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Social Justice in Uganda:
Is Universal Primary Education Enough to Ensure
Social Justice for All Ugandans?

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Abstract

Today, we live in an age that is continually witnessing tension, strife and terrorism as a direct product of unequal distribution of wealth and opportunities for a good life. In Uganda for over two and half decades, war, insurgency and deprivation have been the realities of the people living in Northern Uganda. This evidently has led to an imbalance in the Ugandan society with the North standing out as marginalised in respect to the rest of the country. The country's leadership does not understand that this is not in its best interest. They have consequently sought to make amends. They introduced free Universal Primary Education in 1997 as one of the ways to equalise opportunities and reduce inequalities within the Ugandan society. This study, therefore, examines the initiative for free universal education in the context of Northern Uganda as regards the creation of a more egalitarian society. The underlying question is: Does Universal Primary Education lead to social justice? In addressing this question, Rawls' theory of justice as fairness is used. It calls for society to redistribute resources to those who have least in society, while upholding the liberties for all people so as to have a just society. The findings are that it is commendable that Uganda is striving to offer free education. This initiative, however, fails to pay attention to the special needs of those living in Northern Uganda. Its failure to do so falls short of creating a level field for opportunities in the education sector for those living in Northern Uganda, thus falling short of fulfilling the goal of social justice for Uganda.

Key words:

Universal Primary Education (UPE), Uganda, Northern Uganda, Social Justice as Fairness, Equality

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List of Abbreviations

CAO	Chief Administrative officer
DEO	District Education Officer
IDPs	Internally Displaced People/Persons
LRA	Lords Resistance Army
MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports
MoFPED	Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PLE	Primary Leaving Examination
SMCs	School Management Committees
UPDF	Uganda Peoples Defence Forces
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

1. Introduction

Equality is a basic ethical principle and not an assertion of fact (Singer, 1993: 19). It is unfair for individuals to be disadvantaged or privileged by arbitrary and undeserved differences in their social circumstances (Kymlicka, 2002: 58). Hence, it would appear unattainable for individuals to achieve their full potential, if social and economic starting points are grossly unequal (Giddens & Diamond, 2005: 101). On the other hand unequal social relations lead to oppression – marginalisation, exploitation, exclusion, domination which leads to inequalities in the distribution of goods (Swift, 2006: 94).

Therefore, if a meagre and developing country such as Uganda with an estimated 32, 369, 554 inhabitants and a gross domestic product (GDP) (purchasing power parity) of approximately thirty six billion US dollars, and GDP per capita estimated at \$1,100US (World Fact Book [www]) wants to build its society with genuine solidarity and fraternity assured, it is much harder to do so when there are vast inequalities in its ‘ranks and file’ (Miliband, 2005: 45). It would appear to be in Uganda’s interest to limit inequalities, if it is to realise better standards of living, freedom and dignity and lesser poverty for better cohesion of society and equality of opportunity. The government of Uganda seems to have understood this fact and has been implementing the poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) since 1997 with the expected outcome of reducing poverty and improving welfare of all Ugandans (MoFPED, 2005: 5). This plan included the introduction of free Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997. For as Singer says, genuine equality of opportunity requires that, there is an assurance that schools give the same advantages to everyone (Singer, 1993:39).

Thus the focus of this thesis is to examine the impact of free UPE on the subsequent progress of Uganda’s populace in regards to the affinity of inequalities in relation to the increase of access to primary education. The paper centres on the Northern Region of the country in comparison to the rest of the country to find out if free primary education has benefits for a more egalitarian society. This is all the more important in that Uganda has one of the world’s highest birth rates with the fertility rate of 6.77 children per woman (World Fact Book [www]). Given that society is shaped and defined around the position of the majority, for those left out the effects can be corrosive (Miliband, 2005: 45).

1.2. The Aim of the Study

The rationale for this paper is to have an examination of the educational policy in Uganda and how it goes about achieving a just society with less disparity while increasing the chances of all its citizenry at having a superior life. This is because an unquestioning faith in the benefits of education has at times brought with it huge amounts of wasteful government spending attached to misguided and even pernicious policies (Wolf, 2002: xi).

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the following Research question;

Does the implementation of the free UPE initiative lead to social justice in Uganda, with a special focus on Northern Uganda?

1.3. Methodology

1.3.1. Method

This paper assumes a design of a qualitative analysis nature as it seeks to look at the local process underlying the course of free UPE in Uganda and its subsequent relation in showing how it leads to (or not) a situation of fairness/social justice in the Ugandan context (Punch, 2005: 52-53). From this kind of setting, the optimal strategy of studying these circumstances was to formulate a case study; Northern Uganda. It is a case study for the reason that the “phenomenon” of free Universal education is taken as occurring in a bound context of Uganda in broad and Northern Uganda in particular. The general approach is to develop as full an understanding of this case as possible.

This case study is an instrumental case study as it examines Northern Uganda so as to give insight into issues of inequality and social justice. That is, it acts as an instrument in the quest to find out about education and society in Uganda as a whole by focusing on the particularity of Northern Uganda.

1.3.2. Sources

The very first source for consideration was I. This was with reflection of Flick Uwe’s advice that postulates that the subjectivity of the researcher becomes part of the research and that qualitative methods do take the researcher’s communication as explicit part of the research process (Flick, 2006: 16). I become a source as I tried to look into my own community of Uganda but also as a trained teacher looking at effects of a particular educational system that I

have been a part of. According to Punch, this is important as the researcher already comes with knowledge of the topic from practice and experience (Punch, 2005: 41). This naturally carries with it ethical value judgements of neutrality and objectivity in regard to my position in this study. In spite of this 'limitation' by considering Uwe's other advice to review and familiarise oneself with existing writings about the social situation in one's field of research, I hope to counter the adverse effects of being in this position (Flick, 2006: 58).

Given my familiarity with Uganda and its educational system, I have chosen secondary sources for this study. My consideration of this literature is guided by the following questions that Flick sets out as guidelines for good literature review;

What is already known about this issue in particular or the area in general?

Which theories are used and discussed in this area?

What concepts are used or disputed about?

What are the theoretical or methodological debates or controversies in this field?

(Flick, 2006: 59)

Armed with this set of principles, the first task was considering authoritative sources such as government papers on Northern Uganda and UPE but also, I looked at other sources open at my disposal like the Library of Social and Behavioural Sciences. This library offers databases such as LOVISA, ELIN, LIBRIS and Global Research Gateway that offer a sizeable option of relevant books, articles and papers on ethics and education but not so much about Uganda. To compensate I turned to other databases like Google scholar, OAIster, and Scirus. Of invaluable help were the various official Ugandan government websites to the ministries of Education and Sports; Finance Planning and Economic Development; and The Prime Minister's office (with a desk on Northern Uganda). Malmö university library archive was also used as a primary source for literature like Rawls book, *A theory of Justice* (1971).

The selection of literature was based on first identifying the area of research and then going out to find key terms and phrases in this area. This led to a big bibliography that was at times inapplicable to the task at hand. Therefore, an evaluation was done for relevant and useful titles to the research project. The criterion of evaluation was based on relevance of and the time of publication or writing of the literature. More recent material was considered more for the reason that it was more likely to be up to date than the much older material. Also weight

was placed on more authoritative sources and where there were contradictions, more material was sought and cross-checked with the sources at hand.

1.3.3. Structure

After the introductory chapter I have chosen to start chapter two with the presentation of Rawls' ethical/political theory of Justice as fairness so as to set the tone and spirit for this study.

In chapter three is the presentation of the UPE programme, its workings, its strong points and the challenges that it faces.

In chapter four this study is contextualised by presenting the disparities of Uganda as highlighted by Northern Uganda in contrast with the rest of the country.

In chapter six is the analysis of the secondary data so as to answer this study's research question. And this study ends with chapter seven that presents the conclusion to this study.

2. Theory

2.1. Social Justice and Distributive Justice

Over time many thinkers have grappled with finding an approach to societal discrepancies. In particular when it comes down to discrepancies in relation to possessions and wellbeing of people in a specific social order, whose consequences are affected from the social order, outside ones own abilities. The result of which is that some section is able to handsomely take care of itself while in the same order are those struggling to survive leading to unequal social relations. The ramification of this kind of unequal social order leads to oppression, marginalisation, exploitation, exclusion, domination which typically leads to inequalities in the distribution of goods (Swift, 2006; 94). This has given rise to a branch of Political *cum* Ethical theory of distributive justice. It developed as philosophers come to see society's key social and economic institutions that crucially determine the distribution of benefits and burdens as a proper object for moral and political investigation (swift, 2006; 9). This branch has been around for a long time, but only recently has Social Justice Theory arisen from it (Swift, 2006; 9). In any case justice is important to political morality because of the understanding that once people are aware of what duties they owe to one another then they also are in position to understand the justification of using state machinery to get people to do things they might not otherwise do (Swift, 2006 ;13-14).

