"Undisciplined Youth": Schooling, gender, and inequality in post-conflict northern Uganda

By

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the role of schools in shaping post-conflict social relations in a rapidly growing town in northern Uganda. While there is significant scholarly research documenting how post-contexts are often characterized by patriarchal backlashes against war-time changes in gender and age relations, less is known about how education systems and the actors navigating those systems respond to, make sense of, and influence post-conflict social change.

Through an 18-month ethnography, this dissertation examines how teachers and learners navigate the international, national, and local institutional structures and social norms that shape the material conditions and daily realities of schooling in post-conflict northern Uganda.

My research reveals that schools were a space where teachers sought to re-establish patriarchal gerontocratic relations based on Acholi norms of discipline, respect, and reciprocity (*woro*), which they believed to have been eroded most visibly in youth from marginalized backgrounds, such as orphans and girls from impoverished families. Furthermore, the dependency of government schools on Parent Teacher Association fees, due to inadequate government funding, led to the segregation of the poorest learners into the least expensive and least resourced government schools. This segregation created a vicious cycle, in which teachers' harsh working conditions weakened their self-control and their respectful (*woro*) treatment of youth, and in which some youth resisted some teachers' harsh treatment of them in ways that at times reinforced perceptions of them as "undisciplined." Finally, while the ideology of respect (*woro*) suggested that performing respect granted social support and protection, the different gendered realities of poorer and wealthier learners (e.g., experiences of violence versus protection and support, respectively) influenced how young people navigated social norms. Poor

girls, in particular, found that performing respect did not offer protection from sexual and gender-based violence, in part due to overlapping international, national, and local narratives about poor girls as likely to engage in transactional sex to access material goods.

This research has implications for the understanding of social change in conflict zones and the promotion of children's wellbeing and educational equity in post-conflict schools.

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From the start of my graduate degree, Aili's guidance helped me take the steps necessary to complete this dissertation. Through conversations with Aili, I decided to focus on the experiences of displacement and post-conflict reconstruction in the Acholi sub-region of northern Uganda. Aili was the person who encouraged me to learn Acholi, a skill that was vital to the completion of this study. Through independent studies with Aili, I developed as a feminist scholar and I increased my understanding of the importance of following the leadership of African feminist scholars and practitioners who have been leaders in feminist organizing around the world. Aili was also very generous in sharing her network of colleagues in Uganda who could support me as I established relationships essential to my research. During fieldwork, Aili offered numerous conversations and connections to help me navigate the continuous ethical dilemmas of fieldwork. Finally, Aili's thoughtful feedback on the chapters of this dissertation helped me emphasize the significance of this work to the literature on social change in conflict zones as well as the literature on child wellbeing.

I am so grateful to Nancy Kendall for the ways she has shaped me as an education scholar. Nancy is the reason I decided to conduct a critical ethnography and she has been my

principle guide through the process of ethnographic fieldwork and data analysis. Through

courses I took with Nancy, I gained an appreciation of the power of ethnographic work to convey

in meaningful ways how global inequities impacted the daily lives of people in poor countries.

During data collection, Nancy helped me puzzle through ethical dilemmas that emerged and she

helped me identify ways to give back to the schools that welcomed me. Through long

conversations with Nancy over the course of data analysis, I pondered the themes that would

become the center of this dissertation and I later refined my arguments about the data collected.

Throughout my graduate career, Nancy provided me professional support as she linked me with

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contexts.

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never would have finished this dissertation without you.

Preface

      I originally went to northern Uganda intending to research the impact of international programming to promote gender equality and girls' schooling in Uganda. However, conducting ethnographic research in schools and communities in northern Uganda brought me in contact with a reality I was not fully prepared for, even though I had spent two summers doing predissertation research in two districts in northern Uganda. Upon entering schools in February 2015, I realized that corporal punishment and shaming of students by teachers would be a daily reality of life in schools. I found both forms of violence objectionable in their own right, but also because as I sat in the classroom, I observed that shouting, shaming, corporal punishment and the threat of corporal punishment created silence, fear, and withdrawal from participation. This was true not only for the child experiencing these forms of abuse, but also for those of us who observed the violence. On multiple occasions, I observed children that decided not to attend class rather than experience caning, such as when a young man who arrived to the classroom late was told by the teacher to lay down to receive two strokes of the cane. The young man simply left the school and did not return for the rest of the day. This child's reaction demonstrates the considerable loss in teaching and learning opportunities created by corporal punishment. Furthermore, corporal punishment and shaming undermined children's trust in teachers. It is important to note that most, but not all, teachers used corporal punishment. Children would refuse to ask a teacher for assistance if the teacher was someone who they saw as frequently resorting to corporal punishment or shaming.

      Violence became a central theme in this dissertation because of what I observed of its consequences for children in schools and communities. And yet as I wrote this dissertation, I still felt a deep unease about what I observed and when and how one should intervene in this

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violence. In many ways, this dissertation is my primary ethical intervention into the issue of violence against children in schools and communities.

I do not believe it is possible to do ethnographic research in schools in northern Uganda without witnessing the realities of corporal punishment and shaming. It may not even be possible to conduct research in schools in Uganda in general without witnessing corporal punishment, given the fact that multiple ethnographies of education have referenced its use in primary and secondary schools in central and eastern Uganda (e.g., Cheney, 2007; Meinert, 2009; Molyneaux, 2011). Among my colleagues who worked in primary schools in northern Uganda, all have acknowledged the reality that corporal punishment is not only common, but generally accepted in schools and communities.[1] For example, I observed in parents' meetings at schools that many parents condoned and even encouraged teachers to use corporal punishment in schools to promote children's academic achievement, discipline, and hard work. (They did not mention their views on shaming.) Children, on the other hand, had more objections to the use of corporal punishment and shaming by teachers in schools (see Chapter 3).

The three main questions that are the center of this preamble are: When does one intervene? How does one intervene? What are the limitations and openings for ethnographic researchers to intervene in violence in schools?

As an American researcher, I had certain privileges that enabled me to make specific types of interventions, but also created certain limitations on my ability to influence change. For example, my privilege as a western researcher meant that I was able to gain audience with

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[1] One of these colleagues had worked in multiple primary schools in northern Uganda for several years.

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organizations and officials who would be more difficult for others to access. However, my

identity as a western researcher also meant that people associated me with international

organizations that promoted children's rights, including the elimination of corporal punishment

against children in Uganda (see Cheney, 2007 for more on this). Teachers and parents partially

blamed the erosion of children's respect and obedience to adult authority – a central theme in this

dissertation – on the enforcement of children's rights. Thus, just as teachers understood, even

before speaking to me, that I likely objected to corporal punishment, teachers similarly dismissed

my concerns and worries about it.[2]

Teachers tried to reason with me that what was acceptable and appropriate in the United

States of America was not useful or effective in Uganda. Sometimes they used the language of

modernization to emphasize that in "backwards" contexts one must use more violent methods to

gain control. This language suggested to me that this narrative about the need for corporal

punishment likely had roots in racist colonial narratives about Ugandans (particularly northern

Ugandans). As is discussed in Chapter 2, an integral part of colonial intervention in northern

Uganda was to replace existing authority structures, which were too weak to implement despotic

colonial rule with more violent systems that garnered obedience through the use of fear. Schools

took a central role in colonial systems of power, where the expansion of authority over children

extended beyond parents, family, and immediate neighbors to new bureaucratic functionaries,

such as teachers. Corporal punishment was part of the colonial education policy in Uganda

(Lefebvre, 2016).

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[2] Nevertheless, according to students, teachers did reduce the amount of corporal punishment they used when I was in the classroom. The fact that I still observed extensive use of corporal punishment and shaming in the classroom speaks to the lack of training of teachers on alternative forms of classroom management.

While I sometimes was able to interrupt corporal punishment (in the community) or to discuss specific concerns about what I was observing with teachers, these interventions could also create tensions. This was the case, for example, when my neighbor was beating his children in the house next door. I went to his home and started knocking on his door and calling out his name to divert his attention. Afterward, when I spoke with a male Acholi friend about my intervention, he explained that the father of the children was likely very angry with me. In another intervention, when a child asked me to speak to the head teacher about yelling in the classroom, the head teacher responded by shouting at me. When I later wanted to address the behavior of the same head teacher, I approached the deputy head teacher about my concerns and asked him to speak to the head teacher on my behalf. The head teacher seemed to listen to the deputy head teacher's advice more readily than my own.

I utilized my privilege as an American to speak to some of the people in charge of supervising teachers. For the most violent school, I carefully expressed some general concerns to the chairman of the parent teacher association. In a meeting with a local representative from the ministry of education, I explained that my research suggested that corporal punishment was a general problem in primary schools in northern Uganda and something that needed to be addressed.

Also, as a result of my privileged status as a researcher, I was able to gain outside support from experts abroad and in Uganda. I spoke with both of my advisors about the issues that I was observing in schools. One of my advisors connected me to a Ugandan researcher who was based near me and whom she thought could help me navigate how best to respond to the problem. I met several times with this researcher to request her guidance on how best to respond to the situations that I observed. She advised me to bring in a third party to train teachers and school

administrators on the negative impacts of corporal punishment and shaming and alternatives to these methods. For the most violent school, I arranged for a Ugandan scholar of education to meet with the School Management Committee to offer a training about corporal punishment.

I also arranged for an internationally-funded Ugandan non-governmental organization to give a training on the negative impacts of corporal punishment and shaming on student learning and student mental health in the three schools where I did research, as well as a few additional primary schools where some of my education colleagues with similar concerns were working. All the trainings were well attended, and they seemed to have at least emphasized the problems of corporal punishment to teachers. At the end of one of the trainings, one of the school administrators stood up and said, "Nancy is trying to tell us that we have a problem here that we need to change." Another teacher who reportedly used corporal punishment frequently in the classroom followed up with me several times asking for resources on positive classroom management techniques. Unfortunately, since I organized these trainings at the end of my research, I cannot say if or how much this intervention changed teacher behavior.

While this research has left me with many questions and concerns that I am still wrestling with, I hope this brief discussion helps not only to explain the choices I made as I embarked on this research, but also provides insight to those considering doing research in schools in Uganda.

Introduction

Calls to revitalize pre-war social relations are common in post-conflict settings and often reflect the desires of men and elders to regain their authority and power lost during wartime changes in social relations. During war and other crises, women and children often take on new roles as breadwinners out of necessity to ensure family survival (e.g., Ager, 2006; Boyden et al., 2002; Mazurana and Carlson, 2006; Trip, 2015). Children and youth may also take on roles as combatants during war (Mazurana and Carlson, 2006). Several scholars have reported increased domestic violence and patriarchal backlashes in the aftermath of war as men try to regain authority (e.g., Burnet, 2011; Jennings, 2012; Liebling-Kalifani, 2004; Oosterom, 2011; Pankhurst, 2003; 2007; Sengupta, 2016; Tripp, 2015).

In northern Uganda, the growing number of families living in urban slums reflected the ostracism of people from their rural homes who were seen as a threat to the re-establishment of gerontocratic patrilineal relations of authority (Branch, 2013; Atim, Mazurana, and Marshak, 2018; Whyte, Babiiha, Mukyala, and Meinert, 2009). Conflict often pushes marginalized women, children, and youth into urban spaces (Sommers, 2007), due to processes of exclusion, such as the rejection of former child soldiers or children born of war to abducted or raped women in their natal homes (e.g., Atim et al., 2018; Branch, 2013; Denov, 2010), as well as due to changing social ties as a result of loss of family members and separation of extended families for prolonged periods during war (Kibreab, 2004).

Branch (2013) has noted in the post-war period, poverty has spiked in Gulu municipality as it has become a place of refuge for the marginalized or otherwise excluded who could not return to their home villages after the war and as a result, there are large portions of the town population living in slums. Similar trends have been reported in other rapidly urbanizing

contexts, such as former displacement camps that have become trading centers (Whyte et al., 2012). In the post-conflict context, Branch (2013) notes that insecurity in Gulu has gone up. It is likely that the trend toward classed depictions of the "undisciplined" children, youth, and families that I document in this research, represent local sense making of the increased poverty and social marginalization in and around urban centers in northern Uganda. Since this research was conducted in a rapidly growing urban context, the trends identified by Branch (2013) and Whyte et al. (2012) are relevant to my research site as well.[3]

In the midst of significant social upheaval and conflicting efforts to (re)define gendered and aged social relations, education and conflict scholars have emphasized that schools are "ideological battlegrounds for control in conflict-affected states" (Lopes Cardoso and Shah, 2016, p. 517), where the power to determine how history is recounted, the power to provide or withhold access to educational opportunities, and the power to provide (un)equal quality education has important consequences for post-conflict peace and social inclusion. While there is a small but growing body of qualitative research examining the daily practice of teaching and learning inside of post-conflict schools (e.g., Bellino, 2015; Sharkey, 2008; Quaynor, 2015), there is still a lack of qualitative data about the role of schools in shaping post-conflict gender and social relations (e.g., Burde et al., 2015; Chinen et al., 2016; Maclure and Denov, 2009). This dissertation seeks to analyze the backlash against war-time changes in gender and age relations and the role of schools in shaping post-conflict social relations.

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[3] I am not using the name of my research site in publications, as was specified in my consent forms. I will just note that the urban location where I conducted research was a large and growing municipality in northern Uganda.

This dissertation is based on 18 months of ethnographic research conducted in three primary schools and in one rapidly growing town in northern Uganda. This research explored the role of primary schools in shaping post-conflict gender relations in northern Uganda. I found that schools were a space where teachers endeavored to re-establish gerontocratic patrilineal relations of authority, which they saw as most eroded in communities affected by processes of war-induced poverty and social marginalization, and most threatened by the perceived lack of poor families' control over unmarried girls' sexuality.

Three main themes run throughout the chapters: 1) narratives about the importance of authority based on relations of respect (*woro)*; 2) an analysis of the role of violence in the ways people make sense of and regulate behavior in the post-conflict context; and 3) an analysis of youth agency as young people navigate the structural constraints and social norms of daily life.

I make three main arguments in this dissertation. First, schools were a space where teachers sought to re-establish patriarchal gerontocratic relations based on norms of respect and reciprocity (*woro*), which they believed to have been eroded most visibly in youth from poor and otherwise marginalized backgrounds, such as orphans and female youth from highly impoverished families. Furthermore, the dependency of government schools on Parent Teacher Association fees due to inadequate government funding, led to segregation of the poorest learners in the least expensive and least resourced government schools, which created a vicious cycle, in which teachers' harsh working conditions at low-income schools weakened teachers' self-control and their respectful treatment of youth and in which youth resisted some teachers' harsh treatment of them in ways that at times reinforced perceptions of them as "undisciplined". Finally, while the ideology of *woro* suggested that performing respect granted social support and protection, the different gendered realities of poorer and wealthier learners' (e.g., experiences of

violence versus protection and support respectively) influenced how young people navigated social norms. Poor girls, in particular, found that performing respect (*woro*) did not offer them protection from sexual and gender-based violence, in part due to overlapping international, national, and local narratives about poor girls as likely to engage in transactional sex to access material goods.

This research has implications for safeguarding vulnerable populations in post-conflict contexts, particularly children. The inherently hierarchical structure of school means that schools are likely to be a place where backlash against war-time changes in social relations will occur. Preventing violence against children in schools is not only a child's right, but it is also important given the negative impacts corporal punishment has on children's learning and psychological and social wellbeing. Furthermore, several scholars of education and conflict have indicated that the use of physical violence and discrimination in schools likely reinforces violence and discrimination in societies in ways that can contribute to existing social tensions thereby weakening peacebuilding efforts.

Background of the war in northern Uganda

From 1986 until 2006, the war in northern Uganda between the Ugandan government and, primarily, the Lord's Resistance Army uprooted the lives of most people. Some people lived in displacement camps for up to ten years; at its height, the population of internally displaced persons reached 1.8 million people (Tripp, 2010). Life in displacement camps was fraught with violence, material deprivation, and lack of access to social services (Branch, 2008; Dolan, 2009). Thousands lost their lives either because of violence or the harsh conditions of life in camps

(Branch, 2008; Dolan, 2009). People faced human rights abuses at both the hands of the Lord's Resistance Army and the Ugandan army (Dolan, 2009).

The war limited parents' abilities to socialize children according to Acholi customs (Cheney, 2005, Dolan 2009; Finnström, 2008; Refugee Law Project, 2004; Gauvin, 2016). Crowded conditions in camps limited parents' abilities to supervise their children and control their children's exposure to external influences (Cheney, 2005; Dolan, 2009; Finnström, 2008; Refugee Law Project, 2004; Gauvin, 2016). Furthermore, during the war children commuted to night commuter centers in Gulu and Kitgum towns where they could receive protection from abductions by the LRA as well as food, shelter, and other social services by international organizations (Cheney, 2005; Dolan, 2009; Lund, 2006).

Dolan (2009) argues that because children were separated from their parents every night and sometimes for a prolonged period of time if children did not want to make the long trek to commuter centers daily, parents had limited ability to oversee their children's upbringing. Since most children who grew up during the war were in their twenties and early thirties at the time of this research, some of them were parents to children. In my study, I heard teachers speak about the general moral decline of families, particularly poor and otherwise marginalized families, where both parents and children failed to adhere to Acholi cultural norms of respect and respectability.

Youth, elders, and social order in post-conflict northern Uganda

In the post-conflict context, scholars have cited generational conflicts between youth and elders and particularly elders' complaints that youth do not behave according to Acholi moral values (e.g., Alava, 2017; El Bushra et al., 2013; Gauvin, 2016; Vorhölter, 2014, Joireman,

2018). Alava (2017) analyzes the popular opinion in northern Uganda that youth of this generation are "lost" and describes complaints about "lost" youth's alcohol and drug consumption and involvement in gambling. In contrast to "lost" youth, youth who self-identify as "respectable" explain that they attempted to create economic and social opportunities for themselves through actions such as educating themselves, and "mould[ing] themselves into individuals who might be spotted and trusted by business associates, future employers or potential benefactors: they went to church, dressed smartly, joined the choir and did things considered socially respectable" (p. 160). Alava's research demonstrates the continued popular concerns about the degradation of social and cultural values in northern Uganda, and though Alava does not analyze notions of *woro* in Acholi, her descriptions of "lost" youth versus "respectable" youth demonstrate the importance of notions of respect and respectability in the post-conflict context.

Similarly, Vorhölter (2014) and Joireman (2018) describe intergenerational conflicts between the war generation (or the generation of youth who grew up during the war) and the pre-war generation. Vorhölter (2014) argues that older generations "claimed that today's youth were lazy, disrespectful, no longer valued Acholi cultural and moral principles, and that they had thus contributed to the breakdown and 'moral degeneration' of Acholi society" (p. 273). She (like Cheney, 2007) argues that youth for their part blamed adults for not fulfilling their roles as caregivers and providers. Joireman (2018) cites elders' complaints about youth selling off land as evidence of young people's undermining of clan relations and social wellbeing.

Gauvin's (2016) ethnography of post-conflict rebuilding in Acholi similarly describes elders' complaints about the lack of involvement of elders in finalizing marital unions, which elders perceived as a symptom of the general breakdown of respect and of the social order.

Vorhölter (2014) describes how in northern Uganda young women's sexuality was seen as a threat to gerontocratic authority, because young women could potentially use their sexuality to undermine the authority of patriarchal heads of household by seeking financial support from male sexual partners.

Overview of gendered gerontocratic relations of respect (woro) in Acholi

Woro is an Acholi concept often translated into English as respect and obedience. It is a concept that plays a central role in this dissertation because research participants drew on the language of respect (*woro)* to make claims on appropriate social relations in the post-conflict context.

Woro is about properly managing one's social relations of dependence, authority, and obligation. In Alexander Odonga's (2005) Acholi dictionary, he defines the verb *woor* as "respect, honour, esteem, obey." [4] Similarly, the Acoli-English dictionary published by G.A.R. Savage in 1954 defines *woro* as "to honour, respect." [5]

Ethnographers working in the Acholi sub-region of northern Uganda have described the cultural concept of *woro* as respect and obedience to elders, parents, and other persons of authority (P'Bitek, 1986; Porter, 2017; Gauvin, 2016). Renowned Acholi anthropologist, Okot P'Bitek (1986) describes *woro* as showing politeness to persons of authority.

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[4] In the introduction to the dictionary, Odonga explains, "The words, dealt within this dictionary are the Lwoo dialects which are spoken by the central Acholi clans and understood by all Acholi clans. This is because their dialect is not mixed up with the languages of the surrounding tribes" (vi).

[5] Savage, G.A.R. (1955). *A short Acoli-English and English-Acoli vocabulary.* Eagle Press, Nairobi, Kampala.

In general, *woro* (or respect) is a cultural ideal many older Acholi wish to pass on to young people and it is the sign that a young person was "properly educated" according to Acholi norms. Ocitti's description of the indigenous education of young people in Acholi demonstrates the importance of *woro* in the "proper" upbringing of young people. He explains young people are brought up to demonstrate "Decency of speech and behaviour, respect for elders and superiors in rank as well as the sense of co-operation, belonging or togetherness, gentility, obedience, to mention but a few…" (p. 99). Likewise, Apoko (1967) emphasizes the ideal young person in Acholi should be hardworking and obedient to those older than him or her (all components of the ways I observed people describing *woro* while in schools and communities in northern Uganda). Being respectful or performing *woro* is shown in one's dress, way of walking, talking, laughing, working, sitting, etc. In other words, it is part of one's daily movement through society.

Finnström's (2008) description of becoming a person in Acholi, or *odoko dano,* demonstrates how being respectful and listening to the advice of elders is a key component to "becoming a person." This aspect of becoming someone was often repeated in the school where teachers would tell pupils, "A good child listens and obeys" and where teachers would emphasize that in order for a child to succeed academically, professionally, and socially, the child must learn to listen and obey his or her teachers, parents, and other persons of authority.

While the above description illustrates how *woro* is an age-based category, Porter (2017) has described the ways that the Acholi notion of respect is performed based on multiple aspects of a person's social status including gender:

> An integral part of 'social harmony' for both men and women is to be respectful or *bed ki woro* –behaving in conformance with Acholi propriety or *kit mapore* in relations between both the living and the dead. Through a show of conformity to social expectations of

> one's place in life, gender, age, position, profession, and even geography, a woman may garner public support and thus increase her capacity to manoeuvre in social situations (p. 37).

