



PEACEBUILDING, EDUCATION AND ADVOCACY PROGRAMME
**The Transformative Potential of Positive Gender
Socialization in Education for Peacebuilding**
Pilot Programme and Impact Evaluation in Karamoja, Uganda



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The Transformative Potential of Positive Gender

Socialization in Education for Peacebuilding:

Pilot Programme and Impact Evaluation in Karamoja, Uganda

Authors: Judy El-Bushra, Emilie Rees Smith

Copy Editor: Lisa Drysdale

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The Gender Socialization in Schools programme pilot in Karamoja, Uganda, has demonstrated the value of a gender-transformative approach to addressing prevailing gender norms that have contributed to conflict – and which have the potential to be harnessed for peace – in the Karamoja region. The pilot programme’s accompanying impact evaluation shows that such a training intervention can have a positive impact on teachers’ knowledge of gender concepts and their relevance in the classroom. It also demonstrates the potential for shifting attitudes towards more progressive views of gender equality. While the research showed early indications of a shift towards gender equitable practices, teachers ultimately remained constrained by structural factors and the entrenched nature of the traditional views on gender roles held by the wider community. Qualitative findings indicate, however, that stronger reinforcement strategies and links to the community as part of a longer-term approach would likely result in a transformation of teacher practices. Support from multiple community stakeholders is essential if shifts in gender roles, power relations and conflict dynamics are to be achieved at the macro level.





Context

1.

1.1. Building peace in Uganda: Conflict factors and the role of education in their mitigation

Potential drivers of conflict have been identified across different aspects of society in Uganda – in security and justice, politics and governance, economic development, natural resources and social service delivery including education.

President Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement gained power in 1986 following a seven-year civil war and has since largely succeeded in unifying and stabilizing the country, with the exception of

the ongoing structural tensions in peripheral regions in the east, west and north. Some groups, notably the Lord's Resistance Army in the Acholi region, have continued to harbour disaffection with the National Resistance Movement, perceiving preferential access to state power by those close to its inner circle.¹ Moreover, national-level politics have grown more tense over the last decade. Challenges to the legitimacy of Museveni's lengthy tenure in office have arisen, particularly around the time of presidential elections.²

Although the Ugandan state has generally championed the rights of women, including their political participation, and has largely supportive relations with women's rights advocates, inequality between women and men persists in a number of key areas such as literacy, economic empowerment and political participation. Intimate partner violence and other forms of gender-based violence are widespread.³

Conflicts over land and over the commercialization of agriculture are also widespread throughout Uganda. The discovery of oil reserves in 2006 offered hopes of prosperity for the whole country – but the management of this valuable resource has generated tensions at the national level, as well as concerns about the likely impacts of its exploitation on local communities.⁴

Uganda has also been involved in regional conflicts, engaging at various times in military interventions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan, yet has also been seen as a place of refuge for people displaced by conflict in these same countries.⁵

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Learning for Peace programme has been a catalyst for exploring how social services – particularly education – can break cycles of violent conflict, by addressing its root causes, to contribute to long-term, sustainable peace.

The rationale is that education services, when delivered equitably and effectively, can strengthen capacities to manage shocks and stresses – all the way from the national level to the individual level – and promote peace, while sustaining long-term opportunities for children and youth for civic engagement and entry to the labour market.⁶

In Uganda, conflict analysis has shown that education can both contribute to conflict and is affected by it, resulting in poor facilities, barriers to access, a culture of violence against children, poor teacher conditions, poor learning outcomes and a lack of fit between education and employment. Schools themselves are often involved in or affected by land conflicts and by tensions within school governance (for example, between school management and governors). This analysis also established clear gender dimensions to conflict drivers linked to traditional social and gender norms.⁷ For example, such norms can undermine the potential role and contribution of girls and women in peacebuilding by preventing their access to education through traditional cultural practices such as early marriage. Elsewhere, it has been reported that gender-based violence – including school-related gender-based violence – leads to conflict at the community level in retaliation.⁸

Such conflict analysis sits alongside established evidence that indicates that improving gender equality in peacebuilding initiatives has a positive impact on both their durability and outcome.⁹ In light of this, the Learning for Peace programme adopted gender considerations as a cross-cutting principle at its inception. The programme has since provided opportunities to generate important lessons on and stimulate promising practices around the role of education in implementing gender-transformative peacebuilding strategies.

