

THE INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES INTO UGANDA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

INTRODUCTION

This is a proposal for a four-year research programme designed to monitor the impact of the process of integration of educational services for refugees in Adjumani, Arua, and Moyo Districts. This process will be part of the implementation of a new policy of the Government of Uganda (GoU) and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In July 1998, the GoU/UNHCR announced its new policy, 'From Local Settlement to Self-Sufficiency: A Long-Term Strategy for Assistance to Refugees in Uganda, 1999-2002'. Initially it is to apply to Sudanese refugees in three northern districts. Over a four-year period, the GoU and UNHCR aim to bring the refugees in these three districts to self-sufficiency and to integrate services for refugees with those of the host society. These districts also contain large numbers of self-settled refugees who are already using local services, including schools.¹ Moreover, some of the 'refugee schools' provide education to the children of nationals.

The proposed research has been conceived and will be implemented as a discrete study within the broader framework of an EU-sponsored project, *Research on Policy Issues in Refugee Health and Welfare*. A major objective of this umbrella project is to build local capacity in research and teaching. Collaborating² institutions are the Refugee Studies Programme (RSP), University of Oxford, UK; the Institute of Tropical Medicine, Antwerp, Belgium; Institute of Public Health, Makerere University, Uganda, and the Centre for Refugee Studies/Medical School, Moi University, Kenya.³

Uganda currently hosts nearly 200,000 refugees, of which the Sudanese are the largest in number. Most are settled in Adjumani, Arua, Hoima, Kitgum, Masindi, and Moyo Districts. Some also live in Kampala and other urban centres. At the government level, responsibility for the administration of refugees falls to the Ministry of Refugee and Disaster Preparedness in the Office of Prime Minister. The Uganda office of UNHCR is the main conduit for international aid to support the material needs of refugees, as well as having responsibility for the protection of their rights. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are responsible for delivering the services, including education, in the refugee settlements. Tripartite contracts are signed between these NGOs, UNHCR, and the GoU. In a few cases, UNHCR budgets for settlements may be supplemented by an NGO's own funds.⁴ For the most part, only refugees who live in agricultural settlements are assisted through budgets earmarked for emergency relief programmes.⁵ Services for refugees are provided separately, although nationals living adjacent to the settlements may share them. Most settlements, however, are too geographically isolated from the local populations for significant 'sharing'.

OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The objectives of the research are:

1. To provide baseline quantitative data - class size, qualifications of teachers, salaries paid, proportions of the two populations of pupils in school, drop-out rates, and absenteeism - for monitoring the

¹ In Moyo, an NGO, International Aid Sweden, has a programme for giving limited support to self-settled refugees that is designed to promote integration.

² Part of the collaboration includes sharing of relevant data, other resources, and logistical arrangements.

³ Dr Harrell-Bond, the RSP's Principal Investigator for the EU-umbrella study, is responsible for the sociological, or 'welfare', dimensions into which this research falls.

⁴ The Ministry of Refugees and Disaster Preparedness distinguishes between 'operational' NGOs and 'implementing partners'. The latter, the vast majority, are NGOs that are totally dependent on funding through contracts signed with UNHCR and the GoU. These NGOs have no flexibility to invest in projects outside UNHCR direction. The GoU, however, finds its operational partners more willing to support development (Interview, Carlos Twesigomwe, 6 July 1998).

⁵ Some of the few who are officially allowed to live in Kampala receive assistance through Inter-Aid, an NGO supported by UNHCR.

implementation of the integration of primary and secondary schools in three selected districts and the access to university education of those who qualify.

2. To assess the quality of the education provided in primary schools before and after the educational system is integrated by using proxy measures including the results of examinations administered to pupils in primary schools.
3. To identify the financial, social and attitudinal obstacles to integration.
4. To assess the extent to which the education offered in the integrated schools conforms to national education policy, including its language policy.
5. To monitor the process of administrative and social integration over time.
6. To establish consultative relations and regularly share data to assist in devising strategies for enhancing the process of integration.
7. To collect information upon which a separate research proposal can be developed to investigate opportunities for and participation of refugees in vocational education and skills training.
8. To share information with district officials, especially that which is relevant to them for preparing proposals for additional funding for the economic and social development of the affected districts.
9. To produce a book and other academic papers relevant to policy makers in refugee-affected states around the world and for teaching in the new field of refugee studies.
10. To contribute to developing research and teaching capacity at Makerere University.

THE NEW POLICY

The new GoU/UNHCR policy is a move to put the Ugandan Government's practice in line with its new Constitution, which applies to all persons on its territory, and to fulfil Uganda's international obligations to refugees.⁶ It also conforms to the GoU's programme of decentralisation of powers and responsibility to the districts. The GoU has already put a liberal land settlement policy into place to enhance the capacity of refugees to become self-sustaining through agriculture. The new policy aims to assist refugees to manage their own lives with out external aid, 'at least not more aid than the national population.' It asserts that refugee settlements should not be 'islands' apart from the nationals; these populations should be treated as part of the region's development programme.⁷

The policy paper also emphasises that all programmes to assist refugees should *also benefit the nationals*. It is GoU policy that host communities should be assisted by the international community to cope with the refugee burden (GoU/UNHCR, 1998:3). Additional external assistance needs to be made available to support district development plans that have been designed to incorporate the additional refugee population.⁸ The policy also recognises that it is only by enabling refugees to support themselves that it is possible for them to live in dignity, fully enjoying their human rights.⁹

⁶ The GoU is also in the process of reforming its domestic legislation with regard to refugees.