The performance of *woro* is gendered in that women show respect and demonstrate their respectability differently than men. (The gendered performance of *woro* is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.)

Class and woro

People rarely talk about class differences in African studies. Instead scholars tend to make distinctions made between elites and the poor (Spronk, 2014). Yet, as a small but growing body of literature indicates, urban spaces across the continent are deeply differentiated by class (e.g., African Development Bank, 2011; James, 2019; Obbo, 1986; Spronk, 2014), as are structures such as schools (e.g., Lincove, 2012; Zuze and Leibrandts, 2011). According to a study of school enrollment based on wealth, children who receive "free" primary education generally come from families with lower levels of wealth (Lincove, 2012). While called "free" in name, in reality, government schools charge fees to parents to cover the costs of education. Since higher performing government schools can charge higher fees, pupils' and their families' choice of a school often represents their purchasing power.

In Uganda, parents can "choose" which school to send their children to if they have the money to pay for the school fees charged at the school. Parents are aware of schools' performance on the high-stakes primary leaving exam.[6] Schools' results are published in the newspaper and talked about with enthusiasm and interest when they come out. The newspaper

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[6] The primary leaving exam is an exam that pupils take at the end of their primary school career. The exam determines their admission into secondary school.

prints the number of "first grades", the equivalent of an A, that each school in the country achieves.

As a result of these classed educational realities, research suggests that the lowest performing government schools in Uganda tend to enroll the most socially and economically marginalized children. For example, Zuze and Leibrandts (2011) research suggests "that low performing government schools with older students tended to enroll students who were socially disadvantaged" (p. 174). Other marginalized youth, such as orphans being cared for by relatives, similarly attend less expensive government schools; Lincove (2012) found that Ugandan parents spend less on the education of foster children.

Research setting

The three schools in my study are representative of higher and lower performing government schools in Uganda, and also reflect the ways school performance is associated with the cost of schooling and the wealth of children's families who attend the school. These differences were evident in the quality of school administration, schools' fees, infrastructure, material support for teaching and learning, number of faculty, teacher pay, and support for extracurricular activities available at the schools. Furthermore, the material inequalities at the schools had implications for teacher-pupil relations (discussed more in Chapters 3 and 4). Below is a table that gives an overview of some of the key characteristics of each of the schools in this study.

School	Fees	Administration	Teacher Pay	Number of teachers to teach grade seven[7]	Teacher-pupil relations
Sacred Cross	$30.00/term	Three administrators who were supportive of teachers	Base salary rate[8], plus a top up of $180 per year. $0.70/hour for extra lessons M-Fri, $2.00/hour for extra lessons on Sat	8 teachers for 54 pupils	Participatory learning. Teachers largely treated learners with respect. Many leadership opportunities for learners.
Bright Futures	$19.00/term	No head teacher (principal) for first two terms. Deputy head teachers serving as interim HT.	No top up. $1.00/hour for extra lessons	4 teachers for 52 pupils	Teachers took out frustrations on lack of pay on learners through corporal punishment and insults.
Piny Dyak	$17.00/term	Head teacher who managed school via fear	No top up $0.70/hour for extra lessons	3 teachers for 47 pupils	Authoritarian school governance by the head teacher lowered teacher and student morale.

Achievement

In 2014, Sacred Cross received seven first grades in comparison to Piny Dyak and Bright

Futures, which both had one first grade.[9] Only one-third of schools in the municipality had either

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[7] My research was focused in grade seven classrooms.

[8] In the 2015-6 school year, the base salary rate for teachers was 485,504 Ugandan shillings per month, or USD $146.00 per month (National Planning Authority, 2018, p. 11). Salary is based on number of years of service and education level (Universalia, 2020). The highest paid teacher is less than 1.2 times that of the lowest paid teacher (not including the head teacher) (Ibid). In rural schools, the government offers "hardship allowances" of up to 30% of teachers' basic monthly salary (Ibid).

[9] While the government-aided Catholic founded school performed better here than the other two schools, based on an analysis of the performance on the Primary Leaving Exam in the town where this research was conducted, there does not seem to be a correlation between the founding body of the government-aided school (Catholic, Church of Uganda, Seventh Day Adventist, Community, Government, or Islamic) and the performance of the school. All of these types of founding bodies had a school in the municipality with at least 95% of its grade seven pupils passing the Primary Leaving Exam (PLE) and both the Catholic Church, and the Church of Uganda had schools with less than 70% of the primary seven pupils passing the exam.

zero or one first grades. In comparison, with seven first grades, Sacred Cross was at the median of school performance in terms of the number of first grades scored on the exam.

While not published in the newspaper, the pass rates for the schools gives a more telling picture of the three schools' academic achievement. In 2014, 100% of pupils at Sacred Cross passed the primary leaving exam. This compares to 54% at Piny Dyak and approximately 80% at Bright Futures. By enabling all of its pupils to pass the primary leaving exam, Sacred Cross's pass rate was among the top 24% of primary schools in the municipality, whereas Bright Futures and Piny Dyak's low pass rate placed them in the bottom 1% of primary schools in the municipality. While by this measure, Sacred Cross might seem to be among the elite schools in town, the top schools in town had over 30 pupils score first grade and all but one of these schools were private.

Cost

The prices of each school reflected the schools' different performances. Piny Dyak was one of the least expensive and worst performing school in the municipality in 2014. Bright Futures cost slightly more than Piny Dyak but achieved much better results (the reason for this is discussed in Chapter 4). Sacred Cross cost 1.8 times more than Piny Dyak and 1.6 times more than Bright Futures and was the best performing of the three schools.

In addition to the cost of the school, children's different class backgrounds were also demonstrated in their different levels of cultural capital, such as their knowledge of English and their academic achievement. For example, at the least expensive school, grade seven pupils struggled to understand and speak English, though it was the official language of the school and the language in which their exams were written. In contrast, pupils at Sacred Cross, the middle-

income school, preferred to speak to me in English and generally felt comfortable communicating in English.

Furthermore, pupils themselves made distinctions between "rich" and "poor" children based on the school to which pupils belonged. For example, after a music dance and drama competition, children from Bright Futures – one of the two low-income schools – laughed at having defeated pupils from the *school pa lulonyo*, school of the rich, a private school in town.

Teachers similarly made distinctions between pupils at Piny Dyak and Bright Futures and pupils at Sacred Cross and the other high performing government schools. For example, in an interview with a male teacher at Bright Futures, he compared the pupils at Bright Futures with the pupils at the best performing government school in town, which I call Kings here: "Kings and Bright Futures cannot be compared. First locality. Kings is located in town. It has educated parents. They know the value of education. Those in Bright Futures know the value of money for quarrying rock." Bright Futures was located on the periphery of town near a quarry and many parents and children alike worked in the quarry.

Beyond the class distinctions among the three schools, my interpretation of class distinctions also includes other aspects of social marginalization. Certain categories of families and individuals, such as child-headed households, orphans who were living with extended relatives, and some female-headed households experienced social and economic marginalization that led them to be perceived of by teachers as either "undisciplined" or "at-risk" of "undisciplined" behavior.

Family and Community Background

The geography of violence during the war also created distinctions between respectful/respectable communities and "undisciplined" communities. In particular, children and families living in slums in town or in nearby trading centers that emerged out of former displacement camps were seen as coming from more "undisciplined" places where parents and children both acted inappropriately by drinking alcohol, going to "discos" (a term used for bars where people danced), and engaging in "inappropriate" sexual behavior (i.e., sex outside of wedlock). Many pupils from Bright Futures came from a trading center that was a former displacement camp and pupils from the two low-income schools tended to reside in slums that teachers characterized as places where children and parents both acted inappropriately.

Links to literature on post-conflict social change and gender and sexuality in Africa

This research contributes to literatures on post-conflict social change, education and conflict, and girls' sexuality and schooling in Africa by revealing the ways gender intersects with age and economic status to shape the ways young people were seen as either promise or threat to social wellbeing in the post-conflict context. While elders and teachers endeavored to instill in young people the norms and values associated with pre-war "traditional" Acholi culture, low income or otherwise marginalized youth were seen as a threat, because of their perceived defiance of norms of respect that were supposed to flow toward elders and persons of authority as well as males. Poor female youth's sexuality was particularly threatening to this order because of the perceived likelihood that poor girls would engage in transactional sex and undermine families' control over social (and physical) reproduction.

Likewise, men who could not protect and provide for their families were also seen as a source of threat, because they were not able to adequately discipline their children to behave according to Acholi norms of gerontocratic respect. Also, these men were perceived of as behaving more violently because of their frustration with their thwarted masculinity. While this logic was often used to describe men coming from very poor communities and families, it was also reflected in people's understandings of male teachers' behaviors in under-resourced schools.

Gender and conflict

The literature on gender and conflict has demonstrated the dramatic gains women have made in political, social, and economic life. The most visible gain African women have achieved following war is their successful negotiation for quotas for women's political representation and the rise of women in prominent political positions, such as Ellen Johnson Sirleaf becoming the first elected African female president (e.g., Burnet, 2008; Tripp et al., 2009; Tripp, 2015). Women have also made important gains in their economic and social roles in their families and communities (Binder et al., 2008; Burnet, 2011; Tripp, 2015). For example, in post-conflict Rwanda, Burnet (2011) found women enjoyed increased respect in the family and community in terms of participation in family decision-making, access to education, and authority speaking in public forums. In northern Uganda, women became important providers and decision-makers in the family (Binder et al., 2008).

Nevertheless, scholars of gender and conflict have also cited backlashes against women's wartime gains particularly in the form of domestic violence and increased tensions between male and female family members (Burnet, 2011; Jennings, 2012; Liebling-Kalifani, 2004; Oosterom, 2011; Pankhurst, 2003; Pankhurst, 2007; Sengupta, 2016; Tripp, 2015). Liebeling-Kalifani

(2004) notes that women in Uganda who experienced violence as a result of the war between 1981 and 1986 tended to experience increased resilience and tended to take on new roles formerly restricted to men; however, she also notes that men tended to experience less resilience in the face of their changing roles in the aftermath of war and they tended to revert to the use of alcohol and domestic violence (as cited in Tripp, 2015).

Inter-generational relations and conflict

I contribute to the literature on changes in inter-generational relations in post-conflict contexts by demonstrating the ways these changes are gendered and classed and how the tensions that arise of out changing inter-generational relations can provoke violence against youth.

The literature on social change in conflict zones also demonstrates the ways conflict alters family relations, particularly relations between parents/caregivers and children (e.g., Ager, 2006; Hampshire et al., 2008; Joireman, 2018; Kibreab, 2004; Mazurana and Carlson, 2006; Richards, 2005; Vorhölter, 2014). While young people can be made vulnerable by the effects of war on their families, such as due to the loss of important caregivers who can advocate for them (Joireman, 2018; Mazurana and Carlson, 2006), young people also have considerable resilience (Annan et al., 2011; Boyden et al., 2002; Boothby et al., 2006) and at times take advantage of the upheaval of social institutions to become agents of change (e.g., Hampshire et al., 2008; Joireman, 2018).

Several authors have demonstrated the ways post-conflict change in generational relations can create inter-generational tensions (Hampshire et al., 2008; Joireman, 2018; Vorhölter, 2014). Children and youth often become important sources of income for families during war and times of crisis (Ager, 2006; Boyden et al., 2002; Hampshire et al., 2008;

Mazurana and Carlson, 2006; UNICEF, 2009). If patriarchal heads are no longer able to fill a "traditional" role of provider, the authority of these heads of households over both women and children can be undermined (e.g., Hampshire et al., 2008; Richards, 2005; Vorhölter, 2014).

In the case of South Sudan, Jok (2004) describes how poverty and war-related changes in socioeconomic relations of dependence have meant that many young people are more dependent on military leaders for such things as securing cattle for payment of bridewealth for marriage. Further, expectations that younger generations care for and economically support their elders is undermined by war-related poverty and hunger leading to older generations lamenting not being respected by children and youth (Ibid).

Several authors have also discussed the ways that orphans and other vulnerable children are increasingly marginalized in post-conflict communities. Denov (2010) describes how communities in Sierra Leone increasingly see orphans as being disrespectful of adult authority and badly behaved. Jok (2004) describes how in South Sudan, the war-related poverty led to a "declining sense of community responsibility for the continued well-being of related and un-related children…" (p. 159).

Humanitarian and post-conflict development interventions often endeavor to use the social upheaval of the conflict to promote "Western" values such as human rights and gender equality (e.g., Grabska, 2011; Kirk, 2011; Maclure and Denov, 2009; Oosterom, 2011; Pigozzi, 1999; Sobe, 2009; World Bank, 2005). Yet international efforts can also be resisted locally by those who see them as efforts to undermine local culture and "traditional authority" (e.g., Grabska, 2011; Oosterom, 2011).

While, as mentioned above, post-conflict contexts are spaces where communities reconceptualize their roles, there is insufficient evidence of the role schools play in post-conflict

social change. Schools are traditionally conservative institutions that tend to reproduce the status quo rather than promote change (e.g., Apple, 1995; Beattie, 2003; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, Lareau, 2003; McRobbie, 1978; Willlis, 1977). Since children spend most of their time in school, it is vital to understand the role of schools in shaping post-conflict gender and social relations.

Education and conflict

Education is often talked about as a vital aspect to promoting peace and stability in post-conflict contexts (e.g., Burde et al., 2011; World Bank, 2005). For example, the World Bank (2005) writes "Education has a critical role to play in the wider reconstruction of the society, from building peace and social cohesion to facilitating economic recovery and getting the country onto an accelerated development path" (p. 27). Those working in the field of education in emergencies argue education can foster peace by promoting faith in the government, improving the capacity of future government staff, and by creating a shared sense of a national identity through curriculum reform (Buckland, 2006; Burde, 2005; Davies, 2011; Mundy and Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Obura, 2003). However, many also recognize that education can contribute to conflict due to the prevalence of violence in schools, reinforcement of rigid gender and other social norms, inequitable processes of inclusion and exclusion from schooling, curricula and pedagogy that foment social divisiveness (e.g., negative representations of groups in curriculum) and inequitable opportunities for graduates (e.g., Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004; Dupuy and Peters, 2010; INEE, 2004; King, 2014; Kirk, 2008; Mundy and Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Smith and Vaux, 2003).

Education can reinforce social tensions by reproducing inequality

This research contributes to the education and conflict literature that examines if and how education that reinforces inequity, injustice, and exclusion can contribute to social tensions in post-conflict settings by demonstrating how unequally resourced post-conflict schools reinforced socioeconomic inequality and social marginalization in a context where marginalized youth were already widely perceived as a threat to social wellbeing. My research supports the arguments of Lopez Cardoso and Shah (2016) and Novelli and Smith (2011) who argue that efforts to promote peacebuilding through education require structural and institutional change to ensure positive peace in the aftermath of war.

Galtung (1969, 1990) argued that positive peace requires the elimination of all forms of violence and he argued that violence entails more than just physical violence perpetrated by one person against another person. Galtung (1969) argued that structural violence uses the structures of society to inhibit peoples' abilities to realize their potential through the unequal distribution of resources and power, which leads to "unequal life chances" (p. 171).

Education and conflict researchers who have built on the theories of Galtung explore the ways structural violence in education systems undermines peace (e.g., Lopez Cardoso and Shah, 2016; Salmi, 2000; Seitz, 2004). Salmi (2000) explains that structural violence includes discriminatory educational practices and policies that reinforce social inequalities and/or social injustices, such as through inequitable access to education, inequitable quality of education, and inadequate educational infrastructure (as cited in Seitz 2004, p. 51). Bush and Saltarelli (2000) offer an example of this by describing how the segregation of education in Apartheid South Africa, where blacks received a lower quality of education than whites, served to reinforce social

injustice and the roots of conflict in South Africa. Novelli and Cardoso (2008) offer another example in their description of how poverty and lack of access to schooling in Sierra Leone contributed to marginalized youth joining armed groups as a means of seeking a better life for themselves. King (2013) describes how in Rwanda the historic discrimination in access to educational opportunities based on ethnicity reinforced underlying conflict.

In this research I describe how children's ability to strive for an "educated status" and to "become someone" respectable through schooling was mediated by resource inequalities at the school level. Because the government did not adequately fund schools, schools depended on parent contributions to meet their needs. Parents' different abilities to contribute to school funds led to resource inequalities among the schools that had important consequences for the working conditions of teachers, teacher morale, teacher-pupil relations, teaching and learning, and extracurricular opportunities for pupils.

Post-conflict and conflict-affected contexts often lack trained teachers, curricular materials, adequate infrastructure, and resources to train, pay, and supervise teachers (Dryden-Peterson, 2009; Kirk, 2007, 2011; Maclure and Denov, 2009; Mendenhall et al., 2015). My research supports the work of scholars who argue that endeavors to promote peace and equity in conflict-affected contexts through education require resources for teacher training, curriculum development, and concerted support from policy makers and key stakeholders (Betancourt et al., 2008; Davies and Talbot, 2008; Davies, 2011; Kirk, 2007; Kirk, 2013).

Violence in schools and in communities

This dissertation also contributes to the literature on gender violence in conflict-affected schools by showing the ways that the three schools in this study worked to reinstate pre-war

gender and age relations through physical, emotional, and symbolic violence against learners in ways that were reproductive of gender and socioeconomic inequalities. By physical violence, I am referring to a person or persons inflicting pain onto the body of another person or persons, such as by caning pupils. By emotional violence, I am referring to the ways that teachers used harmful language toward pupils, such as by humiliating them or yelling at them. By symbolic violence I am referring to the concept coined by Pierre Bourdieu, which refers to:

> The violence which is exercised upon individuals in a symbolic, rather than a physical way. It may take the form of people being denied resources, treated as inferior or being limited in terms of realistic aspirations. Gender relations, for example, have tended to be constituted out of symbolic violence which has denied women the rights and opportunities available to men (Webb et al., 2002, p. xvi).

My research shows the ways that structural, physical, emotional, and symbolic violence reinforced each other in poor schools. At the most under-resourced schools, teachers' poor working conditions and their perceptions that pupils from urban slums were "undisciplined" and resistant to "traditional" norms created a context where teachers unleashed their economic and professional stress through physical and symbolic violence against pupils. This process mirrored the increasing inequality in town as socially marginalized people congregated in urban slums where violent official and community policing and/or mob justice has been used to respond to cases of petty theft, children living in the streets, [10] and alleged prostitution (see Branch, 2013 for a description of socially marginalized people congregating in urban slums in Gulu; See Tapscott, 2017 and Tapscott and Porter, 2014 for a description of the use of violence, such as corporal punishment, by community policing groups.).

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[10] For an account of how the mayor of Gulu criminalized and arrested street children in 2014 read the following story from the Daily Monitor accessed June 15, 2020: https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/How-criminal-gangs-are-terrorising-Gulu-residents/688334-5171380-ift3us/index.html

But before proceeding, it is essential to emphasize the importance of caution when making representations of gender and violence in schools in the so-called "developing world". The power to construct representations about a less powerful group is also a potential form of violence particularly when there is the possibility of reinforcing stigmatizing notions of "violent black masculinities" and victimized "Third World Women" (e.g., Mohanty, 1991; Spike-Peterson, 2010); such discourses have been mobilized to promote colonialism and war under the guise of "white saviors" saving brown women from "violent brown men" (Abu-Lughod, 2002).

One way to proceed with caution is to reflect on the ways corporal punishment was part of the education policy and practice in British colonial school system in Africa (e.g., Lefebvre, 2016; Killingray, 1994; Mang'enya, 1984; Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 1981; Ocobock, 2012). Corporal punishment was legal in British private schools until the late 1990s (Ocobock, 2012) and continues to be legal in public schools in 19 states in the USA (Gershoff and Font, 2016). Furthermore, the over-policing of black and brown students in US schools and their (often violent) arrests by law enforcement officers on school grounds for often minor behavioral issues, demonstrates the reality that school violence is not only a reality in the aftermath of war or in Africa and the absence of war does not mean real peace (Galtung, 1969).[11]

Education and conflict scholars have emphasized that the use of physical violence in schools against learners undermines peace, because it reinforces the idea of violence as a way of solving problems (Davies, 2004, 2011; Dupuy, 2008; Harber, 2004; Kirk, 2007). Harber (2004) argues that if the people that students are supposed to admire and respect are violent and

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[11] For analysis of unequal arrests of black students by school resource officers, see Education Week. "Policing America's Schools." Accessed June 21, 2020 here: https://www.edweek.org/ew/projects/2017/policing-americas-schools/index.html.

authoritarian, then teachers' use of corporal punishment models violent authoritarian relationships for learners.

Scholars of education and conflict have observed the ways gender violence in schools responds to the influences of war on notions of masculinity and femininity (e.g., Davies, 2004; Kirk, 2008). Davies observes that militarism is often linked to notions of dominant masculinity and she cites the work of Enloe (1993) and Cohen (1998) to note the ways notions of manliness and the "cult of the hero" are mobilized by nationalist forces seeking to promote militarization (p. 60). Davies argues that the burning of girls' schools in Afghanistan by the Taliban (and one might add the abduction of female learners by Boko Haram in Nigeria) demonstrate the ways militarization mobilizes certain notions of appropriate femininity and militaristic masculinity that can reinforce gendered violence in schools.

Kirk (2008) similarly explains that conflict zones can create a context where violent and unequal power relations between men and women and boys and girls is normalized, through the use of rape as a weapon of war, through militarizing discourses that identify males as fighters and protectors of the nation and family, and through the increased vulnerability of girls to sexual violence by the growing security presence. Kirk argues that the pressures on men in conflict zones to conform to a dominant masculinity associated with militarism reinforces the use of aggressive male behavior and sexual violence in schools (pp. 157-158; See also Davies, 2004; Nicolai and Triplehorn, 2003; and Seitz, 2004 on the prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence in conflict-affected schools).

Dunne et al. (2006) argue that all violence in schools is gendered because it occurs within a "world of gender/sexual positioning" (p. 80). They note that teachers are given the authority to regulate "gender-differentiated" student behavior (Dunne et al., 2006, p. 79) through

punishments and rewards. For example, they cite Kuleana's (1999) findings from research in seven schools in Tanzania that teachers rationalized beating of girls as important "socialization into becoming respectful and obedient wives and mothers" (Dunne et al., 2006, p. 83).