Indeed, the potential role of education in peacebuilding has been demonstrated by global analysis undertaken by the Learning for Peace programme, which shows that conflict is less likely in contexts where there is gender parity in terms of average years of schooling. Analysis has furthermore shown that gender inequality in education increases in response to the incidence of conflict.¹⁰ At the country level, the Learning for Peace programme has shown links between attitudes related to gender equality in education and the strengthening of social cohesion in Uganda.¹¹ The Learning for Peace programme designed the Gender Socialization in Schools programme pilot in response to gender-related conflict drivers identified in Karamoja in north-eastern Uganda. Its aim was to trial a practical, school-based intervention to demonstrate the peacebuilding potential of positive gender socialization in the conflict-affected region.

1.2. Social cohesion in Karamoja

Although Karamoja has not experienced the type of armed rebellions witnessed in other parts of Uganda, several forms of violence, including gender-based violence and armed violence, beset the region. Cattle raiding between different Karamojong clans has been largely eradicated, but small arms are still widely available and pockets of violence remain.¹² Violent conflict has been recorded between the Karamojong and neighbouring groups, between different Karamojong clans, and between the Karamojong and the Ugandan state. Tensions and violence at the interpersonal level, including between women and men and between older and younger men, have also been reported. Karamoja records the highest levels of gender-based violence of all regions in northern Uganda, and this violence includes female genital mutilation/cutting, child marriage and child labour.¹³

Karamoja is struggling to adjust to rapid social change, under the influence of national-level policies on development and gender, as well as to the impact of displacement and changes to livelihoods options.¹⁴ Government campaigns against cattle raiding, including disarmament, have reduced levels of trust among the Karamojong towards state institutions and

resulted in men engaging more in agriculture than they did in the past (previously, only women did such work).¹⁵ Both women and men feel undermined by this trend. Livestock ownership is still a key indicator of manhood, which is valued by both women and men, and women put pressure on men to provide for the family. When they are unable to do so, men may turn to using crime and violence as an alternate livelihood strategy to cattle raiding, and violence within the family can also result.¹⁶

The Karamoja region displays relatively low rates of confidence in future prospects for prosperity, peace and security.¹⁷ Karamojong youth identify closely with their culture and view elders as an important source of authority, but they identify less with the Ugandan state and have little inclination to participate in government projects or join political parties.¹⁸ Conflict-insensitive government and private sector-led development interventions have tended to fuel such dynamics. Government policy towards pastoralism is a key issue in this regard: policymakers tend not to understand the relevance of pastoralism to the situation in Karamoja and are trying to reduce the Karamojong's dependence on cattle.¹⁹ While the government has succeeded in reducing the resulting high levels of violence associated with cattle raiding, the underlying systems remain unchanged.²⁰

Socialization practices encourage young people to foster a strong sense of their own tribal or clan identity, which often implies an enduring enmity towards other tribes and clans. Poor social interactions between different segments of society are exacerbated by linguistic differences, which limit communication between groups. Masculinity is associated strongly with cattle ownership, marriage and fatherhood, and to a lesser extent with land ownership, while femininity is associated with marriage, child rearing and providing for household needs. Cattle ownership is therefore important to both feminine and masculine identities. Pressures caused by poverty and insecurity increase the potential for gender-related conflict, offering men incentives to violence in their relations with other tribes and clans, and encouraging violence in intimate partner relations and within the household in general, including, for example, between co-wives fighting over access to land.²¹

Domestic violence and intimate partner violence appear to be widespread in Karamoja, with girls and women bearing the brunt of this violence.²² Courtship and marriage practices are often abused by men, who may force women into marriage through rape and defilement, child marriage and widow inheritance. Women's domestic responsibilities are demanding, and whereas in the past

women alone were responsible for agricultural production – providing them with some measure of resource control – pressures on cattle stocks (once the source of livelihood for most boys and men) have led men to encroach on women's traditional resources.²³ Gender relations, as currently practised, do not only discriminate against women: Boys and younger men who have not yet undergone initiation rituals to attain the social status of adulthood are – like girls and women – under the sway of older men and particularly the elders of the community, who have considerable power to either uphold or undermine the cultural acceptance of violence. Many elders, however, seek to use their influence positively, to reduce levels of violence in Karamojong communities.²⁴



The Gender Socialization in Schools programme pilot

2.

Schools in Karamoja face many challenges which undermine their capacity to contribute towards social cohesion. Communities display a widespread mistrust of education, often viewing it as an external intervention that is contrary to the Karamojong culture and which fails to meet its own promise of preparing young people for employment. Primary school enrolment, completion and transition to secondary school rates are low, especially among girls. School management and pupil performance are negatively affected by social problems in the community, including communal disputes, alcoholism and domestic violence. Many schools lack basic infrastructure such as adequate seating. Conflict is also often observed between education stakeholders (for example, between parents and school authorities). The majority of teachers in Karamoja schools originate from outside the region and turnover is high: Working as a teacher in Karamoja is considered a

hardship posting. Teachers in Karamoja are observed to practise discrimination against children and particularly against girls, and verbal and physical abuse directed by teachers towards students is common.