Of particular interest in the Social Justice theories is John Rawls' Justice as fairness. Rawls aims in his 1971 book; *A Theory of Justice*, to develop a theory of justice from the idea of a social contract as founded on John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant (Freeman, 2007; 3). His theory is a response to Utilitarianism which holds that a morally right act is one that produces the greatest happiness for the greatest number of members of its society (Kymlicka, 2002; 10). However, Rawls' theory is both normative and egalitarian in the sense that it accepts that the interests of each member of the community matter and they matter equally (Kymlicka, 2002; 2-4). Rawls devotes attention to the question of feasibility and stability of a well-ordered society of Justice as fairness in order to show that justice is within the grasp of human capacities and in the reach of human nature as opposed to sheer dictums of ethics (Freeman, 2007; 5). Secondly that doing and willing what justice requires for its own sake is not just compatible with, but also is an intrinsic aspect of the human good (ibid). For this, Freeman says Rawls is widely recognised as the most influential political philosopher of the twentieth century (Freeman, 2007; 3). His theory involves and incorporates

notions of liberty, equality and community (Swift, 2006; 10). Swift adds that these concepts are all closely interrelated and that thinking about Rawls' approach to justice provides the most convenient way (ibid) to abate social inequality. In Freeman's view the main reasons for Rawls' social grounding of distributive justice are political and institutional; they concern the social conditions required for the creation, distribution and enjoyment of income and wealth under conditions of a democratic society (Freeman, 2007; 320). Rawls' general conception of justice consists of one cardinal idea: all social primary goods like liberty and opportunity, wealth and the bases of self-respect are to be distributed equally unless an equal distribution of any or all these goods is to the advantage of the least favoured (Kymlicka, 2002; 55). His theory is meant to stipulate moral guidance for the assessment, design and reform of institutional order of a society (Pogge, 2006; 206). In the case of this paper it will provide a basis upon which the UPE policy and programme can be assessed and/or reformed to cater for the inequalities if any that do exist in Northern Uganda.

2.2 Justice as fairness

This theory according to Rawls is hinged on two basic assumptions which are,

First: *each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others.*

Second: *social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both*

(a) Reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and

(b) Attached to positions and offices open to all (Rawls, 1971; 60).

Justice as fairness has two capital principles as can be deduced from above. The first principle above is what Rawls called the Liberty Principle. The second principle is sub-divided into two; (a) the Difference Principle and

(b) the Fair opportunity Principle (Swift, 2006; 174).

The part b of the second principle above has been reworked to become; *attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity (Wolff, 1996; 174).*

Broadly speaking the difference principle is an egalitarian principle in the sense that, for Rawls, there is a general presumption in favour of an equal distribution of goods among all citizens (Wolff, 1996; 175). And it is in following with that that my focus in this paper will mainly be based on the difference principle but also because of the fact that there may be perceivable flaws in some parts of the theory as will be noted later in this chapter.

The principles then function under the guidance of rules of priority. The first Priority Rule called the Priority of Liberty stipulates that the *principles of justice are to be ranked in lexical order and therefore liberty can be restricted only for the sake of liberty* (Rawls, 1971; 302). *The second principle of justice is lexically prior to the principle of efficiency and to that of maximizing the sum of advantages; and fair opportunity is prior to the difference principle* (Rawls, 19971; 302-303). Naturally Rawls is of the conviction that once we get to a certain point of well-being, considerations of liberty ought to have absolute priority over matters of economic well-being or equality of opportunity (Wolff, 1996; 174-175). That is equal liberties take precedence over equal opportunity which takes precedence over equal resources (Kymlicka, 2002; 56).

At the heart of this framework are the ‘original position’ and the ‘veil of ignorance that are intended to make Justice as Fairness a self evident ethical theory of choice. This is in turn based on the ‘hypothetical contract’. It is a simple device for thinking about what principles are just and because they are just that one is bound to comply with them, not simply because one agreed with them in the first place (Swift, 2006; 28). Rawls believed that the way to find out which principles of justice are fair is to think about which principles would be chosen by people who do not know how they are going to be affected by them (Swift, 2006; 21). The impression is thus, people choosing principles of justice in an original position behind a veil of ignorance (ibid).

In justice as fairness the original position of equality corresponds to the state of nature in the traditional theory of the social contract. This original position is not, of course, thought of as an actual historical state of affairs, much less a primitive condition of culture. It is understood as a purely hypothetical situation characterized so as to lead to a certain conception of justice (Rawls, 1971; 12). This original position is said to model the freedom and fundamental equality of all persons (Pogge, 2006; 206).

Justice as fairness is summed up to mean that a just society will, first and most important, give each of its members the same set of basic liberties or rights-freedom of expression, of religion, of association etc. Then, if there are social and economic inequalities, it will make sure that all citizens enjoy equality of opportunity in the process by which they come to achieve (and avoid) the unequally rewarded positions. Finally, it will only allow such inequalities at all if they tend, over time, to maximize the position of the worst-off members of society (Swift, 2006; 24).

2.3. Criticism and justification of Justice as Fairness

2.3.1. Criticisms of justice as fairness

The most challenging limitation of Rawls' theory that Robert Nozick most especially and other academics tend to disagree with, is that it infers an inconsistency in as far as the supremacy of the principle of liberty over the difference principle is concerned; one can not adhere to both the difference principle and ensure liberties at the same time and in the same respect (Wolff, 1996; 189-195). To guarantee liberty over and above all else and then have the need to distribute primary goods to help the worst off of society in a limited civilization would imply that the liberties of those with more primary goods may (not necessary) have to be foregone to aid the worst off in society. Amartya Sen says to judge equality in the space of primary goods amounts to giving priority to the means of freedom/liberty over any assessment of the extents of liberty and this he sees as a drawback (Sen, 1992; 8). And yet Rawls believes liberties are not to be traded for any thing at all. It is in consideration of this fragility that I have opted to concentrate in regards to this undertaking, on the difference principle. Because the difference principle essentially pertains to inequality and holding liberties as supreme will not impact negatively on the findings of either the UPE policy or the inequalities that may exist in Northern Uganda per se. The difference principle will be the tool of choice that acts as the probable remedy in the case of UPE and Northern Uganda.

Another common objection to Rawls is the hypothetical contracts, unlike real ones, hypothetical contracts have no binding force (swift, 2006; 28). Besides, the original position argument is just a hypothetical one as well and does not in fact exist (Sen, 1992; 75) and so has no binding force. Whatever can be shown as an outcome of a hypothetical contract is just that, hypothetical. However in defence of Rawls, these scenarios only come into the story simply because it is one of the right ways to think about and indentify what justice would require and Rawls offers us this insight(Swift, 2006; 28). Rawls argues that his theory better fits people's considered intuitions concerning justice and that it gives a better spelling out of the very ideas of fairness (Kymlicka, 2002; 57).

2.3.2. Justification for justice as fairness

Rawls' theory provides ethical *cum* political principles that are flexible for adapting to diverse circumstances (Pogge, 2006; 213) like those in Uganda. But most importantly Rawls' theory

offers a yard stick to define what is unjust or just. The understanding behind Justice as fairness is that a society with extensive inequalities is unjust unless the inequalities are in favour of the least of society. As seen above, Swift tells of what Rawls' comprehensions of inequalities are: they are social and economic deprivations (Swift, 2006; 24) which influence the individual's substantive freedom to live a better life (Sen, 1999; 39). The original position and veil of ignorance are thus arguments that make sense when one lives in a society of great inequalities that they had nothing to do with in the first place. One should not be disadvantaged because of origin, religion, and politics or stations in life. And so if we are to look at our society devoid of these then the chance are that we will choose what may benefit every one. Rawls thinking in my view aids those in positions of management and administration to draw policy formulations that are just and do provide for all fairly.

Secondly, government authorities can use this theory to ably adopt a public criterion of justice which can guide the design, reform and adjustment of the domestic institutional order with in variable natural, historical, cultural and economic-technological circumstances (Pogge, 2006; 213). As Sen says of this theory, it provides an understanding of justice as a central concept in indentifying the aims and objectives of public policy and also in deciding on instruments that are appropriate in pursuing its chosen end (Sen 1999; 274). With this in mind I anticipate to apply the same for the situation in Uganda vis-à-vis Northern Uganda.

3. Primary education in Uganda

3.1. The development of formal education in Uganda

3.1.1. Pre-independence

Education, without a doubt, is a vehicle for change rather than an independent force and the direction that this vehicle takes depends very strongly on who is driving and where the driver wishes it to set out (Bary et al, 1986; 7). Behind this perception lies the understanding of the path that education has trodden in Africa and in Uganda, in particular, from its inception with the missionaries up to the present day. What Bary and the others say about the start of education in Africa certainly holds true for the case of Uganda as well, that being, that the first formal schools in most African countries were opened by Christian missionaries during the 19th century who happened to be on the Ugandan scene as early as 1877 (ibid,1986: 7). They fashioned the basis of the formal education arrangement seen in Uganda today. Governments' role and support were to tag along only later on.

The British colonialists were the next to arrive and place their mark on the Ugandan education landscape. They too like the missionaries grounded their models on the education systems that were taken from back home where they originated from (Bary et al, 1986:7). And with this it should be noted that the principle justification for the investment of capital in education was not for the well being of the indigenous peoples but the people of Europe as the colonialists were more interested in education as a means to supply clerks and skilled labour (Bary et al, 1986:2). Furthermore, during the colonial period there were obvious links between educational changes in African countries and corresponding events in home countries of the colonizing power but with the dawn of independence, the feature of these relationships changed; nevertheless international forces are still highly significant (ibid, 1986: 1) in the shaping of educational systems in Africa today.

In 1962 Uganda achieved independence from the British government just like many other African countries during the sixties. But this was only a change of guard, as from the educational standpoint, things did not entirely differ from the colonial system as Majid Rahnema says.