⁷ This approach has a long history, dating back to the 1984 Second International Conference of Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II). It was the approach used in Central America and it has led to the elimination of refugee camps in that region.

⁸ Donors who fail to understand this necessity will introduce further obstacles to the process of integration. For example, one donor is currently funding a programme to upgrade the qualifications of teachers. Understandably, the District Education Officers are first concerned to include national teachers. There should be additional funds to include the refugee teachers. Instead, those concerned with their needs are requesting the DEOs to share this scarce resource. Such pressure raises resentment against the refugee teachers.

⁹ The rights enshrined in Uganda's new Constitution apply to *all* persons on its territory.

The GoU/UNHCR policy does not preclude the possibility that one day the Sudanese refugees may repatriate, but acknowledges that it is unlikely that they will be able to do so in the foreseeable future. However, if, or when refugees do repatriate, this policy will ensure that the significant international investment that comes with refugee emergency programmes will continue to benefit the host country (Harrell-Bond 1986; Goyens et al. 1996).¹⁰ Moreover, a successful integration policy would enhance future socio-economic and political relations between Uganda and southern Sudan when the conflict ends.

According to the GoU/UNHCR policy, the criteria for the successful implementation of the new policy are that, at the end of the four years, refugees will be able to:

- i) grow or produce their own food;
- ii) pay for the cost of the health and educational services provided to them (at the same level as the nationals) and to take care of their own vulnerable people;
- iii) take part in other socio-economic, in particular income-generating, activities, allowed by the laws of Uganda related to refugees and aliens; and
- iv) be empowered to better organise and respond to issues which concern them directly.

The new GoU/UNHCR policy views integration as an administrative arrangement in which all services fall within the responsibilities of the districts and be shared by both refugees and nationals. The consequences of the policy, however, will inevitably also involve increased interaction between these groups. Whether or not acknowledged, this interaction will have profound sociological consequences that are not necessarily predictable. While the new policy provides an unprecedented opportunity for refugees and host to work together to develop districts that are themselves poor and marginalised, the failure to take account of the obstacles to peaceful integration could offset the benefits of the new policy.¹¹

Sociologically, the term *integration* is a complicated concept. It refers to a process of interaction between two different groups of people through which change occurs in *both* groups. From the point of view of refugee policy, the promotion of their integration requires the removal of all legal, cultural, religious, and language obstacles that prevent them from accessing the institutions of the host society. It must ensure they benefit fully from available opportunities as per their abilities and aspirations and that they are free to maintain those aspects of their cultural identity, which are not at variance the laws of Uganda.

There are many indices of integration including increasing tolerance for differences by both the members of the mainstream society and the group joining it. Another important measure is the absence of discrimination in gainful employment and participation in local institutions by the minority group.¹² Another definition of integration focuses on peaceful co-existence, a '...situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing the same resources – both economic and social – with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community' (Harrell-Bond 1986:7). Such a definition is difficult to operationalise because the level of conflict may well have already increased *among* members of the host society as a result of the pressure of greater numbers, rising prices, and increased scarcity. Moreover, peaceful co-existence does not necessarily imply equality of access to resources. Even the absence of measurable conflict would not necessarily preclude the exploitation of one group by another.¹³ Nevertheless, peaceful co-existence is at least one objective of integration.

¹⁰ It will be necessary for the GoU to attract significant external funding to support the process of integration. The various data sets from this research will assist policy makers in implementing the integration programme, including the information needed for costing.

¹¹ See footnote 8.

¹² *Integration* should not be confused with *assimilation*. Assimilation refers to a situation where the identity and culture, including language, of a minority group is lost as it is submerged into mainstream society. This was the ideal promoted in the USA as the 'melting pot'. It was not successful in the USA and it rarely happens anywhere, but many governments, unwittingly or not, continue to pursue policies aimed to achieve it. One result of such pressure to assimilate is the marginalisation and alienation of minorities from mainstream society (Berry 1992).

¹³ Because the variables which influence 'success' are infinite and the nature of the social context into which newcomers are being settled so complex and in flux, it is not possible for any government to devise a *once for all* policy for integrating refugees. Each intervention intended to address one of the many areas which require action gives rise to a set of unintended

One of the major threats to the successful implementation of the new policy is the poverty and continued insecurity of Arua, Adjumani, and Moyo Districts. These districts, which were devastated and almost totally depopulated by the 1979/86 war in Uganda, have never fully recovered. From living as refugees in the Sudan, Ugandans were driven back home by the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA), which was waging the civil war in that country. In most cases, Ugandans arrived back more impoverished than when they had fled as refugees and few have been able to regain the assets held before their uprooting. In Adjumani, for example, because of insecurity on the border to Gulu District, few Ugandans have been able to resettle the most fertile farmlands in the southern part of the District.¹⁴ This insecurity in Adjumani continues because of persistent raiding by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Moyo District suffers similar security problems as result of the war in southern Sudan. There has been an increased flow of arms throughout the region and, because Uganda is seen as giving assistance to the SPLA, Moyo Town has even been the target of aerial bombing by the Sudan Government. Two other 'rebel' organisations, which reportedly are now co-ordinating attacks with the LRA, severely threaten stability throughout the West Nile.¹⁵