The Gender Socialization in Schools programme pilot was implemented in Karamoja, Uganda, in 2015 by UNICEF and the Ugandan Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Sports (MoESTS) in partnership with the local non-governmental organizations Development Research and Training and the Forum for African Women Educationalists. The initiative provided training that aimed to enhance primary school teachers' knowledge, attitudes and practices in regard to gender and peacebuilding, with the intention that this would ultimately contribute to peacebuilding and social cohesion. This was based on a theory of change that posited that the enhanced gender-related knowledge and attitudes

acquired by teachers as a result of such training would lead to impacts on teachers' practices in the classroom. Their improved capacities to recognize and address gender inequalities and conflicts within the classroom would, in turn, enable teachers and students to generate a more gender equitable environment in schools and, ultimately, in the wider community – helping to strengthen social cohesion.

As a pilot intervention, the aim was to test this low-cost, innovative approach on a limited scale and for a limited period of time. An impact evaluation was carried out alongside the training programme to determine whether it was a potentially scalable model that MoESTS could adopt and roll out nationally. Given the short-term nature of the pilot, the evaluation was not expected to yield definitive evidence of the programme's influence on teacher practices or its contribution to social cohesion. Instead, it was expected that the evaluation

would find change concentrated around teacher knowledge and attitudes, and possibly uncover promising indications of how such shifts may ultimately affect behaviour and influence social cohesion in the longer term. The community dimension of the pilot was deliberately limited to equipping teachers with knowledge and skills for community engagement. No direct community mobilization activities were involved since the pilot's overall aim was to test a low-cost model and its sustainability prospects.

A 'training of trainers' approach was adopted and the existing Teacher Development and Management System used to dispense training in gender and peacebuilding – using a training manual produced by MoESTS and its implementing partners – to coordinating centre tutors (CCTs), district inspectors of schools and MoESTS personnel. The trained CCTs and inspectors returned to their respective districts and delivered a three-day training workshop for teachers and head teachers. A total of 1,000 primary school teachers drawn from 105 schools across five districts of Karamoja received the training. Around half of the teachers received the teacher training only, while the remainder also received weekly reinforcing Short Message Service (SMS) text messages, to remind them about certain training content and to provide examples of good practices. Both of these intervention groups were invited to attend two refresher training sessions over the next eight months.

Training covered teachers' understanding of concepts related to gender equality (e.g., the difference between gender and sex, gender roles and gender socialization) and to conflict resolution, as well as the practical application of these concepts in the classroom, with particular attention paid to integrating gender equitable and conflict sensitive approaches into school activities. The content of the training materials represented a departure from that of similar existing tools, given the focus on gender issues affecting both females and males, and the recognition that both inflict and are afflicted by gender norms. Teachers were asked to draw up action plans for their schools based on the training and record their experience of implementing these.

The training package was designed in a highly participatory manner and revised on an ongoing basis as a result of: (a) MoESTS guidance and leadership which ensured that training content aligned with the national primary school curriculum and national training standards, (b) participatory stakeholder assessments in selected Karamojong communities, (c) a comprehensive review of the global evidence base and promising practices in gender socialization in schools, and (d) the adaptation of training materials in response to a pilot phase and ongoing trainee feedback, and emerging research findings at three points during the intervention period.

The pilot was designed on the basis of evidence that an enabling environment is an important factor in the effectiveness of school systems.²⁵ Activities were therefore designed to operate within existing systems of teacher support, specifically the established training, supervision and mentoring available via CCTs. Hence, assumptions around the effectiveness of the existing teacher support mechanisms in Karamoja were integral to the pilot design, as was the belief that teachers would have adequate time and resources to create and implement the action plans necessary to fulfil their new role as agents of change in relation to gender and peacebuilding.



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Impact evaluation

3.