Humphreys (2008) found that in Botswana, male and female students spoke about their relationship with corporal punishment differently with students speaking about how boys' relationship with corporal punishment being associated with bravery and a sense of competitiveness among males, whereas girls' relationship with corporal punishment was associated with fear and notions of protecting a bodily aesthetic. Humphreys argues that corporal punishment created a context of competitiveness among males which extended to male teachers who wanted to assert their authority over children. Other studies have offered similar findings about the ways that corporal punishment of male pupils in schools in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia was associated with toughening up young men (e.g., Morrell, 2001; UNICEF, 2001). In their review of the literature on corporal punishment in "developing" countries, Dunne et al. (2006) report that boys tended to experience more frequent and harsher corporal punishment than girls.

Girls' sexuality and schooling in Africa

This research contributes to the literature on schoolgirl pregnancy in Africa by adding an analysis of how perceptions of the threat of adolescent female sexuality has class dimensions with girls from poor families and marginalized communities being seen as more of a threat than girls whose families have more resources to invest in their education. The dissertation also demonstrates how in a context where men felt they had lost power vis-à-vis women and youth, concern about returning to a pre-war patrilineal order that depended on girls getting married

through the exchange of bridewealth[12] and moving into the husband's household envisioned control over girls' sexuality as a key component of re-establishing "traditional" norms. Thus, premarital pregnancy and pregnancy that did not result in marriage were seen as a threat to social wellbeing. While local, national, and international messaging to prevent teenage pregnancy recognized structural causes of teenage pregnancy and transactional sex, this recognition coexisted and intermingled with a moralistic narrative that continued to suggest that girls' engagement in sexual relations was an individual choice that was motivated by "desires" for material gain. The result was a dominant narrative that poor girls were to blame for premarital pregnancy, which was seen as a threat to social wellbeing in the local context.

The scholarship on gender and education in Africa describes how sexually active unmarried girls are often considered a potential threat to their families' authority, their families' investment in education, and even a threat to community wellbeing (Grant, 2012; Kendall and Kaunda, 2015; Niinsima et al., 2018; Parikh, 2015; Stambach, 2000; Thomas, 2007; Vavrus, 2003). Schoolgirl pregnancy is highly stigmatized and often treated as a failure of the girl, her family, and the school (Kendall and Kaunda, 2015; Silver, 2019; Thomas, 2007; Unterhalter, 2013). Some parents decide to take their adolescent daughters out of school due to the threat of stigma to girls and their families if girls become pregnant before marriage (Grant, 2012).

I also contribute to the critical literature on public health campaigns in Africa by showing how the moral orientations of public health campaigns that categorize transactional sex as

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[12] Bridewealth is the money or goods the man's family gives to the woman's family as part of the process of getting married. The man's family pays bridewealth to the woman's family to formalize the relationship between the woman and man as well as between the two families. Bridewealth payments typically happen over several years, but the first payments help to legitimize the relationship between the man and woman.

"risky" get taken up in the Ugandan national curriculum in ways that stigmatize girls from poor homes or otherwise marginalized backgrounds as likely to be lured by greed and immorality into inappropriate sexual behaviors. Internationally funded public health campaigns that describe "appropriate" and "risky" sex often contain moral messages about sex and "lifestyle" (Boyd, 2015; Stoebeneau et al., 2016; Summers, 1991). Scholars and practitioners' interest in transactional and intergenerational sexual relations and the spread of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Bajaj, 2009; Kakuru, 2008; Stoebeneau et al., 2011; Vavrus, 2003 Wyrod et al., 2011) has contributed to international development HIV interventions that target women and girls as "at-risk" groups (Escove, 2016; Parikh, 2015). According to Parikh (2015), in Uganda this heightened attention to the riskiness of young women's sexuality has exacerbated communities' concerns over the need to control female sexuality.

Finally, I draw on the argument in Hodgson and McCurdy's (2001) edited volume about how concerns about promoting women's respectability often surge at times of social, political, or economic rupture. Throughout Hodgson and McCurdy's volume, contributing authors recount how women became a scapegoat for the negative consequence of the colonial enterprise in Africa. In post-conflict northern Uganda, girls were similarly being scapegoated in a moment of social flux where men and women were trying to regain their lost economic and social status.

Methods

Research questions

This dissertation considers the following two questions:

1) How are schools shaping post-conflict social relations in northern Uganda?

2) How do teachers, pupils, and communities make sense of gendered social change in the post-conflict context?

Predissertation research

I spent two three-month stints in northern Uganda prior to my dissertation research. During my pre-dissertation research, in 2011, I conducted interviews with female heads of household in a slum in Gulu municipality and in a trading center that was a former displacement camp. Research participants talked about experiences of social exclusion, difficulties accessing land, and difficulties raising and caring for the large number of orphaned children as a result of the war. Based on the findings of this research, I decided to spend the three months of 2012 in the trading center where there was one of the largest displacement camps in northern Uganda. I spent this time talking to teachers and administrators at three primary schools and one secondary school in the former displacement camp. Many of the themes that would later be important in my dissertation research emerged first during this research, including preoccupations about "undisciplined youth," worries about Western influence on youth, and concerns about the large number of young schoolgirls getting pregnant and dropping out of school.

Research Design

Initially, when I began my dissertation research, my intent was to examine a program developed by an international non-governmental organization to promote gender equality. The program was supposed to be implemented in a primary school in a trading center that emerged out of one of the largest former displacement camps. However, after spending a month and a half in the school (from February 2014-mid March 2014), I learned that the program was not being implemented.

Since my goal was to examine how international programing to transform gender relations was received in the local context, from March until June 2014, I mapped out international development organizations working in northern Uganda through informal interviews with international development organization staff and government officials.[13] Through this process, I also became a member of the gender-based violence working group, which was a team of organizations that worked together on public events to promote gender equality.

Site selection

Using the information that I collected in conversations with international development and government staff, I selected two schools that had international organizations implementing sexual and reproductive health (SRH) programming to promote girls' education working in them.

For the first term of the school year, I conducted observations in two government schools. While initially these sexual and reproductive health programs were to be a focus of my study, they became less of a focus because they were rarely present in the school – each occurring only three times over the entire school year. Another sexual and reproductive health education program, the USAID-funded School Family Initiative was mandated to be implemented in all government schools in the district where I conducted research. While it was only consistently implemented in one of the three government schools (the middle-income school), it became an important source of data for chapter 5 on teaching pupils about teenage pregnancy. The general

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[13] I took a consultancy during the summer of 2014.

lack of official sexual and reproductive health programming influenced my research in two ways: first, it helped me better understand the official versus enacted realities of sex education policies and programing. Second, it helped me focus on the "hidden curriculum" of gender violence in schools and in communities.

For the first term of the school year, I spent five consecutive weeks at Piny Dyak and Sacred Cross. After several weeks of observations in these two schools, I realized that their realities were so starkly differentiated that I needed to add a third school to make sense of the differences I was seeing. In particular, the different schools had dramatically different levels of support for pupils. For example, the middle-income school offered regular lessons guided by 8 teachers, whereas at the low-income school, pupils regularly sat idle for hours waiting for a lesson.

I chose a third school to observe based on the cost of the school, which was similar to that of Piny Dyak, the low-income school where I had been conducting observations, but that had significantly better academic performance – based on the previous year's primary leaving exam results. I hoped this third school would allow me to examine the variation in cost-based differences at the schools.

Participant observations

Over 18 months I conducted hundreds of days' worth of participant observations in schools, during public and private events, and in communities. I took hand-written notes during my observations, which at the end of the day, I would revise to add detail of the place, context, and actors from memory. This helped create thick descriptions of what transpired (Gertz, 1973). Every two to three weeks, I reviewed fieldnotes and wrote analytic memos about my progress.

Because I am fluent in Acholi, I was able to understand speakers when they spoke in English and Acholi. This was useful both in schools and in public spaces as speakers frequently switched back and forth from English to Acholi – though some speakers consistently only spoke in one of these languages.

As an American with white skin, when people saw me, they often called out "*munu*". People tended to associate foreigners with white skin with missionaries, foreign students, and international development workers and they often expected that a relationship with me might offer opportunities, such as assistance gaining access to markets in the West, sponsorship of children's school fees, and funds for starting-up businesses. For example, despite emphasizing to learners, teachers, and parents that I would not be sponsoring children's school fees, children and parents repeatedly asked about whether I was looking to find a child to sponsor. Outside of school, children often ran to me asking for "sweets" and small coins. While my ability to speak Acholi in some ways set me apart from many other foreigners working in the region, the color of my skin, my nationality, and the privilege and power that came with these things would always make people distinguish me from my Acholi neighbors and friends.

My status as a PhD candidate granted me considerable esteem in schools as an "expert". Frequently teachers would invoke my educational status when talking to pupils (particularly female pupils) about to what they should aspire. Occasionally, teachers would also ask me to comment about things they were teaching in the classroom.

While in schools, I tried to situate myself with children, sitting in classroom desks or on the ground during outside assemblies. However, teachers insisted that children treat me as an adult and teachers often asked a child to bring me a chair to sit on rather than the ground with other children. On one occasion when I was walking near one of the schools with a pupil, a

group of teachers called out to the child to emphasize to her that I was not her friend, but that I was a "big person" or adult.

While teachers insisted that children treat me as an adult, my status as an American tended to draw children toward me, both out of curiosity and, to a certain extent, in search of opportunities. My first few days in the two low-income schools, where children had more time sitting idle in the classroom, were characterized by children asking me questions about the United States of America, and in particular about famous people such as Beyonce, Barack Obama, and Arnold Schwarzenegger. Thus, in general, learners were not shy to approach me and to talk to me, especially when they were in a group. Children also knew that as an American, I likely disagreed with most of the methods of punishment used at the school, so my status tended to grant me another source of trust with children. Yet because of my powerful and privileged status, my relationships with learners was never anything approximating equal and consequently I tried to be very careful about how I recruited children to participate in the research and to involve children actively in deciding what to include in my descriptions of their views. . I discuss my method of recruiting child research participants below in the section on interviews and focus group discussions. Also, when talking to children in interviews and informally in the classroom, I often said back to them the things that they had told me about and asked them if these comments were things I could include in the report that I would write as a result of the research or if it was something that should remain just between the two of us.

Community observations

From March to June of 2014 and then from November 2014 until February of 2015, I mapped the aid organizations working in the region through conversations with individuals

working at international development organizations (IDOs), the local government, and community-based organizations. I took part in a child protection and gender-based violence working group organized by the district gender officer and the child protection office. I participated in meetings and outreach efforts at the district level including public campaigns to raise awareness about teenage pregnancy, defilement [statutory rape], girls' dropout, and early marriage. This included taking part in meetings and events around four campaigns: international women's day, 16 days of activism against gender-based violence, day of the African child, and a solidarity march for girls' education. I also participated in events held by four international non-governmental organizations (INGOs): two were annual events to celebrate the organizations' achievements that year and two were activities held in the communities where the organizations worked.[14]

I conducted participant observations during events in the community including religious services on Sunday, political rallies (such as the President's visit to open the Main Market), burials of family members of pupils and teachers, and events held at the cultural center in town. Toward the end of my research, I also participated in a teacher training on the School Family Initiative – USAID-funded sex education program that I observed implemented in government schools.

Residence and participant observation in daily life

Participant observation in the community also occurred in my daily life. I lived in town in a neighborhood where all my neighbors were Ugandan and almost all were Acholi. In my first

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[14] One of these was a focus group discussion that was later aired on the radio to discuss the barriers to girls' education. I have the radio recording of this event, which I transcribed and analyzed.

apartment where I lived from February 2014 until January 2015, I lived in an open compound surrounded by small grass thatched huts. My neighbors had children of primary school age and they would sit on my veranda and talk with me about their observations of my life as I washed clothes and cooked food.

This also meant that I was subject to admonishment when I broke the rules for women, such as when I attended an end of the year celebration for the gender-based violence working group and I came home at 8:00pm. The next day, one of the mothers in the neighborhood caught up to me as I was walking to the market and asked me if I had a problem drinking and told me it was inappropriate to be coming home so late.

After having my apartment broken into while I was asleep in December of 2014, I ended up moving to a gated compound that I shared with three families from northern Uganda, and a pair of young women from Eastern Uganda. While I had more privacy in my daily life in this context, I still engaged in conversations with my neighbors at the end of the day asking them questions to clarify my ideas about emerging themes. I also faced a similar experience of being admonished by the oldest woman in the compound after coming home at 8:00 pm two nights in a row. One of those nights I had travelled to town outside of the city that was about two and a half hours a way to visit a pupil and her family at her home (this was after the school year ended and she moved out of her extended relatives' home). The other night I was at a farewell dinner for an anthropologist who was returning home from her fieldwork. The second night I came home, the oldest woman in the compound approached me as I was walking toward my apartment and told me I was "moving around" too much. She warned me that my husband would not be happy, and she said it was a bad influence on some of the younger girls in the compound. When I explained it was for work, she backed off and said then it was OK.

At both homes, I lived near pupils attending Sacred Cross primary school, which meant that often while returning home from school, regardless of where I had been conducting participant observation, I would encounter pupils from Sacred Cross. However, also when returning home from Piny Dyak or Bright Futures, I would walk with pupils part of the way. The other two schools were on the edge of town, so I would combine walking with riding my bicycle part of the journey.

School observations

From February 2015 through October 30, 2015, I conducted daily participant observations in schools. I was in schools from 8:00 am until 6:00 pm (or a little after) Monday through Friday and from 8 am until noon on Saturdays. While the regular school day was supposed to be from 8:00 am until 4:00 pm Monday through Friday, the schools offered mandatory extended lessons to pupils in grades five through seven (for a mandatory additional fee) from 4:00 pm until 6:00 pm on Monday through Friday and from 8:00 am until noon on Saturday.[15] This was generally practiced throughout the district as an effort to improve pupils' readiness for and performance on the high-stakes primary leaving exam that pupils took at the end of primary school and whose marks determined children's admission into secondary school.

Participant observation happened in classrooms, the schoolyard, the staffroom, and in transit to and from school. I focused my classroom observations in grade seven classrooms, because while I was interested in observing the gender and sexual reproductive health messages geared toward older children, I still wanted to be engaged at the primary school level, because

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[15] Families had to pay for these extended lessons and so they represented yet another form of privatization of government schooling.

more children had access to the primary school than secondary school, since secondary schools are considerably more expensive in Uganda. School observations happened with pupils from all grade levels during extracurricular activities, assemblies, and school breaks.

In total, I wrote and analyzed 644 fieldnotes about Piny Dyak primary school, 870 fieldnotes about Sacred Cross primary school (the middle-income school), and 627 fieldnotes about Bright Futures primary school. I have more data on Sacred Cross primary school, because while I attempted to focus much of my third term on Bright Futures primary school, since I had entered the school last, I still attended the USAID-funded School Family Initiative lessons at Sacred Cross primary school, because it was the only school regularly implementing their initiative and their messaging around sexual and reproductive health was of interest to me.

Classroom observations

My classroom observations were taken while seated at the back of the classroom. I took notes of the classroom lesson including noting what each actor said (using symbols to distinguish between speakers), what was written on the board, and pupils' and teachers' facial expressions, gestures, and bodily movements. I took note of pupils' engagement in the classroom activity including noting down when pupils put their heads down, when they were engaged in other activities such as reading notes from friends, when there were side conversations, when pupils made side glances at each other, or when they laughed or made expressions of disbelief.

Classroom observations enabled me to observe not only the ways teachers transmitted the official curriculum to pupils, but also the unofficial messages teachers gave to pupils about who they were, through their messages about appropriate and inappropriate behavior and their discussions about pupils' performance and what it takes to succeed. I also observed how pupils

responded to each other and the teacher. The classroom observations also gave me the opportunity to observe pupils resisting the ideology they received in schools and creating space for themselves.

Schoolyard

The schoolyard was a space where most extracurricular activities took place. Weekly, the schools would hold general assemblies to discuss issues affecting the school, including pupil discipline. At the Catholic school, pupils would gather daily at 4:00pm to recite the rosary. At all three schools, pupils used the school yard to practice for music dance and drama and track competitions. When visitors came to the school to address pupils, they would usually gather pupils together in the schoolyard. The schoolyard was also a place where I interacted with pupils during their breaks.

Participant observation as primary method to examine stakeholders' perspectives

Since most of my data comes from participant observation, it warrants more explanation of how I examined the perspectives of different stakeholders through participant observation. Through observing and participating in the conversations among teachers, pupils, and parents, I was able to gain an understanding of their perspectives on social norms of *woro,* class distinctions, and appropriate youth and adult behavior. This method allowed for multiple iterations of discussions on each of the themes above over the course of my observations.

Participant observation and teachers' perspectives

I had the opportunity to explore teachers' perspectives through their classroom and schoolyard interactions with pupils, but also through their staffroom conversations, and staff meetings.

While in each school, I took lunch and "break tea" with teachers. This was a space where I would observe teacher conversations about the latest news, and was also a space where I could conduct informal focus group discussions about issues in the school, including teachers' perspectives on youth behavior as it related to their class and gender.

I also frequently sat with teachers on the veranda of the staffroom and listened and participated in conversations about their work conditions. This was the space where I learned among other things about teachers' frustrations with inequity in teacher pay, their feelings about "children's rights" and the difficulty of managing pupil behavior, and their explanations of the way the school system worked, such as how head teachers were assigned to different schools.

Finally, I observed staff meetings at all three schools. The staff meetings were spaces where teachers and administrators discussed progress toward the goals of the term as well as where teachers issued complaints and made requests of the school administration.

Participant observation and pupils' perspectives

Informal conversations with pupils happened in the classroom, in the school compound during school breaks, walking home with pupils, and, for 28 pupils, in their homes with their families.

Ten pupils became key informants whom I visited at home on multiple occasions to get to know their families and to get a deeper understanding of their daily lives; four of these pupils

were from Sacred Cross (three girls and one boy); three of these pupils were from Bright Futures (two girls and one boy); and three of these pupils were from Piny Dyak (two girls and one boy). Rather than me selecting these pupils, they selected me. These were youth who sought me out and invited me to visit their homes and get to know their families.

Participant observation and parents' perspectives

I got to know parents' perspectives while visiting pupils in their homes, through conversations that often emerged out of the process of gaining informed consent, and during parent meetings with school administration.

During parent meetings, the administrators presented on progress toward goals and parents made questions, requests, and complaints toward the school administration. Parents' engagement with these meetings was different at the three schools, but in general, parents gave their views on the best ways to discipline pupils, the best ways to use school resources, and their concerns about academic achievement.

Interviews and focus group discussions

In addition to participant observations and daily informal conversations with teachers and pupils, I conducted interviews and focus group discussions with pupils, teachers, parents, and international development organization staff. In total, I spoke with 57 individuals through formal interviews and focus group discussions. I conducted formal interviews with 19 pupils, 14 teachers, ten parents, and four international development organization staff, and conducted five focus group discussions with ten pupils. I interviewed thirteen pupils at least twice to build on earlier conversations and to follow up on emerging findings.

Most of my interviews were conducted between November 2015 and February 2016 (after the school year ended). This was due to the rigorous schedule during the school year where most pupils were studying Monday through Saturday.

Pupil interviews and FGD

I recruited pupils for interviews by describing my research to the class and then telling pupils that if they would like to participate in an interview or focus group discussion, they should approach me to request an interview. Given the age difference between myself and pupils, pupils would have difficulty saying no to me for an interview if I was the one to approach them.

After the pupil approached me, I arranged with the family to visit the guardians (either at home or in another chosen location) to describe the research and to ask for permission to interview the child and/or the parent. I talked with the pupil and parent about what would transpire in the interview or focus group discussion and we discussed appropriate locations for the interview to occur. In particular, I worked with parents, guardians, and children to make judgements about the most confidential and safe place for children to speak to me.

I conducted five focus group discussions with pupils in groups of two or more. Following Dawson's (2007) model, I encouraged pupils to decide with whom they would like to participate in the group discussions and then followed up with the selected pupils and their families to seek consent. By allowing pupils to determine who they would join the discussion with, I supported pupils' feelings of comfort engaging in conversations with me.

Interviews and focus group discussions with pupils covered the following themes in order: 1) discussion of the pupil's family background, 2) the school environment (places where they feel safe/unsafe), 3) pupils' views on the ways they were disciplined in school, 4) pupils'

views on the relations among pupils and between pupils and teachers, 5) questions about the internationally-funded sex education programming at the school, 6) questions about what it means to be a "good" boy or girl (according to Acholi norms and school norms), 7) questions about what their parents and religious leaders tell them about appropriate romantic relationships and what it means to be "good" young person, 8) questions about which of their peers dropped out of their school prior to completing primary school and why, and 9) their views about sources of spiritual danger (this last theme that emerged from pupils rather than from me and will be discussed in forthcoming publications).

Teacher interviews

In addition to numerous informal conversations that I held with teachers in the staffroom daily, I also conducted formal interviews with 14 teachers and one educational administrator. Five of the interviewed teachers (two males and three females) were from Bright Futures. Three of the interviewed teachers (two males and one female) were from Sacred Cross. Three (one male and two females) of the interviewed teachers were from Piny Dyak. I also interviewed three teachers (one male and two females) from other schools to get a feel for some of the trends I was observing at the schools where I had conducted research.

In these interviews I had the following goals: 1) to understand the structural factors affecting teaching and learning at the school including teacher pay, transfer of educational administrators, and investment in school resources, 2) to understand teachers' views about "appropriate" and "inappropriate" youth behavior and the causes of "inappropriate" youth behavior, 3) to understand teachers' views about the causes of pupil dropout from school including teenage pregnancy 4) to understand teachers views about the best types of sexual and

reproductive health education, and 4) to understand teachers' own personal and family backgrounds.

Interviews with guardians

Finally, I conducted ten formal interviews with guardians (three guardians from Sacred Cross, four guardians from Bright Futures, and three guardians from Piny Dyak).

