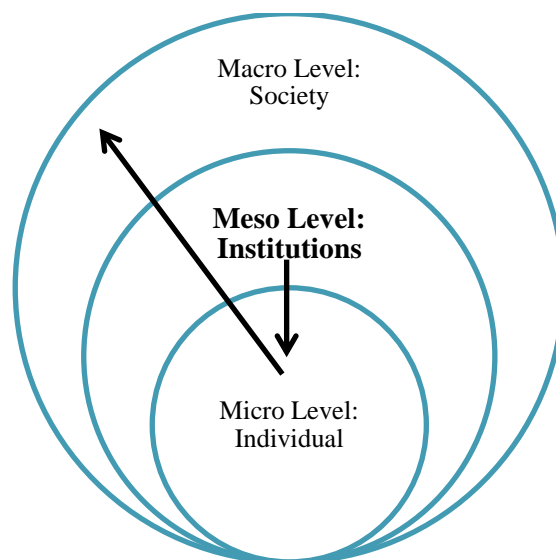

Figure 3.1: A Visual Presentation of the Conceptual Framework

3.1 Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is a term that is widely used yet lacks a precise definition. According to Kenyon et al. (2002), social exclusion refers to:

> The unique interplay of a number of factors, whose consequence is the denial of access, to an individual or group, to the opportunity to participate in the social and political life of the community, resulting not only in diminished material and non-material quality of life, but also in tempered life chances, choices and reduced citizenship (p. 214).

Although social exclusion occurs simultaneously on numerous levels, Kabeer (2000) sees the real value of social exclusion on the meso level, which suggests the need for institutional analysis. According to the International Institute for Labour Studies (IILS), institutions are the catalyst of social exclusion which influences the relationship between economic change on the macro level and the improvement of the individual on the micro level (in: Kabeer, 2000: 84). This occurs "when the various institutional mechanisms through which resources are allocated and value assigned operate in such a way to systematically deny particular groups of people the resources and recognition which would allow them to participate fully in the life of that society" (ibid.). In this context, institutions may be defined as outcomes and processes, as well as membership and entitlements (Fischer, 2008; Kabeer, 2000). According to Folbre, "Institutions embody different patterns of rules, norms and asset distributions, which together help to spell out people's membership of different kinds of social groups, shape their identities and define their interests" (in: Kabeer, 2000: 89).

Kabeer argues that an individual's social exclusion may be reinforced through economic, cultural, and institutional dimensions (2000). Economic exclusion refers to exploitation, marginalization, and deprivation; cultural exclusion concerns a dominant group imposing their values only to create a diminishing value of another. The concept also suggests that cultural disadvantages are often associated with economic biases. Economic and cultural disadvantages are not mutually exclusive, but rather interrelated and sometimes inseparable. One disadvantage may cause infliction onto the other, creating an interconnectedness of the two dimensions. Kabeer (2000) contends that there is a need to know more about groups who are socially excluded. This study considers the students of the two institutions as affected by both economic and cultural forms of exclusion, and examines whether education further reinforces or mitigates these.

3.2 Critical Consciousness-raising

The concept of critical consciousness-raising (also known as Concientization or Conscientização) was coined by the Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire (Freire, 1970; Freire, 1972). Inspired by the social and economic deprivations which plagued his family during his adolescence, Freire experienced firsthand the negative consequences poverty can have on educational opportunities (Bartlett, 2008).

Freire (1972) regarded critical consciousness as "the process in which men, not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality" (p. 27). Lloyd (1972) adds, "Concientization both initiates and supports a process by which people become aware of the contradictions in the social structures and situations in which they live, in order to change such structures or situations" (p. 5). During the initial stages of critical consciousness, in order to "surmount the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity" (Freire, 1970: p. 29). Only when the sources of oppression are discovered one fully embraces critical consciousness.

According to Pinto (N/D), "Consciousness is in essence a 'way towards' something apart from itself, outside itself, which surrounds it and which it apprehends by means of its ideational capacity" (in Freire, 1970: p. 51). Once understood, people may not accept their situation as it is. Quite the opposite, a position to stand and revolt against what prevents them from shedding their degraded status takes place. In order for this to occur, a goal must be set, and a method must be devised to accomplish it.

Throughout the critical consciousness-raising process, subjects (such as the students of this study) often form their own enclaves within the community into which they wish to integrate. According to Freire (1970), "The oppressed are not "marginals", are not people living "outside" society. They have always been "inside" - inside the structure which made them "being for others"" (p. 55). Fischman (2009) confirms this adding, "[Such a] commitment could start in abstract terms, but it is actualized not just through individual struggle but also by developing a community of similarly committed fellow activists" (p. 212).

A major focus of Freire's work on critical consciousness-raising is literacy and dialogue (Freire, 1970; Nyirenda, 1996). Originally working with illiterate adults in his native Brazil, his literacy method was intended to "involve teaching adults how to read and write in relation to the awakening of their consciousness about their social reality" (Nyirenda, 1996: 5). Freire's intentions were to:

> Allow illiterate people to lose their fatalistic, apathetic and naive view of their reality as given and immutable. Freire wanted to replace this view with critical awareness so that illiterate people could accept their role as subjects in it. A critical perception of reality would make illiterate people know what needs changing. Hence it was important to raise a critical consciousness of the illiterate people (Nyirenda, 1996: 4).

Freire argued that literacy was more than the ability to read and write. He also stressed the notion of being proficient in consciousness. A dialogue between the teacher and student is pertinent, and "the educator's role is to enter into dialogue with the illiterate about concrete situations and give him or her the means with which he or she can teach himself or herself to read and write" (ibid.). According to the Freire Institute (2014), dialogue "presupposes equality amongst participants. Each must trust the others; there must be mutual respect and love (care and commitment). Each one must question what he or she knows and realizes that through dialogue existing thoughts will change and new knowledge will be created".

For this study, critical consciousness-raising forms part of the analysis of the two educational institutions, as well as the views held by the students regarding their experiences as a basis for reintegrating into their community. In a study conducted by Bird & Higgins (2009) which focuses on the reality of education in post-conflict northern Uganda, one aim of the study was to measure the students' views on the value of obtaining an education. Results indicated that "educated respondents reported that their lives were 'easier' than for those without education, because education gave them an ability to plan and interact with authorities more easily (e.g. write letters) (Bird & Higgins, 2009: p. 3)." Other respondents stated that obtaining an education allowed them to travel, trade, and hold roles of leadership. Other results were that "their exposure to education and its benefits meant that they saw the value of education and were more likely to strive to educate their own children" (ibid.). Such positive outlooks brought about by receiving an education may have a direct correlation to students' critical consciousness-raising, and will be further explored in this study in view of the Rights-based approach to education.

3.3 The Rights-Based Approach to Education

The Rights-Based Approach to education is embedded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights drafted in 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly (United Nations, N/D). Member states pledge their allegiance of "dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" (ibid.). Education was then declared a human right. According to UNICEF (2007), "The right to education has long been recognized as encompassing not only access to educational provision, but also the obligation to eliminate discrimination at all levels of the educational system, to set minimum standards and to improve quality" (p. 7).

The rights-based approach will be used to analyze the education provided by the two institutions of the study. Referring to Tomaševski's 4A-Scheme (see Appendix I), the objective is to examine how each institution provides the right to education for their students. In this interpretation, education is thought not only to be the catalyst of an individual's self-reliance, but should also seek to eliminate discrimination (Tomaševski, 2003). The approach implies a right *to, in* and *through* education linking the role of education to its wider economic, social, and cultural implications for the learners and to government obligations towards their citizens (Right to Education Project, 2008; Tomaševski, 2006).

The right *to, in* and *through* education will be understood in view of Tomaševski's 4A Scheme, its concepts of availability, accessibility, acceptability, and adaptability, and its specific dimensions as outlined in Appendix I (Tomaševski, 2003) (Figure 3.2).
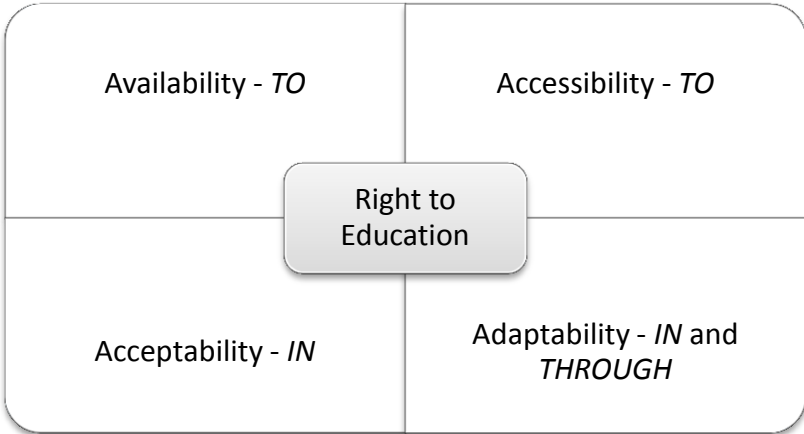
Figure 3.2: The Right to Education and the 4As

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3.3.1 Human Rights *to* Education

The concepts of *Availability* and *Accessibility* express the right to education. According to Tomaševski (2004), availability implies "Education as a social and economic right [and] requires governments to ensure that free and compulsory education is available to all school-age children; education as a cultural right, meanwhile, requires respect of diversity, expressed in particular through minority and indigenous rights" (p. 7). The freedom to establish a school, such as by parents or the community also falls under availability.

Accessibility relates to "practical elimination of gender and racial discrimination and ensure[s] the equal enjoyment of all human rights" (Tomaševski, 2004: p. 7). It also concerns the elimination of barriers relating to finance, distance to and from the school, and particular consideration for the [physically] disabled.

3.3.2 Human Rights *in* and *through* Education

Human rights in education include the concepts of *Acceptability* and *Adaptability*. Acceptability focuses on issues in education; such as the methods of instruction, the teaching and learning materials, the language of instruction, and the nature of disciplinary actions. It also covers the teachers' health, safety, and professional requirements (Tomaševski, 2004: p. 7).

Adaptability is linked to the rights in and through education, implying that institutions must adapt to their students, and that the focus is on the best interests of each student. Recognizing that some youth are more vulnerable to absenteeism or non-enrollment, adaptability focuses on the reasons why they are not in the classroom, and what the institutions do to overcome this. Furthermore, students who face challenges, from being a refugee, a working child, formerly abducted, and/or [physically] disabled must have an education which is adapted to their situation (Tomaševski, 2001).

The concepts of the 4A-Scheme aim together at ensuring quality of education, quality of teaching, and relevance of education to the local context. Quality of education necessitates a learning atmosphere which is healthy, safe, and non-gender specific. The curriculum should focus on a broad range of topics, including literacy, numeracy, nutrition, and peace (UNICEF, 2000). In order to provide students with quality of teaching, teachers must have the required credentials, the learning environment must be student centered, and students must be able to

receive help and have support to improve learning outcomes (Henard & Leprince-Ringuet, 2008). Relevance relates to the content of education in the context of the local culture, values, and needs of the community. Communities should be engaged in the educational process and acknowledge their needs and demands in the curriculum (Developing Education, 2013).

The analysis of the two institutions in Chapter 5 will be done in view of the general understandings of the Rights-based approach to education and the 4As as discussed above. The specific areas for analysis derive from the specification of each concept in Appendix I. At the core of it is whether the programs aim at critical consciousness-raising of the students and whether students viewed their educational experiences as a means for reintegration into society.

4 Research Strategy and Methods

The study uses a qualitative research strategy, and stems from the constructionist ontological position. From this perspective, social phenomena are constantly evolving, and are produced through social interaction (Bryman, 2008). This position is suitable since the study aims at examining the rights bestowed in education, as well as the influence education has on the students' lives. Furthermore, the epistemological standpoint of interpretivism requires the researcher to comprehend the particular meaning of social action (ibid.). This is reflected in the analysis of the students' perspectives and views on values, actions, and processes of education (Bray et al., 2007).

The study was conducted as a comparative exploratory case study which combined instrumental and collective factors. This was done because of the numerous "how" and "why" questions over which I had little control (Yin, 1994). In order to conduct an instrumental study, "the researcher selects the case because it represents some […] issue under investigation and the researcher believes this particular case can help provide insights or help to understand that issue" (Ary et al., 2010: 455). The collective case study or multiple-case study is applied when "several cases are selected to further understand and investigate a phenomenon, population, or general condition" (ibid). As an exploratory study, the purpose was to compare and underline specific aspects of the institutions and students' lives in northern Uganda as they were at that specific moment. According to Zainal (2007), "Exploratory case studies set to explore any phenomenon in the data which serves as a point of interest to the research" (p. 3).

4.1 Research Sites

A comparative study requires a minimum of two sites. For the purpose of the study and in view of what was practically possible, two sites within one geographic region were chosen: FRO in Pader, and the NRC YEP Center in Wol. The institutions were contacted by email along with approximately twenty other institutions. One month prior to departure, permission to conduct fieldwork was granted by FRO, and was selected as it is run and established by formerly abducted children of the LRA. Prior to my departure, contact was also made with the NRC headquarters in Oslo. This proved to be an invaluable source of contacts and opportunities. The NRC YEP Center in Wol was selected due to its proximity to the NRC

headquarters in Kitgum and its relevance to the study. Fieldwork lasted approximately six weeks from September to October 2012, with three weeks spent at each site.