UNICEF commissioned American Institutes for Research (AIR) to undertake an impact evaluation of the Gender Socialization in Schools programme pilot, and this ran alongside the training from January to November 2015. The aim of the evaluation was to assess what shifts in teachers' knowledge, attitudes and practices were resulting from their participation in the programme, and whether the ideas learned by the teachers through the programme could help to increase social cohesion in Karamoja. The results of the evaluation were expected to inform the possible scale-up of the initiative in Karamoja and in other districts of Uganda.²⁶

The research team used a cluster randomized controlled trial design in which the primary schools within each coordinating centre catchment area were randomly assigned to one of three groups to receive: teacher training plus reinforcing text messages (complete

intervention group), teacher training only (limited intervention group) or no intervention (the control group). Each group comprised around 300 teachers drawn from 35 schools. Both intervention groups were invited to receive two refresher training sessions.²⁷

Quantitative and qualitative methods were used to assess the impact of the two programme components (teacher training and text messages) on teachers' knowledge, attitudes and practices. The quantitative results were based on a culturally validated teacher survey, which compared outcomes for the same individuals at the baseline and endline point, among teachers in each of the three groups. Survey questions reflected the content of the training manual and were either direct or used vignettes – fictional scenarios about which subjects are asked to make judgements – to assess teacher knowledge, attitudes and practices. The

survey was administered to teachers first at the beginning of the initial training session and again at the start of the final training session: 916 teachers completed the baseline survey and 650 teachers the endline survey. A range of practical constraints on teacher participation in the final training session accounted for the 29 per cent attrition rate. A separate questionnaire was administered to head teachers to capture information about the characteristics of the study schools.

The methodology incorporated a comprehensive qualitative component in recognition of the short time frame of the pilot relative to the long-term nature of expected outcomes related to teacher practices and social cohesion. Qualitative techniques were designed to capture any indications of tendencies towards such changes, to provide insights that could inform longer-term strategies. Qualitative

instruments included semi-structured and key informant interviews with head teachers, CCTs and implementing partners; focus group discussions (FGDs) with teachers and students; participatory assessments, including role plays and facilitated discussions, with Primary 4 students; and classroom observation in purposively selected schools. Three high-performing schools were selected as subjects for in-depth case studies.

Limitations of the research included:

- The short time frame of the pilot itself limited the evaluation's capacity to capture meaningful change at the impact level.
- The pilot was by definition in its first year of implementation. Evidence suggests that new programmes may experience unexpected challenges or may not be implemented as intended, which may weaken the programme effects in the first few years.
- The limited time frame and resources for the evaluation confined the research team's focus to teachers as the direct beneficiaries of the training. Student data were from small samples and exclusively qualitative.
- Quantitative data on teachers were limited to self-reported surveys. Interviews and other, more comprehensive data collection methods were exclusively qualitative. To overcome the limitations of self-reported data, which may suffer from courtesy and social desirability bias, vignettes were employed, leading questions minimized and various types of questions included. The instrument was also piloted three times in Karamoja and revised following comprehensive feedback from local experts
- Only 25% of teachers surveyed were women. Although this is a fair reflection of the proportion of female teachers in Karamoja – and indeed all female teachers who could be included in the study were included – little can be said by way of comparison between female and male teachers.





GIRLS

Results and outcomes

4.

4.1. Impact of the training on teacher knowledge and attitudes

Participation in the training had a positive impact on teachers' knowledge of gender concepts and their relevance in school.

Comparing intervention and control teachers revealed that the training had succeeded in increasing teachers' knowledge of some gender equality concepts. The most marked change was to intervention teachers' knowledge about the difference between gender and sex. Teachers who had participated in the training learned how to use gender-related terminology correctly and came to acknowledge

the equal capacities of girls and boys. Qualitative data pointed to increased teacher awareness of the effects of gender-based discrimination on girls' social interactions and confidence and on their likelihood of missing school during menstruation. Intervention teachers also displayed enhanced knowledge of how to promote a more gender equitable environment, including through classroom set-up, equal participation and representation, and responsibility sharing.

Participation in the training resulted in a positive impact on teachers' attitudes towards gender roles and gender identity.

Teachers who participated in the training were more likely to agree with statements that implied relatively progressive attitudes towards gender roles, for example, those suggesting that women and men were equally capable of performing jobs traditionally associated with one sex (e.g., engineer,

mechanic, nurse and politician). Teachers who participated in the training were also more likely to show more liberal attitudes towards gender norms in their community.

Furthermore, the evaluation found positive quantitative effects on teachers' attitudes towards gender identity. Teachers who participated in the training were less likely to display opinions conforming to traditional masculine stereotypes. For example, intervention teachers were more likely to disagree with statements such as "Some women need to be beaten", "Educated women make unruly wives", "When you beat boys, you raise disciplined men" or "When men are speaking, serious women are not supposed to talk".