The school system introduced by colonialism in counties under their rule was soon co-opted by the emerging nation-states. It became one of the most important vehicles of development strategy, being presented to the excluded as the answer to all problems of their children from misery and shame (1997; 158).

However at a later date with this new found freedom and zeal, these newly independent countries set out to try and accomplish some changes. One such grand scheme was at the Addis Ababa conference of 1961 that envisaged achievement of UPE throughout the continent by 1980 (Bary et al, 1986; 170). In the Ugandan case they had to wait for over three decades for this to come around.

3.1.2. Post-independence

For a long time after independence, Uganda has had a run of troubled luck that saw the rise of Idi Amin's dictatorship in the 70's and a handful of wars later on that the state of education virtually did not change or improve significantly until the late 90's. Efforts become more focused in 1987 when an Education Policy Review Commission was established (Creative Associates International, 2004; 2). It was one of the many review commissions that were established at the time. It had the mandate to review the entire arrangement in regard to education; its policies, structures and funding; the role of the private sector, and to formulate new policy and propose changes for both short term and long term implementation (Hopper, 2008: 28).

This report, interestingly, called for the universalisation of primary education by the year 2000. However this proposal was to be rejected by the Constitutional Assembly of Uganda in 1994 and yet the White paper on education of 1992 had wished for UPE, though at a later date of 2003 (Stasavage, 2005; 58). The issue of UPE attracted great interest at the time, particularly the extent to which education should be free because there appeared to be wide spread agreement that most citizens could pay for their children's primary education (Hopper, 2008; 29). However the Government White paper on education published in 1992, spurred decisive reforms in the education sector (Creative Associates International, 2004; 2).

As Creative Associates international reports for USA AID in Uganda, the White paper in particular pinpointed a variety of issues to be addressed such as: inequitable access to basic education, high drop out and low completion rates; barriers; exclusion of various categories of

school-aged children; poor quality education; irrelevant curricula; low enrollment rates; and a persistently elitist formal education system (2004; 2). All these developments give the impression that this happens, for as alluded to earlier, Uganda was a signatory to various international conventions and conferences supporting education for all, for instance Jomtien 1990 and the Daker Framework for Action 2000, where Uganda agreed to UPE and to reduce illiteracy (Creative Associates international, 2004; 3) with out a populist backing back home.

3.1.3. Present day

A major turning point in the primary educational outlook was however to fundamentally take its current shape by a radio speech delivered on 27 March 1996 when president Museveni promised that if re-elected he would implement a plan giving four children per family access to free primary education(Stasavage, 2005; 59). And with this announcement the free universal education era had started but only for a few. It is worth noting that (the election of 1996 promise of free primary education for four children notwithstanding) this turn in thinking has got resonance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the Child; the Jomtien conference of 1990; the 1992 Government White paper; that all called for free and compulsory primary education and recognised the role of primary education in the alleviation of poverty, disease, disharmony, degradation and ignorance (Ward et al, 2003; 132). On the other hand, however, the policy should be seen as part of a broader effort on the part of the Ugandan government to edge towards directly targeting poverty, notably with the help of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan announced (PEAP) in 1997 (Stavasage,2004 ;62).

And so it was that with the Local Government Act of 1997 and the UPE policy of the same year that Uganda decentralized the administration of social services and crafted primary education as effectively a fee free service (Ward et al, 2003; 136). It thus has been manifest with little doubt that since 1997 there has been a sustained shift of Ugandan public expenditures in favour of education and of primary schools in particular (Stavasage, 2004; 61). In 2003, approximately 13 percent of government recurrent discretionary budget was allocated for education of which 65 percent was allocated to the primary sub-sector (Ward et al, 2003; 132). Accordingly the era of multitudes in primary school had come to be and with in the first year alone, 1997, enrollment stood at 7 million compared to the 3 million of the previous year(Van de berg, 2003; 133). It must be said that this surge did and has put

incredible strain on the physical capacity of the primary education system (Van de berg, 2003; 133).

3.2. UPE in Uganda

UPE is perhaps best understood from the setting of the UPE guidelines of 1997 that clearly mark out its intentions and hence the objectives of the policy. They are the following as seen in the report by Creative Associates International for US AID:

- *Establishing, providing, and maintaining quality education;*
- *Transforming society in a fundamental and positive way;*
- *Providing the minimum facilities and resource to enable children to enter and remain in school and complete the primary cycle of education;*
- *Making basic education accessible to the learner and relevant to his/her needs as well as meeting national goals;*
- *Making education equitable in order to eliminate disparities; and*
- *Ensuring that education is affordable by the majority of Ugandans.*

(Creative Associates international, 2004; 3)

3.2.1. How UPE operates

Plainly speaking, UPE functions in the following mode. The Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) oversees the entire sector of education, playing the roles of policy maker, investment management, and quality assurance (Moulton, 2000; 6). But because Uganda has a decentralized government (and so are its departments), in the education sector, the government retains a dominant role for efficiency and equity reasons in fields such as setting standards, teacher recruitment (secondary school level) and over all financing (Prinsen and Titeca, 2008: 151). However, below the MoES are the various districts with the District Education Officers (DEOs) that are responsible for the administration of education with in their respective boundaries. Further below them are the School Management Committees (SMCs) that administer the schools in tandem with the school administration. The Ministry manages its support in the context of government decentralization, as administratively funds are transferred to district offices and disbursed to individual schools (Van den Berg, 2003;133). All school management committees receive capitation grants between 2.70 USD and 4.40 USD per child per year, depending on the child's class to cover expenditure in

instructional material and extra-curricular activities, maintenance and utilities and administration cost (Prinsen and Titeca, 2008: 153). These funds are payable for 9 months a year with the following arrangement: 50% on instructional materials; 30% on co-curricular activities; 15% on school management; and 5% on school administration (Bategeka and Okurut 2005; 2).

According to Moulton the district education officers are responsible for monitoring and supporting all primary schools within their districts. They work with the Districts' chief officers to develop plans and budgets to integrate social services (2000; 6). On the other hand the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) also ensures that funds do reach schools. This officer is also responsible to ensure that accountability is properly done at the district level (Bategeka and Okurut, 2005; 2). However the sub county chiefs are the ones that make the regular visits to schools, implement local government by-laws on UPE and keep records on the pupils, teachers and do other duties at the sub county level as the representative to the CAO (ibid). As noted earlier, school management committees give overall direction to the operation of the school by effecting developmental plans, managing school budgets, monitoring school finances and generally ensuring transparency in the use of these funds (ibid; 2-3). Working in conjunction with the school management committees to run school affairs are the head teachers of the various primary schools who report to the District Education officers (Ibid).

Besides the primary schools administration are the local school management committees that are involved in the day to day running of the school, there still is the District Service Commission. Each district is required to have one and it is charged with the responsibility of recruiting and assigning primary school teachers, although payments of teachers' salaries remains a responsibility of the central government (Moulton, 2000; 6).

This whole arrangement works thus far for among other reasons, is a group of actors that may be considered vital for the very survival of UPE. And these are the 'partners' (of the Government of Uganda) but in truth are donors of critical aid to Uganda's developmental budget that includes the Education Department. This partnership between government and funding agencies, as far as education is concerned, is coordinated through an Education Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) that is characterized by good donor co-ordination, joint reviews processes and the mobilization of resources within government planning and budgeting cycles (Ward et al,2003; 132). It is here that the various donor agencies and the government come

together to stream line their objectives so as to ensure a harmonized coordination of programs run in tandem with government, such as UPE.

3.2.2. Merits of UPE

Undeniably one of the greatest merits of this program is the fact that, an incredible number of primary-school-age children, have been offered the opportunity to sit in a classroom and receive some form of formal schooling. This is, with the hope that they turn out to be productive and positively contributing members of the Ugandan public. This is evident in the fact that according to the official website of MoES as of 2007 there were 6,777,675 pupils in classrooms all over the country.

The intention is such that with the children in school, they will attain literacy, numeracy and other constructive skills. But as Ward and others will have us know, increased access to primary schooling has not been matched by improvement in quality nor equity. There are significant deficits in classrooms, teachers and textbooks and national averages are marked by regional disparities (2003; 133).

3.2.3. Challenges facing UPE

Hopper believes there is great recognition among African governments that education for all children and young people is likely to be achieved through expansion of conventional school systems only with its residential and day-time provision, its age-grade enrolment, its teacher delivered standard national curricula, its six-seven year cycle; and its exclusive focus on future-oriented cognitive competencies (2008; 20); but this is a somewhat skewed logic as the case of Uganda shows with the enormous challenges the program is currently facing.

3.2.3.1. Quality

Since 1997 Uganda has had to address the challenge of accessing ever increasing numbers of children into an already over-burden education system (Ward et al, 2003; xi). It has been an inevitable feature of the reforms implemented in Uganda that in striving to guarantee that all

children have the right to basic education, the focus on access has to a large extent overshadowed the issue of quality (Ward et al, 2004; 31).

There appears to be a consensus that the quality of primary education has suffered through the period of rapid expansion (Van den berg, 2003; 134). Hoppers, illustrates this by saying that quality had dropped to a point that in 2000, 46 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls had reached basic literacy levels by the end of primary school (2008; 33). According to The Independent, a local newspaper, last year's Primary Leaving Examination (PLE) had 89,306 out of 463,631 candidates failing the exams which represents 19.3 per cent failure rate ([www.The Independent.co.ug]). This is akin to a factory that produces at a loss of almost 20 per cent, a big margin indeed in terms of failure. Conceivably the explanations for this lack of success is; insecurity in northern Uganda; absenteeism, late reporting to school; early departure from school; low levels of inspection of schools, among others.