In 1985/6, as Ugandans were being forcibly repatriated, the Sudanese refugees began fleeing into the country as refugees and the situation in most of the West Nile was extremely chaotic. In the first months of their arrival in Uganda, these two populations were mainly dependent on wild foods.¹⁶ Such shared experience of suffering has doubtless been a major factor in the very positive reception offered the Sudanese. Moreover, while both nationals and refugees were trying to re-establish themselves economically under the extreme conditions that obtained in Uganda, only modest and short-term investments were made on behalf of the nationals. On the other hand, refugees became the beneficiaries of an international assistance programme, funded through UNHCR, which, however minimalist, has been sustained for some twelve years.¹⁷ There are other factors, however, which threaten peaceful relations. For example, the integration of the Dinka represents a particular challenge. In the minds of some of the Ugandans of this region, these people are associated with the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), the very force that looted the assets they had accumulated in exile and drove them home.¹⁸

FUNDING IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW POLICY

The proposed research is only indirectly concerned with the issue of financial support for the implementation of the new GoU/UNHCR policy, but it will collect data necessary for costing the expansion of primary and secondary education necessary to accommodate the demand of refugees within the districts' educational systems. However, what is clear from the outset is that if the integration policy is to succeed, then funds *in addition* to those *available from UNHCR* (or any other 'emergency/relief' budgets) must be made available. Uganda's Constitution has devolved power for social services to the districts. Local Councils (LC3s) retain 65% of revenue collected for supporting these, but the tax base in

or unexpected consequences (hopefully in addition to the intended ones), which, in turn, will require modification in policy or practice. Therefore policy for integrating refugees must constantly be evolving in response to new situations. While living up to international obligations, it is the duty of the policy-makers to inform the public about these cost/benefits through an open process of negotiation.

¹⁴ This is the area where the most recently opened refugee settlements have been located.

¹⁵ These groups are the West Nile Bank Front and the Uganda National Resistance Front II (UNRF II). These groups and the LRA are supported by the Sudan Government in retaliation for Uganda's support of the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army. Reportedly they are co-ordinating attacks throughout the affected areas.

¹⁶ Even when humanitarian organisations were able to implement a short-term assistance programme for returnees, only those who had officially repatriated, that is, signed a voluntary repatriation form and boarded one of UNHCR's lorries, were eligible for food assistance. Most refugees could not reach UNHCR's office in Yei to officially repatriate because they were under immediate attack by the SPLA.

¹⁷ UNHCR and the World Food Programme (WFP) have invested heavily in the region, tools, seeds, bridges, roads, buildings, wells, and even the ferry crossing from which the entire population benefits. Schools and health centres built in, or adjacent to refugee settlements, are to be shared by the nationals. Yet, whether, or the extent to which the nationals perceive refugee to be advantaged over them is not known.

¹⁸ Dinka refugees are not welcome by other Sudanese in the settlements, nor are they welcomed by Ugandans. Most of them are currently kept in a reception centre.

Adjumani, Arua, and Moyo is currently far too low to serve even the local population.¹⁹ Equalisation grants to the poorer districts are made by the central government, but these do not take the refugee population into account and have not been paid to many of these needy districts.

The success of the integration policy will depend on additional funds for development programmes that encompass both populations in the three districts. This will be very difficult at a time when so many international sources are tied to emergency relief rather than development. In this respect, it should be re-emphasised that all three districts were seriously affected by the war (1979-1986) and have never fully recovered. **The programme for the integration of refugees needs to be conceived as a plan for the rehabilitation and development of each of the districts as a whole.**

It is also worth recalling the notions, 'burden sharing' and 'additionality'. Burden sharing was first understood to mean that states should share responsibility for hosting refugees. In practice, the vast majority of refugees remain in the South, with northern donors only assuming *some* of the costs associated with hosting them.²⁰ 'Additionality' was a term introduced at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II). It referred to money that international donors would make available to those host countries that adopted an integrated development approach to refugee settlement *in addition* to those already available for other development projects (Weighill 1997). The UN Development Programme (UNDP) was to implement ICARA II projects for refugee-affected areas.²¹

The Lomé III and IV agreements²² set aside funds for the same purpose but, unfortunately, much of this funding was diverted to *ad hoc* projects implemented by NGOs and UNHCR for refugee programmes, rather than to significant infrastructure development in the areas affected by refugees, as the agreements intended (*ibid.*).²³

THE NEW POLICY AND EDUCATION

The proposed research will focus on the education component of the integration process. It will be mainly concerned with the primary education system, although it will also study the integration of secondary schools and the extent to which refugees have access to university studies.

From the socio-economic perspective, education will be a key dimension of this new strategy of integration (GoU/UNHCR 1998: 13). 'Integrated' schools will become centres of social interaction where teachers and parents share the same goal - the educational progress of the pupils. How the hosts and refugees adjust to sharing this highly valued and scarce resource will be an important barometer of the progress of integration. As such, schools are an important context in which the obstacles to integration can be identified and represent centres for interventions that promote peaceful adaptation.

The number of Ugandan children in school has grown dramatically since 1997. Recognising poverty as the main cause of poor attendance, the Government White Paper on Education (1992) recommended universal primary education (UPE) for children aged 6 to 12 by 2003. Although a staggered approach was recommended, implementation began all at once in January 1997. The number of pupils registered in government primary schools rose from 2.9 million in 1996 to 5.3 million in 1997 (UNICEF 1997a). 41% of all Ugandan primary pupils are now enrolled in P1.²⁴ Under UPE, the Government pays the costs of

¹⁹ Self-settled refugees do pay taxes and the new policy will promote tax paying by all refugees, but even this will not raise the required revenue.

²⁰ The contribution of host governments and their people in the South to the upkeep and welfare of refugees is often ignored. For example, the value of the land which refugees use and the costs of wear and tear on other local resources, such as roads, could, in some cases, outweigh the contribution of donors.