Research revealed largely positive attitudes towards gender equality among all teachers, with teachers who had participated in the training holding some more progressive views. Quantitative data showed that intervention and control groups largely held similarly positive attitudes in regard to gender equality. For example, the majority of teachers across all groups agreed that it was important for both girls and boys to complete secondary education and tended to disagree with statements such as “Girls should be sent to school only if they are not needed to help at home.” Such findings reflect a basic awareness of the principles of gender equality among teachers in Karamoja irrespective of the training. Where differences were identified, however, these pointed to more progressive attitudes among teachers who had participated in the training compared with those who had not. For example, teachers who had participated in the training were more likely to agree that it was important for girls to go to university, and to disagree that boys are naturally better at mathematics than girls or that boys’ education should be prioritized when resources are limited.

Qualitative data further reinforced findings indicating that teachers who had participated in the training held more progressive views such as that both girls and boys should enrol in school and that they should have equality in their responsibilities, work and futures. Many teachers expressed that the training had

expanded their ideas about what girls were capable of in the classroom. In some cases, teachers described adopting such attitudes in practical ways with positive results. For example, some teachers reported that their actions to encourage girls in mathematics had seen their performance improve considerably – sometimes beyond that of the boys.

Despite positive shifts in teacher knowledge and attitudes, traditional views on gender roles held by the wider community appeared to prevail, posing a barrier to broader change. Explorations of teacher attitudes towards gender equality in the community also showed moderate improvement. The evaluation concluded that the training had taught intervention teachers about more progressive views on gender roles, which to some extent they had adopted themselves. Teachers did not, however, appear to change their traditional concepts of gender roles in the community, which may shape their approaches in the classroom. The evaluation findings reflect meaningful change in knowledge and attitudes towards gender roles, identity and equality as a result of the training – but these changes also created challenges for teachers operating in an environment where traditional gender norms held by the wider community heavily dictate children’s roles and responsibilities.

No clear evidence was found for the additional benefits of using mobile technology to support learning on gender equitable practices, but this approach merits further research before its potential to reach beneficiaries is discounted. The shifts observed in teachers’ knowledge and attitudes were almost entirely attributable to the training component of the programme. Teachers in the training-plus-texting group did not display different scores from those in the training-only group in the overall index capturing such changes. Where positive differences were identified between the two intervention groups, these were limited to the knowledge category and largely negligible. These findings suggest that this additional approach is not the most effective way to reach and motivate teachers on complex issues relating to gender. The reasons why the reinforcing text messages had no additional benefits are unclear, although the result was likely influenced by teachers’ lack of engagement with the mobile SMS platform and technological constraints that prevented teachers from receiving messages (28 per cent of teachers reported not receiving the SMS messages). The value of mobile technology in such programming merits further research before its use is discounted, however.

4.2. Impact of knowledge gains on teaching practices

Achieving changes in teacher practices is a long-term goal requiring multiple and iterative processes. The challenges of changing teacher practices in the short term are well documented.²⁸ Cognizant of this, the research incorporated a significant qualitative component to identify emerging promising practices that could inform longer-term strategies. Indeed, qualitative data pointed to some positive examples of changes beginning to take place. Conversely, the quantitative findings revealed no significant impact of the teacher training on gender-responsive and peaceful teacher practices. Where differences were observed between intervention and control teachers, these were weak and related only to some dispersed items in the overall index (with no difference recorded for the overall index itself) suggesting that a stronger and longer-term intervention is needed to change teachers' practices, as was anticipated. Moreover, the qualitative evidence about the impact of the training on teacher practices - namely that some change did take place but only to a small degree - supports the view that teachers respond best to innovative approaches once they have been able to observe how change

benefits their learners in practice, i.e., we should expect teachers' confidence in a new approach to grow exponentially as their experience of implementing it expands.²⁹

Early indications of a shift towards gender equitable practices are demonstrated by teachers who participated in the training relative to those who did not. The overall index for gender equitable practices did not reveal any impact - however, some differences in the individual items merit attention where these are statistically significant. Teachers who participated in the training and received SMS messages were more likely to: (a) discuss strategies for providing a safe learning environment for girls and boys with other teachers, (b) organize regular meetings with families to talk about their children, and (c) talk to parents about the importance of education. Teachers who did not participate in the training were also more likely to ask boys to lead group work activities. Significantly, both intervention groups were less likely than the control group to cane female or male students if they continued to be troublemakers.