4.1.1 Friends of Orphans (FRO)

FRO was established in 1999 to help create "a society in which the vulnerable are empowered to achieve their full potential and contribute to the development of their community" (FRO, 2013). This is done to "meet the psycho-social, educational, vocational, economic development, peace building, human rights, livelihood support programs and family service, cultural and social needs of children and women affected by conflict in Northern Uganda" (ibid.). FRO's goal is to "reduce the vulnerability of child mothers, orphans, former child soldiers, abductees and women through education and skills empowerment – and protect their rights" (ibid.).

FRO was originally located in the city of Jinja, 80 kilometers east of Kampala, where the LRA was not present. While in Jinja, FRO received less international funding than they had hoped since, according to one of the founders, they were outside of LRA territory. FRO eventually relocated 400 kilometers north to the city of Pader, from where the founders originated.

When FRO opened in Pader in 2004, it was the only NGO in town. In order to remain a functioning institution, FRO relies heavily on international donors on top of what it receives from the Ugandan government each term. As of 2012, FRO has received 33 million UGX (13, 053 USD)[3] per term to cover expenses ranging from teacher salaries to learning materials. As the amount is subject to fluctuation, it also determines how many students can register per term.

FRO began teaching courses in 2005. At first, two courses were taught: Tailoring and Garment Cutting (TGC) and Carpentry and Joinery (C&J). Today, FRO offers seven courses. Students are enrolled for one term, and there are two terms per academic year. Since most of the students lack secondary education, the language of instruction is both English and Luo.

The learning environment is mixed in terms of resources. The Computers and TGC classrooms have cemented floors, windows, and locks, while the Welding and Metal

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[3] Currency conversion on 23.05.2014, www.xe.com.

Fabrication (WMF) classroom is a hut. The other four skills classrooms have dirt floors, no windows, and students sit on wooden stools or benches (Photo 4.1). Neither students nor teachers have desks.

Photo 4.1: Friends of Orphans Classroom

4.1.2 NRC YEP Center in Wol

Similar to FRO, the NRC "promotes and protects the rights of people who have been forced to flee their countries or their homes within their countries" (NRC, 2006-2013). The Youth Education Pack (YEP) has been developed "to meet the learning needs of war and conflict affected youth who, through displacement and lack of opportunities have had little or no schooling" (Torp, 2011). The YEP consists of literacy/numeracy, life skills and (vocational) skills training for those unable to attend school full time.

The NRC first arrived in northern Uganda in 1997 with the goal of "providing protection and humanitarian assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons" (NRC, 2011). Education is a key component of their development initiative, and the YEP was first introduced in 2006 while the NRC YEP Center in Wol was opened in 2011. The year 2012-2013 is the second and final academic school year since the NRC plans to phase out of Uganda within the next two years. When no longer affiliated with the NRC, the center will be handed over to the local council.

The school campus is located along the main road in the village of Wol in the Agago district. The Agago district was a part of the Pader district until July 2010 (Agago District, 2013). The campus has a large green field used for exercise and gathering. The grounds consist of outhouses and three cement buildings used for an office, classrooms, and workshops. Crops are grown on the campus by students for the agricultural class. All classrooms have desks, doors which lock, and cemented floors. Although there are no glass windows, metal bars line the cases (Photo 4.2).

Photo 4.2: NRC YEP Center in Wol Classroom

4.2 Data Collection Methods

The data collection methods included interviews, non-participant observation, and document analysis. Data analysis was based on triangulation which combines several research methods to obtain a more detailed account (Kennedy, 2009).

4.2.1 Sampling

The research sites and interviewees were selected via purposive sampling which has "to do with the selection of units (which may be people, organizations, documents, departments, etc.) with direct reference to the research questions being asked" (Bryman, 2008: p. 375). In order to purposively sample, a pre-formulated criterion was applied to select the institutions and students.

Northern Uganda was chosen as the LRA was based there, and had committed child abductions. The institutions and students were selected in view of their stated purposes to educate formerly abducted children.

In 2012, the total number of students of the two institutions was 270 (see Appendix II and III). The total number of teachers and administrators was 27. The number of students included in the study was 40, and the total number of teachers and staff was 24. Interviewees were current and former students, teachers, and staff (Table 4.1). At each site, ten current students (five male, five female), and ten former students (five male, five female) were to be selected. This was not met at Wol as the current students interviewed were only seven male three female. The criteria for selection were gender and status of being formerly abducted. The inclusion of both male and female students was to acknowledge the fact that both institutions enroll both genders. However, there was no gender lens applied to the analysis. Former students were interviewed to understand their lives post-graduation and their views on the value of their educational experiences. A teacher from each institution was assigned by the headmaster to select the former and current students, and to be an interpreter. Coincidentally, the catering teacher at both sites was given this role.

Table 4.1: Number and Categories of Interviewees at FRO and NRC YEP Center in Wol

	FRO	NRC YEP Center in Wol	Total
Current Students	10 (5 male, 5 female)	10 (3 male, 7 female)[4]	20 (male, female)
Former Students	10 (5 male, 5 female)	10 (5 male, 5 female)[5]	20 (male, female)
Teachers and Administrators	13 (male, female)	11 (male, female)	24 (male, female)
Total	33 (male, female)	31 (male, female)	64 (male, female)

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[4] Five current students were interviewed via questionnaire by the headmaster.
[5] Three former students were interviewed via questionnaire by the headmaster.

Despite the instruction that only formerly abducted children should be selected for an interview, this did not happen. According to one of the teachers, this was due to the stigmatization formerly abducted youth face which means that many keep it a secret (from their classmates) and would not feel comfortable discussing it. For this reason, only a small number of formerly abducted students were actually interviewed: at FRO only six of the 20 students interviewed were formerly abducted (two former and four current), and at Wol, eight of the ten current students, and five of the former students were formerly abducted (Table 4.2). The other students interviewed were all so-called vulnerable students, e.g. orphans, IDPs, child mothers (see Appendix IV and V).

Table 4.2: Formerly Abducted Male and Female Interviewees at FRO and NRC YEP Center in Wol

	FRO	**NRC YEP Center in Wol**	**Total**
Current Student Interviewees (Formerly Abducted)	2 male, 2 female	6 male, 2 female	12
Former Student Interviewees (Formerly Abducted)	2 male, 0 female	4 male, 1 female	7
Total	6	13	19

The vulnerable status of all the students shows the prevalence of the difficult social conditions existing in the region which is believed to stem from the conflict brought on by the LRA. Although non-formerly abducted vulnerable students were interviewed, their responses are not included in the analysis in this study due to its specific focus on formerly abducted children.

4.2.2 Interviews

Both students and staff (teachers and administrators) were interviewed using a structured interview (Appendix VI - VIII). According to Gill et al. (2008), structured interviews are "verbally administered questionnaires in which a list of pre-determined questions are asked, with little or no variation and with no scope for follow-up questions to responses that warrant further elaboration" (p. 291). The questions for students aimed at gaining a better understanding of their perceptions of their educational experiences, and what attracted them to the institution(s). Headmasters were asked additional questions about the curriculum, students, and challenges related to providing education as they were assumed to have knowledge of and authority to provide such information.

Conducting the interviews was repetitive. At FRO, current students were interviewed in a hut located at the far end of the campus, away from any student or classroom in order to prevent eavesdroppers from listening in. Former students were often recruited as they walked by the school and often identified by word of mouth. Interviews were sometimes held in their workplace. Some had to take place on the weekends which meant that I had no interpreter and conducted the interviews in English. The advantage was that I was able to see their work environment and what materials had been provided by the institutions (if any), how their businesses were doing, and their working conditions. The disadvantage may have been that I learned less than I would have had the interviews been conducted in Luo with an interpreter present.

Former students of the YEP Center in Wol were also identified on the 100 meter stretch of the one road town. Former Catering and C&J students were interviewed in their places of business while current students were interviewed in the headmaster's office at the YEP Center.

4.2.3 Non-Participant Observation

In addition to the interviews, non-participant observation was undertaken. According to Parke & Griffiths (2008), "One of the main research methodologies in studying small groups in natural settings is that of observational fieldwork which can either take the form of participant or nonparticipant observation" (p. 1). The objective is to remain physically present yet as far removed as possible. In order to prevent any sort of contamination to the site, students, and data, the plan was to observe and record as much as possible.

I used this method in different ways during the whole period of the field work. For example, I would sit in the back of the classrooms to gain knowledge of such issues as the language and methods of instruction, teacher-student interaction, what the courses covered, what the school materials such as textbooks were used, and to see the general behavior of the students.

Each day, everything observed was written down in a notebook and later recorded onto a file on a personal laptop. I observed students and staff from afar in terms of their interaction with each other, how and when they arrived/departed, and what activities took place outside the classrooms. Unlike my time at FRO, it was not possible to observe students prior to the first lesson at Wol due to the distance from the NRC headquarters in Kitgum. Additionally, a three-day conference in Gulu during my third and final week for which the NRC drivers were needed meant that I was unable to spend the last three days in Wol. The observations made, for example while students and teachers were in the workshops, provided an abundance of data which have been integrated with other data in the analysis in the following chapter.

4.2.4 Document Analysis

Of the three methods used to collect data in the field, document analysis was the least utilized. Not only was this unexpected, it was seen as a challenge as documents are essential to qualitative research (Bowen, 2009). FRO did not keep or maintain a library of documents. Data regarding the performance of students, if recorded, were not made available to me and FRO had only recently begun to trace former students from the Computers and MVT courses. The only document obtained was a twenty page FRO Child Protection Policy document. It covers issues such as teacher and student recruitment, disciplinary actions, and guidelines for researchers when conducting interviews with staff and students.

In comparison, the NRC had a vast library of documents both online and at the field office in Kitgum, including records of the achievements and performances of their students. The NRC in Kitgum also provided numerous documents via email related to the Ugandan educational system, the NRC, and other topics, such as data on attendance rates, budget, and gender.

4.3 Sorting and Analyzing the Data

Data analysis began on the first day in the field. Data from the three methods were first separated, i.e. "broken down into component parts, which are given names" (Bryman, 2008:

542). I had separate files for each day in the field in both my notebook and computer. Themes concerning, for example, gender disparities and rights in, to, and through education were selected for further analysis.

When analyzing the interviews, I used a separate file per interview. I combined the responses based on the students' status such as age, gender, and institutional affiliation. Each response was categorized under each interview question (see Appendix III, IV, V, VI), and themes, such as their likes and dislikes of the educational process were highlighted.

4.4 Ethics

Before conducting the student interviews, interviewees received a copy of the Letter of Content (Appendix IX) which I explained in English and the interpreter translated into Luo. Before the interviews, interviewees provided personal information such as their name, age, subject of study, and their status (e.g. formerly abducted, single mother, orphan, etc.). The names of each interviewee were recorded in order to make it easier to tell everyone apart (ten students were interviewed in one day at FRO). With their permission, their names were written down on the interview sheets in a notebook. Each interview was recorded using my mobile telephone voice recorder application, and notes were taken at the same time.

All information gathered during the interviews was treated confidentially and each student was granted anonymity. Once the recordings were logged, the names and other vital information that may lead to identification of the interviewees were removed since the stigma of being formerly abducted is still a major obstacle for the students, citizens, and community. To date, the data is on a file on my personal computer, and the notes are still in the original folders. When they are no longer needed, they shall be put into a locked box for safekeeping. If a dispute following a future review of this thesis arises, I will be able to present the original data. After the thesis has been handed in, defended, and graded, I will submit a copy to both organizations as requested by them.

4.5 Reliability and Validity

The outcomes of a project are often determined by their reliability and validity. According to Bryman (2008), "Reliability is concerned with the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable … [while] validity is concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are

generated from a piece of research" (pp. 31-32). In qualitative research, trustworthiness is often used in place of reliability and validity. A reliable and valid study is determined by its credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability (Bryman, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

To ensure its dependability, the study was conducted consistently. The same data collection methods and analysis were applied in the same manner at each site, and a catalogue of the empirical data was developed. At both sites, I often questioned the integrity of the interpreters. Were they relaying the students' responses verbatim, or were they telling me what they thought I wanted to hear? Without any knowledge of the local language, it was difficult to challenge the credibility of both interpreters without an additional translator on site. Realizing this, I asked a Luo speaker to listen to the interview tapes upon my return from the field work who assured the credibility of the data in the sense of confirming the accuracy of the translations.

As this study is concentrated on one geographic region, the transferability to another setting can be questioned. It can also be questioned whether the study can be generalized to other institutions. However, I would argue that if the same analytical framework and methods were used in future research, at least conclusions related to the right *to, in,* and *through* education could be produced.

4.6 Limitations

There were many challenges during the field work, some of which have set limits to the data collected and therefore the richness of the analysis. They related particularly to the difficulties in sampling and interviewing participants.

Interviewing students was the most anticipated, yet most difficult method of data collection. Oral communication was difficult as most of them (except for one) did not command the English language, and I had no command of Luo. It was therefore not possible to speak one on one with the students, and it was hard to build a rapport with them. This may mean that the depth of the data has been affected. Furthermore, being of European descent, it was not possible to blend in naturally. Although, within one week of being at both sites, students did adjust to my presence, the feeling of being watched was always present. The data obtained via

non-participant observation are, however, considered to be valid as the students and staff went about their business as normal while observations took place.