3.2.3.2. The challenge of teaching and teachers

I would not agree more with Brooke-Utne when she says that, it is correct to say that the conditions of the teacher in most Sub-Sahara Africa countries are now so harsh that they threaten to undermine the position of the teacher and the quality of the education he/she offers (1993; 67). The performance of teachers related to their conditions and teaching is the single most important influence on the quality of primary education system (Moulton, 2000; 4) and yet they still are among the least paid civil servants in Uganda (Knowing from my time as a teacher back in Uganda). And so it would not come as a surprise that their morale is low and does affect their quality of teaching.

In addition, the MoES (and now the District Service Commissions) continues to struggle with deployment issues like attracting teachers to disadvantaged rural areas (Moulton, 2000; 5). For instance, the war ravaged northern Uganda could not be anyone's first choice as a working location, if they had a choice and so such areas will and do struggle to attract the best teachers and students as well. This scenario is made worse by the reality that candidates who opt for Primary Teacher Colleges have poor records (low passes) from secondary school: and that the quality of tutors is poor and the morale of those (tutor and teachers) not yet on the payroll is low and instructional materials for the teachers are inadequate (Moulton, 2000; 5). This makes it difficult to envisage how an ill prepared teacher could possibly be more productive under the circumstances.

3.2.3.3. Curriculum

In relationship with the challenges of teaching under the UPE program is the problem of the curricula. While in primary school twenty years ago, the most important factor to our schooling was how well we were prepared for The Primary Leaving Examinations (PLE). And today there is no reason to believe that this has changed. Professional educators know that those who construct the tests and decide on the examinations (for instance PLE) are really the ones who decide the curriculum (Brock-Utne, 1993; 69). It does not matter that curriculum guidelines say that children should learn to co-operate, learn to till the land and so forth and so on, eventually all that is measured through test and examinations (like PLE) is the individual behaviour and cognitive skills (Brock-Utne, 2000; 69-70). What's more is in some cases the curriculum designs or initiators may be out of touch with the reality on the ground and this is fertile ground for chaos. As it were, the primary curriculum introduced into schools between 2000 and 2002 was not whole heartedly supported by many of the key stakeholders (Ward et al, 2004; xiii). The challenge then is how to turn a PLE focused UPE education into one that focuses on life and full human development among others.

3.2.3.4. Administration and policy

In Uganda like other East African nations, experience in the education sector reveals an inability or unwillingness to institutionalise more formal and impersonal social relations; there is a reluctance to engage in a meaningful planning and budgeting for the sector, even where there are commitments to that effect; and the subtle use of strategies to maintain the status quo, in spite of repeated expressions of commitments to reform (Ward et al, 2003.139). And to top it all, red tape and bureaucracy exacerbate the system. For example grants suffer from serious delays at the district level and non-compliance with administrative guidelines (Moulton, 2000; 7). This is besides the fact that decentralised education budgets are significant in volume and have weak accountability procedures (Prinsen and Titeca, 2008: 153) especially at the district level. This could give room to unscrupulous entities for the unfair advantage of diverting UPE funds. According to Prinsen and Titeca, as for the accountability process, it is claimed that UPE funds are swindled with impunity and that education is one of the most affected by political corruption; however they concede that the level of embezzlement has dropped considerably in recent year (2008; 153).

On another level between Uganda and its development partners however, it is acknowledged that the Ugandan education agenda may be based on very different values, processes and priorities to those understood and taken for granted by the funding agency (Ward et al, 2003; 3). Thus educational policy-making reflects conflict and incoherence with the state and ideological disputes over, and struggles for control of, the meaning and definition of education (Ward et al, 2003; 2). This is besides the dispute on policy matters and the dependency on donor agents for their resources to sustain the UPE program.

3.2.3.5. Reliance on external funding

According to Van den Berg approximately 60 percent of the basic education financing is now from external sources. He goes on to say that there is concern about the degree to which the large flow of external support has encouraged Uganda to expand its system (education) to a level that is heavily dependent on external funding (2003; 133). According to Van den Berg, a future date when basic education can be financed by domestic sources entirely is yet unknown, but clearly a long way off (2003; 133). This leaves the question of ownership, control and the fear of a significant drop in international support dangling dangerously over the sustainability of the program. This funding concern is tied up to another daunting task, which is the lack of a feeding programme for the children in UPE schools.

3.2.3.6. Feeding program/ Hunger

It is clear that there is a relationship between the hunger and the attention and eventual perception, learning and education. Again from my experience as a teacher I have hardly come across UPE program schools that do cater for meals for 8 to 5 o'clock students. The capitation grant and other funds from the government do not cover meals at school. Many students and families in the country simply can not afford extra meals out of home. This leaves the learners hungry, weak, less motivated and tired. And this is sadly impacting negatively on the learners' quality of education. Sachs believes that meals for all the children at the primary schools could improve the health of school children, the quality of education and attendance at school (2005; 233). Akin to this, is the problem of retaining students in schools and the high dropout rates.

3.2.3.7. Dropout

When the 1997 primary one UPE intake reached primary seven in 2003, the enrolment in this class was only 24.9 per cent of the original intake (of whom 23.2 percent were girls). As for 2006, the enrolment in primary seven was 28.2 per cent (26.9 per cent girls) of the original 2000 intake (Hoppers, 2008; 32). These are dismal figures but with the combination of some of the malfunctions and misfiring encountered earlier, it is not surprising that completion rates are low.

A vast majority of children enter school and remain there for some years but may not actually attend class with another significant section never completing the full cycle (300,000 drop out per year). More girls than boys are out of school (Hoppers, 2008; 33). Retention of children in school remains a problem particularly for girls in upper grades, while a disturbing 13 per cent of children are estimated to be out of school in spite of UPE (Van den Berg, 2003; 134). According to Hoppers, some million children are out of school with half that number never having been in school (Hoppers, 2008: 10). This is due in part to the problems mentioned above, but there are others equally important problems that require acknowledgment.

3.2.3.8. Others problems

Among these is an impasse in the system in that it is characterised by underage enrolment (using resources they should not) in the lower grades and significant over-age enrolment (these could do with a different program) in higher grades (Hoppers, 2008; 10). Also in line are logistical factors like the lack of textbooks, classroom blocks, instructional materials, desks and chairs and other important facilities vital for growth and an optimal learning environment. In addition are the natural and man made calamities like famines and wars especially in northern and north eastern parts of the country. But above all is the biting poverty that competes with and affects the learners' attention in and out of school.

3.3. Summary of UPE

As has been noted, increases in spending in particular do not automatically imply a proportional improvement in delivery of services (Stasavage, 2005; 63). Stasavage goes ahead to say, using World Bank data from 2004, that the very rapid expansion of enrolment, even with appropriate increase in funding, is liable to disrupt efforts to improve the efficiency

and effectiveness of systems for delivering inputs to schools and for monitoring the quality of learning processes and inputs (2005; 71). What UPE does demonstrate is that intentions and results are different things. The intentions of the government of Uganda are to tackle poverty and improve on the literacy levels by boosting numbers in school. Though these are good intentions, the UPE initiative gives the impression that they are not backed up with the right design and execution. However in pursuit of the idea of justice in society I now turn to look at the situation in Northern Uganda.

4. Northern Uganda

Thus far the focal point has been UPE in an integral representation of the central enquiry; does the implementation of the UPE policy further the contingency of social Justice, not only in Uganda but specifically in the northern constituency? The assumption has thus been that the infusion of UPE policy in the Uganda education programme would consequently lead to a useful education that would furnish sweeping opportunities to countless marginalised people in the country in a bid to uplift their stations in life and create a more egalitarian society for Ugandans. However as seen earlier, the UPE policy has faults of its own, which would need further reworking and modelling. Nonetheless at a flat rate it would appear that significant plenitudes of students streaming through UPE schools can look forward to life chances of gainful employment, better health management, better civic engagement and secure society in general, the quality of UPE not with standing. That is if education alone were the deterrent factor. But as will be seen in this section, out of school circumstances in Northern Uganda may just weigh in heavily on UPE and consequently its result in equity of society. The illustration of this contention and the prime-factors to this investigation emanate from poverty and historical factors. Poverty for one is inherently multidimensional both in its causes and in its consequences and also serves to locate people in the multidimensional social space that describes the nature and manifestation of their deprivation (Walker, 2005; 79). Thus in this section, focus shifts from the UPE policy and instead examines the environment in which it is being applied. This cuts a cross-sectional introspection of the Ugandan society in terms of the regional disparities especially in contrast of the Northern Region to the Central Region in particular, but also to the rest of the country in general. Taken geographically, Northern Uganda is the largest region in the country covering up to 35 per cent of the total land surface of Uganda but, on the other hand, it is also the least populated (MoFPED; 2004, 16) of the four regions of Uganda. The others Regions being: Central, Eastern, and Western regions that make up the country

4.1. What is different about Northern Uganda?

So what is different one may ask. The answer to that is that there are stark inequalities existing within the Country between geographic regions (MoFPED, 2007), that is between the Northern Region and rest of the Country. It is also that almost half of the poorest 20 per cent of Ugandans live here or dissimilarly put, 44.3 per cent of the entire population of the Northern region is poor and the level of human development in the region is generally low

(Okidi and Mugambe, 2002; 22). By the late 1990's, the poverty incidence in this region had risen and is now about 66 per cent of the population, two to three times higher than in every other region except for the East (Oleke et al, 2005; 2631). In the 1990's it was the region with the lowest incomes with the spatial living standards between the North and the Central region specifically being the most pronounced and worrying to emerge in Uganda in the period (Appleton, 2003; 3). In about the same time frame, Deinigen and Okidi do note the following contrast;

The most notable fact is the continued importance and even widening, of inter- regional disparities: while in 1992, the average household in the central region spent 80 per cent more per capita than the average household in the North, a net gain in the Centre and a loss in the North implied that, in 2000, the mean household in the centre spent more, three times of the Northern one (2002; 12).