Research findings identify practical ways in which changes in teacher knowledge and attitudes had influenced classroom practice, and point to possible effects at the student level. Changes in teacher practices emerging from the qualitative research include examples of teachers explaining the ways in which their improved knowledge had affected

their classroom behaviour. In particular, they reported introducing mixed-sex seating arrangements (to improve interactions, enable friendships to develop and allow the sharing of ideas between girls and boys), equal distribution of classroom resources such as books, equal participation, responsibility sharing (e.g. cleaning and tidying classrooms) and gender-sensitive activities and lesson plans (to ensure that class activities benefited girls and boys equally). According to the teachers, implementing gender equitable practices had the effect of raising performance and increasing interest in education among girls (and in aspects of the curriculum that had previously been considered inappropriate for girls such as mathematics), improving relationships - between teachers and students, and between girls and boys - and opening up the discussion of girls' health issues, notably menstruation.

Teachers also reported that they had improved their ability to manage conflict in the classroom and were increasingly adopting positive discipline tactics in place of corporal punishment. They outlined various ideas they had for promoting conflict resolution skills in their pupils, including the use of role play.

Qualitative research with a sample of 168 students supported teachers' reports of positive changes to a certain extent - with around half of the pupils citing a specific action by a teacher to promote gender equality. Children's experiences of teachers in general



remained largely negative, however. In particular, students complained that teachers verbally, physically and sexually abused them, frequently under the influence of alcohol, and such behaviour was also observed by field researchers. Boys were said (by both girls and boys) to suffer more than girls from teachers' use of corporal punishment. Negative experiences of teachers led to high levels of unhappiness among students and had a marked negative effect on their attitude to schooling. These secondary qualitative findings, while not intended to capture the effects of the training directly, underscore the gravity of student experiences and the need for comprehensive, long-term strategies to achieve behaviour change.

The translation of changes in knowledge and attitudes into changes in practice was constrained by structural factors as well as by limited understanding of how to apply the concepts. Qualitative research also looked at the action plans drawn up by teachers as a result of the training. Teachers reported developing plans linked to larger goals such as sanitation, hygiene, guidance and

counselling. While teachers generally displayed a concrete understanding of the purpose and use of action plans, they reported structural challenges to their implementation such as lack of time or resources. Time and financial constraints also impeded the systematic uptake of the coaching and mentoring that CCTs had been expected to provide to teachers through existing teacher support mechanisms.

The findings did, however, reveal some evidence of the action plans supporting the translation of concepts to real-life situations – for example, through the offer of guidance on attendance, counselling and gender equality, and the removal of corporal punishment. The majority of teachers were unable, however, to articulate a clear understanding of the connections between their plans and building peaceful or gender equitable schools. This finding also points to the possible shortcomings of a training of trainers model where teachers were trained by individuals who had themselves only just received the same training. In such a model, any deficiencies in the training of trainers are inevitably replicated in the interactions with teachers.

Teachers recognized the need for strong community engagement to sustain results, but require more support to achieve the buy-in and mobilization of community members. Although many teachers had made progress in their understanding of gender equality and peacebuilding, the qualitative findings indicate that the majority of them continued to have difficulty in reconciling these concepts with the prevailing gender norms in the wider community in certain circumstances. Despite 94 per cent of teachers stating that they believed they had influence in the community, they found it difficult to independently obtain support from parents, politicians and other community leaders. Teachers recognized the need for greater support to achieve the buy-in of the community, and reflected this awareness by underscoring the importance of sensitizing parents and community members to the training content as part of the action plans.



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4.3. Potential contribution to social cohesion

In view of the short-term nature of the programme pilot, the research neither expected nor was designed to capture any potential long-term effects, including on social cohesion. A significant qualitative component was incorporated in the study, however, to ascertain any promising indications of changes brought about by the intervention that may contribute to the longer-term outcome of improved social cohesion. The research employed a combination of the elements of a social cohesion index to assess the programme's potential contribution to social cohesion.³⁰ While the pilot's prospects for contributing to social cohesion were limited given the challenges identified in establishing the buy-in of the wider community, the qualitative findings did highlight the following areas of significance for future programming:

The training approach adopted did appear to increase social participation around gender and education issues, and teachers recognized its peacebuilding potential.

Qualitative data indicate that the programme's method of encouraging social relationships among girls and boys – as well as some community engagement through parent teacher association meetings and other means of reaching parents – had increased social participation in issues of education. Teachers recognized the programme's potential to encourage cohesion among students and throughout the wider community. Some teachers specifically mentioned that having gender equitable classrooms boosted the morale of all students, and many said that students' ability to deal with conflict in a positive and constructive manner in the classroom would translate to their personal lives. Indeed, teachers independently discussed the idea of viewing students as stewards of peace in the wider community. As evidenced by the findings on teacher attitudes and practices, however, teachers continued to struggle with integrating training concepts into their daily practices, and systematic efforts to mobilize the community as part of the intervention were lacking.