At Wol, only twelve of the anticipated twenty interviews were conducted. In my absence, the remaining eight interviews were conducted later by the headmaster using the same interview questions in the form of a questionnaire. This may have had an effect on the responses since the students may have acted differently with the headmaster because of his status. I was assured by the headmaster that the responses were authentic. Due to the similarity of the responses in the sample overall, I believe this is the case.

Accessing former students of both institutions was immensely difficult as contact information was hard to obtain, methods of transportation were unreliable, and follow up records were not available at FRO. The YEP Center in Wol is only in its second academic year which does not allow for a vast number of former students. The lack of records in both institutions regarding former students and their status/progress post-graduation made it difficult to determine what influence the learning experience has had on former students in general.

The biggest limitation of the study is the number of formerly abducted children that were actually interviewed. As mentioned earlier, this was because of the stigma attached to this status. Although I did conduct interviews with the total number of students originally planned, I have focused the analysis only on the small number of formerly abducted children since this was the original purpose. Because of the general nature of the research questions, I do believe that the data collected are valid to shed further light on an issue that is not yet well researched.

5 Provision of Education at FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol

FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol have each designed their own educational programs based on a right to education agenda. The following analysis focuses on how the institutions fulfill this mission, in particular with respect to formerly abducted students. Factors identified in Tomaševski's 4-A Scheme (see Appendix I) form the basis of the analysis that will be presented in a comparative manner. Student views of the potential benefits of their educational experiences are also presented.

5.1 The Right *to* Education: Availability and Accessibility

The analysis of the right to education is done in view of the core concepts of availability and accessibility. As it appears in Appendix I, the right to education focuses on a number of areas which are listed in Table 5.1. The areas are used for the comparative analysis between the two institutions.

The areas of freedom to establish schools and elimination of legal and administrative barriers are not analyzed partly because they are interpreted under other areas analyzed in section 5.2. The analysis concentrates on the successful establishment and running of the programs covering issues such as funding, access, and teacher recruitment.

5.1.1 Public Funding for Private Schools

According to Tomaševski (2001), "Governmental obligation to make education available is in practice frequently, albeit erroneously, associated with its provision of education. In quite a few countries, governments provide subsidies to diverse range of schools without operating any" (p. 20). Data on this area was collected from documents and interviews with the headmasters in both institutions.

A precondition for the functioning of the institutions' educational programs is that they are adequately funded. FRO receives funding from the Ugandan government via the Labora program. As of June 2012, Labora provides FRO with 33 million UGX (13, 053 USD) per

term to cover the costs of the students' tuition fees, examinations, and learning materials for the coursework. The amount of funds FRO receives from Labora determines the number of students for that particular term. FRO also receives support via financial donations from private persons and organizations.

The NRC YEP Center in Wol does not receive public funding from the Ugandan government; but instead from international agencies, such as the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (NRC, 2014). NRC's budget for Uganda in 2012 was 36.6 million Norwegian Kroner (US$6.1 million) (NRC, 2013). This seems to suggest that Wol may have access to funds to allow the purchasing of more learning materials for their students. This seems to be an advantage when compared to FRO as they lack funds which allows such freedom. Issues pertaining to other costs and fees will be discussed further in sub-section 5.1.4.

Table 5.1: The Right *to* Education: Availability and Accessibility

Areas	Friends of Orphans	NRC YEP Center in Wol
Public funding for private schools	Y	N
Criteria for teacher recruitment	Y	Y
Academic freedom	N	Y
Professional responsibilities	Y	Y
Freedom to establish schools	Y	Y
Elimination of legal and administrative barriers	Y	Y
Elimination of financial obstacles	Y	Y
Identification and elimination of discriminatory denials of access	Y	Y
Elimination of obstacles to schooling (distance, schedule)	Y	Y
All encompassing	N	Y
Preferential access	Y	Y
Criteria for admission	Y	Y

Note: Y = present; N = absent.
"All Encompassing" has been interpreted to include both skills and academic courses.

5.1.2 Criteria for Teacher Recruitment and Professional Responsibilities

Another criterion for a well-functioning program is an adequate teaching force. According to Tomaševski (2001), "Teachers have to be educated and trained to teach … [and] ought to be qualified to teach" (p. 23). At FRO, each of the seven skills courses have a teacher, and when a teaching position becomes available, recruitment takes place via advertisements on notice boards and the FRO radio station. To be considered, applicants must possess specific prerequisites: previous experience as a teacher and teaching credentials. If qualified, applicants are then interviewed. In the advertisement and job description, it is stated that candidates must comply with the FRO Child Protection Policy which states that children have the right to be protected and be free from abuse (FRO, N/D).

The NRC YEP Center in Wol also employs one teacher per skills course (six), and makes advertisements on the local radio and on public notice boards. Candidates submit applications, are brought in for an interview, and recruited through the human resources office at the NRC headquarters in Kitgum. Academic teachers must hold at least a grade III certificate, and skills teachers must have at minimum a certificate in the skill they wish to teach.

Both institutions provide qualified teachers for their students. Of the thirteen teachers and administrators at FRO, five hold Bachelor's degrees, three have diplomas in the skill in which they teach, and five hold certificates from institutions of higher education. At the NRC YEP Center in Wol, of the eleven teachers and administrators, none have a university degree. All have certificates ranging from 1 to 3 years in the skills course they teach from institutions located in the north. Some of the academic teachers are also disciplinary officers and secretaries.

Each teacher at FRO has worked previously with formerly abducted students. Of the thirteen members, four have less than two years of experience, four have three to five years of experience, four have six to eight years of experience, and one has over ten years of experience. At Wol, six have less than two years of experience, four have three to five years of experience, and one has seven years of experience.

FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol both employ teachers and administrators with similar backgrounds as the students. This may create positive influences which can be reflected in the students' academic performance and overall behaviors. In an interview with one of the FRO

founders on the possible impact of the background of those who established the school on decision making and overall functioning of the school, he stated:

> This is what makes FRO so unique. Many former child soldiers have difficulty telling strangers their stories. This is where other NGOs fail. Some feel shame or perhaps their confessions will be evidence to be used against them. It takes time to heal from the trauma. We get to the root/level of degree. They need to tell the truth. This lacks in many northern kids. FRO teachers tell their stories. This eases them. We are the first NGO in Pader to recover ammunition from the bush. They confide in us and tell us where they hid their ammo. Personally, I know they have wounded hearts and minds. I know what they went through. We are trying to give them the best choice they can get ("Fidel", Personal Communication, 27 September 2012).

At FRO, three out of the seven teachers were formerly abducted, two were orphans, and two were both. At Wol, one teacher was a single mother, and two were orphans. None were formerly abducted. This may be because most were older and would not have been of the general age of abducted children during the conflict. The fact that FRO is run and established by formerly abducted children seems to put them in a unique position: they can relate to the students easily since they too went through a similar process of reintegration. They may also be familiar with what does and does not work.

5.1.3 Academic Freedom

According to Tomaševski (2004), academic freedom has to do with education which "is available while also respecting parental freedom of choice regarding the education of their children" (p. 18). As parents are not always included in the student's lives of this study, my interpretation of academic freedom is to further include the flexibility given to the teachers and institutions regarding the education which is to be provided to the students, as well as the rights of the teachers. Data for this area was collected via interviews with the headmasters from both institutions.

One major commonality of FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol was the lack of academic freedom, i.e. flexibility in the teaching and lessons. All institutions of higher learning in Uganda must adhere to the Ugandan MoES which regulates and formulates curriculums for each level of education. However, the MoES has given both institutions a bit of leeway regarding the methods of instruction and courses. For example, each has integrated courses which they consider economically viable for the perseverance of the students and region.

At FRO, one interviewee stated that the curriculum is that of the (Uganda) National Examination Board (UNEB) and that they use curriculums from industrial training institutes in Uganda. The second informant stated that all institutions in Uganda are regulated by the MoES in Kampala. One of the founders gave a more elaborate response:

> We follow the syllabus of the MoES. We incorporate issues regarding guidance and counseling. We also try to incorporate game and sport. We do not have boxing here. It may be fun for you, but because of the violence many here endured, we do not want to risk triggering bad memories. We are very selective and try to always promote peace ("Fidel", Personal Communication, 27 September 2012).

At the NRC YEP Center in Wol, the headmaster said that the courses reflect the demands of the community, and the NRC holds meetings with the sub-county officials to present what the NRC provides. In developing the curriculum, particular considerations are made. According to the headmaster:

> Most students at Wol did not finish primary education. Wol Center has been granted advocacy [permission] to teach in the local language as many never learned English. The MoES also allowed YEP teachers to be more creative with their teaching methods. What is being taught is non-formal education. YEP and NRC authorities had to design a timetable unlike most schools in Uganda. Additionally, peace and human rights is taught here. These topics are not taught in primary school. Age brackets are wide here as are the levels of education ("Naeem", Personal Communication, 2 October 2012).

Elaborating further, "Naeem" states that, "The local community and its leaders help mobilize those most vulnerable and point out future beneficiaries … The reason for the [existence of] YEP centers is to train the disadvantaged youth to gain higher skills" (Personal Communication, 2 October 2012). In both Pader and Wol, agriculture is a major source of income for many. Both institutions have incorporated it into the curriculum, and it seems to reflect the realities of living in the region. Enhancing the students' agricultural abilities may also enhance their income.

Teachers at both institutions apply the same methodology of instruction by following a scheme book, a lesson book, and record the outcomes and performances for each lesson. This too is instilled by the MoES. Students at FRO enroll in one of seven skills courses for six months, and students in Wol enroll in one of six for nine months (see Section 5.2.5).

Unlike FRO, Wol teaches eight academic courses that are taught by four teachers. For example, (Luo) Literacy may complement the students' vocational skills and enhance their abilities. Students at FRO would most likely benefit from similar academic courses if provided. This is further discussed in Section 5.2.5.

At both institutions, the skills courses consist of theory and practical lessons. Observations underlined that the topics covered were similar. The NRC YEP Center in Wol is, however, equipped with more vocational tools and learning materials. This and the lack of academic courses are thought to reflect the lack of funds at FRO.

5.1.4 Elimination of Financial Obstacles

Numerous international conventions and laws have been established to ensure that education is accessible to all youth. According to Tomaševski (2004), "International law is based on the knowledge that education cannot be made compulsory unless it is free … [and] all international human rights instruments require compulsory education to be free" (p. 18). In the context of this study, challenges arise since most students never attended compulsory school. FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol do not provide compulsory education, and it is not free. However, they both seek to overcome the financial barriers to education.

Tuition Fees

Both institutions share similar yet conflicting practices regarding tuition fees. At FRO, tuition fees for each student for the second 2012 term were approximately 45,000 UGX (17.80 USD)[6]. If students cannot afford this, then FRO covers the tuition with the financial provisions provided by Labora.

Unlike FRO, students at the NRC YEP Center in Wol do not pay tuition fees, which are instead covered by the NRC. The funding for the Center comes from the NRC headquarters in Oslo, Norway. According to the headmaster, "There is a central procurement for each center. Centers notify the headquarters in Gulu or Kitgum [about] what they need … the centers have no budget regarding funds" ("Naeem", Personal Communication, 3 October 2012).

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[6] Currency conversion on 23.05.2014, www.xe.com.

FRO has become less financially stable which has reduced their ability to make education available and accessible. In recent years, many NGOs in the region have closed down or have relocated, possibly due to the higher level of stability in the region. However, since FRO depends on financial support from other NGOs, numerous cutbacks have followed leading to fewer teachers and fewer start-up kits. This again has resulted in fewer skills being taught, and smaller intakes of students and graduates.

Uniform and Miscellaneous Costs

Both institutions require students to wear uniforms. At FRO, a uniform costs 10,000 UGX (3.95 USD)[7], and are not covered by Labora. If a student cannot afford this, they will not be turned away. All students wore a uniform during my time there. Learning materials such as textbooks and pens are not provided, and the students are in charge of these costs.

At the NRC YEP Center in Wol, students are also required to cover the costs of uniforms. Here, all students were also wearing uniforms but could have attended the course without one. Unlike FRO, Wol supplies stationary equipment and textbooks. In general, Wol seemed to have more funds available to provide for their students. For example, the tool shed was stocked with an abundance of learning materials and tools for the skills courses, such as hammers, saws, rakes, and shovels. FRO supplies tools for the skills courses, but not nearly as many or as diverse as the NRC YEP Center in Wol.

5.1.5 Elimination of Discriminatory Denials of Access

According to Tomaševski (2004), "Historically, members of groups that have been excluded from education have inevitably been seen as a low educational priority. International human rights law consequently emphasizes not only the prohibition but also the active elimination of discrimination" (p. 26). In this area, Tomaševski (2001, 2004) tends to focus on the students' gender, as well as physical disabilities. These aspects will be discussed in later sections. I have interpreted this to also include whether the age of students, or the fact that they have children are considered by the institutions when providing access to education for students.

Age Limit for Students

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[7] Currency conversion on 23.05.2014, www.xe.com.

FRO does not enforce an age limit, but according to the Project Manager, ideal students would be around eighteen years of age. However, FRO does not reject students who are outside this bracket ("Felipe", Personal Communication, 28 September 2012), as reflected in the autumn 2012 term range between 16 and 25 years.