Deinigen and Okidi in their study of growth and poverty in Uganda from 1992 to 2002 came to many findings, one of which was that while poverty had almost halved in the Centre from 41 per cent to 23 per cent, it remained very high in the North where in so far as the panel households of their survey were concerned, no improvement could be detected (2002; 13). This fairly long period of study gives credence to the suggestion that in the country there exist different categories of 'classes' where one in comparison to the other has more capabilities in economic terms which can be used in real terms. As Amartya Sen says, the usefulness of wealth does lie in the things that it allows one to do, the substantive freedoms it helps one to achieve (1999; 14). The other category includes those who, because of their lesser endowment in economic empowerment, have limited freedoms and capabilities. This class as can be gathered is largely to be found in the North and the subsequent picture is that the North for some reason or another is marginalised.

It is clear that there are significant differences in inequality across the country and the central government does recognise this fact (MoFPED; 2007). It also recognises that poverty in Northern Uganda is a complex phenomenon that supersedes the mere lack of basic necessities to the deeper concerns of the people in northern Uganda such as insecurity, living in Camps for the internally displaced, living in constant fear of abduction and death, to trying to survive in the very harsh climate of the North East (MoFPED, 2004; 7). These features distinguish the North from the rest of the country but are not altogether the reserve of this area, even if they are in some cases the evidence of and effects of the inequalities witnessed in the region.

Inequalities in the North were not a thing of the 1990's and earlier, as Shinyekwa and Hickey expose, growth patterns in Uganda since 2000 have been characterised by increasing inequality (2007; 20). The implication is that the trend seems to be persisting. On the other hand, poverty decline has not been experienced uniformly either across the Country. Compared to the substantial progress made in the West and Central of Uganda, where according to Higgins's excerpts from World Bank 2007, poverty declined 61 per cent in contrast to 17 per cent of the North (2009; 2). It is also noted that the region had one third of the chronically poor households in Uganda and also had the least proportion of its population escaping from poverty but did have the largest proportion of those who moved into poverty during the period from 1992- 1999 (Shinyekwa and Hickey, 2007; 11). Okidi and Mugambe do agree on this by saying the North is far behind the other regions of the country when it comes to the extent to which poverty had declined in the 1990s. When they ranked districts in the country according to the Human Development Index they found that seven out of the ten poorest were from the North (2002; 17, 19).

Appleton contends that regional differences on the average levels of income and poverty were much more acute at the end of the 1990s than they were at the start (2003; 6) but regional imbalance especially between the Northern and the rest of the country have persisted (Obwona et al; 13). And poverty levels do remain relatively higher (MoFPED, 2004; 8).

Indeed

“inequalities between the more affluent crescent area around Lake Victoria and the drier , more disadvantaged northern part of the country have been exacerbated by the pattern of development in the last 10 years” (ECA, 2003; 65). This has been so as a consequence of low production and productivity, inadequate social economic infrastructure, poor prices and poor health conditions all made worse by the prevalence of conflict and the internal displacement of masses of local people (MoFPED, 2004; 17).

4.1.1. The Role of the Past

One may ask is inequality unjust? I do suppose that the answer to this may very well be that it depends on the extent of the Inequality, its effects and how it is that it does exist. In this case a look at a short history of Northern Uganda from colonial time to date, helps give credence to the hypothesis that the North is and has been dealt an undue hand that has resulted in its lagging behind the rest of the country. Persson, for instance, says that the early definitions of the national political community in Uganda were largely responsible for the relative salience of certain identities over others (South over the North), as the political identities that were officially recognised by the colonial masters in the past still shape what matters today (Persson, 2008; 25). Because of the British legacy that led to the creation of institutional basis for significant polarisation along ethnic lines, regional differences have played an extraordinarily important role for the Post-independent politics of Uganda; the results of which are conspicuous ethnic inequalities even in government with suppression of particular ethnic groups (Persson, 2008; 28-29) most of which are from Northern Uganda.

In support of this historical perspective of social exclusion of the northern Uganda, Shinyekwa and Hickey say the following;

The worst levels of chronic poverty such as those found in the north seem to have political as well economic underpinnings. This refers not simply to the conflict that the region has suffered from for over 20 years now..... Also critical here is the longer term adverse incorporation of the region into the dominant political community and political economy since colonialism; at which point the north become a labour reserve, consigning it to a subordination position within the Ugandan political economy (2007; 17).

And so it is that the legacy of ethnic divisions along the North –South divide has been prominently manifested in Uganda’s post Colonial Politics and the insurgencies in the Northern and Eastern communities that do not share either ethnic identity nor cultural traditions but have in common, only peripheral inclusion in the economic structures and processes of the Country (Finnström, 2006; 203-204).

What did happen in the colonial times was that the North was used as a labour reservoir for the cash economy in the south (MoFPED, 2004; 19). Because of this labour drain, cash economy in the south and the late entry of cash crops in the North, the South grew and developed relatively compared to the North. Although this trend was later to be discontinued

in the 1920's the stage for uneven development had been fixed and the road to marginalisation anchored (Okidi and Mugambe, 2002; 21).

And it is also that political identities that were officially recognised in the past do still inform what matters today and in turn these identities structure organisational development and political disposition made at the present (Persson, 2008; 25). The sum total of this is condensed, in terms of inequality in relation to the North, as probably resentment and discontent of the marginalisation and the loss of state power in 1986 by the Northern leaders (for example presidents Obote and Okello) culminating in to a struggle for over the past 20 years and still counting. As shall be seen next, this taking up of arms by some small section of the populace in the North has had dire consequences whose ramifications are the skewed development of the Northern region of Uganda in comparison to the rest of the country hence the appalling inequalities witnessed here.

4.1.2. The War in Northern Uganda

The insurgency in the North does showcase the inequalities in the North both as a consequence and effect. Its inception could arguable be traced to claims of the people from Northern Uganda initiating the rebellion in an effort to regain state power they lost when President Museveni captured state power (Kinnström, 2006; 202) in January of 1986. From then onwards havoc was unleashed majorly on the populations of the North till recently when hopes of a peace agreement, according to media reports, brought dim flickers of hope of peace. But alas uncertainty still remains, although there is relative calm enjoyed just for now as the Government pursues Joseph Kony and his Lord's resistance Army (LRA) fighters in the jungles of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

This conflict between the LRA and the government has been fuelled by a combination of factors that, among others, include resistance to the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government, support from external forces (including a neighbouring country if the local news media is to be believed), the proliferation of small weapons in the region of Northern Eastern and East Africa, poverty and imbalances to access in economic opportunities (MoFPED, 2004; 23) This scenario of weapons and discontent gave rise to Alice Lakwena in 1987, who acted as a vehicle through which this discontent of Northern Uganda found expression (Kinnström, 2006; 204). From then on even when Lakwena with her magic charms to wade

off bullets was defeated in the same year she began her uprising, others have followed with the likes of Joseph Kony with his Lords Resistance Army being one with the biggest notoriety to date.

For over two decades the rebels have targeted rural communities, stealing supplies, abducting young boys for future fighting and young girls as wives and servants, they have killed many people indiscriminately, burnt houses, ambushed vehicles and have on occasions attacked the Uganda Peoples Defence forces (UPDF) (MoFPED, 2004; 26). The abductions especially have been so bad that Kinnström claims the numbers of women and children abducted has reached unprecedented levels (2006; 206). This insurgency has naturally led to extreme impoverishment of the people in the north, by leading them in to camps for the internally displaced, food insecurity and increased health care costs with the most affected districts being those of Pader, Kitugum, Gulu, Moyo, Adjumani, Arua, Yumb and Nebbi (MoFPED, 2004; 7, 11) all of which lie in Northern Uganda. Although I hasten to add that these were not the only districts that this conflict did affect, as the East and North East were time and time again hit by the LRA and a number of other district did play host on several occasions to hordes of fleeing victims of the insurgency.

The fear of civil conflict along regional or ethnic lines gives rise to genuine concerns over Uganda's spatial pattern of development (ECA, 2003; 65). Armed conflicts, as will be evident later on in this study, have severely impaired livelihoods in the Northern region. Thus it is important that interventions particularly targeting the North become increasingly sensitive to the local situation with policies designed according to the local circumstances (MoFPED, 2004; 53). The case for this apprehension could be discerned through the following few examples of the consequence of armed conflict. But on the other hand there are the other realisations that do showcase the disparities of Northern Uganda in comparison to the rest of the country. These will all be looked at in the following paragraphs.