Importantly, the intersection of ethnic identity and gender was found to affect respect and trust among students as well as between teachers and students.

Some teachers felt unable to resolve frictions between pupils of different ethnic groups and/or linguistic backgrounds, or to emphasize equal treatment for girls and boys in the face of prevailing gender norms that assign low-status domestic roles to girls and expect them to be compliant and passive. The fact that most teachers in Karamoja schools originate from outside the region enhanced their perceptions that the community tended to reject the values and practices they had learned in the training. For example, some teachers reported that boys who had undergone initiation rituals tended not to respect male teachers who had not (due to being from outside of Karamoja or from a different ethnic group). These dynamics further compounded teachers' limited ability to gain community traction, in turn limiting the programme's potential to translate into greater social cohesion in the community.

A photograph of three women sitting together, smiling and clapping. The woman on the left wears a white headwrap and a brown jacket. The woman in the middle wears an orange headwrap with gold embroidery and a colorful patterned top. The woman on the right wears a blue and yellow headwrap and a black and white striped top. They are all looking towards the right side of the frame. The background is a reddish-brown wall with some circular patterns.

**Key lessons learned
about the role of
education in promoting
gender equality and
peacebuilding**

5.

5.1. Sustained change requires deep-rooted and multiple approaches

Evidence from the impact evaluation shows that it is possible to enhance primary school teachers' knowledge, attitudes and practices in regard to gender and conflict through teacher training, and that doing so potentially has a considerable impact in terms of promoting safer and more equitable schools, supporting the desire of children – especially girls – to learn, and improving relationships between students and between teachers and students. Such effects were achieved only to a minor degree in the Karamoja pilot of the Gender

Socialization in Schools programme. The short-term results show, however, that it is likely that the programme would result in a transformation given time and stronger reinforcement strategies. The pilot provides important evidence for practical approaches to using teachers as agents of change, showing that further work must be done to support teachers to translate learning about gender and peacebuilding to real-life situations, whether in the classroom or in the community. Teachers need an effective enabling environment as well as professional support in all aspects of their teaching practice if they are to develop the skills and confidence required for behaviour change. The research points to the community's prevailing gender norms as a major barrier. Teachers therefore require support to effectively communicate to the wider community the new ideas promoted by the training if they are to take on a meaningful role as agents of change.

5.2. Importance of the school–community link

Clearly, improving gender equality and achieving conflict reduction will depend critically upon the two-way relationship between school and community. At present, in the study schools in Karamoja, this relationship is sometimes perceived as having negative impacts in both directions. Evidence points to community mistrust in the education system, and student resentment of the violent and discriminatory behaviour of teachers. Teacher effectiveness can be constrained when conflicts that exist in the wider society impinge on classroom relations. Systems-level school- and classroom-based strategies to promote gender equitable environments must be cognizant of and

complement wider community-based initiatives and informal education approaches aiming to shift social and gender norms. Sustained change will depend on overcoming any disconnect between school and community, and requires support from multiple stakeholders in order to achieve macro shifts in gender roles, power relations and conflict dynamics.

5.3. Gender, peacebuilding and education as mutually reinforcing goals

The Gender Socialization in Schools programme pilot provides evidence of gender equality, peacebuilding and education as mutually reinforcing goals. What emerges from the evaluation is that the links between education and gender equality and between education and peacebuilding seem to have been relatively easy to convey in this teacher education process. Getting across the link between gender and peacebuilding, and the role of education in promoting that link, is more complex, however, and results confirm the need for a longer and more intensive process is required to achieve this connection in practical terms.³¹





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WE HAVE FULL RIGHT
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Recommendations

6.

Evidence generated by the evaluation is being used to inform investments at the national level by reflecting lessons learned and integrating positive results into the national teacher training curriculum. The following recommendations, based upon the evaluation, are guiding the process:

6.1. Recommendations to enhance teachers' capacities as agents of change

- Widen the range of schools reached by the training to ensure the normalization of the approaches promoted.
- Widen the range of individuals involved in the intervention to include head teachers and other school office-holders to ensure their full support of the changes the teachers must effect. Employ existing school supervisory systems to conduct sensitization activities with these individuals prior to the training to ensure their buy-in.
- Ensure trainers receive a refresher training session and basic assessment prior to rolling out the training to teachers. While using a training of trainers model presents a low-cost and sustainable approach, deficiencies may be replicated to the detriment of expected outcomes if trainers are inadequately trained.
- Ensure that adequate time and resources are specifically designated to the roll-out of action plans among teachers, CCTs and school management.
- Establish a coaching and reinforcement mechanism for teachers based on existing mentoring systems. Providing additional training over a prolonged period of time may be unfeasible from a financial and/

or practical perspective. Broadening the scope of existing mentoring platforms – and ensuring their systematic implementation – can, however, provide additional opportunities for teachers to discuss and explore the practical application of the concepts they have learned as well as to obtain guidance and support for the design and implementation of their action plans.