²¹ These projects were to be 'beneficiary blind', benefiting the people in a region as a whole.

²² In addition to refugees, Lomé III included returnees and Lomé IV included the internally displaced.

²³ For example, a road connecting Ukwimmi refugee camp with the main road that enables UNHCR and the NGOs to deliver humanitarian assistance to the refugees was paid for with Lomé funds.

²⁴ In 1997, there were 5.3 million students in government primary schools and 336,000 students in government secondary schools, 42,795 in S5 and S6. 47% of primary and 42% of secondary students were female, but only 35% of S5 and S6 students were female. The 1996 PLE results showed 8.5% of students obtaining a Division 1 pass, entitling them to go to secondary

As regards further education and the right to practice a profession, the 1951 Convention states that:

'2) The Contracting States shall accord to refugees treatment as favourable as possible, and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education and, in particular, as regards to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships' (UNHCR, 1995a, 26).

In most states, resident aliens are normally treated as nationals. Moreover, the Convention reminds contracting states that special attention should be paid to the particular circumstances faced by refugees and exhorts them to accord 'treatment as favourable as possible'. The standards that contracting states should apply should be at least at the level of those accorded the 'most favoured alien'.

Under the new GoU/UNHCR strategy, UNHCR will contribute to secondary, tertiary and university education in the following ways:

1. non-formal secondary education will be encouraged for those unable to continue with formal education;
2. national secondary schools in settlement areas will be assisted with needed infrastructure by UNHCR. In return they will be expected to admit a specified number of students for a certain number of years; and
3. a limited number of scholarships will be available for some refugees to allow them to reach the university level.²⁷

THE RESEARCH²⁸

The proposed research will monitor the implementation of the integration policy with respect to the educational system, and investigate the obstacles to the successful implementation of this process occurring, at primary, secondary, tertiary, and university levels in the three districts. The research will begin in January 1999 and continue for four years. It will begin as the policy is being put into place and will thus collect base line data in order to monitor changes over time.

It will require two full-time researchers, ideally one researcher with a Ph.D. in education and the team must include a person with computer skills to manage and analyse quantitative data.²⁹ Both must be able to collect both qualitative and quantitative data collection, have highly developed communication skills, and a career interest in refugee studies. The researchers must have skills in one or more of the relevant languages.³⁰ Recruitment of the researchers will be conducted through national advertisement and interviews of a short-list by a panel drawn from the Faculty of Education, Makerere, a representative of the Ministry of Education, and include the supervisor of the research and one senior member of the University Administration.

²⁷ An agreement has recently been announced through which Makerere University will accept refugee students at the same fees charged nationals. This will allow UNHCR to pay for a larger number of refugee students.

²⁸ This proposal is being discussed in draft form with Mr Sam Oneke, Ministry of Education, responsible for UPE, Ms Geraldine Kasakya, officer at the Ministry of Education responsible for refugee education, with the newly-established committee for promoting teaching and research on forced migration at Makerere University, and with members of its Faculty of Education, the latter with the aim of encouraging collaboration with its staff and students. It will also be circulated for comment to members of the Ministry of Refugees and Disaster Preparedness, under the Office of the Prime Minister, to UNHCR, and to the NGOs involved in implementing educational services for refugees.

²⁹ Much of the work in preparing this proposal was undertaken by Dr. Jill Craig, who was working as an assistant to Dr. Harrell-Bond (January – August 1998). She holds these relevant qualifications and is expected to be one member of the team. The other will be recruited through advertisement in Uganda.

³⁰ The major languages spoken in these districts are Kakwa, Lugbara, and Madi. The Sudanese refugees speak a number of languages including Bari languages (Kuku), Dinka, Swahili, and Juba Arabic.

Assistants will be employed in each of the districts and, in Kampala, one part-time assistant.³¹ It is also planned to involve the District Education Officers (DEO) and the District Inspectors of Schools (DIS) in data collection.³² The research is to be supervised by Dr B. E. Harrell-Bond, a Visiting Professor at Makerere University attached to Makerere Institute of Social Research. She will take responsibility for data collection concerning university education.³³

The research assumes that a policy of co-ordinating the education of refugees and the host population is the most cost effective and sustainable use of external resources. Expanding all local services to meet the requirements of a refugee population rather than creating a parallel system is likely improve services for all and to reduce competition and conflict between the two populations (van Damme 19??). If refugees repatriate, this policy will ensure that the international investment that comes with refugee emergency programmes will continue to benefit the host country.

A major emphasis will be on creating opportunities for dialogue among Ugandans and between Ugandans and refugees through meetings organised to discuss key issues and to seek resolution of problems as they arise.³⁴ For example, the integration of schools will raise the important issue of language of instruction. This matter may become seriously contentious or be simply resolved because of the lack of resources, but however it is resolved, there will be need for discussion.

National policy prescribes that children are taught in their mother tongue for the first four years of primary school with English being taught as a subject. The extent to which this policy is practised will be investigated. For example, because of the diversity of languages spoken by refugees, the language of instruction in refugee schools is English. Madi is the dominant language in Moyo and Adjumani Districts. According to the District Educational Officer (DEO), in Adjumani, the only teaching materials available have been brought from the Catholic Diocese in Torit, Sudan, written in Sudanese Madi. His teachers are being encouraged to create their own materials for teaching.³⁵ Lugbara is the dominant language in Arua District for which there are said to be teaching materials, but for Kakwa, a language that is also widely spoken, teaching materials are only now being developed.³⁶ Children in Arua Town are taught in English.