In comparison, the NRC decides the age limit of their students for each of their centers. This is determined by the number of potential students. Previously, the NRC centers did have a universal age limit, but because students would lie about their age, the age limit was increased to accommodate more students. For the autumn 2012 term, students ranged from 15 to 24 years. In Wol the age of girls was 14 to 27 years and 14 to 24 years for boys. Girls have a higher age limit due to a higher dropout rate.

Students with Children

At both institutions, some of the female students brought their young children to campus during the school hours, and student mothers are allowed more time to take their examinations. At FRO, two female tailoring students each day brought their children to class who were still in their crawling phase. This was tolerated by FRO, although strictly speaking, it was not allowed. FRO used to provide babysitters and meals for children of students, but is unable to do so now due to the financial cutbacks. According to the catering teacher, the children are not particularly wanted since the mother might have more children while at FRO ("Fernando", Personal Communication, 13 September 2012). Other female students seemed happy about the presence of the children.

The YEP Center has a different approach to students with children since one classroom is dedicated solely to child care while the student mothers have their lessons. Two babysitters work at the center, the children have beds to sleep on, and are given porridge to eat. It is the mothers who are in charge of feeding and cleaning them while on campus. During the fieldwork, two children around the age of one were present daily at Wol. The other female students seemed comfortable with the babies, and many were holding them during the breaks and lunchtime, as did some of the female teachers. Neither the male students, nor the male teachers were observed with the babies.

5.1.6 Elimination of Obstacles to Schooling, Preferential Access and Criteria for Admission

According to Tomaševski (2001), "The government is obliged to secure access to education for all children in the compulsory education age-range, but not for secondary and higher education" (p. 13). Although FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol are not government run institutions or provide compulsory education, it is worthwhile to examine how accessible their institutions are.

Distance and Security

Both institutions make a clear attempt to provide students with a safe and secure learning environment. At FRO, the campus is located on one of the main roads on the outskirts of Pader, yet is still within close proximity of the city center. Most students and staff live in Pader making the campus reachable by foot or motorbike-taxi. To ensure the safety of the students and staff, the campus is fenced in and guarded by security personnel. The buildings seem to be structurally safe as they have been constructed by brick and aluminum roofing. Electricity is available in the main office building, and solar panels are used when electricity is not available. Sanitation facilities are provided and are gender segregated, and a health clinic (not affiliated with FRO) is located about 500 meters away.

The campus of the NRC YEP Center in Wol was previously used as an IDP camp, and the community donated the grounds and dwellings to the NRC. Located on Wol's high street, a roughly two hundred meter stretch of dirt road, kiosks and restaurants (some run by former students) are located adjacent to the campus, as is a health clinic next door. Similar to FRO, the health clinic is not affiliated with the NRC. Sanitation facilities are gender segregated, and the center has security personnel. There is no electricity on campus which poses many challenges. Courses which can be taught are limited as machines such as computers require electricity.

Housing and Transportation

Housing and transportation are not covered by FRO, but since most students live within walking distance of the campus, this is not a major issue. At Wol, many students commute long distances by foot, and this may prevent potential students from enrolling. During the interviews, most students said they live outside the Wol town limits, and walk up to ten

kilometers each way. Providing transportation may make education more available for youth who live too far away to be able to walk to school.

Daily Schedule

At FRO, classes are held Monday to Friday. Students who arrive before 8am are requested to tend the campus. Students were observed sweeping the hallways and clearing the promenade of litter and weeds. Many seemed eager to do this. Students who arrive late are in principle disciplined with further tending of the campus. In reality, students and faculty were observed numerous times arriving after 8am every morning without disciplinary action.

The first instruction (8am – 10.30am) is the theory lesson, and takes place in the classrooms. During the first break (10.30am - 11am), students were (observed) playing volleyball, football, sitting under the trees, or studying. During the second lesson from 11am – 1pm, students were in the workshops for their practical lessons followed by a one hour lunch break (1pm – 2pm). According to the schedule, class resumes at 2pm. Most students did not return for the final lesson since most students went home to eat as lunch is not provided in school and the distance for many may be too far to return.

At Wol, students and staff tended to arrive on campus between 8am and 9am. This is the time of general cleaning and morning devotion, and students who arrive within this time are asked to tend the campus with sweeping and other maintenance duties. Previously, classes were held from 8am to 4pm. Since transportation is not provided for students and faculty, there was a fear that students would not return from the lunch break as many go home for their lunch meal. For this reason, the schedule has been reduced to 9am to 3pm.

The first three classes are general education lectures, and each lasts forty minutes. The time intervals are 9am – 9.40am, 9.40am – 10.20am, and 10.20am – 11am. A twenty minute recess break takes place from 11am – 11.20am, followed by the first skills lesson from 11.20am to 12.40pm. At this time, teachers and students are in the workshops and classrooms working on lessons for their vocational skill.

A one hour lunch break is held 12.40pm – 1.40pm. Students are not provided with a meal, and many stay on campus without eating as they do not have the money to purchase lunch in town. At this time, many students were observed playing football, volleyball, and doing their

hair. Following lunch is the final skills course from 1.40pm – 3pm when the classrooms tended to be less full than during the skills course prior to the lunch break.

Both institutions have a time schedule to accommodate their students. They begin their day similarly yet end it differently. FRO technically holds classes after the lunch break, but most observations suggested that the school day ends at lunch time. The NRC YEP Center in Wol has a shorter day, but follows the schedule more thoroughly.

Although some school days at FRO lasted until late in the afternoon, most would conclude when the lunch bell rang. Teachers and administrators would often leave for the day as well. This contradicted statements from certain administrators who suggested that there was a full day every day. Additionally, on more than one occasion, teachers were in the conference room of the office watching movies on a laptop during the lessons with students left unattended. The administrators were never present when this took place.

According to the accountant at FRO, funds from Labora are often delayed, as are the teachers' salaries ("Fayette", Personal Communication, 9 September 2012). This may explain the teachers' lackadaisical attitudes which may affect the quality of education the students receive. This was not witnessed at Wol. Some students would leave the campus for lunch, but would return for the final lessons. Many teachers live outside of Wol and rent a hotel room nearby during the school week so they would not be absent due to the commute or distance. Few activities took place in Wol that would lure teachers away, and perhaps working for an international NGO is more prestigious, has more perks, or incorporates stricter disciplinary actions. While at Wol, the headmaster was absent only on one occasion related to his mother's passing away. Even then was there a sense of structure adhered to by both students and staff.

Student Attendance (Leniency)

Both institutions accept that students cannot necessarily attend class regularly. They both had a lower attendance rate during the harvest season. While daily attendance is recommended at FRO, they also try to be as lenient as possible requiring that at the minimum students check in two to three times per week. At Wol, full attendance officially is required, but it is not a major focus. Attendance is registered daily, and absence is reported after a student misses five consecutive days. In both cases, teachers can also organize home lessons for students.

Student Recruitment

Both institutions apply their own policy to recruit students. At FRO, this is done in three different ways, namely through: radio announcements, local leaders, and local councils. Most of the students interviewed first learned about FRO from advertisements made on the FRO radio station. The main method, however, is through the community. FRO begins the recruitment process by knowing the number of students they can take in determined by the available space and funds for the term. FRO then contacts local leaders who already know the local youth and asks them to select the most vulnerable youth in the community. As of 2012, FRO has recruited students from twenty seven counties and three town councils within the Pader district. According to the Project Manager "Fulton", "To select students, FRO goes into the communities. There, community members have meetings with FRO. FRO asks for the most vulnerable students; and then have a majority vote" (Personal Communication, 25 September 2012).

The NRC uses a similar method to select potential students. The NRC asks local communities to identify vulnerable youth who would be suitable for education. Meetings may also take place with the local parish selection committee and sub-county selection committee. They determine which youth are potential candidates for enrollment.

Students with Physical Disabilities

At both institutions, students with physical disabilities pose a major challenge. Many former students have been physically disabled land mine survivors who were specifically recruited because they too are victims of the conflict. Of the current students, only one could be classified as physically disabled. FRO has never had a blind or deaf student enrolled and lack both trained teachers and learning tools to facilitate the learning process for such students. Furthermore, the campus was not constructed to accommodate handicapped students as some of the buildings had steps and the bathrooms were not wheelchair accessible.

The NRC YEP Center in Wol has had students with hearing impairments, and because of previous experience, the NRC knows how to handle such students. Physically disabled students in wheelchairs or deaf and blind students have never been enrolled. However; according to the headmaster, "The NRC would come up with a program to facilitate those particular students" ("Naeem", Personal Communication, 3 October 2012).

5.1.7 Summary

Both institutions recognize their students' right to education by making education available and accessible. Each one incorporates similar and distinctive methods resulting in both parallel and different outcomes. The only major difference regarding availability and accessibility is FRO's lack of free textbooks. NRC claimed to provide students with textbooks; however, many courses did not do so. Furthermore, many students at both institutions are illiterate or below the literacy level for their age and would be unable to use them. Wol's ability to provide textbooks may not be relevant or necessary unless students are able to use them for its intended purpose. Therefore, the improvement of the students' literacy and/or teaching literacy should be emphasized. It is also important to focus on the other rights regarding availability and accessibility, such as structurally sound dwellings and sanitation facilities, which both institutions provide. A safe and healthy environment is important for students, but literacy is a necessary precondition to increasing the students' critical consciousness when considering the outcomes of education from a right to education perspective.

The headmaster at FRO claimed that there was a lack of teachers, although each course did have one. Further investigation disclosed that FRO lacks the funds to hire teachers for courses which used to be taught, or which FRO would also like to teach. The headmaster at Wol claimed that the center had enough teachers, but the MVT teacher was absent during my entire time on the site. The teacher's absence and Wol's inability to provide a substitute prevented the MVT students from learning the skill they were originally enrolled in. They would either finish the day after the academic courses, or attend another skills course. This also meant that there would be fewer people in the region with MVT skills. At FRO, there were enough teachers for the courses they teach, but as in the case of Wol, they do not have substitutes to ensure continuous teaching in case of absence.

While conducting interviews at FRO with the administrators, it was apparent that the lack of finances influences the ideal operation of the institution. If FRO had access to more funds, they would be able to hire academic teachers and technically make education at FRO more accessible than at the NRC YEP Center in Wol since FRO does not have an age limit for students as they do in Wol. One of the former students interviewed at FRO was in fact 47 years old. The similarities of the two institutions definitely seemed to outweigh the differences. Tuition fees are covered at both institutions, attendance requirements are

waivered, and students all had a status of vulnerability although only a few students had (physical) disabilities.

5.2 The Right *in* and *through* Education: Acceptability and Adaptability

Both institutions made similar attempts to make education acceptable and adaptable for their students. Table 5.2 lists the areas identified by Tomaševski for these two concepts which form the basis of the comparative analysis of the two institutions. The areas of respect of diversity, working children, and children with disabilities will not be analyzed further as they form part of the analysis of other areas.

Table 5.2: The Right *in* and *through* Education: Acceptability and Adaptability

Areas	Friends of Orphans	NRC YEP Center in Wol
Language of Instruction	Y	Y
Method of Instruction	Y	Y
School Discipline	Y	Y
Minimum Standards	Y	Y
Respect of Diversity	Y	Y
Orientation of Contents	Y	Y
Rights of Learners	Y	Y
Elimination of Child Labor	Y	Y
Elimination of Gender Disparities	Y	Y
Minority Children	N	N
Working Children	Y	Y
Children with Disabilities	Y	Y
Prevention of Child Soldiering	N/A	N/A

Note: Y = present; N = absent.

5.2.1 Language of Instruction

According to Tomaševski (2004), "If the child does not understand the language of instruction, no learning can take place" (p. 34). In Ugandan public schools, the official language of instruction is English, and is often taught from the first grade (StateUniversity.com, 2014). Since most of the students of this study have been absent from the classroom for extended periods, A lack of English proficiency is common at both institutions. For this reason, both FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol have adapted to their students regarding the language of instruction using both English and Luo as the languages of instruction.

It appeared from the observations that lessons are always taught in English at FRO, but students would often provide answers and otherwise contribute to the lesson in Luo. Teachers would also use Luo if the students seemed not to understand. While the students were encouraged to use English as much as possible, the use of the local language was always accepted. At Wol, the lessons were in Luo, as were written assignments and books. Students and teachers always conversed in Luo at both institutions.

5.2.2 Method of Instruction

FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol make strong attempts to acknowledge the rights of their students. According to Tomaševski (2004), "Rights-based education provides a useful pointer to the core objective of education, namely development of the ability to learn and to continue learning throughout life" (p. 38). Both institutions seem dedicated to this, and their methods are further explained below.

Both FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol follow the guidelines put in place by the MoES for what and how lessons are to be taught. Both institutions provide teachers with a scheme and a lesson book for each course. The scheme book emphasizes the need for a scheme of topics, i.e. teachers extract what they believe is relevant for the students of each course. The scheme book maps out the plan for the entire term. The lesson book contains what is to be taught for a particular day. Teachers are encouraged to use teaching methods to make the lesson as simple as possible for students.

Each lesson has a topic, for example, the operation of numbers, and sub-topics, for example the operation of one digit numbers. The lesson could consist of the numbers ranging from 0 – 9 and the use of operational signs (+, -, ÷, ×).