In these conversations, I attempted to understand parents' views on the appropriate ways to teach children and youth about their sexual and reproductive health, their views on the appropriate behavior for boys and girls, their views on appropriate discipline for pupils, and their views on how the school functions.

Interviews with staff of international development organizations

I conducted interviews with four staff from international development organizations implementing sex education programming in the schools where I was conducting research. Included in these was an interview with a staff person from USAID, to talk about the School Family Initiative program, as well as an interview with two staff at the implementing organization for the School Family Initiative program. Through these interviews, I sought to understand the reasons why the School Family Initiative was developed, how the curriculum was written, and any issues with the program implementation.

Multimedia

Interviews and observations were supplemented by collection of multimedia including hundreds of local and national newspaper clippings (145 articles about gender, 222 articles about education, 57 articles about sex education) ; dozens of hours of radio recordings, in which radio

show hosts and callers debated issues in the community; and the active comment threads from Facebook posts of two local radio programs that frequently posted provocative questions about social relations in the community.

Interpretation techniques

Data analysis occurred throughout the data collection process. Immediately following interviews and observations, I wrote and reflected on the details of interactions to produce thick descriptions of research data. Every two to three weeks, I reviewed fieldnotes and wrote analytic memos about my progress. After data collection, I re-read all my notes, recordings, documents, and interviews and generated thematic analytic memos. As I iteratively reviewed and reanalyzed my notes, I developed new codes and themes that in turn informed my next round of analysis. I used MAXQDA, a qualitative analytic software, to track, organize, and interpret my fieldnotes, codes, and themes.

I also presented each of the data chapters in this dissertation at conferences. I presented Chapter 3 at the American Anthropological Association annual meeting in 2016 and later at a working group of international comparative education researchers based at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2018. I presented a shorter version of Chapter 4 at the African Studies Association annual meeting in 2018. I presented a portion of Chapter 5 at the Comparative International Education Society Conference in 2016 and then I presented a larger revised portion of the chapter at the African Studies Association of Africa Conference in 2019.

A note on representation

It is important to emphasize, especially given the history of racist colonial representations of Acholi as "war-like" people, that this dissertation's focus on violence in one Acholi town does

not represent the whole or even a major part of Acholi culture, but instead a part of what it means to be human. Following the lead of Porter (2017) and Finnström (2008), here I quote Paul Feyerabend to emphasize that an analysis of life and culture in Acholi helps to understand the human condition more broadly: "Potentially every culture is all cultures" (As cited in Finnström, 2008, p. 1; As cited in Porter, 2017, p. 19). The use of corporal punishment against children is not unique to Acholi, but common throughout the world and its use in schools was an important part of the colonial project in Africa (Ocobock, 2012; Ocobock, 2018).

In my observation of daily life in Acholi, I observed love, sacrificial caregiving, and great efforts to ensure social wellbeing. Acholi men and women loved children and made many sacrifices to ensure their children's access to and success in school. In my time in Acholi women's kitchens, I observed women sharing food with neighbors' children who entered the kitchen when the smell of good food entered the air. I observed Acholi people take care to greet and look into their neighbors' wellbeing and to offer any support they could when it was needed. In my experience in Acholi, I observed Acholi offer what Porter (2013) describes as the "sacrificial hospitality" Acholi offer to visitors. I fell in love with the fun-loving and playful sense of humor of Acholi people as they interacted with me and each other every day. These are only a few aspects of the love, joy, and care I observed and experienced while living in northern Uganda.

While I may focus on one of the darker sides of life in an Acholi town in northern Uganda, this focus is an effort to understand and overcome suffering in the world and in the human condition.

Dissertation overview

This dissertation explores the ways the structures of the education system and the daily practices of teaching and learning reinforced gendered patterns of socioeconomic marginalization and conservative efforts to reinstate patrilineal gerontocratic relations. In Chapter two, I provide a historical context to the war, and gender and age relations in the Acholi sub-region. Then, in Chapter three I analyze the ways teachers and pupils described the erosion of norms of respect in relation to patterns of war-related loss of life, loss of material wellbeing, and experiences of displacement; and I describe the different ways learners and teachers perceive of violence as either a tool to reinstate appropriate norms of respect and reciprocity or a symptom of the erosion of relations of respect. Next, in Chapter four I describe the system of education financing in Uganda, the history of education in Uganda, and the overlapping ideologies of the ideal student and the ideal child who performs *woro* (or Acholi norms of respect and reciprocity). This overview helps me explore how the ideology of *woro* was undermined by social inequality and inequity in the ways the government funds schools. In Chapter five, I examine the ways the national curriculum and the hidden curriculum framed the topic of teenage pregnancy, which was receiving a lot of attention in the region due to internationally-funded campaigns. I describe how the national curriculum framed teenage pregnancy in terms of a moral depravity in poor communities. I also describe how narratives about teenage pregnancy were talked about locally (in schools and communities) in terms of a decline in the gerontocratic norms of respect and respectability in poor communities. In Chapter 6, I conclude by emphasizing the following: 1) the importance of an intersectional analysis of the class and gender dimensions of conflict-related gender change and post-conflict patriarchal backlashes; 2) the policy implications for ensuring child protection and educational equity in post-conflict schools; and 3) the unintended

ways that public health messaging that identifies poor girls as likely to engage in "risky" sex

reinforce processes of social marginalization and post-conflict concerns about reinstating

patriarchal relations of authority.

Chapter 2: Contextualizing calls for a return to "tradition"

Introduction

This chapter examines the post-conflict calls for a return to "traditional" gerontocratic patriarchal norms in relation to the history of precolonial social structures in Acholi and changes to sociopolitical structures and social relations more broadly under colonialism, several postcolonial regimes, and most recently, the experiences of war, displacement, and post-conflict reconstruction.

I make two main arguments. First, I argue that a broader examination of Acholi history demonstrates that the authority of elders and chiefs has waxed and waned over time and that post-conflict calls for a return to gerontocratic and patrilineal power relations where men are in positions of authority vis-à-vis women and youth often overlook or ignore the historic sources of power for women in Acholi. It also reveals the ways that current concerns around girls' premarital pregnancy have more recent origins, since, as Girling (1960) notes, during colonialism, premarital pregnancy was common and was not considered a barrier to girls' social inclusion and subsequent marriage (either to the father of her child or to another man).

Second, I demonstrate the current importance of the notion of respect (*woro*) and people's distinction between respect and fear as they examine post-conflict violence reflects the legacy of competing sources of authority in colonial and postcolonial Acholi. Historically, lineage-based authority has been established by gaining people's respect and consent to being governed as opposed to the legacy of despotic rule under colonialism and the violence of several postcolonial regimes. Under colonialism, lineage-based authorities were replaced with colonial-appointed authorities who governed based on fear. The large presence of Acholi in the military under colonial and postcolonial regimes (as a result of the colonial policy to recruit soldiers from

the north and civil servants from the south) contributed to generational tensions in 1986 when soldiers of the overthrown Obote II regime returned to their villages and challenged the authority of elders by seeking power through the threat of violence. Research participants' distinctions between authority acquired by gaining respect versus authority acquired through fear, reflect the competing claims on authority by elders and soldiers in this context. Finally, in the post-conflict context, crime increased, and local security groups often used violent means of policing communities as a reminder of the authority gained through fear as opposed to respect (Tapscott, 2016). In communities, as in schools, "undisciplined" youth who "refused" to "respect" authority figures were thus dealt with through violence to promote obedience through fear.

I begin this chapter by considering precolonial and colonial sociopolitical structures in Acholi and the ways that colonialism created local and national tensions that would contribute to the roots of conflict in the country. Then I examine the contexts for the emergence of internal and national crises that contributed to the war in northern Uganda. Next, I explore the ways the realities of war and displacement affected generational and gender relations and how the associated changes continue to color the ways people perceive of a desire to return to "traditional" norms and the threat of marginalized youth and women to social order and men's power. Then, I discuss the efforts by donors to rebuild traditional authority structures and the existing status of chiefs in Acholi. Finally, I conclude by reflecting on the current violence by youth gangs and informal local security groups as they relate to the school-based perceptions of "undisciplined youth" and the use of corporal punishment in schools.

Social structures in pre-colonial and colonial Acholi

While this background chapter describes some of the early cultural institutions in Acholi, it is important to note that culture is always in flux and even the notion of Acholi ethnicity is a somewhat recent construct. According to Atkinson (1994), "As late as the mid-seventeenth century, there was little to suggest that Acholi would ever be the home of a single society or collective ethnic identity" (p. 75). Atkinson (1994) characterizes the area to the north of the Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom "as a region where Central Sudanic and Eastern Nilotic worlds met. Conversely, Luo [the language spoken in Acholi] speakers in early Acholi were neither numerous nor widespread" (pp. 63-4).[16]

Chiefdoms comprised of multiple village lineages became prevalent in 1725 when a massive drought and famine required lineage groups to organize into larger groups for survival (Atkinson, 1994, p. 80). Atkinson explains that these new sociopolitical groupings likely were inspired by the sociopolitical groupings of the northern Bunyoro-Kitara, some of which were Paluo speaking.

In his ethnography of the Acholi based on fieldwork conducted in the ten months between October 1949 and August 1950, Girling (1960) distinguishes four main levels of social relations: the household, the hamlet, the village, and the domain (or chiefdom). He argues that at all the levels, there was a patriarchal head who was given authority as a father-figure of the entity:

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[16] Atkinson notes that there was considerable cooperation, trade and intermarriage among these different linguistic groups, which he argues demonstrates the falseness of the idea that there may have been primordial rivalries among these different ethnic groups.

> At all levels of the organisation, the social units which make up the traditional social and political order of the Acholi are structurally homologous. The household consists of a number of persons under the jural authority of the household head, their won, father/owner. The village consists of a number of households, both agnates and non-agnates, under the ritual authority of the ladit, [male] lineage elder. The domain [chiefdom] comprises a number of villages, some made up of agnates, others not, all under the ritual and political authority of the Rwot (the term Rwot, like won, has the dual significance of ownership, as in rwot dyang, the owner of the cow, and also political office) (Girling, 1960, p. 84).

Girling emphasizes the ways his research participants spoke about the *Rwot* having a parental relationship to the chiefdom:

> On many occasions I heard from the mouths of old men: "Rwot won-wa, wan litino, en ladit", which might be translated either as "The Rwot is our father, we are but children, he is an elder", or "The Rwot is our ruler, we are his subjects, he has authority" (Ibid).

Girling's explanation of the notion *won* (father or ruler) and *litino* (children or subjects) demonstrates that the language around age relations was also used to signify other structures of authority.

Household

According to Girling (1960), the household "[was] the smallest unit which can maintain a separate economic existence," and the gender division of labor in the household necessitated that it include "an active adult man and an active adult woman or women" (p. 7). He speaks about the male household head being the *rwot* of the household or having authority at the household level.

While this gendered division of labor gave the man considerable authority in the home, women still controlled food distribution and preparation, giving them an important source of power within their homes. Girling (1960) explains:

> Each woman hut owner, min ot, (literally hut mother), has her own granaries, too, in which she stores her supplies of grain, and under the authority of the household head she is responsible for its distribution and preparation. She must decide how much of the grain

> is to be devoted to beer making and how much is to be eaten. She is responsible for
> seeing that supplies of food are stretched out from one harvest to the next (p. 21).

While Ocitti (1973) argues that there was considerable inequity of power between men and women in precolonial Acholi, Harris (2017) documents how Albert Lloyd, the first Christian missionary to Acholi, in 1906 remarked on the considerable equality between the sexes – particularly between husbands and wives: "Husbands "show[ed] a good deal of respect for their wives (Lloyd, 1906, p. 274, as cited in Harris, 2017, p. 245), and she notes, the second Anglican missionary to the region, Arthur Kitching, wrote in 1912 that "the woman [was] practically on equality with men, except occasionally when they rise to the height of henpecking their husbands" (Kitching, 1912, p. 147, as cited in Harris 2017, p. 245). Of note, these early missionaries saw it as the role of the church to "civilize" the Acholi so that women would learn to cover up their nakedness and to become respectable housewives and men would take on the role of provider and protector for the home (Harris, 2017).

Hamlet

The hamlet (in Acholi *dye kal*) consists of relatives (usually related through a common male patriarch) who live in homes built close together around a central enclosure. The people who shared a *dye kal* worked together on daily tasks and activities, such as cooking and sharing evening meals and fireside chats. This grouping varied widely in composition and could be as few as one household or as many as 30 households (Girling, 1960, p. 8). The senior male was considered the head of this grouping.

Village

According to Girling, villages typically consisted of agnatic kinsmen who could trace their lineage to a common ancestor. Girling explains the two types of villages: aristocratic villages, known as *kal*, from which chiefs were selected, and "commoner" villages known as *labong.*

While the common ancestor was usually a male, Girling identifies a few aristocratic villages where the common ancestor was a female. In these cases, the descendants of one of the wives of the "agnatic ancestor of aristocratic lineage had become sufficiently numerous to hive off and form a separate village of their own" (Girling, 1960, p. 62).

However, maternal relations could be important sources of establishing social belonging in a village. Aristocratic lineages tended to absorb more members that were related through the maternal relationships, due to the tendency of some families to claim relations through their maternal uncle to obtain needed assistance for things like bride wealth. For example, for the Parwaca aristocratic village, only 35 households claimed relations to the common ancestor, Rwaca, through male agnatic ties (Girling, 1960, p. 51). The remaining 48 were "non-agnatic" and claimed relations through female relatives (Ibid).

Role of the lineage heads/elders of the village

Girling (1960) emphasizes that the elder of the village lineage was a source of authority, but he also emphasizes that the authority was rather limited and based on people's decision to listen to him:

> The 'elder' of the village-lineage is the principle authority on the [village], the citing of old precedents, which regulate the relations of its members, with one another and their relations with other villages. Wa twero winyo loke, we may listen to his words, say the other household heads, thus emphasising that acceptance of his authority based on mutual

> consent… Should any man refuse to accept the decision of the elders, he may either alone, or with other members of his hamlet move to another village where he has kinsmen (p. 64).

Lineage heads, or elders, also filled important roles within the chiefdom. Lineage heads served as representatives of their villages within the chiefdom; together with the *Rwot* they served as arbiters of disputes between lineages/villages; they organized tributes to the *rwot*, of which they could retain some of the proceeds; they organized labor for the harvest in the chiefdom; they coordinated burial and installment of chiefs; they helped organize lineages for hunting; and they oversaw rituals for the chiefdom, such as rituals around planting and harvesting (Atkinson, 1994; pp. 86-87).

According to P'Bitek (1971), each chiefdom had a shrine and related *jok*, or a powerful spirit most often associated with the commoner clans of the chiefdom. One lineage head, usually the head of the oldest lineage in the geographic area, tended to be the head of all rituals in the chiefdom, which focused on gods or spirits (*jok* sing, *jogi* plural) rather than ancestors (Atkinson 1994; 88). This lineage head was known as *won ngom,* or father of the soil. Girling (1960) noted that sometimes the *won ngom* would also be an *ajwaka* or a spiritual healer, but not always (p. 97).

P'Bitek (1971) refers to the position of a priest, who came from one of the commoner clans who would organize the annual feast to honor the chiefdom *jok* where prayers to the *jok* revolved around problems affecting the social wellbeing.[17] According to P'Bitek the position of priest was passed down within a specific clan, and the benefits of such a position would vary

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[17] It is unclear whether the priests and priestesses that P'Bitek described were the same as the *won ngom* that Girling and Atkinson described. There are enough overlaps between the descriptions of the roles of the *won ngom* and the chiefdom priest to suggest they are likely the same.

from seemingly no benefits, as was the case for the Priest in Ayiga, to offering the wealth and prestige similar to that of a chief, as was the case of the Priestess of Lokka. The powerful status of the Priestess of Lokka was partially exhibited in her status at the annual feast, where she acted as a spirit medium and was asked to provide guidance to solve problems or conflicts in the villages.

When the Priestess of Lokka became the spirit medium of the Jok of Lokka, she had to leave her matrimonial home with her husband and children. According to P'Bitek (1971), her husband no longer was considered head of the household, he had "almost no say with regard to property in their house… and even the children were called after their mother" (p. 78). In return for moving to her paternal home, the Priestess of Lokka enjoyed prosperity comparable to that of a chief. She received tribute from the clans of the chiefdom, "tasted the first of all produce" (P'Bitek, 1971, 77), and received a portion of the winnings from a hunt.

As is evident from the scholarship above, the power of elders and priests/priestesses in the lineage varied greatly in time and context. Elders had important roles in society, but their power was limited to the authority gained through the consent of those they governed. Current claims to *woro,* or respect, likely demonstrate the notion that one gains authority by gaining people's respect and consent to being governed, as well as by people's distinction between ruling from a place of respect as opposed to ruling through fear (see the section on colonialism for more on this subject). One way to gain this respect was to maintain and/or restore social and spiritual wellbeing through spiritual and social power/skills.

Gender and Age

Since age hierarchies are an important part of this dissertation, age differentiation in Acholi should be discussed. Ocitti (1974) describes the ways that children and youth's mastery of the productive tasks of daily life were central to their gaining social status:

> Entry into adolescence for an Acholi was not marked by any initiation ceremony but just naturally by pubescent changes… And because of their ability to do successfully the work that adults did, boys and girls were generally respected and rarely beaten by their parents (p. 47).

Ocitti continues, "The truth of the matter was that ability to perform the various farm and domestic tasks was widely accepted as being one of the most important qualifications for a grown up marriageable Acholi adolescent…" (p. 56).

According to Girling (1960), at the time of his research, age differentiation was gendered and had different implications for notions of social belonging. For boys, differentiation was based on the boys' gradual incorporation into wider social relations:

> In the absence of any system of age-sets or initiation schools, growing up in Acholiland is marked only by the individual's entering into wider areas of social relations… At first boys and girls both form a part of their mother's domestic family in the household only. As the boy grows older, however, he joins to a greater extent in the male activities of hunting, agriculture and the care of livestock, which are organised on a village or hamlet basis. By the age of about eighteen he is already fully grown and able to take his place with the other males [in the village] in all their work. (Girling, 1960, p. 67).

P'Bitek (1964) notes that marital status was important to establishing men's and women's status in society. He explains that unmarried men were not invited to clan meetings nor did they have a voice in the arrangement of marriages. An unmarried woman had trouble belonging:

> [An unmarried woman] never really belonged; [she] could no longer sleep in [her] mother's hut, because [her] father also sleeps there; nor could [she] stay with [her] brother too long. Everywhere [she] appeared to be interfering, because, the division of labour in the traditional Acholi homestead did not take into account what unmarried daughters

should do. It was based on the assumption that when girls grow up they get married and leave the homestead (P'Bitek, 1971, p. 31).

Girling explains that girls remained in their mothers' households until they married. When a girl first married and moved into her husband's village, for some time she was treated as a stranger (Girling, 1960, p. 25). She was regarded this way until she had a child, at which point, she could be said to be part of the kinship group through her relationship with her child (Girling, 1960, p. 24). If a young woman were unable to bear children, the husbands' family would send her back to her natal home, which was required to replace her with another daughter. But until her children were grown, "she ha[d] few rights and apart from her husband ha[d] no close relationships with members of the village" (Girling, 1960, p. 25).

Girling (1960) emphasizes that the problem of fertility was essential to a young woman's social inclusion. Even if a young woman gave birth prior to marriage and did not get married to the father of the child, the young woman would easily find another marital partner. This suggests that marriage itself was not the problem as much as whether the young woman could produce children. Yet, as we shall see later with the emergence of Alice (Auma) Lakwena, the spirit medium and war leader, an unmarried woman who had no children could find other means of establishing herself as a powerful member of society, such as by becoming a spirit medium.

Girling explains that a young woman's move from the natal household to the new village could be difficult and "many young wives appear[ed] to be unsettled for a time in their husbands' villages" (p. 25).

However, Girling describes a potential source of agency for newly married women in the village. Girling found that "in most villages there were several wives who claimed common agnatic descent" (pp. 50-51). This happened because when a newly married girl visited her natal

home, if she gave positive reports of her husband's family, the girl's sister might choose to marry into the same family. Having a sister in the hamlet or village could be an important resource for the woman. Indeed, Girling noted that "should the internal cohesion of a husband's village be affected owing to poverty, the weak personality of a hamlet or village head or another reason, the ties of female agnatic descent sometimes tended to assert themselves" (p. 51). Girling's account demonstrates important sources of women's agency within the structural constraints of patrilocal practices, which could be an important strategy for resisting the tendency for families to treat newly married women as outsiders (Girling, 1960, p. 25).

Chiefdom/Domain

Lastly, Girling describes the domain, or chiefdom, as a collection of various villages and their farmland under the administration of one chief, or *rwot*, who is not necessarily related to those living in the constituent villages.

Chiefs' roles largely were to promote the wellbeing of everyone in the chiefdom. Girling (1960) and Finnström (2008) explain that chiefs, with the support of lineage elders or priests, took part in making rain to ensure the fertility of the area. Chiefs also acted as arbiters of disputes that lineage heads could not settle (Atkinson, 1994, p. 85).

Girling (1960) makes clear that the chief had very limited power within the chiefdom:

> Although the Rwot was the political head of the domain, he had no coercive machinery for enforcing his decisions. It may even be doubted whether he had decisions of his own, which he wished to enforce; the policy of the domain was the result of reconciliation of separate interests of the constituent village-lineages. It was the Rwot's task to mediate between potentially antagonistic individuals, households and villages (p. 100).

In short, power in the chiefdom tended to be shared between lineage elders and the chief.

According to Behrend (1999):

> Disputes between the chief, who claimed power, and the elders of the clan or lineage, who tried to assert their own power against that of the chief, were endemic in Acholi; depending on the respective constellation of power in a chiefdom at a particular time, the chief or elders might prevail, i.e. centralist or decentralized tendencies might be realized (p. 15).

Atkinson (1994) cites several factors that limited the chief's power vis-à-vis the lineage heads including the large amount of land and low population density, which made it easy to move from one chiefdom to another and to make ties with a new chiefdom through marriage (p. 84). Similarly, Girling (1960) notes that commoner lineages associated with a given chiefdom only accepted the ruling of a *rwot* "when it was in their interest to do so. Members of either aristocratic or commoner lineages might leave and take up residence in another domain [chiefdom]" (p. 104).