The scope of this research is limited to an examination of formal education. It will not directly focus on the participation of refugees and nationals in vocational or other forms of education. However, it is expected that the data to be collected, both quantitative and qualitative, and particularly with respect to pupil drop-outs, will provide insights into this important topic and provide the basis for the development of a study devoted entirely to this topic.

The importance of making sure that research into tertiary education is undertaken as soon as possible is underlined by the fact that so many pupils, particularly girls, drop-out of both primary and secondary education. Given the high levels of un- and under-employment of youth in Uganda, the acquisition of life skills is critical to enabling such individuals, whether boys or girls, to obtain gainful employment and to the expansion of the economy as a whole.

³¹ Various types of assistance will be required including interpreting, transcribing and typing of taped interviews, and data entry.

³² The District Inspectors are expected to visit 10 schools per month and the District Education Officers, five. In Adjumani, the expenses these officers can claim for being out of their posts are UGSh.5,000 per day and UGSh.15,000 for overnight stays. Given the advantages of their participation to the research as well as to their own work, and presuming their willingness to be involved, it is proposed to increase these expenses to UGSh.7,500 and UGSh. 20,000 respectively.

³³ Dr Harrell-Bond, a social anthropologist, is the founding director of the Refugee Studies Programme, University of Oxford, 1982-1996. Under her supervision, other studies on dimensions of refugee welfare in East Africa are being implemented: 'The Enjoyment of Rights by Refugees: A Socio-Legal Study', one in Uganda and another in Kenya; and 'Towards the Integration of Health Services in Refugee Affected Areas in Uganda'. Ugandan and Kenyan researchers involved in conducting these studies include: Ms Deborah Mulumba, Mr Zachary A. Lomo, and Mr Aukot Ekuru.

³⁴ Such meetings have already proven their usefulness. In the course of preparing this proposal and during a field visit to Adjumani District, meetings were held with the technical staff, the elected officials of the District and local representatives of Central Government, UNHCR and the NGOs to discuss the new policy. A meeting was also held with the Adjumani Youth Association, and with the food monitors and registration clerks of Lutheran World Federation (LWF).

³⁵ It is this DEO's view that when the schools are integrated, the language of instruction will be best resolved by catering to the majority.

³⁶ According to one Kakwa-speaker, when he went to primary school in Koboko in the early 1970s, he was taught in Swahili

Methods

A study on the implementation of a policy of integrating refugees in economically marginalised districts constitutes pioneering research. The methods will therefore be both quantitative and qualitative. As the research progresses, it is likely that new areas of investigation will arise. The key to success will be the ability of the researchers to respond flexibly to these opportunities.

Uganda's education policy, including its language policy, will be reviewed, written up in an accessible manner, and used as the basis for discussions of the integration policy with key actors at the district level. The research will collect available information on the amount of money being spent on education for refugees and nationals and the sources of that funding, whether from local taxes,³⁷ the central government, or external sources. It will try to assess the amounts spent per child in refugee and national schools. The research will also catalogue sources of funding for students at national universities.

The heads of technical departments, administrative staff, elected leaders, and the staff of the humanitarian and development organisations concerned with education will be interviewed to assess their knowledge of the new policy and awareness of who is responsible for which aspects of education.

Primary Education

Baseline data will be collected in each of the districts, mapping the location of schools and the numbers of refugees and nationals in government, private, and UNHCR-funded primary schools. (In Arua District, because of the large numbers of primary schools, it may be necessary to sample the schools to be included.³⁸) These data will include gender of pupils, class size, qualifications, salaries, and nationality of teachers, and other resources, including the teaching materials available.³⁹ If not already in place, systems will be set up to monitor absenteeism and dropouts. Information concerning the distances children must walk to school will be gathered and compared. Information will also be collected on the languages spoken by the students and the language of instruction in the first four years of primary school. One measure of the impact of the policy will be to show these variables change in the course of the four-year process. An obstacle to integration of the schools may arise because refugee teachers do not have qualifications that the GoU recognises. The research will be concerned to observe how this obstacle is overcome and the extent to which the employment of teachers is based on merit rather than status.⁴⁰

To the extent that current census and population data are available, data disaggregated by age and gender will be collected on the participation of refugees and nationals in schools as a percentage of the total number of primary-aged children.⁴¹ Comparative data on exam results and class size from both refugee and national schools will be collected as one proxy measure of the quality of education. All these data will be compared with district and national averages.

As the numbers of Ugandan children attending primary school has dramatically increased since the introduction of UPE, many fear the standards of education are declining because of large classes and

³⁷ Information concerning the tax base of each of the districts will be available in District Headquarters.

³⁸ Arua is the largest district and is said to have 380 primary schools for nationals. Adjumani District has 35 primary schools in operation, eight have been closed because of insecurity and another eight absorbed by refugee schools in settlements. There is at least one primary school in each of the refugee settlements: two settlements in Arua, 22 in Adjumani and some 20 in the Palorinya area in Moyo District

³⁹ Because many of these schools will contain both nationals and refugees, these data will not provide strict comparisons by status.

⁴⁰ The Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), the agency responsible for refugee education in Adjumani District, has an active programme of training refugee teachers so that their qualifications will be accepted by the Ministry of Education. Whether their status as refugees will be an impediment to employment will be another indication of the success of integration. The Adjumani DEO asserts that employment will be based on merit (Interview, 22 August 1998).