Each lesson has five phases that are monitored and recorded in the lesson book. Phase I is the Introduction, when teachers attempt to capture the attention of the learner often reflecting on previous lessons to refresh their memories and get them motivated. Phase II is the Sharing phase, when teachers introduce the topic which will be taught. In Phase III, teachers attempt to tap the experience and knowledge of the learners, often by asking them to go to the chalk board to provide examples of the lesson. Based on the evaluation of the students' performances, recommendations to do things differently in Phase IV are noted. Phase V is a self-evaluation for teachers when assignments are graded and lessons are reflected upon. They also consider such issues as re-teaching the lesson, possibly at a lower level. Maintaining a record of the lessons and outcomes is also done in order to reflect upon what the students liked and disliked.

During observation at both institutions, teachers assisted students individually and in groups. Teachers would ask students to contribute to the lectures/lessons in which students would raise their hands, and/or ask them to the chalkboard. This created a dialogue between the student(s) and teachers. This also occurred in the workshops. Teachers would provide students with instructions on how to do things, and students would either work in groups or independently. According to the interviews (see Section 5.3.1), students seemed pleased with the methods of instruction.

There were discrepancies in responses during the informal interviews with teachers compared to the students in terms of student behavior. Some teachers claimed that the students are lazy or not too interested in their studies. At Wol, one teacher claimed that some of the students only attend class on the examination day in order to get the start-up kit provided to help start up a business (see further in section 5.2.5). Observations in the classrooms contradicted this because students were learning in a well-behaved manner. They also took part in the cultural activities (such as singing and dancing), and during the breaks, hairdressing students were practicing their skills on other classmates (and one time on me).

5.2.3 School Discipline

According to Tomaševski (2004), "Methods of teaching that use the threat of physical punishment as motivation to conform have been found incompatible with the core objectives and purposes of education" (p. 38). The Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports banned corporal punishment from schools in 2006. However, a study in 2011 found that at least 81%

of primary school children in Uganda experience corporal punishment from teachers, parents, and fellow classmates (Agaba, 2013).

Neither institution use corporal punishment to discipline their students. FRO maintains a strict code of discipline, and has two separate committees to handle violations such as stealing or fighting: the Disciplinary Committee; and the Student Disciplinary Committee. Offenses are handled based on their severity. Usually, offenders are brought in front of the Student Disciplinary Committee, with "Fabian" in charge. Most offences are punished. If the student refuses the punishment, the Disciplinary Committee, consisting of five teachers, takes over the case. In the case of stealing, the minimum punishment is two weeks suspension. In the case of fighting, students are often expelled. In reality, FRO students are well behaved, and the committees were not needed while I was present.

Wol also has a student committee to handle minor disciplinary offences. A male and a female student are elected and each incident is handled separately. If the matter cannot be resolved, then the incident is handed over to the Learners Disciplinary Committee. Students are never expelled from the YEP Centers, but the disciplinary action is determined based on the severity of the offence. Punishment is sometimes cleaning the urinals.

5.2.4 Minimum Standards

In the context of this study, minimum standards refer to minimum levels of qualification for teachers, involving the local community members, and promoting transparency (Tomaševski, 2004: p. 53-54). Both institutions provide students with a quality education offering courses, qualified teachers, discipline, and counseling in a safe learning environment.

On the other hand, both institutions lack minimum standards in other ways. There is no running water on either campus. At FRO, students fetch water from a well off the school grounds each morning. At Wol, students fetch water from a well at the clinic which is located next to the campus. Meals are not provided to students or teachers at either of the institutions. At FRO, this is due to financial cutbacks. Students and faculty at both institutions can at times purchase food from the meals made by catering students. At Wol, it is simply not included. There is no electricity at the Wol campus. Therefore certain courses cannot be taught, for example computer skills.

5.2.5 Orientation of Contents

According to Tomaševski (2004), "International human rights law treats education as an end in itself as well as a means for attaining all other human rights" (p. 36). Through the contents of education, more rights can hopefully be acknowledged. There were both differences and similarities in the courses offered at FRO and at the NRC YEP Center in Wol as appears in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Skills and Academic Courses at FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol

Skills Courses	Friends of Orphans	NRC YEP Center in Wol
Brick and Concrete Practices	Y	Y
Carpentry and Joinery	Y	Y
Catering	Y	Y
Computers	Y	N
Hairdressing	N	Y
Motor Vehicle Technology	Y	Y
Tailoring and Garment Cutting	Y	N
Welding and Metal Fabrication	Y	Y
Academic Courses		
Agriculture	N	Y
Culture	N	Y
English	N	Y
Health	N	Y
Literacy (Luo/Acholi)	N	Y
Numeracy	N	Y
Peace and Human Rights	N	Y
Physical Education	N	Y

Key: Y = present; N = absent.

The Courses: Friends of Orphans

At FRO, students enroll in one of the following seven courses: bricklaying and concrete practices (BCP), carpentry & joinery (C&J), catering, computers, motor vehicle technology (MVT), tailoring and garment cutting (TGC), and welding and metal fabrication (WMF). FRO no longer provides academic courses (such as English or Numeracy) for their students due to a lack of finances to pay the teachers. The administrators expressed a strong desire to do so.

BCP students learn the fundamentals of bricklaying, brick making, and of the tools. They also learn basic mathematics and drawing to be able to make blueprints. C&J students learn about tools, safety, and how to construct wooden furniture and floors. The catering course covers both business and culinary lessons. In this course, students learn about such things as costs, how to purchase and place orders, and how to prepare dishes. Hygiene is a major focus of this course. Computer students learn about Word, Office and computer repair. They also focus on mathematics. Students with the highest education are often selected for this course as it is the most technical. MVT students learn about engine and automotive repair/maintenance. They also learn about the different chemicals used in car engines and tools. Tailoring students learn the fundamentals of tailoring and of a sewing machine. Different patterns are taught, such as for shirts, blouses, and pants. They also learn about different types of materials which can be used for clothing. Welding students are constantly reminded of the safety precautions as they deal with heavy and hot metals. The different metals, what can be made with metals, and how they can be mended into other shapes and purposes are taught in this course.

Catering students go into town daily to purchase ingredients as lack of funds and a refrigerator prevent stocking of items. MVT does not have a garage on campus, nor do they have an automobile or motorbike for students to practice on. Students therefore walk into town three times per week to work on cars at a local garage. They receive no money for their work, but can use the tools at the garage made available for the course.

While interviewing the C&J teacher about the relevance of the course, his response suggested that the course is too short, and that students cannot become a good enough carpenter in such a short time. The computer teacher responded in the same way. According to "Flynn", "There is demand in the area for this work ... The course is designed to allow students to get a simple job, but nothing important, perhaps office work such as being a secretary" (Personal Communication, 11 September 2012).

Agriculture used to be covered by the government, and a teacher was provided who has since moved on. FRO does not have the funds to hire a new teacher. Bicycle repair has been incorporated into the curriculum but has yet to be taught. In conjunction with entrepreneurship and communication skills which are designed to teach business aspects and customer skills, mathematics and literacy were previously taught, but as of last year, they were dropped from the curriculum due to a lack of finances.

HIV/AIDS education, human rights, and peace are acknowledged by FRO, yet were never observed being taught. Program officers who work at FRO have cited a need for HIV/AIDS education to be integrated into the curriculum. Referring to Uganda's Presidential Initiative on AIDS Strategy for Communication to the Youth (PIASCY), FRO incorporates aspects of HIV awareness during the morning assembly, and engages in reproductive health training, and infection prevention. Two teachers (one male, one female) have been trained by organizations that focus on HIV/AIDS education.

The Courses: NRC YEP Center in Wol

At the NRC YEP Center in Wol, students are provided with seven general education courses. Academic teachers are hired specifically for these courses, but the students had a mixed reaction about them. In addition, they enroll in one of the following six skills courses: bricklaying and concrete practices (BCP), carpentry & joinery (C&J), catering, hairdressing (HD), motor vehicle technology (MVT), and welding and metal fabrication (WMF).

Although the syllabi for BCP, C&J, catering, MVT, and WMF courses are not identical to the courses at FRO, they share similarities. Hairdressing students, like the students of the other five skills courses, have a major focus on how to run a business. In addition, they also learn about the different chemicals, tools, and procedures required for hairdressing.

For the academic courses, students are divided into two groups based on their skills course. The reason for the divide is the student enrollment rate. Two general education courses are taught simultaneously as the classrooms cannot hold 150 students at one time. The divide was initially considered based on the knowledge level of the students, but was quickly dismissed as the purpose was to integrate students at all levels.

Similar to FRO, numerous challenges arise at the NRC YEP Center in Wol when attempting to provide an education for their students. For example, according to the English teacher, even

though the students enjoy the course, many are illiterate in Luo so it is difficult to teach them basic reading and writing skills in English ("Nahara", Personal Communication, 4 October 2012). Mathematics is a problem for students who were never taught the fundamentals of writing and therefore have never held a pen or a pencil before. Moreover, since the classrooms are big, some have difficulty seeing the chalkboard, partly because they need glasses which they cannot afford. According to the BCP teacher, it is difficult to translate technical terms into the local language from English ("Nelson", Personal Communication, 11 October 2012).

The hairdressing teacher mentioned that without electricity, the course is difficult to teach. Tools such as a hairdryer would make the lessons easier. The C&J teacher also complained that some of the students were lazy and not always attentive, and some enroll just for the start-up kits. Additionally, due to the absence of the teacher and a lack of substitute teachers, MVT students could not be observed. The students do, however, attend the academic courses. NRC buys motorbikes on which for students can work. They are usually in poor condition but once fixed, they are given to members of the community rather than sold.

The catering course has a refrigerator, and unlike FRO, the course is linked to the community. For example, students are provided with a work study initiative with restaurants and hotels in the local area. Students intern in groups taking turns with such duties as cooking, hosting, and serving. The objective is to provide hands-on experience prior to receiving the start-up kit.

While the courses at FRO are strictly vocational, the NRC YEP Center in Wol incorporates general education courses. The study is three months longer at Wol than at FRO, and they also offer a more diverse education to enhance the literacy skills of the students and to teach issues related to health and safety. Only two of the seven skills courses taught at FRO provide students with start-up kits upon graduation. In comparison, all graduates from Wol receive a start-up kit. At each institution, the kit is given to a group of about four students and consists of materials to begin their business. Both institutions require a passing grade in order for the students to receive a kit and a certificate.

Counseling

FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol provide students with psychosocial counseling to help deal with the psychological trauma from their time in the bush. At FRO, six teachers and

administrators (four male, two female) also work as counselors and possess at minimum a certificate in counseling. One female counselor studied psychology for three years, and a male counselor studied psychology at the university level. Each teacher is also given additional training in counseling.

Counseling is gender based; female students have a female counselor and male students a male one. FRO first gets to know the background of the students (formerly abducted, orphan, single mother, etc.), and each student is counseled based upon their status. According to one of the founders, "We, the founders, know this region and what they experienced. We suffered too. We know how to deal with special needs. We design themes that help the rehabilitation process" ("Fidel", Personal Communication, 27 September 2012). Some of the administrators, teachers and counselors also went through a process of education and counseling, are familiar with the effectiveness of counseling, and have incorporated suggestions. The sessions usually begin with small questions. For a formerly abducted student, the initial question is often, How was it in the bush? During the sessions, the student's behavior is observed, and counselors move slowly. Students can change counselors if they prefer.

In 2008, FRO began to work with the UK based charity Comic Relief. Both FRO students and youth in the community are provided with additional counselors and programs. The core areas are livelihood (to eliminate economic barriers), rights, education, and community protection. Students and youth have access to social clubs and the radio station to express their views and concerns regarding their rights, responsibilities, and how to handle certain incidents. This also provides a platform for dialog with other youth and community members. If a student or youth is raped, then a female counselor from FRO will go to the hospital or home of the victim for counseling.

One of the main objectives of YEP is to provide students with an enabling environment for personal development and psychosocial support. As in the case of FRO, some teachers are also given the task of counseling students. Both male and female counselors are provided, who are trained to counsel students based on their gender and status. The two main counselors have previous experience as teachers and hold certificates in higher education. The headmaster was previously a guidance counselor at a ministry.

According to the headmaster, "YEP Wol often has meetings with the students at the individual level to know how they are doing with their studies. In doing so, we hope to get

them to open up. Here, we ask if they are abused at school or at home. The officers at Kitgum often come here and have meetings with the students" ("Naeem", Personal Communication, 2 October 2012). Formerly abducted students are treated equally, just as the other students. Counselors encourage them to continue with their studies beyond YEP and get a diploma. Female students pose a major challenge since they are often absent, and many are pregnant. They are counseled to not get married while studying. It appeared that female youth face more obstacles than males when trying to obtain an education. Cultural traditions seemed to favor males in the classroom and traditional male occupations are more highly paid than traditional female occupations. Unlike FRO, where counseling is one on one with the student and teacher, Wol sometimes initiates group sessions with students of similar backgrounds.

Final Examinations

In both institutions, final examinations are in two parts, and students are tested in both their theoretical and practical knowledge. At FRO, students are divided into two categories: literate and illiterate. If a student is illiterate, the exam is conducted orally in Luo by the teacher of the course. This is to prevent illiteracy from getting in the way of completing their vocational skill. If a student fails his or her final examination, he/she will receive a certificate of attendance rather than a certificate of completion.