4.2. Northern Uganda and the Disparities after the War

4.2.1. IDPs

One of the greatest tragedies of the rebellion in the North has been that of the Internally Displaced Persons/People (IDPs) who have been pushed out of their homes and villages in to camps for internally displaced persons because of the war in Northern Uganda. Higgins

affirms that more than one million three hundred thousand people are displaced with women and children making up 80 per cent of these internally displaced persons and yet still the women and children are the direct targets of attacks, abductions and sexual violence (2009). These figures are further collaborated by the Ministry of Health Uganda survey of 2006 that established that the number of persons in Camps in the districts of Gulu, Pader and Kitgum was 1,608,685 (Shinyekwa and Hickey, 2007; 12).

Finnström makes a compelling picture of the figures by breaking them down to the fact that in late 2005 about 90 per cent of the people of the Acholi subgroup were internally displaced and lived in a state of chronic emergency (2006; 203). In addition, over 90 per cent of the population of Kitgum District were internally displaced as of 2004 (MoFPED, 2004; 30). Higgins adds that in these camps, access to health care, proper nutrition, safe water, proper shelter, protection and importantly for this paper, suitable education remains largely unfulfilled (2009). The Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development (MoFPED) in one of its discussion papers of 2004 gives a summary of the plight of the north as follows: the people live in poor shelters, lack safe water, clothing, and domestic utensils and are exposed to poor environmental conditions. The sanitation is poor, there is exposure to communicable diseases, parents are losing control over their children while the people lack access to fields for food production (MoFPED, 2004; 31).

While studying in Gulu for three years(1997-2000) I come to witness these appalling realities every time we ventured out to town or Lacor Hospital (one of the biggest hospitals in the North), people were cramped all over the place for the evenings' shelter and sheltered from the rebels by sleeping on the hospital verandas. Naturally not all could fit in the hospital so some walked a few kilometres more to shelter in Gulu town for the nights. Sadly most of these commuters were children, who feared the real possibility of abduction, rape and death. It is reported that, due to the threats of attack from rebels up to 40,000 people often slept outside their homes (MoFPED, 2004; 64). This did expose, above all children and women with unborn babies to mosquitoes that carry Malaria and other disease carrying vectors which undermined their health and productivity.

It is bad enough that a great proportion of the people of the North have to be forced to live out of their homes and villages but the rebellion has been unforgiving even to Uganda's neighbours. Consequently the North is also host to large numbers of refugees from

neighbouring countries particularly Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (222, 310 refugees in the North) that do also face similar problems of armed conflict (MoFPED, 2004: 15) and in the case of Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo have been victims of the LRA on occasions. As of now the press in Uganda is awash with reports of IDPs returning to their homes, but it is not a comfortable ride even with governments support as they face a couple of apprehensions such as; access to water, roads, land mines and proper disposal of the remains of their dear ones among others. At the end of the day it does not matter where one traces her/his origins in Uganda, what does matter to this paper is that they are gravely disadvantaged especially the feeblest section of society; Children, pregnant women, the old, the sick and the handicapped especially those living in the North.

4.2.2. The Vulnerable People of Northern Uganda

4.2.2.1. Children

Children and essentially those of primary schoolgoing ages are my main focus and yet those of the North are caught in a web of destruction that not only ameliorates their chances of full participation in school, but life chances as well. Children have been among the multitude that have been principle victims of the conflict through abduction as child soldiers and are also highly represented in the camps for the internally displaced persons which have little or no access to basic services (MoFPED, 2005; 7). The effects of conflict on these children have left many with enormous trauma causing experiences such as being sexual slaves ('wives of the rebels') to killing one another (MoFPED, 2005; 65). And yet it is that the brothers, sisters of some of the victims of the returned 'child rebels' in many cases have to attend the same kind of UPE schools just like children in the rest of the country. The 'same' resources available to each and all can not possibly address the different starting positions. The MoFPED discussion paper on child poverty of 2005 goes on to say that it is a national catastrophe, that generations of children have missed opportunities of attending school besides having known no other life other than that in the camps for IDPs (2005; 7).

In terms of schooling, in the camps it is estimated that 23 per cent of school-age children do not go to school and for those who choose go to school, the primary school completion rates are as low as a mere 1.3 per cent (MoFPED, 2005; 53). In addition about 21 per cent of children aged between 6-12 years have never been to school (MoFPED, 2005; 7). These rates are almost beyond belief and do represent the authenticity of a Northern dissemblance to the

rest of the country that does not share such low figures which in fact were 28.2 per cent completion rate as seen earlier. In a conflict situation this should not come as a surprise as children face a multitude of challenges just to survive. An example is found in the district of Gulu in the period running up to 2004, 30 per cent of the children here were stunted due to insufficient nutrition (MoFPED, 2004; 34) for example.

Another challenge is the problem of orphans, naturally due to the high incidence of death of parents in a war zone. As expected the Northern region has large representation of them.

Oleke *et al* say;

The problem of orphans is incomprehensible; they have no clothes, no proper feeding and at night they sleep like dogs. If you see the problems with your own eyes, you feel that it would have been better if the children had passed away together with their parents (2005; 2628).

These are in essence quite powerful words to sum up some of the confrontations that children in the North do face in a bid to a fair go at living.

4.2.2.2. Women

I mention women here, not because they are fundamentally different in capabilities to men and thus vulnerable, but because in the case of Uganda the odds are stashed against them and thus making them susceptible to vulnerability. There are, for example, proportionally more women below the poverty line compared to men (Shinyekwa & Hickey, 2007; 12). They are worth of mention because they have a big impact at least in the case of Uganda on the being and upbringing of a child and consequently the child's opportunities in life. The war does really expose them and in dire cases their rights are denied them. Earlier it has been mentioned that they are sexually abused, denied adequate health care because they live in camps with little access to good medical care, denied proper shelter that protects against disease most especially and importantly because they are away from their villages, a place to cultivate some food for survival. And because they are utterly exposed, it is no wonder that the women of the North have the highest fertility rate in the country of 7.9 births per women (MoFPED, 2005; 62) because they lack empowerment and children offer some sort of security.

The women and mothers of Northern Uganda truly do carry a great burden on top of facing the following disadvantages that are all endured by women across the Country;

- Their literacy rates are up to 10 percentage points below the national average
- Unemployment among women is far greater than among men
- In many communities wife beating that does not result in to grievous harm is tolerated and considered a normal part of marriage
- Female headed households are disproportionately represented among the chronically poor and the households moving into poverty
- And also that HIV/AIDS prevalence is higher among women (MoFPED, 2006).

This does point to social injustice to the women of Uganda but more so the ladies from the North of the country. They are still highly represented among the other vulnerable groups like the Sick, the very old and the physically and mentally challenged that I turn to now.

4.2.2.3. Other vulnerable groups in Northern Uganda

For the lack of space and enough detailed information I have decide to lump up a group of people in to this small section. However they deserve no less mention and included here are the victims of land mines, torture (some had their lips or limbs cut off and not for medical reason but torture), (former) abductees, elderly and the sick. According to the 2002 Uganda population and Housing census for example, 4 per cent of the population in the North had disabilities compared to 1.1 per cent in the 1991 census (MoFPED, 2005; 69). There are more persons with disabilities in the North and Eastern regions compared to other regions and yet it is approximated that up to 50 per cent of People with disabilities have never been to school (Shinyekwa and Hickey, 2007; 15). What is more is that one can hardly find structures and buildings among the UPE schools that caters to these special needs at least in the North to offer a conducive environment for learning.

4.2.3. The unequal productivity of the North

Thus far the focus has been mainly on the social aspects of life in the north. Now attention is shifted on to the economic sphere without losing focus on the objective of acknowledging the gross inequalities that are staked against the North and the paltry impact of the productivity of the region. The rebellion notwithstanding, the North has the disadvantage of remoteness and low population density and as such its slow growth and development may reflect to some

extent it's distance from the capital city Kampala, the economic hub of the Country (ECA, 2003; 86).

There appears to be some agreement that the farther the distance from more urban areas, the less favourable economic productivity will be. According to Appleton, rural areas of the Northern Region averaged the lowest income with mean incomes 25 per cent lower than in rural areas of the Central region in the 1990s (2003; 4). In addition, in 1992/93, 73 per cent of those in the rural areas of Northern Region were classified as poor in comparison to 54 per cent of those in the rural areas of central region. When the time is stretched ahead to 1999/2000, 62 per cent in rural Northern Uganda are said to be below the poverty line compared to a mere 26 per cent in central Uganda (Appleton, 2003; 6). Even when poverty is largely a rural phenomenon, the disparity between the North and South appears to be growing. Okidi and Mugambe agree that poverty in the North did rise by 6 per cent to 66 per cent from 1997 to 2000 (2002; 21). Even when the figures slightly defer from those of Appleton, the trend is that the Northern Region is wadding behind the rest of the Country. *The regional geographical differences in the distribution of chronic poverty reveal that rural areas in the Northern regions are more affected than the rest of the regions* (Shinyekwa & Hickey, 20007; 10-11). It appears that credit for investment will not be of much help to the North either, as households in Western and Central regions boast of greater participation rates (44 and 30 per cent respectively) than the East and North (24 and 11 per cent) (Higgins, 2009). In economic terms, wherever one looks, the North comes out behind the rest of the country.