⁴¹ The last national census was in 1991. It inevitably included some self-settled refugees, particularly in Moyo and Arua Districts. UNHCR attempts to maintain accurate statistics on refugee numbers in settlements and the last registration of refugees does permit disaggregation by age and gender.

shortages of qualified teachers. By comparison, classes in refugee schools are said to be much smaller. P7 exam results in Adjumani District find a very high proportion of refugee students qualifying for secondary school. It should be noted that since not all children attend primary school, the correlation between class size and exam results may be spurious, an artefact of the selection process. Moreover, many refugee children have the advantage of attending nursery schools that are available to very few nationals.⁴² Examination results may also be a function of the motivation of teachers. JRS, the NGO responsible for most refugee education funded by UNHCR, has emphasised teacher training and regular workshops to upgrade their skills.⁴³

One possible proxy method of assessing the *quality* of education 'in the two types of schools which may be applied will be a comparison of the results of three tests administered to primary pupils in both Ugandan and refugee schools *before* they are integrated. A mathematics test will be devised and administered to children in P2; an English comprehension test to P4s, the year before most students drop out of school; and an essay question for P6 students. The latter will be graded for grammar, spelling, punctuation and content. If this method is chosen, the testing will be repeated in the second year of the study when the integration process will have begun and again in year four. It may be found just as useful to use the results of the end of year exams normally administered to the children at these different stages.

The participation girls at all levels of education will be given special attention in this research. As Ucada points out, '...all available indicators point out that girls' access to education is severely restricted, particularly in rural areas, and in refugee areas, as evidenced by high drop out rates and low enrolments' (1996:1). While this is a matter of concern for both nationals and refugees, the refugee girl has a 'dual disadvantage since she is both a refugee and a girl. The combination of these two "undesirable" positions make her extremely vulnerable.' (ibid.). In Uganda, girls are given special consideration for enrolment into secondary school, [nevertheless] there numbers at this stage 'are still only a trickle' (ibid.:2)

Dropout and absentee rates of refugees and nationals will also be collected, desegregated by gender, and compared. As noted, it may be that a system of record keeping will have to be introduced. As regards girls dropping out of school, Ucada (1996) found that in refugee schools, 'Head teachers had a poor, gender insensitive ... system which made it difficult to collect quality information' (1996:5).

Although cultural norms are often blamed for the failure of parents to send children to school, the overwhelming response to free primary education in Uganda points instead to *poverty* as the main reason for non-attendance at school. Children's labour, especially that of girls, is also often required by very poor households even where education is free. A 1996 study of refugee schools found that only 36% of primary children were girls and only 12.9% of these were in upper primary. Girls' enrolment dropped from around 45% in P1, to 32% in P4, to 15% in P7 (Ucada 1996:ii). Such high dropout rates of refugee children may be a signal that efforts to help households become self-sufficient are not reaching those in greatest need.⁴⁴

Successful integration depends on the receptivity of nationals towards sharing resources. Teachers from a sample of national schools that already have significant number of refugee students will be asked open-ended questions about the advantages and problems they face. Teachers' attitudes towards refugees, their experiences with language problems, attitudes towards the language of instruction, and their observations of how well national and refugee children socialise will be explored. Where possible, observations will be made in classrooms and sociograms will be drawn to attempt to examine indirectly how children behave towards one another and if teachers treat refugee children differently.

⁴² In 1996 there were 25 nursery schools for refugee children in Adjumani District (Ucada 1996).

⁴³ They are supervised, 'progressively assessed and their mistakes corrected as they work. The commitment and diligence of JRS as an agency can not be faulted; in fact it is phenomenal and the results can be seen from the good P.L.E. passes from refugee schools as compared to the national schools (Ucada 1996:22).

⁴⁴ The UNICEF/GoU evaluation of UPE also recommended monitoring dropouts, noting it is 'one thing to get all children to enrol. It is difficult to retain them' (1997; 1997a).

Focus group discussions will be held with parents, using non-directive techniques in order to elicit attitudes. Meetings of Management Committees, Boards of Governors and Parent Teacher Associations will be regularly attended to learn about attitudes towards the policy of integrating refugees and nationals. Both national and refugee schools have Parent Teachers Associations (PTAs), but the level of participation in national schools is much lower as the Boards of Governors and Management Committees play a greater role in school management (Ucanda 1996). Refugee parents, on the other hand, who played the major role in founding the schools for their children in the settlements, may resist the integration of schools because they believe the quality of the education of their children will decline.⁴⁵ Similar open-ended, non-directive interviews will be held with education officials at all levels.

Close attention will be paid as to how the policy is received and understood by parents of Ugandan children and other members of the general public at informal and formal meetings, and by opinion makers in formal settings. If attitudes are found to be extremely negative, district authorities may find ways to intervene to prevent conflict.

Secondary Education

Although many children drop out of primary education before completing P7, large numbers do succeed in the qualifying examinations that allow them to pursue studies at the secondary level. The extent to which fees are an obstacle for qualified Ugandan pupils completing secondary school will be examined in the research. It is known that few refugee parents can afford these fees. As noted above, UNHCR intends to support national secondary schools by paying for needed infrastructure, in return, they will be expected to admit more refugee students on a 'cost-sharing' basis. This approach assumes that the schools receiving such one-off infrastructural assistance will continue to comply with the contractual arrangements to accept refugee students. The research will assess the extent to which they do so.⁴⁶

Data on access to secondary education will begin by comparing the number of P7 refugee and national pupils who qualify for secondary schools with the number that actually enrol. These data, also disaggregated by gender, will be collected for the years 1995 and 1996, to provide the basis for comparison with the period during which UNHCR will be implementing the new approach.