Until the 1850s, chiefs shared the decision to make war with lineage heads; however, the entry of slave traders to the region in the 1850 and the trading of rifles for slaves and ivory led to the arming of chiefdoms and the changing in status of many chiefs who now had small armies (Behrend, 1999). Otim (2018) describes how the arming of Rwot Awic's chiefdom during this time enabled him to garner significant power. Indeed, the introduction of slave trade and the arming of chiefdoms likely contributed to competing notions of authority based on violence.

Acholi courtiers

The *rwot* also had a council of advisors (Otim, 2018). Girling (1960) describes two important roles among these: the *wang rwot,* or "one who stood in the place of the *Rwot*", and the *oo,* or messenger (p. 96). Otim (2018) argues that these advisors were important middle figures during colonialism as they often were sent for education and, given their historical importance in pre-colonial society, they maintained prominent roles in Acholi "traditional"

chiefdoms as well as in the British administrative system. Otim's (2018) argument is supported by Girling's (1960) account of a prominent *wang rwot* named Okello Mwaka, who spoke many languages (Arabic, Lunyoro, and Luganda) and became the first colonial-appointed chief in Acholi. Otim (2018) describes Lacito Oketch, a royal messenger, or *la or pa Rwot,* who would go on to become educated by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and become a colonial appointed chief. (This is discussed further in the section on British colonization of Acholi.)

Powerful women in the chiefdom

Women played important and sometimes quite powerful roles in the chiefdom. For example, at the ceremony to install a new chief, the wife of the chief, known as *dak ker*, played an important role in the ceremony and afterward, such as, as the caretaker of the royal regalia (Atkinson, 1994, p. 90), and as a representative of the chief sent to settle disputes (Girling, 1960, p.104). Women also played important roles as healers and spiritual leaders in Acholi religion. The Priestess of Lokka, described earlier, is a prominent example of a powerful spiritual leader (P'Bitek, 1971).

Rule by fear under British colonization of Acholi

Branch (2011) explains that British colonial officials did not find the kind of political authority among the Acholi necessary to implement their rule, which meant they had difficulty taking over the region where Acholi lived:

> Because of the lack of centralized hierarchical authority, the 'pacification' of Acholiland took on a piecemeal, and particularly violent visage. After the initial period of subjugation, which included mass forced displacement and punitive collective violence, because the rwodi moo [anointed chiefs] were inadequate for the despotic role the British asked of them, the British jettisoned the customary mode of succession among rwodi moo and selected their own chiefs, regardless of their relationship to the lineage-based rwodi moo" (p. 47).

The imposition of chiefs to extract taxes and forced labor led to violent resistance by the Acholi including burning of colonial buildings, the killing of government agents, and the famous Lamogi Rebellion in 1914 (Branch, 2011).

When the British defeated the Acholi after the Lamogi rebellion, they required all inhabitants to register their arms, promising to let them keep their arms after registration. But in a betrayal of their promise the British burned the weapons (Behrend, 1999). After this, only British-appointed chiefs could own rifles and they used their monopoly of weapons to concentrate their power and "rule by fear" (Behrend, 1999, p. 17).

Girling (1960) recounts his observations of this violent administration:

> A Divisional Chief, in whose court I had sat for several days watching him mete out beatings, fines and imprisonment observed to me:
>
> 'You see we must rule by fear. The people are lazy, they do not realize what good things the Government is doing for them. How can we Acholi progress unless we grow cotton, pay our taxes and dig latrines as the Government wants us to do?' (p. 198).

Behrend (1999), citing Girling's work, emphasized that at this time, the "Government became little more than police" (Girling, 1960, p. 199, as cited in Behrend, 1999, p. 17).

As discussed in chapter three, the distinction between authority based on respect as opposed to authority based on fear continues to emerge in teachers' and learners' understanding of the role of corporal punishment in schooling and in re-establishing social order in the post-conflict context.

Erosion of the authority of Rwodi moo and the innovation of new authority structures

Girling (1960) explains that at the end of 1949 and the beginning of 1950, he observed the "crumbling remains" of the political organization of pre-colonial chiefdoms (p. 101). Further, Girling observes that migration to the south of the country for work on plantations and the recruitment of about twenty percent of tax-paying Acholi males into army, police and prison departments meant the population of young men was highly mobile at the time as well. This highly mobile population was likely difficult for lineage-based elders in the village to regulate.

Girling observed innovations resulting from the erosion of the figure of the chief and the increased population migration, which would impact the organizational power of youth and women. One of these innovations was the formation of "Chiefs of the Hoe" (*Rwodi Kweri)*, who organized labor among non-kin neighbors around agriculture (p. 193). Also, the emergence of a Chief of Women (*Rwot Mon*), who organized women's work parties for "weeding, cutting firewood and gathering thatching grass" (p. 193). Girling describes that in Padibe, the Chief of Women included in her administration, "Jagi [sub-chiefs], askaris [security personnel], messengers, and clerk, but also an Agricultural Officer, a Doctor, Health Inspector and others" (p. 193).[18]Thus, as the authority of the anointed chief eroded, women and young people were creating new means to organize production and maintain social order.

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[18] According to Girling, *jagi* (*jago* singular), historically were lineage elders, but with the colonial regime, the term became used for colonial-appointed sub-chiefs.

Role of schooling in colonialism and the construction of "tradition"

Because the colonial government used local authorities to help administer the Ugandan protectorate, the British needed to educate their administrators to read, write, and speak English. Finnström (2008) notes that the ordinary population understood the role of education in qualifying colonial-appointed chiefs. Consequently the colonial-appointed chiefs were known in "popular talk" as chiefs of the pen, or *rwodi kalam* (*rwot kalam* singular), as opposed to *rwodi moo (rwot moo* singular)*,* or chiefs who were anointed with shea butter (p. 42).

Otim (2018) recounts how the first individuals to receive an education in the British colonial schools, which were run by Christian missions, were the sons of chiefs and courtiers, such as the royal messengers mentioned above:

> That most of these converts were from prominent or elevated sociopolitical backgrounds [such as chiefs and courtiers] was a result of the CMS [Church Missionary Society] and the colonial regime's approach to learner recruitment. The colonial state directed each chief to send at least one of his sons to the school, and instructed the missionaries to educate the chiefs' sons to create a pool of literate Acholi that would help to implement British rule in Acholiland (p. 285).

Thus, the British used colonial schools to strengthen their administration of indirect rule through "traditional" leaders. Yet, as mentioned above, the "traditional" leaders in Acholi did not necessarily have the authority or proclivity to implement the British despotic system.

Finnström (2008) also describes the central role of missionaries and schools in the colonial strategies to create a unified ethnic consciousness around appropriated notions of "traditional" Acholi culture, which would facilitate the processes of indirect rule in the region that would be called "Acholiland" under colonialism. Finnström (2008) cites the words of a colonial administrator, Rennie Bere, who in 1947 wrote the following about the region:

> The urgent trend of modern administration has been to bring the clans together and to make the Acholi conscious of their unity as a single people, without destroying their

individualistic background. To this end the districts of Gulu [today's Gulu and Amuru] and Chua [today's Kitgum and Pader] were amalgamated in 1937, when a unified Acholi district was formed with headquarters in Gulu: at the same time the Acholi Council, with seats not only for chiefs but for representatives of the people from all parts of the country, was brought into being (Bere, 1947, p. 8; as cited in Finnström, 2008, p. 37).[19]

Finnström (2008) notes that missionaries created of vernacular primary school textbooks, which documented Acholi stories, proverbs, and histories to create a sense of common identity (Finnström, 2008, p. 39). For example, Finnström talks about the role of the Catholic Comboni Missionary Father Vicenzo Pelligrini in creating the primary school textbook *Acoli Macon*, which was used to teach primary school pupils using the documented oral histories of Acholi.

Colonial policies and practices create north-south divides

Many scholars have written about the ways colonial policies and practices created north-south divides in Uganda. Using racist classifications of ethnic groups as a rationale for its division of labor, the colonial government recruited northerners for service in the military, while it recruited southerners to work in civil service. The colonial government also invested inequitably in the north and south and gave southerners greater privileges and autonomy than northerners. These policies and practices had repercussions that continued to foster tensions in the post-colonial governments of Uganda.

The colonial government recruited northerners to serve in the military, using racist classifications of northerners as "warlike" or "martial" peoples (e.g., Mamdani, 1984; Mazrui, 1975). Karugire (1996) counters the colonial classification, noting that the Baganda had an

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[19] The bracketed sections of this quote are from Finnström. The Gulu district referred to in this quotation is now Gulu, Amuru and Nwoya districts. The Chua district referred to in this quotation is now Kitgum, Pader, Agago, and Lamwo districts.

organized, well-developed military at the time of colonialism, which enabled them to dominate the central Uganda region; and Bunyoro had a strong military which enabled them to fight off the Egyptians (as cited in Finnström, 2008, p. 81). According to Mamdani (1984), "The colonial view that northerners were 'martial' peoples was simply racist hogwash; the simple truth was that northern peasants were put in uniform to crush the resistance of the southern peasantry" (p. 10; as cited in Finnström, 2008, p. 81).

The racist characterizations of northerners as being more warlike later was used against northerners by Yoweri Museveni (the current president) to gather broad-based support from southerners first for his rebel mobilization against President Milton Obote's regime in the early 1980s, and later when, as president, Museveni sought to characterize the war in northern Uganda as an internal ethnic issue among "war-like" people (e.g., Branch, 2011; Finnström, 2008).

Inequitable treatment of northerners and southerners in colonial policy and in the Independence Constitution also contributed to northerners' resentment of the privileged status given to groups in the south (Branch, 2011). The colonial government employed people from the Buganda kingdom in larger numbers than any other ethnic group and the Independence Constitution allowed for more autonomy in the governance of the kingdoms to the south than the districts created in the north (Branch, 2011). There was greater investment in colonial services like education and hospitals in the south-central region than in the other parts of the country (Finnström, 2008, p. 102). For example, while missionaries began providing education in the central region of Buganda as early as 1877 (Meinert 2009), missionaries did not reach Acholi until 1904 and consistent access to primary education (for those with elevated sociopolitical backgrounds) was not available until 1912 (Otim 2018).

Tribalization of national politics under the British and the inequitable treatment of "tribes" under colonial rule contributed to some of the tensions that led to civil war in the postcolonial context.

Colonialism and the rise of the petty bourgeoisie

According to Branch (2011), under colonialism, there was an emergence of petty bourgeoisie among the Acholi who would join the civil service as teachers or administrators and who would later become important figures in national and local politics. Girling (1960) similarly cites the rise of a growing middle class in Acholi during colonialism who were:

> increasing their holdings of durable wealth at a rate exceeding that of other households. They were acquiring education and their sons were obtaining posts in the administrative services and experience in commerce to a greater extent than the others. They were cultivating more land than the average, and they were employing more non-kin labour to do so (p. 202).

Many of the Acholi and Langi migrants found work in the civil service or with the private sector in the central region because there was little private sector economy in "Acholiland", due to the lack of cash cropping (Branch, 2011). From the beginning of colonialism, the British had resisted cash cropping in Gulu and Chua districts, instead making those areas sources of labor for southern farms as well as sources of recruitment for the military (Branch, 2011). Because of this trend, Acholi made up the second largest ethnic group in the civil service second only to the Baganda (Branch, 2011, p. 50).

The petty bourgeoisie would begin their entrance into local and national politics with the introduction of tribal councils in Acholi.

Tribal councils

Tribal councils emerged as a solution to the growing local resistance to the power of the colonial-appointed chiefs. Sir Phillip Mitchell in 1939, wrote to the British government warning that the British Protectorate's granting of power to British-appointed chiefs, where they had no traditional authority, might lead to internal resistance against colonial authority (Branch, 2011, p. 49). From 1937-38, the British government tried to resolve the problem by reverting to the lineage-based chiefs, but the chiefs lacked adequate power to implement British rule, and the system left out the emerging "petty bourgeoisie – the young, educated teachers, traders, farmers, and civil servants" (Branch, 2011, p. 49). Branch (2011) explains that Mitchell recommended that the British introduce the tribal councils to prevent internal conflict by incorporating the *rwodi moo* and the petty bourgeoisie in a representative institution (p. 49). In 1943, local councils that had some elements of representative democracy were established in a newly formed Acholi district at "district, divisional, and county levels bringing together appointed chiefs, unofficial members elected by lineage heads and leading citizens – that is the emerging petty bourgeoisie – selected by the district commissioner" (Branch, 2011, p. 49).

Branch (2011) argues these tribal councils became an important base for political activity and the emergence of common interests between the petty bourgeoisie and the *rwodi moo* (p. 50). Branch explains, "The political parties catalyzed a community of interests between the Acholi petty bourgeoisie and rural Acholi, turning Acholi petty bourgeoisie into the peasantry's link to national politics" (p. 52). Among the major demands of the groups was an end to the discretionary powers of the colonial-appointed chiefs.

The political activity of the tribal councils enabled the two major political parties that emerged in the 1950s to effectively mobilize and gain access to supporters in the north through

political channels formed under the tribal councils (Branch, 2011, p. 51). However, because of the local nature of the tribal councils, political parties tended to be stronger at the local level than at the center, an issue that would undermine national unity in the long term (Branch, 2011). Nevertheless, the petty bourgeoisie who emerged during colonialism would come to play an important role in linking local communities to national politics during colonialism and in the first post-colonial regime (Branch, 2011).

Postcolonialism and the rise of the Acholi middle class

Upon independence the first government was created through an alliance between the Uganda People's Congress, led by a northerner, Milton Obote, and the Kabaka Yekka (the King Alone) Party – a party that promoted the royal institution of the Baganda of central Uganda. Under the alliance, Obote would be Prime Minister and Kabaka Edward Mutesa would be President (Finnström, 2008).

As Prime Minister, Obote used a patronage system to maintain support for his regime, particularly in the north, which meant that many Acholi became part of the "petty bourgeoisie" (Branch, 2011). According to Branch (2011), this group developed into a "political middle class" (p. 55). Obote also expanded the army from just 700 soldiers to more than 9000, benefiting the Acholi who made up about a third of the troops (Branch, 2011, p. 56). This political favoritism for Langi and Acholi reinforced tribal politicization and provided the basis for the creation of a "southern political identity" focused on "the northern question" (Branch, 2011, pp. 56 and 58).

However, in 1966, as hostilities increased and opposition groups tried to unseat Obote, he used the military, led by Idi Amin, to take control of the Kabaka's palace and the Kabaka fled into exile. Obote named himself president.

In 1969, while leading a one-party government, Obote presented the Common Man's Charter, called the Move to the Left, which was an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-tribal manifesto (Finnström, 2008, p. 66). With the Move to the Left, Obote sought to end "ethnic political fragmentation" created by the unequal treatment of "tribes" under colonialism and later in the Independence Constitution of 1962, such as the higher degree of autonomy in self-governing given to the kingdoms of the south, and for the Baganda "a wide range of exclusive powers" (Branch, 2011, p. 53). However, many from the south-central saw this manifesto as a demonstration of Nilotic nationalism and an imposition of power by the Nilotic groups to the north over the Bantu groups to the south (Finnström, 2008, p. 66). Northerners however saw the Move to the Left as a symbol of decolonization (Finnström, 2008, p. 66). However, before the Move to the Left could be implemented, Idi Amin, backed by British and Israeli militaries who were concerned about the leftist ideology, took over the government (Finnström, 2008, p. 66).

Amin and the elimination of the Acholi middle class

Though Obote tried to create a northern alliance among the region's ethnic groups, the continued impacts of the colonial tribalization of national politics meant that "elites continued to put tribe first" (Branch, 2011, p. 56). When in 1971 Idi Amin came to power through a military coup, he sought to eliminate Acholi and Langi power, by massacring thousands of Acholi and Langi troops and replacing them with troops from his region of the West Nile. Amin also killed tens of thousands of national and local Acholi and Langi political and intellectual elites. Many of the Acholi elites who survived were driven into exile.

Branch (2011) claims that the elimination of many Acholi political elite and middle classes under Amin had devastating consequences for the Acholi social order, which became the roots of an internal crisis in Acholi that contributed to the war in the north:

> The Acholi middle class and political elite, lacking a base independent of the state, were easily eliminated by the state, and without these groups there was no independent economic foundation to build a new mediating class between the peasantry and the government. The order that had pertained inside Acholiland was de-stabilized, and the link between the Acholi and the national state was destroyed (p. 57).

The economic collapse that occurred under Amin's rule, as a result of poor governance and policies, and the imposition of austerity measures by the IMF, would have devastating impacts on the education sector that lost almost all of its government funding. Schools would come to depend almost entirely on parent support (Dauda, 2004; Tripp, 2000). This likely served as added impediment for the re-establishment of an Acholi middle class.

Amin's regime eventually was undermined by the violence he committed against Ugandans and his growing hostility against neighboring Tanzania.

Obote II

In 1979, Amin was overthrown by Tanzanian troops backed by members of Obote's former military and an armed group known as Front for National Salvation led by Yoweri Museveni (Tapscott, 2017, p. 89). After the removal of Amin, Obote won what was widely considered a rigged election. Museveni and his troops mobilized against Obote following the election.

Obote repopulated his army with Acholi and Langi troops, but he was unable to maintain the patronage machine of his first regime because the government had lost much of its sources of

revenue under Amin (Branch, 2011). Thus, there was no return of an Acholi political middle class. Instead, Acholi were brought into the state via the military.

Museveni and his troops were largely based in the Luwero triangle, in the central region of the country, where they staged attacks against Kampala; however, Museveni, a Munyankole from the southwest of the country, could not depend on support in the region based on a common ethnic background. Instead, Museveni used two approaches to mobilize local support in Luwero. First, he used a local reform that would replace appointed chiefs with elected resistance councils that would hold legislative and judicial powers (Branch, 2011). This appealed to the peasantry of who had suffered under the colonial system that privileged elites (Branch, 2011). Second, Museveni appealed to a broader notion of a southern Bantu ethnic identity in contrast to the northern Nilotic ethnic identity that resonated given the fact that all of the leaders of the country until that point had come from the north, and all of the leaders had been largely undemocratic and had imposed military violence on the population (Branch, 2011). According to Branch (2011):

> As a result of their disproportionately large presence in the armed forces (especially among the rank-and-file troops sent to fight in Luwero) and of their colonial stereotype of being a martial tribe, the Acholi ended up bearing the brunt of the antinorthern sentiment… This distilled into a war against the Acholi as the embodiment of northern state power (pp. 60-61).

Obote used violence against those in the West Nile region (Amin's home) who had supported Amin as well as massive violence against people in the Luwero region to fight Museveni. Straus (2015) describes this as "mass categorical violence" intended to "weaken the military power of the rebels and to impose heavy costs on the insurgents and their supporters" (p. 111, as cited in Tapscott 2017, p. 87). According to Doom and Vlassenroot (1999), the Acholi

were and continue to be widely held responsible for the massacre in Luwero because they constituted most of the military at that time.

The military was the main source of power for Obote, but as civil war caused more strain on the military and as the Acholi in the military complained that they were put on the front lines while Langi (Obote identified as a Langi) were promoted to leadership, tensions emerged leading to a coup led by Acholi officers, Bazilio Okello and Tito Okello. Tito Okello became president and began peace talks in 1985 in Nairobi (overseen by the Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi), which Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA) signed. However, the NRA never followed through with the peace agreement and continued to attack the government. By 1986 the NRA had taken Kampala.

Return of soldiers and internal crisis in Acholi

When the NRA seized Kampala, Acholi UNLA troops headed north. Dolan (2009) describes how former Acholi UNLA soldiers mobilized the local population to resist the coming NRA soldiers at Karuma bridge, but that the NRA succeeded in taking Gulu in March 1986.

There was a brief lull in the fighting after the NRA took over and an internal crisis emerged as the UNLA soldiers failed to integrate in communities (Behrend, 1999). The returning soldiers became an important challenge to the internal authority based on lineage.

Branch (2011) emphasizes that if the petty bourgeoisie still had been prominent in Acholi, the unrest caused by the soldiers' return might have been avoided, because the petty bourgeoisie would have maintained a link between national political and military figures, the local peasantry, and lineage-based authority figures. Branch (2011) explains that when the soldiers returned to the north, the only remaining elements of the earlier system of local and

national authority were the lineage-based authorities (elders), whose power was still only

marginal.

Behrend (1999) recounts research participants' complaints that the returning soldiers:

> had learned to live by plundering and had learned to despise the peasant way of life [and as a result the soldiers caused] violence and unrest. Some of them began stealing and plundering in the villages and terrorizing those they did not like. The elders tried to enforce their own authority over the soldiers by referring to 'Acholi tradition' (*Acholi macon*), but they seldom prevailed in the ensuing power struggle (p. 24).

Many felt that the soldiers, who had committed atrocities in Luwero, were the cause of

local suffering at the hands of the NRA and the rise of HIV (Behrend, 1999). Elders blamed the

internal crisis on the powers of *cen*, or evil vengeful spirits, that came from the people killed by

the UNLA soldiers (Behrend, 1999). Elders said the soldiers needed to be cleansed by the

lineage authorities, thus putting themselves "as the principle arbiters of internal power" (Branch,

2011, p. 63). However, most of the returning soldiers refused to undergo this cleansing

ceremony, igniting tensions in the local order (Behrend, 1999; Branch, 2011).

Behrend (1999) explains that many attributed the misfortune of AIDS and military deaths

to witchcraft. She expounds that because the presence of *cen* was believed to enable malevolent

witchcraft known as *kiroga,* in which an *ajwaka* would send the evil spirit to another family to

inflict suffering, concerns about the increased presence of *cen* as a result of the returned soldiers

also led to increased fears of witches who might inflict *kiroga.*

Behrend (1999) emphasizes the gendered nature of complaints about witchcraft

explaining that she collected accounts of people charged with witchcraft. Women tended to be

the majority of those charged (p. 34). Then she explains that all these accusations created new

impulses toward internal conflict: "For accusations of witchcraft not only reflect, but also

generate social tensions" (p. 27).