At the NRC YEP Center in Wol, students have the final examination at the end of the term. Teachers write up raw questions pertinent to what the students learned and send them to the NRC headquarters in Kitgum where all raw questions from the YEP centers in the region are examined by a committee, and an examination is formulated for each skill. Students from each center are given the same examination based on the skills course. Students are also tested on the life skills courses. Students must get a 50% or higher score to receive a diploma and a start-up kit from the NRC. If students fail his or her final examination, they can re-take the exam.

Start-Up Kits

One major aspect of the educational program of the two institutions is the start-up kit. The start-up kit consists of materials relevant to the skill of study in order for students to open and operate a business upon successful completion of their studies. Although both FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol provide start-up kits, there are major differences between them.

Originally, FRO graduates of each of the seven skills courses were given start-up kits upon graduation. Due to financial constraint, FRO can only grant start-up kits to graduates of MVT and Computers. Also, donors who have taken an interest in these particular courses provide the funds for the purchasing of these kits. Furthermore, students are now grouped in pairs of five to six per kit rather than receiving one individually. Students were previously also provided with agricultural tools. Students expressed discontent regarding the lack of kits, as well as the materials which were contained in them. If students were paired in smaller groups, their profits would be distributed among fewer employees. Further details of the students' views of the kits appear in the following section.

At the NRC YEP Center in Wol, start-up kits are distributed in groups of four to five students. Unlike FRO, every skills course has a start-up kit. They too are designed for students to open and operate a business as a group. Students are often given materials which are not intended for sharing, such as boots and overalls. Students are also given agricultural tools. Although former students who were interviewed expressed satisfaction with the kits, some were discontent as was the case at FRO. This will be discussed further below.

5.2.6 Rights of Learners

A rights-based education acknowledges the importance of education for the future life of the learners. According to Tomaševski (2004):

> Through integrated, all-encompassing strategies education becomes associated with all other human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as the right to work, which plays an important role in poverty eradication, the right to marry and raise a family, which has an impact on demographic changes, and the right to political participation, which highlights the importance of education for building all-inclusive societies (p. 6).

Both institutions attempt to ensure the rights of their students through to education. They apply different methods, yet their aims are similar. According to the headmaster of FRO:

> "We adhere to child protection policies. Each student is given a copy on their first day. We are a child focused organization. All acts are intended to help the children. We also support the students via the community. Women and children suffered the most during the war. Even during the peace building processes, witnesses are often ignored. The radio creates a forum for their voices to be heard" ("Fidel", Personal Communication, 27 September 2012).

The radio provides a forum for students and other community members to air their concerns regarding their rights. In doing so, a dialogue between students, parents, teachers/counselors, as well as other community members is created. Topics have included the right to basic education, right to play, right to be listened to, and right to entertainment.

There is no course taught at FRO on peace and human rights. FRO did not seem to ensure the safety of the students who were observed in the workshop without teacher supervision on numerous occasions. Neither the BCP students nor the teacher wore protective gear when using tools and machinery. This was also the case with the WMF students who worked on heavy metal objects with tools producing high temperatures without wearing gloves, boots, a mouthpiece, or goggles. Instead, many students wore their own sunglasses and open-toe sandals with sparks falling onto their feet. At FRO, one female student was observed with an injury after a saw fell onto her ankle. She wore no boots or overalls and could not be treated at FRO for lack of a first aid kit and a nurse. She instead received care at a nearby clinic.

Unlike FRO, the NRC YEP Center in Wol teaches a course on peace and human rights. Topics taught include law, gender (based violence), alcohol abuse, critical thinking, and self-esteem. Furthermore, the headmaster and counselors have meetings with the students individually to discuss things taking place in their lives. This is done to uncover potential threats to their health and livelihood. This takes place as, according to the headmaster, "We hope to get them to open up. Here, we ask if they are getting abused at school and at home. The officers at the Kitgum office often come here too and have meetings with the students" ("Naeem", Personal Communication, 3 October 2012). If the student is experiencing turmoil during their enrollment, the NRC will get involved with community leaders and suggest solutions.

5.2.7 Elimination of Child Labor

According to Tomaševski (2004), "The varying definitions of primary and/or basic education … make age-related categorizations all the more important. This kind of information is useful in the elimination of intolerable forms of child labour and provision of education to working children" (p. 41). The issue of child labor was discussed with the project manager at FRO and headmaster at Wol. For this study, child labor refers to work that is physically, socially, or morally hazardous, and interferes with the students' attendance by enforcing a long and demanding work schedule (ILO, 1996-2014).

Many students at both FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol work while enrolled. At the same time, many care for their family, and are relied upon to maintain the household. Most do agricultural work as the region is agriculturally based. Although the project manager at FRO said they do nothing regarding the elimination of child labor, they do provide an education to eliminate or mitigate future exploitation. The same can be said for Wol. Both institutions minimize attendance hindrances, such as fees and requirements.

5.2.8 Elimination of Gender Disparities

According to Tomaševski (2004):

> The reasons why the elimination of gender disparities is often hard to sustain routinely point to factors outside schools and the education sector in general. Therefore, the principle of the indivisibility of human rights provides helpful guidance as it requires the examination of the entire legal status of girls and women in society, as well as the sources which determine that status" (p. 43).

Both FRO and the YEP Center focused on the elimination of gender discrimination and disparities. For example, FRO attempts a 50/50 gender balance in terms of overall student enrollment. According to the Project Manager, "FRO wants to be 50/50 to empower women" ("Fulton", Personal Communication, 25 September 2012). Nevertheless, there was clearly an imbalance. Students are encouraged to enroll in the course of their desire, but according to one of the founders, many courses are gender biased. Traditional male courses often pay better than traditional female courses, and FRO encourages females to apply for the male dominated courses. For the second 2012 term, 41 of the 120 students were female ("Felipe", Personal Communication, 25 September 2012).

At Wol, there were approximately 150 students, (87 males and 63 females). Students are free to, and encouraged to enroll in the skills course of their choice. In reality, traditional female courses, such as catering and hairdressing have a female dominated enrollment while traditional male courses, such as motor vehicle technology, only has one female student. Observations at both institutions suggested that there is high respect between male and female students, and all seem to be treated in the same way by the teachers and institutions.

The high number of male students compared to female students at both institutions is due to a higher dropout rate for females. The cultural traditions of the region encourage early marriage, and females are often meant to stay home to care for the family and the home.

Furthermore, husbands sometimes prevent their wives from obtaining an education since an educated wife may desire a career that would demand time away from the home. This issue is partly being addressed by the counselors at Wol who try to convince husbands to let their wives attend the program.

5.2.9 Minority Children

According to Tomaševski (2004), "Indigenous and minority children are placed in schools that provide instruction in an alien language and that often teach them an interpretation of history that denies their very existence. Assimilation entails the imposition of uniformity: integration   acknowledges diversity but only as a departure from the "norm"" (p. 54).

Pader and Wol are located in the isolated northern Uganda, and all students and staff are Acholi. At FRO, the language of instruction is English, which in theory could enable minority children to enroll if they have knowledge of the English language. At Wol, since the language of instruction is Luo, it would be difficult for a non-Luo speaker to understand the lessons. However, there were no students with another ethnic background at either institution, nor are there people of other ethnic groups living in the area.

5.2.10   Prevention of Child Soldiering

One major aspect of making education adaptable and acceptable is the prevention of child soldiering. It came as a surprise to discover that neither FRO nor the NRC YEP Center in Wol seem to have any sort of child soldiering prevention on their educational agenda. This may be because the LRA is no longer active in the region. On the other hand, both institutions do provide support in the aftermath of child soldiering, and work specifically with such students at the individual level. This is important since "the absence of education for victims of armed conflicts and disasters dooms them to remain recipients of assistance while preventing them from becoming self-sustaining" (Tomaševski, 2001: 35). In any case, trained counselors and community consulting is offered by both institutions which is done to prevent further exclusion of formerly abducted children.

5.2.11   Summary

When comparing the rights in and through education of the two institutions, both similarities and differences emerge. In regards to the language of instruction at FRO, lessons are mainly taught in English, while Luo is used at Wol. FRO is (re)introducing English while Luo is used when English poses problems for students to comprehend the lessons. The way of incorporating English seems to be beneficial as it may broaden the students' opportunities if they can use both English and Luo. At FRO, students used Luo both in and out of the classrooms, although they seemed to understand some English. The use of Luo as the language of instruction is plausible since it is likely to ensure higher learning outcomes and since students are likely to stay in the region post-graduation as was the case with former students.

In terms of the institutions' budgets, I assumed that since the NRC YEP Center in Wol has a higher budget than FRO, more highly qualified staff would be hired. This is not correct. Not only did the teachers and headmasters at FRO have a higher level of education, but their level of English proficiency as a whole seemed to be above that at the NRC YEP Center in Wol.

One similarity of the two institutions concerns discipline. In addition to involving teachers and administrators in disciplinary matters, both institutions give students the responsibility for disciplining their fellow students. This could be understood as the institutions' way of building character and morale, and students in both institutions seemed happy with this procedure when asked.

Both institutions provide an educational opportunity which includes counseling. While both provide skills courses, only Wol provides academic courses. The academic courses include subjects that may enhance future prospects, such as literacy and numeracy. Neither institution concentrates on the prevention of child soldiering.

In regards to future employment prospects for graduates, one teacher at FRO suggested that the course was too short to provide enough knowledge and experience for a lucrative career (C&J), while another suggested that the course would provide graduates with a minimum level job prospective (computers). Both institutions require examinations, and a passing grade is required for a certificate and start-up kit.

5.3 Student Opinions of their Learning Experience and its Importance for their Lives

All students were positive about their educational experience and its importance. At FRO, "Fabian", a formerly abducted current student said: "They [the teachers and staff] are involved with their students and they love their students" (Personal Communication, 12 September 2012). Dialogue between students and teachers via lessons and counseling may explain his positive view, especially the term "love". Interviewees also mentioned free education, the teachers, the extra-curricular and classroom activities, and access to knowledge as positive outcomes. Extra-curricular activities (sport and dance) also create dialogue between the students and teachers.

At the NRC YEP Center in Wol, "Neil", a formerly abducted, orphan, IDP, and head of his household, gave the following response: "It gives me the opportunity to study which will enable me to earn a living and being self-reliant" (Questionnaire, No date). "Naomi", a divorced, single mother who was also formerly abducted and orphaned said: "It has helped me learn how to write and read which is something I have forgotten" (Questionnaire, No date). Interviewees emphasized overall education, specific courses, and literacy as important. Former students also indicated an improvement in their standards of living via the education (literacy) provided by the institutions.

No formerly abducted current student at FRO mentioned anything they disliked. In contrast, four formerly abducted current students at Wol mentioned the culture course, lack of discipline, local language instruction, and the peace and human rights course.

Courses

Current FRO students mentioned that they would have liked to study driving, hairdressing, and further their higher education. Former students wanted to further their education with more MVT knowledge. In Pader, there seems to be no schools which teach hairdressing and/or driving, although such courses might help expand future employment opportunities for students as competition would be minimal. This could in turn provide more economic stability for graduates and the region.

At Wol, current students mentioned driving, mechanics, tailoring, haircutting/barbering, motorcycle repair, and weaving as preferred courses. Former students mentioned computers, Kiswahili, mechanics, motorcycle repair, mobile telephone repair, and tailoring. "Nora", a current student responded, "During the big days [holidays and festivals], we could sew and mend clothes to make lots of money" (Personal Communication, 8 October 2012). Wol hosts festivities throughout the year which attract many people from throughout the region. As this suggests a demand, this could have been factored in when constructing the curriculum and the courses to be taught.

Preparation for the Future

At FRO, current students were positive about what their education provided: a better future, a good education, a certificate. "Fabian" responded: "They want our lives to be clear and good" (Personal Communication, 12 September 2012). Each former FRO student also provided a positive response:

> "They taught us how to open a workshop; I have an internship at this garage" ("Foster", Personal Communication, 22 September 2012).

> "After the exam in Lira, after the results, FRO gave us tools and they opened a garage" ("Finn", Personal Communication, 22 September 2012).

Current students at Wol also provided positive responses: more knowledge/skills, agriculture, a sense of community, business skills, self-reliance, and not having to beg. "Natasha", a formerly abducted orphan, IDP, and single mother said: "It is helping me to not be a beggar because I will be in a position to make my own money" (Questionnaire, No date).

Former students also gave positive responses: farming skills, earn more money, learn better customer and verbal skills, and leadership skills. "Nora", a formerly abducted orphan responded: "It has prepared me to earn 5,000 - 10,000 schillings per day. Also, it helped me to welcome customers and communicate" (Personal Communication, 8 October 2012). Better business and verbal skills, as well as boosting their confidence may have to do with the dialogue in the lessons amongst the students, as well as the students and teachers. It seems that the confidence and positive outlook of the students may be due to the skills obtained from their education.

All current students at FRO and Wol were positive about the fact that the skills they were taught would be beneficial for their future. Two of the male students, both formerly abducted,

orphaned, and IDPs focused on their capacity to earn more money. Students seemed to associate more income with a higher education and additional possibilities regarding their career choices. In this sense, their awareness or critical consciousness seems to have been raised.