Data will be gathered on Uganda Certificate of Education and 'A' level results and disaggregated by 'status' (refugee or national) and gender. These data will also be compared with district and national averages. The numbers of nationals and refugees who are accepted into 'A' level studies after passing the UCE, which is given at the S4 level, will be compared. Most 'A' level students are moved to different schools at this point in their studies. Data on exam results for both groups – nationals and refugees – will be collected.

Experience already suggests that the peaceful social integration of refugees and nationals at the secondary level is likely to be more complicated than at primary school. In addition to interviewing headmasters and teachers, the proposed research will apply observational methods in the classroom, dining halls, playing fields and other places where students interact to collect information among this particular age group to examine how social relations develop among them. It should be possible to spend several days in each secondary school. Relationships between refugee and national students in boarding schools will be given particular attention through focus group discussions and other indirect methods such as essay writing. The research will seek to understand the causes of any problems that arise and suggest means to ameliorate them.⁴⁷ These data will help policy makers and other actors in devising methods to address the causes of any xenophobia observed.

⁴⁵ On the other hand, UNHCR states that already 20% of the pupils in some refugee schools are nationals (Interview, Tim Brown, 13 September, 1998), so this problem may already have been ameliorated through this experience..

⁴⁶ Concerning the self-help secondary schools, UNHCR intends 'as a transitional measure' to continue 'to support those in settlement areas where the number of refugees is so large that the nearby national schools are unable to absorb them all' (GoU/UNHCR 1998).

⁴⁷ Over the past few years, there have been incidents which suggest some polarisation of refugees and nationals in secondary schools. In one school refugees had to leave. The alleged causes have included nationals being jealous of the better performance

University Education

Significant numbers of young people have ambitions to attend university to acquire professional qualifications. This is particularly the case for refugees for whom the lack of land and citizenship makes the acquisition of marketable skills a paramount goal. The GoU/UNHCR policy paper also promotes the entry of refugees into university-level education and UNHCR will continue to pay their costs as it is able. As of the academic year, 1991/99, Makerere University will charge refugees the same fees as nationals. However, recent articles in the national press state that the government intends to introduce the policy of making students responsible for fees through a loan scheme. This could negatively affect refugee students as they might have difficulties in guaranteeing such loans. The research will follow these discussions and monitor the consideration of the special situation of refugees in the debates.

At the beginning of the research, an effort will be made to enumerate nationals and refugees who are already studying at the national universities. Data will also be collected on the number of refugees and nationals from the three districts that have achieved university entrance qualifications and monitor the numbers who are admitted and able to attend.

Interviews with refugee and national students at Makerere University will be undertaken. Attention will be paid to the professional qualifications refugee students are pursuing. Where possible, refugee students will be asked to keep diaries of their experiences and, among those who graduate during the period of the research, of the obstacles, if any, to employment or further professional training that they encounter.

The social integration of refugees at Makerere will also be studied. For example, today membership in many student associations on the camps is defined in terms of 'ethnic' identity. Are refugees excluded and/or create their own organisations on the basis of their identity as foreigners. Are refugees unable to form their own associations because of the diversity of their backgrounds and thus generally marginalised?

SCHEDULE OF RESEARCH

Although it is hoped that the team can work together in all three districts, but, for a number of reasons, it may be necessary for them to divide the work, one taking responsibility for Moyo and Adjumani and the other Arua District. The size of Arua District is one factor, but more difficult to predict are questions of the insecurity on the road between Moyo and Arua.⁴⁸ The first two years will be devoted to conducting field research, collecting quantitative and qualitative data. During the third year, the data will be written up, gaps identified and filled through further fieldwork and a preliminary report written. During the first three years of the research, regular meetings will be held to disseminate and discuss findings with key actors in the districts and Kampala. In year four, a six-month follow-up study will be conducted in the districts collecting data to compare with the earlier test results. The final six months of the fourth year will be spent completing the writing up of the research for publication as a book. The schedule below refers to the work in the districts; the study of university education will be conducted throughout the four years from Kampala by the supervisor.

Year One

The team will formally introduce the research to relevant officials in Kampala. These will include the Members of Parliament (MPs) from the three districts, the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Education, UNHCR, the NGO implementing partners responsible for education, and with other

of refugees, the fact that UNHCR paid refugees' tuition while the nationals must depend on less secure sources, or the fact that UNHCR's funding failed to reach the schools on time. Reportedly, there has been a case in which refugees were used as 'pawns' in a power struggle between a headmaster and his deputy.

⁴⁸ The researchers will be expected to pay local rent from their own salaries, while the budget includes a modest furniture allowance, kerosene refrigerators, and solar equipment to run their computer/printers which will be needed whether they live in the same town or not.

specialists on education. PLE and UCE test results for the country as a whole for 1996 are already available to this study, but an attempt will be made to collect more current test results. A paper on Uganda's educational policy and standards for recruitment and salaries will be written.

The researchers will move to the field. During their first visits, the research will be introduced and interviews conducted with all the actors at the district headquarters level. Interviews will also be held with the NGOs responsible for implementing educational services for refugees and data will be collected on the PLE and UCE test results of the refugees.

Discussions will be initiated with the District Education Officer (DEO) and the District Inspector of Schools (DIS) concerning the research, the implications of the integration policy for the educational system, and the instruments to be used. They will be invited to participate in administering the tests and the terms of their participation negotiated.