NRA abuses and temporary alliance between elders and soldiers

Behrend (1999) explains that the NRA military force stationed in northern Uganda was comprised of the Federal Democratic Movement of Uganda (FEDEMU) that had fought against Acholi soldiers in Luwero (pp. 24-25). According to Behrend (1999) the former FEDEMU soldiers used their occupation of the north to retaliate against the Acholi for the violence they inflicted in Luwero (pp. 24-25). These soldiers committed acts of terror against the Acholi population, particularly former soldiers, such as rape, torturing, murdering, and looting (Behrend, 1999).

Behrend (1999) argues that the violent actions taken by the former FEDEMU soldiers and the NRA leadership contributed to Acholi soldiers' decisions to take up arms against the NRA. Radio broadcasts from Kampala describing the Acholi people as criminals and murderers and the NRA's order to disarm the Acholi population contributed to Acholi soldiers' fears of another government-led massacre in Acholi similar to what was experienced under Amin (Behrend, 1999). As the NRA searched for weapons, they tortured Acholi and sent many former soldiers to concentration camps (Behrend, 1999).

Branch (2011) argues that the NRA failed to grasp that the Acholi soldiers who returned to the north did not have the support of the local population, but to the contrary were blamed for the misfortune in the area. Branch (2011) thus asserts that the NRA's violence against the local population in effect "gave birth to the very rebellion that had previously only existed in its own mind" (p. 63). The lineage-based authorities and the former UNLA soldiers forged an alliance to stop the NRA violence (Branch, 2011, p. 65). As a result, three to four thousand troops mobilized under the name the Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA).

As violence escalated in the north, the UPDA began to use violence against the Acholi population to access resources and recruits (Behrend, 1999; Branch, 2011). Furthermore, as it became clear that the war would drag on, some recruits defected and returned to their homes, and once again these soldiers caused unrest and violence at home (Behrend, 1999). The Acholi soldiers' violence in Acholi villages led to another internal crisis and a breakdown in the alliance between lineage-based authorities and the UPDA troops (Branch, 2011). Lastly, the authority of elders was also undermined by their inability to ensure people's safety (Branch, 2011). This internal crisis between soldiers, elders, and peasantry and the external crisis with the NRA violence created a demand for a solution that could respond to both the internal and external situations (Branch, 2011).

Emergence of Alice (Auma) Lakwena and the Holy Spirit Movement

Alice Auma, a local healer and spirit medium, emerged as a solution to mediate the internal and national crisis. Behrend (1999) recounts the story of Alice Auma's rise to leadership, which began in August 1986 when, *Lakwena* (meaning messenger in English), the spirit who had come to Alice, decided to stop healing, because the spirit thought "it is useless to cure a man today only that he be killed the next day. So, it became an obligation on his part [the spirit was male] to stop the bloodshed before continuing his work as a doctor (From a report that Holy Spirit members provided to missionaries in June 1987, as cited in Behrend, 1999, pp. 25-26).

Alice (Auma) Lakwena gained support from some within the UPDA by promising to cleanse them of the atrocities they had committed in Luwero and elsewhere. While Acholi elders had made a similar offer to cleanse UNLA soldiers, Alice's cleansing did not require a submission of the young male soldiers to the authority of male elders (Allen, 1991, p. 378, as

cited in Branch, 2011, p. 66). Omara-Otunnu (1992) claims that some lineage-based authorities

supported Lakwena, whereas Allen (1991) argues that Lakwena posed a threat to the claims of

lineage-based authorities that they had sole power for ritual cleansing. Branch (2011) suggests,

> It is possible that these lineage-based authorities assisted the healer [Alice Lakwena] because they saw her, despite the challenge to patriarchal authority she represented, as a useful tool for disciplining the ex-members of the UNLA and UPDA and in calming the general insecurity in the region, thus setting the stage for the reassertion of their own authority (p. 67).

Behrend (1999), Omara-Otunnu (1992), and Finnström (2008) also claim that Lakwena

appealed to the plight of the marginalized people of Acholi society. Omara-Otunnu writes that

Lakwena was able to gain followers "because a cross-section of marginalised inhabitants

recognised her as a symbol of both their plight and their aspirations (Omara-Otunnu, 1992, p.

458, as cited in Finnström, 2008, p. 78). Behrend (1999) similarly argues that the internal crisis

reflected internal tensions between rich and poor, women and men, and West and East Acholi.[20]

Finnström (2008) explains that the Holy Spirit Movement's goal was to promote gender equality,

because the spirit who possessed her stated that it wanted to end gender inequality in Africa (p.

76). As a result of her inherent challenge to "traditional" Acholi patrilineal authority, Alice

Lakwena had broad support from young men and women (Finnström, 2008).

Alice Lakwena won over about 80 soldiers in Opit (part of Gulu district) and they

captured Gulu town in October 1986 (Behrend, 1999, p. 26). Her military success defeating

soldiers in Gulu and later negotiating with armed troops in Kitgum, enabled her to attract many

soldiers who had returned to their villages only to be seen as strangers (Behrend, 1999, p. 26).

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[20] Gulu (West Acholi) was more fertile, closer to the center, and the location for the colonial headquarters for Acholiland, so it developed more rapidly; whereas Kitgum (East Acholi) was less fertile and drier and tended to be an area of recruitment of labor and soldiers.

Though the HSM faced challenges at home from the UPDA, it focused on moving south to challenge the NRA rather than staying home and fighting the UPDA, in part because the movement gained its legitimacy from its claim to solve the violence and unrest in Acholi, a claim that would have been contradicted if it continued to be drawn into conflicts with other armed groups in Acholi (Branch, 2011). The HSM found support in other regions of the country who like many Acholi saw the NRA as intruders (Ibid). Yet, when the HSM crossed into the south, it was no longer seen as a liberator, but an intruder. The HSM faced violent resistance and eventually was defeated (Ibid). Upon defeat of her army, Alice Lakwena fled into exile.

The remaining rebel forces (e.g., UPDA, LRA) in the north fought among themselves and the NRM abdicated its responsibility to protect the population of the north (Branch 2011).

Emergence of the Lord's Resistance Army – continued internal and national crises

From 1987 to 1988, most of the factions of the UPDA began peace talks with the NRA, and the NRA offered amnesty to those soldiers who signed the agreement. Joseph Kony and his Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) were left out of the peace talks and when the NRA began talks with Kony in 1988, the talks were "sabotaged" at the last minute (Branch, 2011, p. 68).

Accordingly, the LRA became the sole remaining rebel group in the north and was able to absorb the remaining fighters who did not sign the amnesty agreement (Branch, 2011, p. 68). It allowed the LRA to redefine the internal and national crisis in Acholi. According to Branch (2011), the LRA saw the internal crisis as a crisis of true versus fake Acholi (p. 70). The fake Acholi were those who had aligned or collaborated with the government, such as ex-UPDA officers who had joined the NRA army, local defense units that emerged to protect the civilians

against violence, and local politicians who joined the local government; whereas the LRA represented the only true Acholi (Branch, 2011, p. 70). Branch (2011) asserts, the LRA used violence against those Acholi seen as government collaborators and increasingly against the Acholi civilian population to try to force the local population to support the LRA.

Finnström (2001, and 2008) argues the LRA atrocities reflected efforts by the LRA to establish a new moral order that departed from the traditional authority of elders. According to several former members of the LRA whom he interviewed, the LRA leadership believed it must establish a new moral order to break with the violent post-colonial past (Finnström, 2008, p. 5). For example, he argues that the LRA wanted to overturn the Acholi cosmological order such as ancestral worship and as a result the LRA focused their atrocities against "elders, healers, and other arbitrators of Acholi cosmology" (p. 213).

Finnström (2008) explains that Kony blamed elders for the death and violence in the region. While Joseph Kony claimed to have been given *lapii*, or elders' blessings in its war against the Ugandan government, Kony also claimed the elders betrayed him (Cheney, 2005; Finnström, 2008) and as a result he waged war against his own people to "cleanse" Acholi culture, which he found to be corrupt (Behrend, 1999; Cheney, 2005). As part of its effort to undermine the social order and to transform Acholi society, the LRA abducted children and had them kill family members to isolate children from their families and force their loyalty to a new social order.

Finnström (2008) recounts elders' complaints that the ways the LRA abducted Acholi children to participate in war as well as the ways the LRA attacked Acholi communities transgressed any claim to blessing by Acholi elders.

The disputes between LRA soldiers and elders in many ways seem a more violent continuation of the disputes between soldiers and elders in 1986. Many current worries about "undisciplined" Acholi youth may reflect the legacy of social tensions between young and old, rich and poor, women and men that gave rise to the internal crisis sparked (in part) by the return of soldiers to Acholi in 1986 (Behrend, 1999; Branch, 2011).

Prolonged war and the government refusal to protect the people

The war in northern Uganda between the government of Uganda and the LRA continued for two decades, with variations between lulls in violence and attacks by the government soldiers (initially the National Resistance Army and then later the Ugandan People's Defense Forces or UPDF) and the LRA. Throughout the war, the Ugandan government showed a lack of interest in ending the war with the LRA and of protecting the Acholi population from violence (Branch, 2011; Tripp, 2010). According to Finnström (2008), the LRA's attacks on the Acholi population surged when the government attacked the LRA and diminished when government soldiers' attention was directed elsewhere.

Below is a description of some of the major events in this prolonged war.

Operation North

In 1991, the Ugandan government, possibly spurred by World Bank funding being contingent upon peace in the north (Behrend, 1999, as cited in Branch, 2011 p. 72), decided to try to end the war in the north through Operation North. It started a massive counterinsurgency where government troops interrogated tens of thousands of Acholi and where there were abuses of those detained included torture and rape (Branch, 2011, p. 72). Branch (2011) reports being shown mass graves from this time. Branch (2011) alleges that this process also contributed to the

"eradication of independent Acholi leadership under the guise of eliminating rebel collaborators" (p. 73), which he argues only deepened the internal crisis of authority in northern Uganda.

At the same time, the government, led by Betty Bigombe created Arrow Brigades, which were to be local militias who were supposed to fight the LRA (Branch, 2011). The thousands of Acholi who were mobilized in every sub-county were armed with machetes, spears, arrows, and sticks. This was the first time the Acholi were mobilized in a mass scale to fight the LRA (Ibid).

However, the government abandoned the Arrow Brigades when the LRA stepped up their attacks on the population, leaving the population with little to no defense (Ibid). When local leaders pleaded with the central government for better arms, the government refused to give more than a handful of guns (Ibid). The result was massive death and maiming of the local population (Ibid).

Rebel violence diminished in mid-1992. Branch (2011) explains that the violence proved that the government would not protect the local population. The Arrow Brigades disbanded, and the rebels reduced their attacks (Branch, 2011, p. 74).

There was another attempt at peace talks in 1994, but when the LRA commander asked for a few months to gather troops under the supervision of an external UN observer, Museveni threatened the LRA to submit within six days or be annihilated (Branch, 2011). The peace talks then dissolved.

The Proxy War

Further deepening the crisis, in the 1990s, the US government entered the conflict as it started to funnel funding for the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) through the Ugandan

government. The government of Khartoum retaliated by funding the LRA (Branch, 2011, p. 74). The LRA set up bases in Southern Sudan and began fighting the SPLA.

At the end of 1995, there were several SPLA attacks on LRA bases in Sudan. By December, the government of Uganda had declared victory over the LRA only to see the LRA begin attacks again in northern Uganda. During this time there were several major attacks on the civilian population attributed to the LRA including a massacre in 1995 in Attiak, the Acholpi refugee camp massacre in 1996, the attack on St. Mary's College where the Aboke girls were abducted in 1996, and the Lukung/Palabek massacre of 412 people in 1997 (Dolan, 2009). In response, the UPDF launched helicopter gunships against rebels and civilians (Branch, 2011). There was a ceasefire leading up to the 1996 elections, but after the elections the LRA began attacking again (Branch, 2011).

As a result of the massive attacks on the Acholi population, children began night commuting to urban spaces – particularly to Gulu town and Lacor hospital (Dolan, 2009). The night commuting attracted some international attention and some international non-governmental organizations began to provide social services and food in night commuter centers (Dolan, 2009; Lund, 2006). Dolan (2009) argues that because children were separated from their parents every night and sometimes for prolonged periods of time if children did not want to make the long trek to commuter centers daily, parents had limited ability to oversee their children's upbringing.

Parents' diminished ability to guide and control their children fed into post-war worries about how the war eroded parents' abilities to transmit social norms to children.

Displacement camps

In response to growing pressure on the government for its "premature announcements of the war's end," Museveni began a new strategy of forced displacement (Branch, 2011, p. 76). The government forcibly removed northern Ugandans from their land and relocated them to camps around military outposts. The government's evictions of people from their home and land was violent and abrupt, giving people only 48 hours to leave their homes (Branch, 2013). Some people lived in displacement camps for up to ten years, and at its height, the population of internally displaced persons reached 1.8 million people (90% of the Acholi population) (Tripp, 2010). The government's displacement policy allowed the government to effectively marginalize a part of the country where Museveni did not receive political support and forced encampment isolated the LRA from civilians who the government feared would support the rebels (Allen and Vlassenroot, 2010).

While initially the government of Uganda claimed the forced displacement policy was to protect the Acholi population, this supposed protective strategy was refuted when the army did little to nothing to protect people in the camps against LRA attacks (Branch, 2011, p. 77).

Dire situation in camps

Life in displacement camps was wrought with violence, material deprivation, lack of access to social services, and virtually no way for displaced populations to hold the government and aid agencies to account for violations of their political, social, and economic rights (Branch, 2008). Because people could not access their lands, many were separated from their main source of livelihood. People were told if they were found outside of camps, they would be "treated as rebels" (Branch, 2008, p. 154). Except during the breaks in violence, the army limited the

people's movement outside of camps to just three to six kilometers immediately surrounding the camps where people were allowed to rent land to grow food (Whyte et al., 2014).

While in camps, civilians were vulnerable to violence from the Lord's Resistance Army and the Ugandan army. Because displaced people were forced to live around army barracks they essentially served as human shields for the army (Dolan, 2009). Also, many young people were forcibly recruited to the Ugandan army (Dolan, 2002). Displaced persons were also vulnerable to attack by the LRA who saw peoples' settlement in displacement camps as a sign of support for the government (Dolan, 2002). The LRA attacked the camps intermittently and abducted thousands of children and youth from schools and homes.

Furthermore, the Ugandan soldiers in camps also committed atrocities against the civilians in camps, including beating people for talking in their huts at night or coming home after curfew, stealing peoples' food, coercing girls into sex in exchange for desperately needed food, and torturing people suspected of having knowledge about or supporting the LRA (Tripp, 2010, pp. 162-3).

The Ugandan government provided almost no social services or material support to camps (Tripp, 2010). Education in camps was interrupted by periods of violence and the quality of education was low due to the lack adequate material support for schooling in the north and lack of well-trained teachers (Murphy et al., 2011).

Branch (2008) argues that international humanitarian aid organizations also played a role in both legitimizing the government's policy of forced displacement and the government's lack of support for civilians living in camps. While the international aid to camps was minimal, it served to legitimize the government's framing of the situation as an internal humanitarian disaster and the government's claims that the camps were there to protect the people (Branch,

2008). Furthermore, the aid community's material support helped keep people in the camps (Branch, 2008). Tripp (2010) argues that the minimal aid also enabled the Ugandan government to provide even fewer social services to the people confined to camps.

2002 Operation Iron Fist and Multi-ethnic opposition to the war

The situation in northern Uganda again changed in 2002 when the Government of Uganda signed an agreement with the Government of Sudan to allow the UPDF to attack LRA in their borders (Tripp, 2010). The US military trained 6,000 Ugandan soldiers in preparation for their attacks on LRA bases in Sudan (Tripp 2010, p. 167). The UPDF also trained former child soldiers and minors to fight in local defense units (Ibid).

The LRA responded to the attacks by moving into Uganda and attacking the Ugandan population starting in the north and then moving south as far as Soroti district (Tripp 2010). Tripp (2010) explains that the counter attacks by the LRA spurred a multi-ethnic political effort to end the war:

> … about thirty-four Lango, Acholi, and Teso [three different ethnic groups in the north and east of the country] members of parliament walked out of the National Assembly on November 20, 2003, and refused to return until peace was restored to their areas. They said their many proposals for a peaceful solution had been ignored (p.167).

In this context, Musenveni's efforts to frame the war simply as an internal issue to the Acholi lost credibility. Nevertheless, while the parliamentarians, as well as several civil society and human rights organizations insisted on a peaceful resolution to the conflict, Museveni's government continued to refuse anything but a military solution (Tripp, 2010).

Referral of the LRA Commanders to the International Criminal Court (ICC)

When in 2004, Museveni referred LRA commanders to the International Criminal Court (ICC), the possibility of a negotiated resolution to the conflict was further undermined (Dolan, 2009). The referral to the ICC was resisted by human rights organizations working in the area, because they believed it would undermine LRA commanders' willingness to join peace talks (Tripp, 2010). Also, the referral was in contradiction to the Amnesty agreement that the government had passed in 2000, which allowed rebels who surrendered to return home without prosecution. Finally, many northerners complained that the indictment only considered LRA offenses and ignored those committed by the Ugandan government and military (Tripp, 2010, p. 167)

Changes in the region leading to a ceasefire in 2006

Several changes in the region contributed to the ceasefire of 2006. First, the formation of a government in Southern Sudan, after the comprehensive peace agreement in 2005, changed the regional dynamic that had contributed to a proxy war between Uganda and Sudan (Dolan, 2009).

Then, in February 2006, the LRA and the government of Southern Sudan signed a formal peace agreement, which included "provisions that the GoSS [Government of Southern Sudan] would mediate peace talks between the LRA and the government of Uganda and that the LRA would cease hostilities in Southern Sudan" (Tripp, 2010, p. 168). Tripp (2010) explains, "Although Museveni had categorically ruled out peace talks in May 2006 after his defense minister consulted with Khartoum, he reversed his position upon being told about the LRA-GoSS agreement" (p. 168).

In August 2006, a cease fire was signed between the LRA and the Government of Uganda. Although no peace agreement was signed, due to the issue of the ICC arrest warrants for LRA commanders, the LRA moved into neighboring countries (the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic) and hostilities in Uganda ceased. Eventually, as the peace appeared to hold, people gradually returned to their homes.

War, Displacement, and Erosion of Gerontocratic Power Relations

Displacement had profound impacts of social relations. Displacement undermined the authority of parents, elders, and chiefs and experiences of displacement shifted gender relations as women assumed new roles as breadwinners and social organizers – both of which were necessary to ensure their families' survival and to cope with the experiences of violence.

The erosion of the authority of parents, elders, and rwodi (chiefs)

War and displacement undermined the authority of parents, elders, and chiefs. The conditions of displacement weakened the chiefs' status vis-à-vis their constituents, because they either had to be separated from their constituents, or to stand in line with them for humanitarian assistance (Komojuni and Buscher, 2020, p. 107). The separation of people from their land also removed an important source of authority from chiefs – their ritual and political authority over the land (Komojuni and Buscher, 2020). The impoverishment of the displaced population and chiefs themselves meant that chiefs could not gain legitimacy through patronage and they did not have the resources necessary to carry out important rituals, such as a sacrificial goat (Ibid).

The authority of lineage heads was limited by the difficulty of holding clan meetings and enforcing decisions due to the dispersal of people (Branch, 2013). Further, alternative sources of authority emerged in camps, such as the military and the local council system of decentralized

representative government that often served as an alternative authority used to settle disputes (Branch, 2013). Moreover, many clan elders died during the war.

The situation of forced displacement limited parents' abilities to socialize children according to Acholi customs (Cheney, 2005; Dolan, 2009; Finnström, 2008; Refugee Law Project, 2004; Gauvin, 2016). Gauvin (2016) reports that the war and displacement of 1.8 million Acholi led to the erosion of *woro*, because extended families lost the ability to control and monitor social relations and to hold evening fireside chats where elders taught children appropriate behavior. Likewise, Finnström (2008) and Cheney (2005) argue families' abilities to transmit cultural norms and values through fireside chats were diminished during the war, due to the threat of violence against families if they were to hold evening fireside chats in displacement camps. The LRA's practice of abducting children and having them commit violence against their family and community members to isolate children from their families and force their loyalty to a new social order also contributed to the erosion of gerontocratic authority.

Gauvin (2016) and Mergelsberg (2012) contrast the densely populated set up of camps with research participants' descriptions of the "traditional" Acholi homestead. Mergelsberg describes research participants' notions of the pre-war homestead and the ways the homestead and its surrounding areas were linked to notions of belonging to an extended family unit and clan. Generally, a homestead was described as a compound that is surrounded by the family's fields and then neighboring residences and land that belonged to extended relatives (Mergelsberg, 2012). Children were thus surrounded by family who were watching over them. In the overcrowded camps, people were living next to those deemed strangers and parents complained that they lost the ability to control influences on their children, because children could easily leave the home and engage with unknown others in the camp – something that was

much more difficult when families and neighboring clans were much more spread out (Mergelsberg, 2012).

The densely populated camps also meant that families had less space and privacy and the inability to create separate living and sleeping spaces for parents and children, and men and women. It was a cultural taboo for families to share such congested living spaces, and an often-cited consequence was that the crowded space made it difficult for parents to shield children from their own sexual life (Dolan, 2009). I similarly heard teachers complain about the negative consequences of breaking this taboo during camps, as teachers talked about the ways that children were becoming involved in sexual activity at very young ages.

The rapid urbanization in both camps and towns meant people had much greater access to the internet, mobile phones, and video halls that exposed youth to cultural milieu from the West, such as Western styles of dress, dance, and romantic behavior that were sexually explicit and were considered to conflict with Acholi culture (Vorhölter, 2014).

Changing gender relations in displacement camps

During the period of displacement when families were separated from their main source of livelihood their land, many women began small businesses to ensure their families' survival (Dolan, 2009; El Bushra et al., 2013). Dolan (2009) claims women were more likely to assume new economic tasks during displacement than men. Women thus became important providers and decision-makers for the home (Ahikire et al., 2012; Binder et al., 2008; El Bushra et al., 2013). Women also took up important leadership positions in the camps, in part due to relief agencies' preference to distribute aid to women than men (Das and Nkutu, 2008). Branch (2013) explains the urban setting of camps created opportunities for the creation of youth and women's

groups where women and young people made important social connections. Yet, these social, political, and economic opportunities for women and youth were seen as losses of control for men. Tripp (2010) notes that while she found women creating organizations as sources of mutual support in the context of displacement, "men had stopped seeking strategies to cope and had resorted to alcohol, which had additional implications for violence against women" (p. 163).