Current Situation

Similarly, former students at FRO were convinced that what they had learned was beneficial to what they were presently doing. One male student, a guardian of his siblings and formerly abducted, was interviewed at the garage where he works and earns a small salary. His enthusiastic response was: "It's so good!!!!" ("Foster", Personal Communication, 22 September 2012). Another former student, "Finn" responded: "[There are] still lots of challenges. We have to pay rent, we don't have many customers, we just started and do not have enough tools. We need a tire lever. We also cook food here and sell it because we do not earn enough" (Personal Communication, 22 September 2012). "Foster" responded, "My life is becoming more … there are less problems than when I was younger" (Personal Communication, 22 September 2012).

Former students of the NRC YEP Center in Wol graduated only the previous term/year, and therefore only a brief experience in terms of their life situation is offered. Nevertheless, all former students were positive, and some students provided examples of what they are capable of doing which they could not do before. "Nora" said: "[What I learned was] Beneficial. I pay my kid's tuition and I earn a living" (Personal Communication, 8 October 2012). She has opened a restaurant, and runs it with other students she was grouped with about 50 meters from the Wol campus. At the same time, she asked: "If possible, the NRC can give us more assistance? What is given is not enough to run a business". Three former students also suggested that what is provided in the start-up kits is not enough to earn a stable salary.

All former students responded positively regarding the relevance of the education provided by the NRC and their current situation. "Nigel" said that there were changes in his standard of living, while "Norman", a formerly abducted orphan and IDP said: "My lifestyle has changed from the past because today I am able to earn money through making furniture" (Questionnaire, No date). Many students are able to support younger brothers and sisters, are able to purchase medicine for their families and themselves, are more self-reliant, and earn money.

All formerly abducted students at FRO, and all ten former students at Wol confirmed that they were doing what they hoped to do after their education, while one student wished to have studied another subject. The responses seemed to suggest a positive outlook on the future, as well as understanding the importance and strength of their capabilities obtained via education. More members of the community, such as siblings and other family members, benefit from the student's education as their income and network increases.

In terms of their future, current FRO students hoped to get a job, stay home, pay off debts, and to earn a better wage. "Flora" said: "If I finish, I will take any job. I will just stay home since I have no finance or assistance, but I want to become a driver" (Personal Communication, 12 September 2012). "Flora's" response may refer to the fact that certain courses are not offered but desired. Perhaps she is not satisfied with her education, and/or it is not applicable to the region as unemployment is high. In the end, she is still faced with financial hardship. Students may have debts which have accrued due to their attendance which prevents them from working during school hours. Economic struggle/dependency is the reality for many students today.

Current students at Wol wanted to work with the skill learned, open a workshop, have further education if supported, open a restaurant in Wol, look for a job, open a bank account, move away, and open a hotel. "Neville", a formerly abducted orphan and IDP said: "[I want] to open a workshop ... I want to move to Kitgum or Sudan. I have an uncle in Sudan. There is lots of money there" (Personal Communication, 15 October 2012). "Nadia" said: "I plan to continue my education if I can find someone to sponsor me" (Personal Communication, 15 October 2012). Despite their eagerness, their responses may also suggest a challenge even with the education obtained. Having the desire to move away may suggest a lack of opportunities in the region. Lack of resources to fund further education may also indicate a lack of opportunities even with an obtained education.

5.3.1 Summary

The views held by students from both FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol is an indication of the influence the institutions and curricula have on the students' current and future lives. At FRO, current students seemed optimistic, yet still cautious regarding their educational experiences and future prospects. Former students seemed satisfied with their education, and to be in a less vulnerable position than before. Some former students suggested that although

they are employed and earning an income, they struggle financially, and are still unable to live solely off the earnings made from their skill. In all cases, their attitudes and outlooks were positive, and they were earning a higher income.

At Wol, current students seemed more attentive, more eager to learn, and more enthusiastic than the students at FRO. This is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, the students interviewed seemed to have experienced more trauma due to the conflict than the FRO students. Many were former IDPs, there seemed to be more formerly abducted students at Wol than at FRO, and students would commute further by foot. Secondly, Wol seemed to have fewer opportunities as it is more rural, less developed, and much smaller than Pader. Pader had a stronger presence of NGOs and international donors than Wol. Other than the NRC, there is no other NGO present in Wol. Perhaps Wol's counseling methods have made an impact on the students' outlook as they are all treated and counseled equally, including the formerly abducted children. The fact that they are not separated based on status may help overcome the stigmatization related to abduction which in turn may help students overcome trauma.

One aspect of the educational experience which seemed to suggest dissatisfaction among some of the students at both institutions had to do with the start-up kits. The start-up kits are designed to assist students with the establishment and running of their own businesses. Despite efforts from both institutions, not all students are provided with these kits. At Wol, students are grouped with peers from the same skills course, often in groups of four. At FRO, only the MVT and computer students are given start-up kits. FRO students who are not enrolled in MVT or computers expressed some discontent regarding the lack of start-up kits. MVT and computer students also seemed dissatisfied with the kits. Former MVT students who were interviewed claimed that a lack of tools hindered their business prospects which resulted in lower earnings and prevented them from being able to purchase more tools.

In Pader, there seemed to be competition as there were many garages. Former MVT students also had other jobs, such as shoe repair and baking. Their responses regarding the kits suggested that these are not enough to ensure sustainability. Perhaps the regional infrastructure is too weak to allow more garages to flourish. During the interviews, both former and current FRO students asked if they could be provided with more tools. This seems to contradict the information available on the FRO website which suggests that all graduates are given start-up kits.

In terms of subjects/courses, some students suggested motorcycle repair, mobile telephone repair, and Kiswahili as other courses they would have liked to study if they were offered. These suggestions may be interesting for the institutions provided that they are appropriate to the local context. Certainly, there are more motorcycles than cars in the area, and many adults (not students) were using mobile phones. The summary of the findings is discussed further in the concluding chapter in terms of their wider implications.

6 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

This study has compared two institutions which provide education for excluded youth in northern Uganda focusing on formerly abducted children and their rights to, in, and through education. This includes whether the institutions have helped in raising the students' critical consciousness as a way to overcome social exclusion via education. Based on the data presented in the previous chapter, the research questions will be revisited in view of the analytical framework - in particular the human rights based approach to education, and reviewed literature before some suggestions for future investigations are put forward. As with most qualitative research, this study does not provide definitive answers. Furthermore, Andersson (2007) argues there is a lack of literature pertaining to formerly abducted children in the context of northern Uganda. The major value of this study is to contribute to filling that gap of knowledge.

6.1 Education for Formerly Abducted Children at the Two Institutions

Tomaševski's framework on the right to, in, and through education played a major role in the comparative analysis. Under the 4-A Scheme, education is to be made available, accessible, acceptable, and adaptable (Tomaševski, 2001, 2004, 2006). Data presented in the previous chapter compared the two selected institutions in this regard. Both institutions made an effort to integrate such rights into the education scheme. The analysis identified both similarities and differences amongst them. These will be discussed in the following sub-sections.

6.1.1 The Right *to* Education

In order to make education more available and accessible, several areas related to the right to education were observed in the field. The study asserts that the institutions' "local" vs. "international" status may have led to differences when providing education to their students. In regards to funding, FRO receives much less than Wol. NRC has other ongoing projects and learning centers throughout Uganda which seems to suggest that the YEP Center in Wol has access to more funds and can provide more learning materials for the students and teachers

that can help enhance the quality of education. Furthermore, NRC can afford tools for agriculture and start-up kits for all graduates, unlike FRO where only computer and MVT graduates are allotted kits. This seems to suggest that access to more funds enables institutions to better ensure the right in and through education, enabling a more productive and self-sustaining future for students.

In regards to recruiting teachers and ensuring professional responsibilities, both institutions apply similar approaches. To make education more available, Tomaševski (2001) argues that teachers must not only be qualified to teach, they must also be able to teach. The recruitment processes practiced by both institutions are very similar and both seemed to attract a pool of highly qualified teachers who were patient, passionate, and willing to teach vulnerable youth.

However, observations also showed that some teachers did not always fulfill their professional responsibilities. Firstly, during the three weeks I was at Wol, the MVT teacher was never present. A substitute was never brought in, and the MVT students either attended another skills course or left following the academic courses. Perhaps the NRC could have hired another teacher or taught another skills course. Secondly, unlike Wol, FRO has a teacher for each course. On the other hand, teachers at Wol (except the MVT teacher) were always present with their students in both the classrooms and workshops. At FRO, teachers were sometimes watching films on a laptop in the office while students were left unattended in the classrooms and workshops. This may have influenced the learning outcomes of the students.

Formerly abducted children, as well as other vulnerable youth, often face financial obstacles which prevent them from getting an education. This seemed to be a common struggle for students at both institutions. In order to overcome such barriers, both FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol have made remarkable efforts to provide such youth with an educational opportunity by covering tuition fees or disregarding procedures that would have involved other costs.

Both FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol cover the tuition fees for their students. In regards to uniforms and stationery, students are still allowed to attend even if they cannot cover the costs of these items. Both institutions also ensured that other barriers to access to education for vulnerable youth were removed, for example by having a wide age range and permitting students to bring their children.

At FRO, there were no particular provisions made to the mother or the child, while at Wol, babysitters, a nursery, and porridge were provided. This is undoubtedly related to the difference in funding of the two institutions since both institutions work towards elimination of gender barriers to education. Similarly, despite the intentions at both institutions, only one physically disabled student was enrolled (at FRO). In general, Wol would better have been able to accommodate such students because it is better resourced. While both institutions provide their students with a safe learning environment with security personnel, neither of them can cater to students who live too far away who need transport.

6.1.2 The Right *in* and *through* Education

Making education acceptable and adaptable was a challenge for both institutions. Neither FRO nor the NRC YEP Center in Wol include the prevention of child soldiering in their education scheme. This was expected since both institutions are located in former LRA territory. However, FRO has particular knowledge of that particular situation since it was founded by formerly abducted children and employs teachers who are familiar with the struggles in the aftermath of captivity. This is not the case in Wol where no teacher was formerly abducted although they were apparently teaching more formerly abducted children. The counseling aspect of the education scheme at both institutions includes methods designed to help students cope with their past.

The language of instruction played a major role in the education scheme of the two institutions. If the students cannot understand the lesson, then the ability to learn is jeopardized (Tomaševski, 2004). While the language of instruction at FRO is English, Luo is the language of instruction at Wol. Using English as the language of instruction means that students are exposed to the international language of business, and are taught a language which may increase their job prospects and ability to possibly work outside the region. However, teaching in Luo means that students struggle less while being taught but may limit their opportunities afterwards.

In terms of contents, both institutions have the same objective: to provide their students with a rights-based education to enable critical consciousness-raising. Providing this is thought to enable self-sufficiency and to aid in overcoming stigmatization and exclusion. The courses provided are designed to provide students with a particular skill to ensure that they can be employed and/or have business opportunities.

At FRO, there are seven skills courses. At the NRC YEP Center in Wol, there are six skills courses and eight academic courses. The academic courses seem to be an advantage for Wol and their students over FRO as students at Wol acknowledged the value of the academic courses as the major outcome of their education since it helps them operate their business (in particular the need for mathematics and literacy). The NRC YEP Center in Wol is also able to support all their students with a start-up kit while FRO can only offer a kit to graduates of the computer and MVT courses. This is not the case at Wol as every graduate is given a kit (as a group).

Gender disparities were present in both institutions. This undoubtedly relates to the fact that the region is still riddled with cultural customs which favor males over females regarding education, employment, and pay. The attempt to enroll female students in male dominated courses, as well as to ensure a 50/50 male/female enrollment were ways in which both institutions had chosen to try and overcome this.

In general, although FRO functions on a lower budget, it does provide students with a safe learning environment with classrooms, qualified teachers, and security officers. Unlike Wol, the campus has electricity (enabling a computer training course), and the teachers are better qualified as regards to their education and previous work experience. A lower budget seems to still permit quality of teaching. The teachers are more proficient in English than at Wol, and the lessons are mostly taught in English.

6.1.3 Future prospects

Education is a human right, and both parents and the Ugandan government have a crucial role to play to ensure that their children and citizens have access to education. Many of the interviewed students had been excluded from obtaining primary or secondary education in government schools as they failed to meet the enrolment requirements. This includes students who were formerly abducted. The Ugandan government seems to lack the capacity to provide such youth with an education. This heightens the importance of institutions, such as FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol that may provide the only opportunity for such youth to obtain an education. This strengthens their importance for the region of northern Uganda which is consistent with the findings in Hill & Langholtz (2003).

According to Annan et al. (2009), educational programs for formerly abducted children are often insufficient due to a lack of knowledge and few previous studies on how to run them. Dallaire (2008) has critiqued institutions that ran such programs and their methods of instruction since they are hard to sustain and that the success of the students and institutions are unpredictable. Both FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol showed evidence of this. FRO is economically vulnerable, and struggles in numerous aspects, such as payment of teacher salaries and providing start-up kits for all graduates. The NRC YEP Center in Wol is closing down after only two academic terms and will be taken over by the government which may threaten its future sustainability.

6.2 Students Views on their Learning Experience and its Importance

Both former and current students at both institutions seemed overall satisfied with their learning experience. However, some expressed discontent with some aspects, such as the (lack of) start-up kits and availability of skills courses.