Information concerning number and locations of national and refugee schools will be collected. If special testing is used as the method of making a proxy measure of quality of education, with the DEO, the researchers will visit and identify schools for piloting the tests for P2, P4, and P6, which will have been devised. After piloting the tests in one district, they will be administered in all three. Progress reports will be written every three months and reported at quarterly meetings of the key actors in the districts. The team will endeavour to attend other relevant meetings held in the districts to collect data on the attitudes of key actors towards the general process of integration as it is proceeding in all the sectors, as well as education.

At the end of year one, the researchers will process the data collected and write a draft report for discussion with the GoU, UNHCR, and the other key actors. Data concerning refugee enrolment in Ugandan universities and sources of funding will be collected. Contacts with refugee students at Makerere will have been initiated from the beginning of the research by the project supervisor, Dr Harrell-Bond, who will be living at the University and will be responsible, with an assistant, for collecting data only available in Kampala.

Year Two

The re-testing of the P2, P4, and P6 classes will be carried out. The process of collecting other quantitative data on absenteeism and dropouts in the schools will be monitored. These data will be processed and compared with results obtained in year one.

The team will also systematically embark on the collection of the qualitative data through observations, interviews with teachers, parents, and secondary school pupils, attendance at informal and formal meetings in the district, and interviews with the other key actors and opinion makers. It may be appropriate to collect some quantifiable attitudinal data.

Quarterly reports will be written and presented at workshops with key actors in the districts as in year one. At the end of year two, a meeting will be held at which the researchers will 'de-brief' with key actors.

Year Three

The data will be analysed, including that obtained from interviews and observations. An interim report of the research will be drafted by the end of the first six months. The second six months will be spent filling gaps in data identified during this process and the preliminary report finalised for dissemination. Workshops will be held in the districts and in Kampala with the relevant actors to discuss the interim report.

The contents of the book to be produced in year four will be outlined.

Year Four

The first six months will be spent re-testing the P2, P4, and P6 classes, processing that data, conducting further interviews to discuss the findings, observations, and holding further meetings to collect views on the interim report. The last half of year four will be devoted to the final production of a manuscript for publication.

Dissemination of findings

As detailed, part of the process of data collection will include regular sharing of findings with the concerned parties. Papers will be also presented in Kampala at some of the regular monthly seminars on refugee issues that have been organised at Makerere Institute for Social Research. The interim report written in Year Three will be sent to all ministries, agencies, and individuals assisting in the research.

A co-authored, publishable manuscript will also be a product of the research. This book will be written in an accessible style, contextualising the findings within the comparative academic literature on integration and multicultural education. This book should become a landmark text for government policy in other parts of the South as well as for teaching in the new academic field of refugee studies. It will first be offered to Makerere University Press for publication. A number of academic articles are also expected to be submitted to refereed journals and the researchers will be encouraged to offer papers to international conferences.

Finally, given the relevance of this research for government and donor policy in other refugee-affected regions of the world, and the related research being conducted in East Africa that impinges on integration policy, it may be suitable to organise an international conference either during the research or upon its completion. Separate funding would be sought for such an activity.

Dr. B.E. Harrell-Bond
Visiting Professor
Makerere Institute of Social Research
Makerere University
PO Box 16022
Kampala, Uganda

Budget⁴⁹

SALARIES		
CAPTIAL EQUIPMENT		
TRAVEL		
FIELDWORK COSTS		
SUPERVISION COSTS		
COMMUNICATION		
DISSEMINATION		
CONSUMABLES		
Total		

Notes to Budget

SALARIES

Two full-time researchers, 2 x 48 @ ?
 Assistants, 2 x 48 x \$350
 One part-time assistant in Kampala

CAPITAL EQUIPMENT

Two Computers/Printers
 Two Solar systems to run computer/printer
 Two kerosene refrigerators

TRAVEL

Air travel \$200 x ?
 Vehicle rental

⁴⁹ The RSP EU budget has supported the preparation of this proposal and the RSP will supply some of the equipment required (tape recorders, transcribers, printer, one computer).

FIELDWORK COSTS

Travel and Subsistence costs of District Education and Inspector Officers
Housing

COST OF SUPERVISION

The researchers will spend four weeks each year in Kampala to consult with their supervisor and the supervisor will make two, three week visits per annum to the districts to set up the research programme and to supervise progress in data collection.

Researchers' flights 2 flights @ \$225 x 4 years
Researchers' subsistence costs in Kampala 28 days @ \$50 x 4 years
Supervisor's flights 1 flight x @ \$225 x 2 per annum x 4 years
Supervisor's subsistence costs in the districts 42 days @ \$20 x 4 years

COMMUNICATION

CONSUMABLES

Stationary (estimated at 36 reams per annum x 4 years x reams per month x 48 months x ?)
Ink for printer (estimated at

DISSEMINATION

Return flights to the north currently cost \$200. It is impossible to travel safely to the north by road and in the districts. It will be necessary (and possible) to rely on Directorate of Refugees, NGOs, and UNHCR for transport. The estimates of travel costs are based on the need for ? return flights to the north over the year of research \$?

The computer will be dedicated to the use of the project. When the research is completed, it is proposed that it remain at an appropriate department of Makerere University for use by people conducting research on refugees.

Estimated costs of lodging and food in the field based on 1998 prices. Costs in Arua District are higher, and lower in Adjumani and Moyo.



This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 License.

To view a copy of the license please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

This is a download from the BLDS Digital Library on OpenDocs

<http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/>

A Digitisation Partnership between Makerere University Library and the British Library for
Development Studies