Post-war donor restoration of "traditional" leaders

International interest in traditional justice approaches to peacebuilding in post-conflict northern Uganda led to donor funding for the reinstatement of traditional authorities in Acholi who were seen as a means of promoting "genuine popular participation in peacebuilding as a way of improving the legitimacy and efficacy of international intervention" (Branch, 2011, p. 154).

Two internationally-funded studies were influential on international donors' efforts to promote traditional justice in northern Uganda: 1) Dennis Pain's 1997 report *The Bending of Spears: Producing Consensus for Peace and Development in Northern Uganda*, and 2) the Liu Institute for Global Studies and NGO Forum's 2005 publication *Roco Wat I Acholi: Restoring Relationships in Acholiland: Traditional Approaches to Justice and Reintegration* (Branch, 2011, p. 155).

The Liu Institute for Global Issues and Gulu District NGO forum (2005) explained that

> Pain's report served as a catalyst of sorts. Following its release, ACORD and the Belgian Government began an extensive search for the descendants of Rwot Moo (anointed Chiefs) in 52 major clans of Acholi-land. In 2000, these Chiefs were formally institutionalized [through the formation of Ker Kwaro Acholi], and so began a series of internationally and locally supported efforts to bolster the roles of Chiefs and Elders in conflict resolution (p. 7).

In particular, the World Bank-funded Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF) provided funding for the rehabilitation of patriarchal gerontocratic institutions through the Community Reconciliation and Conflict Management (CRCM) component of the NUSAF. In 2005, Ker Kwaro Acholi (KKA) was identified as the primary institution through which NUSAF funding for CRCM would be channeled. As a result, Ker Kwaro Acholi[21] controlled "access to donor funds, and the prestige that came with it" (Komujuni and Buscher, 2020, p. 109).

The Government of Uganda also reached out to Ker Kwaro Acholi as a means of gaining legitimacy in post-war Acholi by providing an important role for KKA in its Peace Recovery and Development Program (Komujuni and Buscher, 2020).

It appears, however that these international and national efforts to bolster Ker Kwaro Acholi may have undermined the legitimacy of the institution at the local level. According to Komujuni and Buscher (2020), many complained that KKA was corrupt and that the organization and the chiefs that participated in it did not advocate for the needs of the local population, nor did donor funding to KKA lead to a redistribution to the local population of the wealth accumulated by chiefs through their participation in donor workshops and donor-funded rituals.

The authority of KKA diminished even more as donor funding for post-conflict peacebuilding moved elsewhere and as KKA became embroiled in allegations of corruption (Komujuni and Buscher, 2020). During the years where KKA was heavily involved in promoting the reconciliation of communities and ritual cleansing ceremonies for ex-combatants, chiefs'

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[21] Ker Kwaro Acholi was a cultural institution created as an umbrella organization headed by the Paramount Chief of Acholi (itself a construct of the late colonial era) and comprised of chiefs and elders from the various clans in Acholi.

roles as brokers of the moral order was very visible, giving chiefs a certain legitimacy (Ibid).

However, as chiefs moved toward greater participation in INGO activity and less toward the

daily lives of their people, and as KKA became embroiled in allegations of mismanagement of

funds, the legitimacy and authority of the institution and of the chiefs involved in it eroded

(Ibid).

Increasingly, chiefs have had to search for new sources of authority as their access to

donor funding has evaporated. Some have shifted toward gaining authority by serving as an

intermediary of the Ugandan government toward the local population or by turning inward and

playing a more integral role in the daily mediation of disputes and moral order in their

communities (Komujuni and Buscher, 2020).

The continued disputes over customary land ownership have offered a space for *rwodi* to

serve as local mediators of customary land tenure (Hopwood and Atkinson 2013). Yet, even in

these roles, many see *rwodi* as corrupt and not serving the interests of their constituency

(Hopwood and Atkinson 2013). Further, *rwodi moo* are typically only involved in higher level

land disputes between clans rather than in individual land disputes at the village or family level

(Kapidžic 2018). *Rwodi kweri* [chiefs of the hoe] and clan and family elders tend to be the

traditional authorities responsible for settling disputes at the village level (Kapidžic 2018).

Kapidžic (2018) explains that land dispute resolution at the village level is perceived of

as gaining legitimacy through the process of mediation, rather than necessarily from the

authorities involved. Kapidžic (2018) finds local mediation that allows broad-based participation

from all community members and that often involves multiple public authorities representing

traditional institutions, such as clan elders and *rwodi kweri*[22], local government, such as the

elected local councilors and the local council courts, and occasionally religious leaders, is widely

seen as effective and legitimate. Judicial forms of settling land disputes on the other hand are

widely seen as ineffective and corrupt (Ibid).

However, Kapidžic (2018) asserts that these locally mediated forms of dispute resolution

are biased toward the interests of older men who control the mediation process:

> While customary mediation involves everyone in the community, the mediators are usually older men. Very few examples of gender or age equality were mentioned in mediation teams… Notably, female respondents perceived that while customary mediation protects certain rights of women and widows it strongly favours men in general. It is men in places of authority, whether traditional authority such as chiefs and *rwodi*, or formal officials, such as sub-county Chairmen, local court members and police chiefs who disproportionately benefit from this inherent bias (pp. 140-141)

Furthermore, gaining a mediator and the process of mediation often requires financial

resources that can put mediation out of the reach of the most impoverished and/or marginalized

individuals (Kapidžic 2018).

Social marginalization and post-war migration

Branch (2013) describes the ways older men's efforts to regain control over social

relations in the post-conflict context led to the exclusion of women and youth who were

considered too independent or whose claim to membership is in question:

> …disciplinary projects are emerging carried out by men, especially men with family or clan authority, designed to eliminate what they see as the corruption that infected Acholi society during life in camps and town. Independent women or youth, those with unclear ancestry or simply those deemed undesirable are accused of contravening 'Acholi tradition' or 'Acholi laws' and possibly excluded from clan affiliation. The public space of women and youth, and the social and economic opportunities they enjoy with it, are

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[22] As mentioned earlier, *rwodi kweri* emerged under colonialism as a means of organizing local agricultural labor. These are positions that are elected by members of the clan.

shrinking, while the public space of older men re-opens through social interaction within the lineage and clan (p. 3161).

Those who remained in displacement camps or who moved into slums in town reflected processes of social exclusion associated with the ability to belong to a patrilineal family (Atim et al., 2018; Branch, 2013; Joireman, 2018; Whyte et al., 2012). Difficulty accessing land due to death of husbands and parents (Joireman, 2018; Whyte et al., 2012) or due to land disputes (McKibben and Bean, 2010) kept some people from returning to villages. Women were expected to return to their husbands' rather than their natal homes, but many relationships that happened during the war were complicated by the fact that bridewealth had not been exchanged, thus weakening women's access to land (Joireman 2018; Whyte et al., 2014). Branch (2013) notes that many former members of the LRA feared to return to villages out of fear of retribution from community members in response to the violence they were forced to commit.

Furthermore, children born of wartime violence (particularly at the hands of LRA captors) were more likely to be rejected by the woman's natal family and as a result women came with their children to reside in urban slums (Atim et al., 2018; Porter, 2017).[23] In the context of war and displacement in Acholi, the prevalence of childbearing and relationships that were not sanctioned by intergenerational negotiation and exchange of wealth through bridewealth payments led to a situation where there were large numbers of children whose claim to clan membership and land was in question (Finnström, 2008; Gauvin, 2016; Joireman, 2018; Porter, 2017; Atim et al., 2018). Finnström (2008) and Schlect et al. (2013) describe how war-

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[23] This is based on survey data from The Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium that collected surveys from 1,857 households in 2013 and then followed up with the same households in 2015 (though with a 16% attrition rate meaning 1,552 in 2015).

related poverty undermined the ability of families to pay bridewealth and formalize marriage. Girls and women living in forced displacement camps were vulnerable to rape or sexual exploitation by soldiers who gave them small amounts of money or goods in exchange for sex (Joireman, 2018; Porter, 2014). In either case, girls and women had little choice in the sexual encounter and when soldiers left, women and girls were left alone to care for children. And female abductees of the Lord's Resistance army who gave birth to children because of forced marriage experienced difficulty finding belonging in their communities, such as their difficulty accessing land for obtaining a livelihood or on occasion for burying their children born of war (Joireman, 2018; Porter, 2017; Atim et al., 2018).

Atim et al. (2018) found that households where women experienced wartime sexual violence were significantly more likely to have less wealth and significantly more likely to have experienced crime. Those who birthed children as a result of wartime sexual violence were significantly less likely to marry and women with children born of wartime violence reported the intimate relationships they became involved in were characterized by emotional and physical abuse, neglect, and abandonment (Ibid). Some women reported being rejected by their natal families and even in the cases where a man was willing to settle down with them and their children, the man's family pressured him to "find a better wife" (Atim et al., 2018, p. S69).

Whyte et al. (2014) describe how many Acholi saw the urban centers that emerged out of former camps as sites where people learned bad behaviors such as "drunkenness" and "prostitution" (p. 607). Whyte et al. (2014) explain, "Many Acholi people mentioned the breakdown of moral order in the camps, and the need to rid the former camp sites of bad lots" (Ibid). Similarly, Mergelsberg (2012) describes how some see the people who remained in the

camps as morally bereft: "There are those people who refuse going back home, the thieves, robbers and wrongdoers…" (p. 77).

Yet, many young people and women saw the opportunities and freedoms of urban spaces and were ambivalent about returning to the village in the aftermath of the war (Branch, 2013). Whyte et al. (2014) and Mergelsberg (2012) note that people increasingly saw former camps as spaces of economic opportunity and access to needed services. Branch (2013) similarly notes that many young people set up two homes, one in Gulu town and another in the village so that they could easily go between town life and the village and he describes this strategy as a way young people could gain a bit more freedom and control over their lives. However, Branch (2013) also notes that the most vulnerable and marginalized were those "stuck" in Gulu town (and I would add former camps) who could not return to the village due to the ways they were marginalized at home.

Further, in the post-conflict context urban areas in northern Uganda experienced increasing rates of crime and insecurity(Branch, 2013; Tapscott, 2015).[24] Local and district leaders used complaints about local insecurity as a justification for creating local security groups that increasingly used violent means to police communities in ways that both strengthened the government's arbitrary rule over people while at the same time allowing local and district authorities to avoid responsibility for these informal groups' violent actions (Tapscott, 2017).

Branch (2013) explains that in Gulu town there were increasing rates of crime and violence as a result of the increasing poverty and social marginalization of people living in

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[24] See for example Daily Monitory June 6, 2014. "Who are these Criminal Gangs in Gulu and Kitgum? *Daily Monitor.* Accessed July 8, 2020 from: https://www.monitor.co.ug/OpEd/Editorial/Who-are-these-criminal-gangs-in-Gulu--Kitgum-/689360-2338462-format-xhtml-grob41/index.html

slums. During my research, there were repeated periods of heightened insecurity where it was unsafe to travel after dark. For example, there was a period where motorcycle taxi drivers who drove after dark were targeted for violent robberies. There was another time where "iron bar hitmen" attacked people moving around after dark. Similar attacks have occurred recently as well.[25]

Conclusion

The post-conflict complaints about the erosion of "traditional" gerontocratic patrilineal relations of authority, and the backlash against women and youth who were seen as a threat to that order, reflected both local sense making around experiences of violence and its destabilizing impacts on social order as well as a nostalgia for a notion of traditional authority that failed to acknowledge the historic sources of power of women in Acholi.

These complaints reflected a recent history characterized by disputes between "undisciplined" violent young men and elders and other "traditional" leaders in the period leading up to the start of the war in northern Uganda in 1986 and throughout the war as well as the ways the wartime violence and displacement impacted social relations.

The rise in post-war crime and violence in urban areas reflected the marginalization of certain women and youth from rural areas and increasing worries about the threat to peace and security that the socially marginalized women and youth posed to the social and moral order.

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[25] See the following article: Ocungi, Julius. May 2017. "Iron Bar Hitmen Terrorize Gulu, Kill Town Clerk." Accessed July 8, 2020 at: https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Iron-bar-hit-men-terrorise-Gulu-kill-town-clerk/688334-3939956-14ch9xu/index.html

Chapter 3: Undisciplined Youth:

Class distinctions and violent efforts to reinstate gendered gerontocratic norms of respect

Introduction

This chapter describes widespread concerns about the breakdown of gendered gerontocratic norms of *woro,* or respect, in post-conflict northern Uganda. I examine how research participants drew on the language of respect and respectability to make claims on appropriate social relations.

Teachers' lamentations about the "undisciplined" behavior of marginalized youth demonstrated a nostalgia for pre-war patriarchal gerontocratic social relations as well as the way people made class-based distinctions among youth in the post-conflict context.

I also show that research participants' distinction between maintaining social relations via respect or via fear represented the recognition of how patriarchal and gerontocratic power relations depended on a "provider patriarch" who elicited respect by providing for and protecting dependents. When those relations of respect broke down, teachers asserted that there was a necessity to maintain authority through fear. These findings demonstrate the ways those most marginalized by economic realities were also those most likely to experience violence from teachers and other adult authority figures.

The teachers whom I interacted with argued that in the communities most affected by war, the norms of respect based on relations of dependence are eroded by socioeconomic insecurity and the death of male heads of households. As a result, violence in many forms was used as a means of "disciplining" in order to reinstate control over "undisciplined" youth.

I argue that this violent backlash against individuals and communities who were seen as failing to adhere to norms of respectability was part of key narratives and efforts to reinforce patriarchal gerontocratic norms in the post-conflict context. Like Pankhurst (2003) and Meintjes et al. (2002) who argue that women experience a backlash against the wartime changes in women's gender roles, such as in terms of domestic violence or gender-based violence in the community, this chapter documents post-conflict violence to reinforce pre-war norms. The chapter demonstrates how such violence can also be class and age-related. Adults and youth made sense of experiences of violence in terms of notions of appropriate personhood and negotiations around the appropriate relations of respect and appropriate performance of respectability.

Furthermore, this chapter demonstrates how young people used the language of respect and respectability to resist harsh treatment by adults. Young people used the language of "respect" and "respectability" to assert that they would only respect adults who showed them respect and to assert that respect should flow two ways: adults respecting youth and youth respecting adults.

This chapter explores how Acholi adults and youths described conflict-related social change, as well as "appropriate" and "inappropriate" behavior. I document how adults used physical, emotional, and symbolic violence in and around schools to reinstate gendered gerontocratic norms of respect (*woro*). I also show evidence that the level of this violence was greater toward youths who were poorer, and members of communities more greatly impacted by conflict.

I begin with a brief discussion of the history of corporal punishment in schools in Uganda and elsewhere in Africa. I then review the literature on social change in post-conflict contexts.

Then I describe the concept of *woro* (respect and discipline) and how it centers on gerontocratic, patriarchal relations of power. Next I describe research participants' perceptions of how conflict and its aftermath eroded the authority of those traditionally in power: older people, parents, and men, and I describe research participants' perceptions of how this erosion was more severe in former displacement camps. I then show how youths viewed generational relations and adult respectability and before concluding, I analyze the learners' gendered and classed responses to corporal punishment.

This chapter draws from and contributes to the literature on social change in the post-conflict contexts as well as the literature on education and conflict. My key contributions to this literature are 1) documenting how physical, emotional, and symbolic violence are used in schools to enforce the bounds of "appropriate" moral personhood, 2) showing how these forms of violence are more severe toward youths that come from poorer, more conflict-affected communities, 3) giving voice to how young people create their own meaning in a post-conflict context, 4) demonstrating the role of structural and physical violence in the performance of gender.

Corporal punishment and the legacy of violence in schools

While this chapter describes corporal punishment used in schools in northern Uganda, it is important to note that the legacy of corporal punishment post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa dates to its use in mission and government schools under British colonialism. In his memoires of his education and life as a teacher in Tanzania and Uganda, Mang'enya (1984) speaks of the ways caning was a central to the discipline in British colonial schools, which he characterized as "strict and harsh" (p. 62). Similarly, in his book *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of*

Language in African Literature Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1981) describes how in colonial schools in Kenya, speaking Kenyan languages was strictly prohibited and those caught doing so would be subject to caning and/or public humiliation by being forced to wear a metal plate around the neck with the words "I am stupid" or "I am a donkey" written on them (p. 11). In Uganda, the colonial government's 1931 syllabus for Ugandan Elementary Vernacular Schools instructs teachers that "Pupils…be punished by – (a) Extra drill or work. (b) Corporal punishment to be inflicted by or in the presence of the Headmaster. (c) Dismissal" (as cited in Lefebvre, 2016, p. 179).[26]

Furthermore, other scholars have documented the continued use of corporal punishment in schools on the continent despite bans against corporal punishment in schools in Uganda and elsewhere on the continent (e.g., Cheney, 2007; Devries et al., 2014; Dunne, Humphreys, and Leach, 2006; Meinert, 2009; Morrell, 2001; Mweru, 2010; Ogando, Portella, and Pells, 2015; Tostenson and Onyango, 2015; Vanner, 2017).

Gendered social change in generational relations in post-conflict contexts

This chapter draws on four main bodies of academic scholarship to understand how post-conflict communities make meaning around appropriate gendered social relations in post-conflict contexts: research on the relationship between gender and conflict/violence, research on youth and conflict, and anthropological studies of youth and social change, and the literature on education in conflict.

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[26] 1931 Syllabus of Studies and List of School Requisites for "Elementary Schools. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies. 752.12 s. 14.

Gender and conflict scholars have described the openings as well as constraints on gender change created during periods of conflict. Scholars have noted the ways that gender and rigid notions of masculinity and femininity have been used to promote violence. (e.g., Cockburn, 2004; Davies, 2004; Shepherd, 2008; Spike Peterson, 2010). Experts in the field of gender and conflict have noted important gains in women's participation in political, social, and economic spheres during and after conflict (e.g., Binder et al., 2008; Burnett, 2008; Fuest, 2008; Jennings, 2012; Liebling-Kalifani, 2004; O'Connell, 2011; Tripp et al., 2009; Tripp, 2015). However, in the post-conflict period, authors have also described patriarchal backlashes against women's wartime gains in participation in economic, political, and social life (e.g. Burnet, 2011; Jennings, 2012; Liebling-Kalifani, 2004; Oosterom, 2011; Pankhurst 2003; Pankhurst, 2007; Sengupta, 2016; Tripp, 2015).

Gender and conflict scholars have also documented that the construction of masculine and feminine identities is profoundly impacted by experiences of physical, symbolic, and structural violence (Cockburn, 2004; Shepherd, 2008; Spike Peterson, 2010). For example, Cockburn (2004) describes the continuum of violence that extends in the pre-war, wartime, and post-war period where divisive rhetoric around masculinities and femininities is mobilized to construct notions of masculinity associated with militarism and protection of vulnerable femininities.

Scholars analyzing the effects of war on children and youth have observed the dramatic ways conflict affects generational relations (e.g., Ager, 2006; Hampshire et al., 2008; Joireman, 2018; Kibreab 2004; Mazurana and Carlson, 2006; Richards, 2005; Vorhölter, 2014). Like women, children and youth often must take on new roles during periods of conflict to ensure the survival of families (Ager, 2006; Boyden et al., 2002; Hampshire et al., 2008; Mazurana and

Carlson, 2006; UNICEF, 2009). If patriarchal heads are no longer able to fill a "traditional" role

of provider, the authority of these heads of households over both women and children can be

undermined (e.g., Hampshire et al., 2008; Richards, 2005; Vorhölter ,2014).

Also, while young people can be made vulnerable by the effects of war on their families,

such as due to the loss of important caregivers who can advocate for them (Joireman, 2018;

Mazurana and Carlson, 2006), young people also have considerable resilience (Annan et al.,

2011; Boyden et al., 2002; Boothby et al., 2006) and at times take advantage of the upheaval of

social institutions to become agents of change (e.g., Hampshire et al., 2008; Joireman, 2018;

McCallin and Montemurro, 2009). For example, McCallin and Montemurro (2009) describe how

some young former combatants took advantage of the social upheaval in the aftermath of the war

in Côte d'Ivoire to declare themselves customary leaders to get better access to land.

I draw on the anthropological literature on the study of youth to understand the

significance of intergenerational debates about appropriate social relations. Ethnographers

studying youth on the African continent have observed inter-generational tensions around

structures of power and authority, especially in contexts of crises (e.g., health, economic,

violence) that inhibit youth's ability to gain adult status and full personhood (e.g., Boyd, 2015;

Comoroff and Comoroff, 1999; Ngwane, 2001; Parikh, 2015; Schloss, 1988; Sommers, 2012,

2015; Utas, 2005).

Durham (2000) explains how people use the category "youth" to make sense of broader

relations of power. Durham describes the socially constructed category of youth as a "shifter", or

a relational term that is made sense of not in reference to a fixed context, but rather a relational

context, like the terms "us" and "them" or "here" and "there". Durham writes, "As people bring

the concept of youth to bear in a social landscape of power, rights, expectations and relationships – indexing both themselves and the topology of that social landscape" (p. 116).

Anthropological examinations of sensemaking around suffering, ambiguity and social change in terms of moral imagination and moral personhood speak to how communities utilize notions of appropriate behavior and social relations as they grapple with change (e.g., Boyd, 2015; Beidelman, 1995; Heald, 1999; Livingston, 2005). In my research, the gendered gerontocratic performance of respect (*woro)* was the primary model of moral personhood that respondents drew upon to make sense of suffering and social change. Moral personhood was also about reinstating generational relations of respect. Teachers often used notions of respect or *woro* to call for a return to "traditional" Acholi culture, characterized by children's respect and obedience to elders, particularly elders' control over youth sexuality. For their part, many pupils called on notions of *woro* to insist that teachers (and adults generally) needed to also follow norms of respect and respectability to earn their respect.