Still in the realm of economics but more specifically I turn to Agriculture to further show the contrast of the Northern Region to the rest of the country. Like in the rest of the country agriculture remains the lowest paying source of livelihood (Higgins, 2009). And yet a large majority of Uganda's households do draw their main livelihood from this sector (Deiningen & Okidi, 2002; 9). However Northern Uganda by virtue of the nature of its soils and climate has been disadvantaged from the start, compared to other regions. Even where there are pockets of fertile soils, most of it is semi-arid and prone to draught (Okidi and Mugambe, 2002; 21). The region faces food insecurity obviously due to insurgency and the presence of land mines, lack of access to land and drought (MoFPED, 2004; 33). Further still, Dent tells us to note how closely Uganda's quality of life and financial stability are importantly tied to agriculture (2007, 207). And yet poverty in Uganda too remains not only a rural phenomenon but is more

pronounced among the crop farmers primarily from Northern Uganda (Obwona et al, 2006; 13).

4.3. Karamoja

In the North but to the East is a region known as Karamoja, the largest sub region in Northern Uganda that is inhabited by a group of different peoples who share similar language and backgrounds called the Karamojong. Karamoja covers the districts of Abim, Kabong, Kotido, Moroto and Nakapiripiti. The Region is characterised by semi- arid conditions with very modest and erratic rainfall ranging between 500-1000mm annually (MoFPED, 2004; 18). The people survive essentially on a pastoral economy of herding cattle and goats. The conditions of the North are marginal as seen previously but this region of Karamoja sets a whole new level when it comes down to being marginalised and excluded from the rest of the country. Jabs say of the region's isolation; *a setting that has remained relatively unaffected by the western world...* (Jab, 2007; 516). The people of the region are constantly on the move in search of pasture and water owing to the nature of livelihoods here which makes the delivery of basic social services difficult and expensive (Okidi & Mugambe, 2002; 22).

Karamoja has for a long time been analogous to continued civil conflict and cattle rustling which in turn have worsened the level of welfare in terms of low agricultural productivity, poor existing economic and social infrastructure, lack of employment opportunities, and access to credit (Okidi & Mugambe, 2002; 22). Cattle raiding has for long been practised aided by the gun trade that has equally for ages been well established even in the remotest parts of the region (MoFPED, 2004; 26). This region is the poorest in the whole country (Okidi and Mugambe, 2002; 21). The welfare indicators for this region are not rosy. That they are the poorest in a similarly poor country living under the harshest of climatic conditions with the slightest of connection with the rest of the country and just about any adult possessing guns leaves little room for imagining how bad Karamoja has it. It personifies the injustice that prevails in Northern Uganda and makes programmes like ABEK (Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja) that target pastoral children only a token gesture.

4.4. Summary of Northern Uganda

Kate Higgins sums up the Northern situation thus; *lacklustre progress in the North can be attributed to a vicious cycle of conflict, massive displacement, thwarted economic activity and the immense conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army and Uganda government's Uganda people's Defence Forces*. These facts have been significant drivers of poverty and poor development and the disparity between Northern Uganda and the rest of the Country (Higgins, 2009; 2). Uganda definitely in the recent past has been boosted by some impressive rates of growth but hefty differences across regions persist (Deininger & Okidi, 2002; 11-12). Poverty has been noted to have manifestly declined in the Centre, the East and the West, but for the North the levels of poverty have remained completely stagnant (Deininger & Okidi, 2002; 12).

This situation has not gone unnoticed by the government of Uganda. Entire ministries with corresponding programmes are set up at cabinet level under the Prime Minister's office and below to cater for Northern Uganda and Karamoja. However, the point of concern here is that the people of these regions do confront the reality of exclusion culturally, socially and materially and economically. Their situation constitutes social injustice which is untenable as it is on ethical grounds. The UPE policy is implicitly one of the many channels that the government has sort to deal with this injustice. The undertaking, then, in the next chapter is to ascertain if UPE does come through for a socially just Uganda.

5. Analysis

5.1. Does the UPE policy matter for Social Justice in Northern Uganda?

In this section I turn to the relation of the UPE scheme and its relevancy for a socially just Uganda. In essence the objective is to establish a relation between UPE as provided by the UPE initiative and its impact on reducing the social inequalities as observed earlier on in Northern Uganda. In achieving the objective of reducing the inequality gap between the North and the rest of the country especially for the worst off, the programme is considered to bring about social justice from the justice as fairness perspective. UPE is one of the Governments of Uganda's main policy tool for achieving poverty reduction and improving on human development (Bategeka and Okurut, 2005; 1) and so making it an indicator of social justice in Ugandan society. Indeed UPE was initially designed to address gender and other inequalities in Uganda (Bategeka and Okurut, 2005; 3). Also through the PEAP, which is the government action plan as national policy frame work for medium and long term development (Okidi and Mugambe, 2002; 24) attention is drawn to education as a major social service that directly affects people's quality of life and productivity (Okidi and Mugambe, 2002; 26). The question is; has UPE lived up to its expectations? Has UPE reduced inequalities within the Ugandan society? I start with looking at the feasible positive outcomes of the UPE initiative.

5.2. Upbeat outcomes of UPE in Northern Uganda

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948; *every one has a right to education* (Article 26). It goes on to say that education should be free, at least in the elementary stages. What's more is that education has intrinsic aspects, that is, it is valuable intrinsically without reference to the amount of it that others have (Swift, 2006; 116). The government of Uganda in 1997 by beginning with the four children free education policy had began the road to fully complying with the intentions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. And now the fully fledged UPE programme offers the children of Uganda but more so the neglected children of Northern Uganda their full participation in their human rights with respect to having free primary school education. The intentions of the government are worthy and commendable. The previous situation where poorer children were denied schooling because of school fees was a double-edged sword that left them behind in terms of education and its advantages, but also discriminated against the poor by denying them their rights and the right to education in particular. UPE is then commended for extending justice to, not only

the poor of Uganda, but to the poor of Northern Uganda, in an attempt to equip them with an opportunity to reap the benefits of primary education.

One other reason to be upbeat about UPE is that it provides a basic education to a large body of pupils for survival in life. Alison Wolf says the basic academic skills with which primary school education is concerned are also the main tools of survival in a modern economy, not least a gateway to individual opportunity, enlightenment and knowledge which go beyond the immediate concerns of work and occupation (2002; 11). In as far as the policy is enabling children across the country to be literate in English, for example, it is providing ground for their future irrespective of where they come from. The possibilities of simply being able to read and write are many and so are the opportunities in life that come as a result of being able to read and write. As Esping-Andersen state the case; it is evident that human capital is becoming the key to people's life chances and hence equalising human capital would trickle down to all dimensions of distribution (Esping-Andersen, 2005; 31). In this respect UPE is serving to achieve a just society of equality by providing all pupils in school the chance to have a better life in the future. More so, that under the UPE programme, this opportunity is free as the government has abolished fees charges in school (Bategeka and Okurut, 2005; 1). Even the poorest have a realistic chance of going to primary school unhindered by prohibitive school fees, thus levelling the field for all walks of people in Uganda. In Northern Uganda, children that were previously missing out totally from education are now benefiting as a result of UPE.

In relation to the above is the importance of UPE in providing education for economic productivity and employment. Belfield and Levin tell us that a person's educational attainment is one of the most important determinants of his/her life chances in terms of employment, income, housing and many other amenities (2007; 1). Waldfogel *et al* state that in modern economies, adequate education is a prerequisite for full participation in the labour market and for the achievement of a basic standard of living (2007, 160). The implication is that by UPE providing a ground to all children of Uganda to have a chance to be in school, it is also laying a ground for them to improve their chances of participating in the labour market and achieving a basic standard of living. Since primary education is free, other factors that impact on education like intellectual capacity notwithstanding, UPE is improving their chances of employment and this is across the board for all Ugandan children. If UPE can be assumed to be equipping those left behind in Northern Uganda, either by war or for another

any reason, it can be seen as championing social justice. Wolf says even if it is doubtful that education is financially good for the country, it is certainly good for the educated (2002; 15, 244). Data and methodology –informative literature suggest that education has a causal effect on earnings (Rouse, 2007; 118).

There is a social benefit associated to education as well and to UPE by extension. People really do acquire human capital during education and this makes them and so their societies more productive, even though education alone is far from able to deliver a prosperous society (Wolf, 2002; 245). It is also a vehicle for social mobility. It is easy to point to individuals who through education have emerged from backgrounds of low class, status and power to achieve the opposite (Bary, 1986; 59). This is even more important to the people of Northern Uganda. If one is to imagine a brilliant student who because of UPE will have the prospects of rising from the poverty in Northern Uganda to become a prominent doctor, this will potentially be useful first to his immediate family in earnings but also his relatives and friend who may be from the same background. This is imaginary but it underlines the possibility of social mobility and the fringe benefits that society accrues from the promises that UPE potentially opens. Socially UPE benefits all because it enables literacy. UPE makes it possible for more citizens to read newspapers, books and reports which in turn may mean that the population becomes better informed about local and national issues (Bary, 1986; 26), which will potentially enhance their civil responsibilities and duties. UPE has the potential of improving literacy to create a civically engaged and politically more mature citizenry. This may, in the Northern Uganda circumstances, imply less conflict and cattle rustling in Karamoja, which will most likely reduce the negative impacts of insecurity, including reducing inequalities and improving on social justice. In the sense that the whole society benefits without infringing on the liberties of others, UPE would appear to be improving social justice.