6.2. Recommendations to improve school–community coherence

- Base future plans on conflict analysis specific to each locality to ensure that teacher action plans are geared towards addressing the particular problems facing each community. The training can equip teachers with both a simple tool for conducting rapid conflict assessments and concrete examples of how classroom activities can be adapted in response to the findings of such an assessment.

- In both the initial training and follow-up sessions, provide teachers with concrete examples of ways in which teachers (a) can reach parents and community members to sensitize them to the training content, and (b) should respond when they encounter opposition to new ideas learned from the training.
- Equip teachers with the skills and tools to solicit support from parents and other community members when designing action plans and to engage the community in monitoring the implementation of the plans.
- When engaging the community, recognize and support the potential role of elders (female and male) in influencing gender norms.

6.3. Recommendations on integrating gender equality, peacebuilding and education

- Provide teachers with more concrete examples to illustrate the link between gender equality and peacebuilding and how this affects schools, and ways in which schools can take action to promote gender equality and peacebuilding in an integrated fashion.
- Provide teachers with specific support to integrate this explicit link between gender and conflict into action plans, including by providing practical examples tailored to each locality.
- Encourage teachers to consider the specific gendered vulnerabilities of boys, build on efforts to promote positive masculinities and ensure opportunities for both girls and boys to participate in peacebuilding activities.

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End notes

1. The Lord's Resistance Army moved its bases out of Uganda following the failure of peace negotiations in 2006.
2. El-Bushra, Judy, Henri Myrntinen, and Jana Naujoks, *Renegotiating the 'Ideal' Society: Gender relations in the wake of conflict and displacement in Uganda*, International Alert, London, 2013. Available at: <http://international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Gender_RenegotiatingIdealSocietyUganda_EN_2013_0.pdf>, accessed 11 June 2016.
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22. Ibid.; Nangiro, Patricia, *Gender Realities: Assessing Attitudes, Definitions, Values and Perceptions of Gender Based Violence in Kotido District*, Refugee Law Project, Kampala, 2012.

23. Saferworld, *Karamoja conflict and security assessment*, Saferworld, 2010.
24. Ibid.
25. The following section is based upon the results of the impact evaluation detailed in: Chinen, Marjorie, et al., *Evaluation of the Transformative Potential of Positive Gender Socialization in Education for Peacebuilding: Endline Report*, American Institutes for Research, Washington, D.C., 2016.
26. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Education For All 2000–2015: Achievements and Challenges, EFA Global Monitoring Report*, UNESCO, 2015.
27. While 1,000 teachers were trained across five districts, the sample for the research was taken from three districts only and consisted of around 300 teachers per groups. One group served as a control (and therefore did not participate in any training provided by this intervention),
28. Sullivan, O., 'What Do We Learn About Gender by Analyzing Housework Separately From Child Care? Some Considerations From Time-use Evidence', *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 5(2), June 2013; World Bank, *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*, World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2009; Mukhopadhyay, M., and Wong, F., *Revisiting Gender Training – The Making and Remaking of Gender Knowledge, A global sourcebook*, Oxfam/ KIT Publishers, Amsterdam, 2007; Stromquist, N.P., 'The Gender Socialization Process in Schools: A Cross-national Comparison', Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2008, 2007; Bonder, G., 'Altering sexual stereotypes through teacher training', in *Women and Education in Latin America:*

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 30. Pham, P.N., Vinck, P., and Gibbons, N., *Population-based Survey on Peace and Education: Uganda*, UNICEF and Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2015.
 31. An illustrative example is that of the intentional focus of the training on both female and male gender issues. This was intended to reflect the particular gender and conflict dynamics at play in Karamoja, which are tied to traditional expectations of masculinity and femininity. In practice, however, the connection between gender and conflict was complex to grasp in comparison to other, more conventional gender concepts communicated during the training. During the piloting of the training material, trainees displayed some confusion over addressing the gendered vulnerability of boys versus simply favouring boys. Gender Socialization in Schools programme partners determined that the risks involved in giving this aspect particular attention in the training were too great. As a result, less emphasis was placed on this specific aspect, with the view that such concepts must be introduced over a longer time frame. .