Critical consciousness, as interpreted by Freire stresses the notion of revolting against oppression (1970, 1972). In this study, this could be related to students standing up against any wrongdoings brought on by the LRA, the government, or the community that would prevent them from living a full life free from oppression. This study asserts that by obtaining an education, the individual's critical consciousness may rise as a means to understand and overcome their own stigmatization and marginalization. The two educational institutions analyzed in the study provide education and psychosocial counseling to assist students in doing this, although it has not been proven that literacy, counseling, and education have actually permitted this.

The responses from current and former students did, however, reveal that students felt they were capable of doing what they were unable to do prior to obtaining an education, such as purchasing medicines for themselves and family members, financially supporting siblings, earning more money, and having a positive outlook on life. Their outlook may be due in part to the dialogue created by the institutions amongst students, teachers, and counselors that may have enabled positive reinforcement.

The findings support previously reviewed literature in terms of the student's reality post-conflict, as related to discrimination and stigmatization which occur beyond the youth's time in captivity (Akera, 2010; Annan et al., 2009; Feinberg, 2008). Former and current students at both institutions provided numerous examples of discrimination and stigmatization they have experienced due to their past, such as denial of access to the classroom and harassment from neighbors. Furthermore, formerly abducted children in northern Uganda have very few options regarding assistance in the process of becoming a productive member of society.

The findings also support Hill & Langholtz's (2003) focus on the significance of youths' lack of education because of captivity and the repercussions which are thought to be the result. Because students often miss out on education, society often excludes them since they lack the skills to become a member. Therefore, youth are often forced to deal with the aftermath stemming from their past (stigmatization, stress, psychological trauma) on their own without any provisions provided by the government and/or community, such as education or counseling.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

Incorporating the concepts of social exclusion, critical consciousness, and the rights-based approach to education has allowed a more in-depth examination of the topic of the right to education to this particular context. Consisting of three parts at three levels: the individual, the institutions, and society, the study focused primarily on the institutions and what they do to mitigate the situation of the students. The framework is considered to be useful for similar studies in other areas inside or outside of northern Uganda which could then also help clarify whether wider generalizations can be made.

Tomaševski's work on the right to education played a major role in the analysis. By applying her 4A-Scheme, the study could focus on specific areas identified as important for the students' right to, in, and through education. Tomaševski stresses that education is a catalyst for overcoming stigmatization and discrimination, and is a stepping stone to an individual's self-reliance (2003). This can be understood to be associated with socioeconomic enhancement. Institutions, such as FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol, have created unique educational programs that have sought to support the provision of the right to education for youth, who were otherwise deprived, and to help them overcome their

vulnerability through a learning environment that provided, amongst others, necessary counseling.

Former and current students specifically mentioned overcoming stigmatization and discrimination, and being more self-reliant as the most important outcomes of their education. A number of former students also mentioned that the higher standard of life they had as a result of their education enabled them to do things which were not possible before, such as taking care of family members.

This may, however, not mean that all students have successfully reintegrated or are reintegrating back into society due to the education and psychosocial counseling provided by the two institutions. Some of the former students struggle financially, and members within the community still treat them as stigmatized. However, this struggle is likely to also derive from the general situation in their area which is under-developed and struggling with high levels of unemployment. These barriers remain a real hindrance for graduates when attempting to jumpstart their careers with their newly obtained skill. Only tracer studies over a longer period could verify the potential impact that education could make or has made in the students' lives.

There are considerable challenges involved when attempting to provide formerly abducted children of the LRA (and other excluded youth) with the rights to, in, and through education. But the reality is that these students are members of their society and communities. They are also their future. Education is a human right, and they too are entitled to a seat in a classroom. Sadly, the Ugandan government does not seem capable of fulfilling this right. Students at FRO and the NRC YEP Center in Wol must be considered to be privileged compared to many other youth in the same and similar areas since they have been fortunate enough to receive a free education, counseling, and for some a start-up kit to open their own business post-graduation. Many youth in northern Uganda are unable to attend school due to distance, finance, cultural norms etc. FRO and the NRC have offer a unique opportunity for youth that are otherwise often forgotten and left on their own. The institutions invest time and money, and even engage the community to overcome their discriminatory practices. It seems that they are the only ones to do so.

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Appendix I

Tomaševski's 4-A Scheme[8]

Availability	• Public funding for private schools • Criteria for teacher recruitment • Academic freedom • Professional responsibilities • Freedom to establish schools
Accessibility	• Elimination of legal and administrative barriers • Elimination of financial obstacles • Identification and elimination of discriminatory denials of access • Elimination of obstacles to compulsory schooling (distance, schedule) • All encompassing • Preferential access • Criteria for admission
Acceptability	• Language of instruction • Method of instruction • Discipline • Minimum standards • Respect of diversity • Orientation and contents • Rights of the learners
Adaptability	• Elimination of child labor • Elimination of gender disparities • Minority children • Working children • Children with disabilities • Prevention of child soldiering

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[8] Sources: (Tomaševski, 2001; Tomaševski, 2004)

Appendix II

Fall 2012 Enrollment: Friends of Orphans

Course	Teacher	Number of Students	Male	Female	Age Range
BCP	Male	20	19	1	18-21
C&J	Male	15	14	1	16-24
Catering	Male	20	2	18	16-17
Computers	Male	10	7	3	17-25
MVT	Male	20	19	1	16-25
TGC	Female	20	3	17	16-20
WMF	Male	15	15	0	16-24
Total		120	79	41	

Appendix III

Fall 2012 Enrollment: NRC YEP Center in Wol

Course	Teacher	Number of Students	Male	Female	Age Range
BCP	Male	30	29	1	16-24
C&J	Male	35	35	0	17-24
Catering	Male	37	1	36	15-24
Hairdressing	Female	28	2	26	16-24
MVT	Male	15	15	0	16-24
WMF	Male	5	5	0	17-20
Total		150	87	63	

Appendix IV

Interview Schedule: Current Students

Interview	Friends of Orphans	NRC YEP Center in Wol
Interview #1	12.09.12: Female: TGC Orphan	15.10.12: Male: C&J Formerly Abducted, IDP, Orphan
Interview #2	12.09.12: Female: MVT Formerly Abducted	15.10.12: Male: BCP Formerly Abducted, IDP
Interview #3	12.09.12: Female: BCP Child Mother	15.10.12: Female: Catering IDP
Interview #4	12.09.12: Female: C&J Orphan, Formerly Abducted	16.10.12: Male: BCP Formerly Abducted, IDP, Orphan
Interview #5	12.09.12: Female: Catering Child Mother, Orphan	16.10.12: Male: C&J IDP, Orphan
Interview #6	12.09.12: Male: MVT Formerly Abducted, Orphan	Male*[9]: MVT Formerly Abducted, IDP, Orphan
Interview #7	12.09.12: Male: BCP Orphan	Male*: BCP Formerly Abducted, IDP, Orphan
Interview #8	12.09.12: Male: WMF Orphan	Male*: MVT Formerly Abducted, Head of Household, IDP, Orphan
Interview #9	12.09.12: Male: MVT Orphan	Female*: Hairdressing Child Mother, Formerly Abducted, IDP, Orphan
Interview #10	12.09.12: Male: MVT Formerly Abducted, Orphan	Female*: Catering Child Mother, Divorced, Formerly Abducted, Orphan
Total	10 (5 Female, 5 Male)	10 (3 Female, 7 Male)

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[9] * Represents questionnaire used in lieu of interview.

Appendix V

Interview Schedule: Former Students

Interview	Friends of Orphans	NRC YEP Center in Wol
Interview #1	17.09.12: Female: Catering Orphan	04.10.12: Female: Catering IDP
Interview #2	18.09.12: Female: Catering Child Mother	05.10.12: Female: Catering Dropout
Interview #3	18.09.12: Female: Catering Child Mother	05.06.12- 08.10.12: Female: Catering Orphan
Interview #4	19.09.12: Female: Catering Child Mother, Orphan	08.10.12: Female: Catering Dropout, Formerly Abducted, Orphan
Interview #5	19.09.12: Female: Catering Child Mother	11.10.12: Female: Catering Orphan
Interview #6	22.09.12: Male: Computers Land Mine Survivor	15.10.12: Male: Catering Orphan
Interview #7	22.09.12: Male: MVT Formerly Abducted, Orphan	15.10.12: Male: C&J Formerly Abducted
Interview #8	22.09.12: Male: MVT Formerly Abducted, Orphan	Male*[10]: BCP Formerly Abducted, IDP, Orphan
Interview #9	25.09.12: Male: C&J Orphan	Male*: C&J Formerly Abducted, IDP, Orphan
Interview #10	27.09.12: Male: C&J IDP, Orphan	Male*: BCP Formerly Abducted, IDP, Orphan
Total	10 (5 Female, 5 Male)	10 (5 Female, 5 Male)

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[10] * Represents questionnaire used in lieu of interview.

Appendix VI

Current Student Interview Questions

1. How did you hear about FRO?
2. How were you recruited, how did you end up at FRO?
3. How were your fees paid?
4. How long have you been enrolled at FRO?
5. When do you plan to complete your studies?
6. Why aren't you enrolled in a public school?
7. Do you know about other schools that could provide education for students with your background? If so, why are you not attending that school?
8. What are you studying?
9. What subjects would you like to study that are not available to you?
10. What do you like about FRO?
11. What do you dislike about FRO?
12. How do you get to and from FRO each day?
13. If this school could do things differently, what would you want it to do?
14. How has the school prepared you for the future?
15. Do you think the skills you are being taught will prepare you for the future?
16. Do you think boys and girls are taught or treated differently at school? If so, how?
17. How do you see your current situation as a student?
18. How would you describe your everyday life both in and out of the classroom?
19. What responsibilities do you have both in and out of the classroom?
20. Do you maintain contact with other bodies outside the school (i.e. from family, community, church, etc.)?
21. How do you get along with other students and faculty?
22. What do you plan on doing when you are finished with your education?
23. What do you think you would be doing if you were not enrolled in this school?
24. What were you doing before you came to this school?
25. How does the community treat you?
26. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix VII

Former Student Interview Questions

1. When did you complete your studies at FRO?

2. How did you hear about FRO?

3. What did you study?

4. How long were you enrolled at FRO?

5. What subjects would you liked to have studied (that was not available to you)?

6. Other than the classes, how did the school prepare you for the future?

7. Do you think boys and girls are taught or treated differently at FRO?

8. Do you think what you learned at FRO was beneficial to what you are doing today?

9. How do you see your current situation?

10. What are you doing today to earn a living? If not working, why not?

11. Do you earn more money than you did before you finished FRO?

12. How would you describe your everyday life?

13. What responsibilities do you have?

14. Do you maintain contact with other bodies (i.e. family, community, church, etc.)?

15. How did you get along with the faculty and other students?

16. Go back to when you were a student. Is what you planned on doing when you finished your education match what you are doing today?

17. What do you think you would be doing if you did not attend FRO?

18. What were you doing before you attended FRO?

19. How did the community treat you before you enrolled at FRO?

20. How does the community treat you today?

21. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix VIII

Interview Questions for Teachers, Headmasters, and Founders

1.　　How long have you worked/taught at FRO/NRC YEP Center in Wol?
2.　　What is your academic background?
3.　　How long have you been working with students of this particular background?
4.　　Do you have similar life experiences as these students?
5.　　If applicable, what other relevant employment have you had?
6.　　Why have you chosen to work/teach at FRO/NRC YEP Center in Wol?

Further Interview Questions for Headmasters and Founders

7.　　How was the curriculum/classes formulated?
8.　　What considerations were made (if any), when formulating the curriculum, i.e. why these courses?
9.　　How is the community involved with the school?
10.　How does the background of those who established the school influence the decision making and overall functioning of the school?
11.　How does the school cater to the needs of their students?
12.　How does FRO/NRC YEP Center in Wol adapt to students with disabilities, i.e. deaf, blind, wheel chair bound?
13.　What is FRO/NRC YEP Center in Wol doing with working children?
14.　What is FRO/NRC YEP Center in Wol doing regarding Arts and Sports?
15.　How does FRO acknowledge the rights of their students?
16.　What are the advantages of FRO/NRC YEP Center in Wol?
17.　What are the disadvantages of FRO/NRC YEP Center in Wol?

Appendix IX

Letter of Consent

Hello! My name is Patrick McGowan and I am a second year Masters student studying Comparative and International Education at Oslo University in Oslo, Norway. I am in northern Uganda for six weeks to study the educational institutions which cater to students not attending primary and upper primary school. The purpose of my study is to obtain information regarding the educational processes of such students (boys and girls) in northern Uganda. Additionally, my other objective is to expose the educational procedures and challenges customary to northern Uganda.

All interviews I carry out will be strictly confidential. My advisors back in Norway are also obligated to adhere to confidentiality. If possible, I would like to record the interviews via an audio recorder strictly for my personal use. Upon completion of the field work and data analysis, all records shall be destroyed. I shall promise not to use, distribute, or make any information available which the respondent (you) do not want me to include in the final thesis. Those who contribute to this study will be given the choice to take part when it has been completed.

Throughout this project, I will receive guidance by my academic supervisor, as well as a supervisor from NORAD (Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation). The study is being carried out as a requirement for the degree of Master of Philosophy from the Department of Education at Oslo University.

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

Sincerely,

Patrick McGowan