Uganda is a predominantly agro-based economy as witnessed earlier on, but more importantly is that the North has been found to be less productive than the rest of the country and this has increased the discrepancy and poverty between the North and the rest of the country. UPE has the potential to be one of the most important poverty reduction strategies in Uganda (ECA, 2003; 89), principally through the agricultural sector. Estimates of the direct impact of education show that UPE would increase agricultural production by 15 per cent (ibid). In support of this assertion, Bary says basic education is likely to improve agricultural

productivity by creating awareness of new techniques, providing ability to read extension literature and instructions on the fertilizer packets, improving the recipient's receptivity to change and generally by teaching how to learn (1986, 40). This potentially could increase the food supplies and incomes of the whole of Uganda, but also of the north in particular as UPE is a country-wide programme. Therefore if UPE can unleash the full potential of the nation's agro industry and of the North in particular, it could be commended for helping fashion a socially just nation.

Additionally education can reduce stress and increase social networks (Muennig, 2007; 129) and also by rising earnings, education raises the opportunity cost of crime (Muening, 2007; 157) and could typically lead to healthier life (Muening, 2007; 125). What's more is that modern lifestyle as we have come to know it, depends on continuing scientific and technological developments and on a very large number of very highly educated people building on the accumulated wisdom of on going scientific revolution (Wolf, 2002; 245). The appeal here is that we can view efforts to improve educational outcomes for the at risk populations as public investment that yield benefits considerably in excess of investment (Belfield and Levin, 2007; 2). Belfield and Levin further say, a society that provides fairer access to opportunities is more productive and has higher employment, better health, and less crime and is in fact a better society in itself (2007; 16). In this respect UPE could be seen to be bettering Ugandan society.

By the government of Uganda focusing their resources into universal education, a lot of positive outcomes have resulted as far as reducing inequalities and helping the worst off of society is concerned. For instance gender inequalities in primary school enrolment have been all but wiped out since UPE (MoFPED, 2006). Rural -Urban differences in enrolment that stood at about 16 percentage points ceased to be statistically significant by 1999 (Okidi and Mugambe, 2002; 32). Uganda can ill afford a future working population in which a sizeable percentage is functionally illiterate and/or have failed to attain even secondary school level education (Esping-Andersen, 2005; 32).

When UPE is viewed in light of justice as fairness, justice is on the horizon for Northern Uganda. But as it is, not every thing to do with education in general is as simply straight forward as this. If only it were, that the more students in school would subsequently sum up to benefits of schooling, then UPE would be perfect. But education and learning are processes

whose aims are wide and divergent. And as with processes, a lot of factors influence them and consequently their outcomes as well. UPE is no exception, as witnessed in the chapter on UPE. A lot is left to be desired giving reasons to be downbeat about justice in Northern Uganda. It is therefore with this in mind that I now turn to look at what could possibly diminish UPE's ability to reduce inequalities especially for the worst off in Northern Uganda and so fail in actualizing a socially justice Nation of Uganda.

5.3. Downbeat outcome of UPE in Northern Uganda

An unquestioning faith in the benefits of primary education may bring about huge amounts and some times wasteful government spending attached to misguided even pernicious policies as Wolf would say (2002, xi). Hopper seconds this by admitting that there is a growing recognition among governments in developing countries such as Uganda that education for all children is unlikely to be achieved through expansion of conventional school systems only (2008; 9). Wolf goes on to state, just because something like education in general is valuable, does it necessarily follow that even more of it is by definition is a good idea (Wolf, 2002; xi)? This is because, despite the hopes and labours of planners and politicians, education systems frequently fail to produce either the economic or social fruits that are wanted from them (Wolf, 2002, 114). UPE in Northern Uganda may just be a case in point as the following paragraphs aim to show.

During children's schooling years inequality is further compounded by difference in out-of-school experiences that contribute to school success (Rothstein and Wilder, 2007; 31). This in my opinion is the Achilles heel in the UPE programme in Northern Uganda as the attestations in Northern Uganda could imply. Inequalities in economic security, health and parents educational backgrounds have a compound effect on children's early childhood experiences, which in turn affect academic achievement, educational attainment and economic security (Rothstein and Wilder, 2007; 45). The war, the camps, the poverty, the loss of loved ones, the rapes, the hunger, and other inequalities and calamities in the North against a uniform policy of UPE across the country can not be said to be in favour of the worst off. With similar schooling resources, educational inequalities endure because children from educationally and economically disadvantaged populations are less prepared to start school (Belfield and Levin, 2007; 1). On the other hand substantial gaps exist between children as they enter school and these gaps persist and are reinforced throughout childhood (Belfield,

2007; 200). The argument then for justice in correspondence to Belfield and Levin is, if life chances depend so much heavily on education then it is important that educational inequalities be redressed in order to equalise opportunities in a democratic society (2007; 1-2). UPE appears to offer an opportunity for all children to be in school but other than that, it fails to equalise the chances for all and more so the least of Northern Uganda to benefit significantly by catering for their special circumstances in which the children of the North find themselves. This imposition of a single unitary and uniform policy across all schools has effectively excluded significant numbers of sub-groups of children (Boyle, 2002; 105) and thus flounders social justice for Northern Uganda.

The next disconsolate charge is with the quality of UPE. In the chapter on UPE, a picture not so colourful is illustrated about the quality of the UPE programme. In the MoFPED focus paper, 6 of 2007¹, the government is noted to focus on the provision of social services like education rather than reducing disparities between the poor and the rich. The same paper says it is vital for the government to address the quality of public services like education that are mainly consumed by the poor as inequalities are enhanced as the wealthy opt for private provisions of education while the poorer households are less likely than the rich households to enrol their children even with UPE in place. This is very telling of how UPE may not only fail to help reduce inequalities but instead because of its dismal quality may very well be widening the gap between the rich and the poor in terms of educational attainment and the advantages that amass therein. Public expenditure per pupil is much higher in urban areas than rural areas. For example, in 2000 expenditure per pupil in the capital Kampala was US \$ 63, compared to only US \$ 10 for the remote and poorest northern district of Kotido (Bategeka and Okurut, 2006: 4). As it is, in rural areas like those of Northern Uganda where the majority of the poor reside, the contribution of parents is almost zero, introducing further inequalities in terms of total resources per pupil (ibid). UPE notwithstanding there is a significant number of children who have never been in school and many who are failing to transit into higher education. As it so happens, Northern Uganda still is the worst hit with 21 per cent of children aged 6-12 having never been to school (MoFPED, 2005; 7). The prospect of social justice permeating through UPE by undermining inequalities between the North and the rest of the country are not heartening, if the set circumstances are to prevail. On the contrary the gap between the rich South and the flagging North may widen; a blow to justice.

¹ this paper is not numbered

In summary, the intentions of UPE can be discerned as honourable and designed to give each and every child their deservedly due opportunity to education. However, UPE implementation is besieged by corruption at almost all levels of operation, inflexible policies for all, lack of popular support in some quarters because of its poor results, lack of financial resources for sustainability and efficiency, classroom numbers are at busting point in some areas, the student-teacher ratio (sometimes at 100:1) is most un-conducive for learning, and there is the question of external dependency on both finances and initial ideologies for such grand projects that appear (despite their positive appeal) to be implemented so as to appease external parties. As it is now UPE may not only be failing to create an equal base opportunity for all children in Uganda but may be failing in achieving its principal objective of providing education and literacy to children. We know that education is expensive, but pitiable and inadequate education for sustainable numbers of our young generation may have public and social consequences that are even costlier (Belfield and Levin, 2007; 1). And because the state incurs much of the burden of economic and social inequalities, there is no efficiency-versus-equity trade off from investing public funds in primary school education (Belfield, 2007; 200). Affirmative action is needed to assist poorer households especially those in rural areas and Northern Uganda to be able to take their children to school and ensure that they are able to complete school meaningfully (MoFPED, 2005; 41).

6. Conclusion

According to Rawls, social justice is arrived at when social and economic institutions are designed in a manner that maximally benefits the least advantaged of society. In other words, a just society is one where no one is left behind. This is convincible by way of the ‘difference principle’ that calls for redistribution in favour of the least of society. It endeavours to redirect societal resources towards the emancipation of the least of society. Rawls holds that it is nevertheless important that this is done without infringing on anyone’s’ liberties for they reign supreme and therefore can not be foregone. Rawls’ theory of justice as fairness in this study serves as a criterion of justice for assessing policies and structures of society as ethical under diverse circumstances, but also for specific contexts.

Against this background, this study points to no other conclusion than that the UPE policy with the setbacks that surround it does not provide a satisfactory nor does it provide an adequate education that is customized and tailored to take into careful consideration the disadvantaged nature of Northern Uganda. Within the framework for UPE, classes are overcrowded, the student-teacher ratios are high, children are hungry, lack scholastic material and motivation. This is even made more precarious in Northern Uganda with the insecurity, displacement, poverty, famine and marginalisation. Therefore, in as far as it fails to recognise this uniqueness in Northern Uganda; it fails to lead to a socially just Northern Uganda and Uganda in general.

The importance of justice as fairness in this context is to remind the architects of policies and the institutions that implement them that genuine equality of opportunity is not about the uniformity of society. Rather it is about the interests of each and every individual, more so the least of society. As this study has sought to show, a uniform UPE policy does not equalise opportunities but could as well increase inequalities if planning, implementing and evaluation of UPE does not take into consideration the distinctiveness of the different sub-groups of society.

Justice as fairness opens prospects for future contemplation on redefining and refining of the ethical debate in a contemporary world, principally within the branch of education which happens to be a costly enterprise as alluded to earlier. Do we still need education? What role

does it play in a nation? And what informs this role? All of these are ethically grounded questions that can not be fully covered in this study, but will need to be grappled with as we attempt to make our world a better one in which to live.

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