A focus on local meaning making in the post-conflict context about who and what children and youth can do and be allows an understanding of people's perceptions of social change and their views about the appropriate relations of power. In conflict zones as well as post-conflict contexts, where social relations are in flux due to the changing dynamics of the household where men leave for war and/or die during war and where experiences of displacement lead to changes in the social surroundings, sensemaking around appropriate social relations are particularly relevant.

In the northern Ugandan context, a focus on understandings of appropriate behavior for youth is even more relevant, given that children and youth were targets of the Lord's Resistance Army's efforts to promote intergenerational change during the war (Finnström, 2008).

Furthermore, as will be described in more detail below, ethnographers exploring social change during and after the war have noted, local consternation about the ways the war impacted Acholi communities' abilities to bring up young people according to Acholi values.

Social change in post-conflict northern Uganda

Northern Uganda has experienced many of the same changes in gender and generational relations documented in other conflict-affected contexts.

During the period of displacement when families were separated from their main source of livelihood, their land, many women started up small businesses to ensure their families' survival (Dolan, 2009; El Bushra et al., 2013). Dolan (2009) claims women were more likely to take on new economic tasks during displacement than men. Women thus became important providers and decision-makers for the home (Ahikire et al., 2012; Binder et al., 2008; El Bushra et al., 2013). Women also took up important leadership positions in the camps, in part due to relief agencies' preference to distribute aid to women rather than men (Das and Nkutu, 2008). However, Dolan (2009), Oosterom (2011) and Sengupta (2016) describe how men's inability to provide for the families as a result of impoverishment that occurred as a result of the war led to increases in domestic violence and other forms of gendered violence perpetrated by men.

Scholars have also recounted the way the war in northern Uganda eroded parental authority over children (e.g., Branch, 2008; Cheney, 2005; Finnström, 2001; Vorhölter, 2014). The Lord's Resistance Army's violent tactics against the Acholi during the war have contributed to generational conflict among the Acholi of northern Uganda (Cheney, 2005; Finnström, 2001, 2008).

The situation of forced displacement further undermined parents' abilities to socialize children according to Acholi customs (Cheney, 2005, Dolan, 2009; Finnström, 2008; Refugee Law Project, 2004; Gauvin, 2016). In her chapter on the status of children in northern Uganda during the war, Cheney (2007) describes parents' complaints that children "no longer respect them and are disobedient" (199). Gauvin (2016) reports that the war and displacement of 1.8 million Acholi led to the erosion of *woro*, because extended families lost the ability to control and monitor social relations and to hold evening fireside chats where elders taught children appropriate behavior. Likewise, Finnström (2008) and Cheney (2005) argue families' abilities to transmit cultural norms and values through fireside chats were diminished during the war, due to the threat of violence against families if they were to hold evening fireside chats in displacement camps.

Furthermore, during the war children commuted to night commuter centers in Gulu and Kitgum towns where they could receive food, shelter, and other social services by international organizations (Cheney, 2005; Dolan, 2009; Lund, 2006). Dolan (2009) argues that because children were separated from their parents every night and sometimes for a prolonged period of time if children did not want to make the long trek to commuter centers daily, parents had limited ability to oversee their children's upbringing.

In the post conflict context, scholars have cited generational conflicts between youth and elders and particularly elders' complaints that youth do not behave according to Acholi moral values (e.g., Alava, 2017; El Bushra et al., 2013; Gauvin, 2016; Vorhölter, 2014, Joireman, 2018). Alava (2017) analyzes the popular opinion in northern Uganda that youth of this generation are "lost" and describes complaints about "lost" youth's alcohol and drug consumption and involvement in gambling. In contrast to "lost" youth, youth who self-identify

as "respectable" explain they attempted to create economic and social opportunities for themselves through actions such as educating themselves, and "mould[ing] themselves into individuals who might be spotted and trusted by business associates, future employers or potential benefactors: they went to church, dressed smartly, joined the choir and did things considered socially respectable" (p. 160). Alava's research demonstrates the continued popular concerns about the degradation of social and cultural values in northern Uganda, and though Alava does not fully analyze notions of *woro* in Acholi, her descriptions of "lost" youth versus "respectable" youth demonstrate the importance of this concept in the post-conflict context.

Similarly, Vorhölter (2014) and Joireman (2018) describe intergenerational conflicts between the war generation (or the generation of youth who grew up during the war) and the pre-war generation. Vorhölter argues that older generations "claimed that today's youth were lazy, disrespectful, no longer valued Acholi cultural and moral principles, and that they had thus contributed to the breakdown and 'moral degeneration' of Acholi society" (273). She (like Cheney, 2007) argues that youth for their part blamed adults for not fulfilling their roles as caregivers and providers. Joireman (2018) cites elders' complaints about youth selling off land as evidence of young people's undermining of clan relations and social wellbeing.

Gendered gerontocratic norms of respect and respectability – woro

While I define *woro* briefly in the introductory chapter, in this section, I provide more detail about the ways the performance of *woro* is gendered. I will first review the concept of *woro* and then discuss the gendered aspects of it.

As mentioned before, *woro* is about relations of dependence and authority. *Woro* is often translated as respect and obedience. In Alexander Odonga's (2005) Acholi dictionary, he defines

the verb *woor* as "respect, honour, esteem, obey." [27] Similarly, the Acoli-English dictionary published by G.A.R. Savage in 1954 defines *woro* as "to honour, respect." [28]

Ethnographers working in the Acholi sub-region of northern Uganda have described the cultural concept of *woro* as respect and obedience to elders, parents, and other persons of authority (P'Bitek, 1986; Porter, 2017; Gauvin, 2016). In general, *woro* (respect) is a cultural ideal many older Acholi wish to pass on to young people. Indeed, Ocitti's description of the indigenous education of young people in Acholi demonstrates the importance of *woro* in the upbringing of young people. He explains young people are brought up to demonstrate "Decency of speech and behaviour, respect for elders and superiors in rank as well as the sense of co-operation, belonging or togetherness, gentility, obedience, to mention but a few…" (p. 99). Likewise, Apoko (1967) emphasizes the ideal young person in Acholi should be hardworking and obedient to those older than him or her, all components of the ways I observed people describing *woro* while in schools and communities in northern Uganda. Finnström's (2008) description of becoming a person in Acholi, or *odoko dano,* demonstrates how being respectful and listening to the advice of elders is a key component to "becoming a person". This aspect of becoming someone was often repeated in the school where teachers would tell pupils, "A good child listens and obeys" and where teachers would emphasize that in order for a child to succeed academically, professionally, and socially, the child must learn to listen and obey his or her teachers, parents, and other persons of authority.

[27] In the introduction to the dictionary, Odonga explains, "The words, dealt within this dictionary are the Lwoo dialects which are spoken by the central Acholi clans and understood by all Acholi clans. This is because their dialect is not mixed up with the languages of the surrounding tribes" (vi).

[28] Savage, G.A.R. (1955). *A short Acoli-English and English-Acoli vocabulary.* Eagle Press, Nairobi, Kampala.

In my research, I found gender was an important component of *woro*. Below I describe some of the gendered aspects of *woro*. It is worth stating that while the description below may suggest a static understanding of *woro*, it is like all cultural concepts always contested and ever changing.

Woro and masculinity

According to norms of *woro,* men are expected to demonstrate *woro* by acting with self-control, humility, patience, and kindness toward others, and by fulfilling their economic and supervisory responsibilities in the home.

Dolan's (2009) description of the ideal Acholi male demonstrates some of the ways that males are expected to perform *woro.* He describes the ideal Acholi male as "… responsible, respectful, patient, moderate, humble, serious, and effective," all aspects of how my research participants described *woro.* For example, a male teacher from Sacred Cross (the middle-income school where I conducted research) similarly described how people, particularly men should show *woro* in the following quotation:

> A respect is also when you go somewhere people are gathered you…that fear should be there. You cannot move like you are in your home. You must go there; you humble yourself. That is a sign of respect. So, with that it has given me that kind of thing. Me, ever since I grow up, I did not even quarrel with my mother. Even up to now sometimes when my wife wants to beat, I say no… I don't [say] that I'm now a big man I will box you. I will not do that. That is because of the way I was brought up.

The above quotation demonstrates the importance of performing humility and self-discipline. Indeed, people defined *woro* as "respect," but they defined *laworo,* or a person who behaves with *woro,* as someone who was "disciplined."

As will be discussed later, research participants also emphasized the role of the man in promoting discipline and respect in the home. Indeed, teachers often complained that children

coming from households without a male parent had no discipline.[29] Research participants also cited the importance of a man being able to provide for his family as a key to his ability to exert authority and instill discipline and respect (*woro*) in children.

Research participants also discussed how male performance of *woro* also related to the way a male dressed and presented himself. Respectable males should keep their hair cut short and not wear dreadlocks. Males should wear their shorts or trousers on their waist and not "sag" them. Research participants used the term "sag" to mean wearing pants low on one's hips in the style of many Western hip-hop artists.

Woro and femininity

Women and girls were taught to perform *woro* in their movement, language, dress, how they work, and how they interact with others. As will be evident in the chapter on teenage pregnancy, much of the ways that females are encouraged to perform *woro* construct femininity in relation to notions of vulnerability to sexual violence. Women are instructed to sit, dress, talk, and travel in ways that emphasize their vulnerability to sexual and gender-based violence.

Women and girls perform *woro* by signaling their modesty through the way they dress, sit, move, and interact with others. When seated on the floor women and girls should sit with both of their legs bent to one side or with both legs together and stretched in front of her. Girls and women should wear long skirts that go past their knees – wearing short skirts is not considered respectable. For many, wearing trousers was also not respectable. In the many months I spent embedded within schools, I never once saw a female teacher wear trousers. However, it

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[29] In Acholi they would say, "*Woro pe*," or "*gi pe ki woro*".

has become more common to see trousers worn by young upper-class Acholi women, particularly those working for international organizations. Girls and women should not laugh loudly or whistle, both of which are considered efforts to attract male attention.[30]

Teachers frequently emphasized that girls and women should minimize their movement outside the home other than that which is required for household chores, work, and/or study. Ana Apoko (1967) also writes about the importance of a girl not moving around too much, because such movement is considered potentially leading to unchaste behavior.:

> Another strict rule for the girls is that they should keep close to the homestead. No mother wants her four to six-year-old daughter wandering from home to home. This is considered a very bad and dangerous practice, which may lead to poisoning, as already said, or to future prostitution of the girl. Nevertheless, a group of girls is permitted to go together to the well or out to fetch firewood (p. 66).

During my fieldwork, I heard teachers and neighbors similarly describe the dangers of moving around too much in their communications to children and to me.

Among the most important aspects of a female's performance of *woro* is her demonstration that she is hardworking or *kwiri*. When seated on the floor girls and women should sit up straight and not hold themselves up by leaning on a hand, which is considered lazy. Girls should complete all their chores without being asked to do so and they should be fastidious about maintaining a clean and tidy home (Apoko, 1967). When completing chores, such as washing clothes, girls and women should also demonstrate that they are not lazy by standing and bending over from the waist rather than sitting while washing clothes. Though this aspect of *woro* was not always linked to notions of SGBV, teachers also at times emphasized that by being

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[30] I used to whistle Acholi songs that my Acholi language instructor had taught me until he cautioned me that people would think that I was a prostitute if I whistled.

hardworking, particularly in terms of being focused on one's studies, demonstrates to others that the girl is not interested in relationships.

While females garnered respect through the performance of *woro,* they also had other sources of respect including by becoming mothers, through their age, based on their employment, and in relation to their management of the home. As throughout much of the African continent, motherhood is highly respected. Older women and women with prestigious employment positions are also given respect and increasingly "role model women", such as female members of parliament or female heads of powerful companies, were presented to female pupils as evidence of what an education can do for schoolgirls. Though it was not discussed in my research, women who work as spirit mediums or traditional healers also have historically garnered substantial respect, with the most well-known example being Alice Lakwena, the Acholi leader of the Holy Spirits Movement in the 1980s (e.g., P'Bitek, 1971; Behrend, 1991). Finally, women's control over food is also respected and only the woman who cooks food should be responsible for serving food from the saucepan.

Woro and the ideal child

Some aspects of *woro* were the same for children regardless of the sex. Both boys and girls should obey the requests of anyone older than them without complaining, such as a request to go fetch something. Boys and girls should also always greet others, particularly those older than them. Boys and girls should be hardworking in completing their gendered responsibilities at home and in schools. Boys and girls should demonstrate humility and show respect to all others even those younger than them and they should come immediately when called. When humbling themselves, boys should squat down girls should kneel.

Both boys and girls were also cautioned on not moving around too much, because the ideal school going child should abstain from sex, and because moving around was associated with vulnerability/proclivity to engage in sex. Instead adults encouraged children to remain at home.

The erosion of male household heads' authority

Teachers at low-income schools claimed that for *woro* to function, households needed a male authority figure who could instill discipline and respect. They explained that loss of male heads of household due to death during the war led to large numbers of orphans who have not been properly raised according to norms of *woro*. Furthermore, the some explained that economic insecurity affecting many households led to some men failing to fulfill the role of the male head of household, thus similarly undermining the functioning of *woro*.

Orphans and importance of the male head of household

Teachers explained that orphans often lacked *woro* because when the father is absent, children do not receive proper discipline and guidance at home. The emphasis on the lack of a male father figure indicates the ways that *woro* and appropriate discipline were associated with masculine control over the household. Teachers explained that the male head of household was the one who could ensure the functioning of *woro* in the household by fulfilling his role as protector, provider, and disciplinarian.

Okot P'Bitek (1985), an Acholi anthropologist and cultural leader who wrote about Acholi culture in the postcolonial period, describes the Acholi proverb, "*Latin kic winyo pwony ki ibad dero*", or "An orphan hears good advice behind the granary" (p. 10). P'Bitek translates the proverb as meaning, "Having no father to teach and guide him properly, an orphan must

eavesdrop, when other children are being advised by their parents."[31] Porter (2017) similarly

describes the proverb explaining that Acholi say that,

> an orphan must learn by observing and listening to the behavior of others around him or her. These lessons are not always the more traditional and good lessons that are intended to be passed down in an ideal situation from generation to generation. The effects of the war have resulted in much unintentional education of children in this manner (p. 102).

Similarly, teachers spoke about how children who were orphaned did not receive the

same quality of care, guidance, and discipline as children living with their parents. For example,

in an informal conversation with the senior woman teacher at Bright Futures after the girls'

meeting, I asked her about the girls that she alluded to during the meeting as being undisciplined

(she did not name names during the meeting). In our private conversation, she named two grade

seven female pupils and explained that they were orphans and consequently were not getting

good guidance from home.

Many teachers talked about the importance of the role of the father figure in maintaining

woro in the household. For example, teachers at Bright Futures (one of the two low-income

schools) made sense of a female pupil who was accused of being in a relationship with a

motorcycle taxi driver by talking about how the father of the girl was dead. They explained that

because the father was typically the disciplinarian and the one to keep a strict home, when a girl

did not have her father, she could become "undisciplined".[32] Teachers hypothesized that one

reason the girl might be looking for sexual relationships with men was because she was not

receiving the appropriate guidance and discipline from home.

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[31] P'Bitek, Okot. (1985). *Acholi Proverbs.* Heinemann: Kenya.

[32] In Acholi, people translated "undisciplined" as someone who "*pe ki woro"* or someone who "did not have respect".

In an interview with a male teacher from Sacred Cross, the teacher emphasized the important role of the father figure in the home in molding children who had *woro*:

> …it is worst to the family when a male parent is not there. I've been witnessing this one here. You find that when a child has no father and is with the mother and if it is a male child only living with the mother it can be difficult Nancy. Sometimes when they are becoming an adolescent, he does not respect the mother. He does not fear the mother. He says, 'After all I am strong; I can handle it,' without knowing it is the mother who is doing that. But if the father is there, then sometimes they cool because as a man they also can talk with authority then the child may actually grow up. But in most cases, children who are being headed by the mothers, families they have big problems. Unless maybe a child who has been brought up…because the major problem also this war, this war has affected most of our children. I remember when I was still young, my father died when I was in P.4. My mother stopped buying for me clothes when I was in P.4. I even remember. But me I was brought differently, that's one thing I want to expect because in the first me I also joined seminary when I was young, I was an altar boy for over ten years. So those things groomed my character and generally me up to now when I go where people are, that respect… I fear.

The teacher later explained that his paternal uncle called for him to come stay with him and he paid for him to enter secondary school and later primary teacher's college. The uncle became the important father figure to the teacher.

The male teacher thus argued that, on the one hand, the war meant a lot of children became orphans and the teacher talked about how especially when the father figure died, the mother may fail to adequately discipline her children. The teacher talks about how his involvement in the church as well as the involvement of his uncle in his upbringing saved him from the fate of becoming an undisciplined orphan. The teacher's words suggested that just being an orphan did not necessarily mean one would be undisciplined, but it being an orphan was considered an important factor in explaining the misbehavior of some children. However, the teacher notes the way the church and important father figures can help save the child from the contexts of his/her loss of a father figure.

Several pupils and teachers at Sacred Cross cited a male pupil who had lost his father as being undisciplined. Both pupils and teachers explained that the pupil had at least on one occasion beat his mother. They explained that this pupil could sometimes refuse to complete his responsibilities in the classroom, such as sweeping the classroom when it was his turn. One female pupil described how the teachers could cane the boy daily, but that he was tough and did not mind the canes. She recounted a story of how the boy, who shared a first name with one of the commanders from the LRA, wrote his first name followed by the Acholi name of the LRA commander on the school building followed by the phrase, "General Commander of Sacred Cross". So, for example, if his name were Joseph, he would have written, "Joseph Kony, General Commander of Sacred Cross". The girl referenced the boy's likening himself to an LRA commander to emphasize the ways he refused to obey traditional sources of authority – teachers/elders/prefects/parents – and thus how he refused to comply with *woro.*

The father figure who provides

Teachers, pupils, and community members also noted that father figures' abilities to inspire *woro* in the home were also tied to their ability to provide for their children. For example, when a female child's material needs were not catered for, she might pursue a sugar daddy to provide for her needs. Similarly, research participants noted the ways that the role of INGOs in providing for orphans sometimes undermined the authority of guardians. For example, a community member who lived in a trading center that was formerly a large displacement center, explained that children lost respect for their parents/guardians when they are not the ones providing for their needs. Similarly, a female pupil noted how some of her peers who had been

orphaned and were sponsored by INGOs lacked discipline and ended up dropping out of school before reaching grade seven.

Likewise, teachers noted that when guardians provided different care for the children that they gave birth to versus the children who they had fostered due to the death of their parents, *woro* could be undermined. For example, a female teacher from Bright Futures explained that guardians of orphans provided different care for their own children as opposed to the orphans they are caring for. She explained guardians sent their own children to expensive private schools and then sent the orphans to schools like Bright Futures. She further explained that this differential treatment meant that when the guardian went to correct the child when he/she did something wrong, the child simply thought that this person hates him/her, so the child did not see it as a lesson, but as abuse. The teacher explained that this differential treatment thus brought resentment from the child.

While *woro* was supposed to follow gerontocratic hierarchies, research participants indicated (and often lamented) that increasingly material inequalities determined how respect flowed. Indeed, this was the chief complaint about the status of life in the communities surrounding the two low-income schools.

Research participants often emphasized that people should show respect to everyone regardless of their economic status. This sentiment is also emphasized in the Acholi proverb "*Lacan ma kwo pe kinyero*," or don't laugh at a poor person, because if he is still living, he may one day also become rich (P'Bitek, 1985, p. 7). The proverb is also the title of a book by Professor Ocitti from the 1960s and it is meant to emphasize that we should be respectful to everyone regardless of their status, because inevitably, the tides turn and people's luck changes. Similarly, the proverb *Lim welo,* or wealth is a visitor, or as my friend translated it, "money

comes money goes," indicates to people that material differences between people are passing and that we should treat everyone equally.

Teachers warned against only being friends with someone in good times or when the person could benefit from the friendship. For example, in a sex education lesson on life skills at Sacred Cross, a male teacher described healthy social relations as including being supportive of a friend in good times and in bad. He explained, "Don't just be friends with someone when they have yellow C only." (Yellow C was a snack that pupils sometimes ate at school during breaks.) The teacher then shook his head and put his hand on his cheek and said, "That is not good." The teacher continued that pupils should be friends to someone even when they have problems, saying, "*Ka lawodi tye I peko omyero ikonye*" [If your friend has a problem you should help him/her].[33]

Nevertheless, teachers at Bright Futures and Piny Dyak, the two low-income schools, lamented that these days, people only respected money. They emphasized the way structural inequalities undermined the gerontocratic hierarchies associated with *woro.* For example, in a Social Studies lesson at Piny Dyak, the teacher explained "Money is power. *Kadi in latin* [Even if you are a child], if you have money *gibi lwongi ladit* [they will call you Sir/a big person]. Money is everything in this world." The teacher's emphasis on a child being called Sir demonstrated the way money undermined gerontocratic hierarchies associated with *woro.*

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[33] I report this and other statements in English and Acholi to demonstrate how teachers frequently switched back and forth from English to Acholi while talking to pupils.

Economic insecurity and the loss of respectability of the male head of household

Research participants explained that men's ability to conform to ideal masculine behavior associated with *woro* was constrained by economic insecurity impacting low-income schools, communities, and families. Teachers and pupils noted that economic insecurity inhibited some men's abilities to fulfill the ideal masculine role of protector and provider, leading to these men's enactment of violence out of frustration, stress, and a desire to reclaim masculine authority and status.

As mentioned earlier, Dolan (2009) asserts, "… [Acholi men] should …be responsible, respectful, patient, moderate, humble, serious, and effective." Dolan's description of the ideal male contrasts sharply with his accounts of the violent actions by men whose masculinity was thwarted during the war in northern Uganda.

In low-income schools, teachers and pupils explained that some male teachers were abusive in language and physical punishments because they had economic problems at home, which the men then took out on pupils. One male teacher from Bright Futures, who pupils accused of using corporal punishment too frequently, explained that he struggled to control his temper in the classroom when he did not have the money to pay his own children's school fees.

Similarly, teachers and pupils at Piny Dyak interpreted the violent behavior of the head teacher at Piny Dyak as evidence of his failure to provide for his family. The head teacher of Piny Dyak frequently shouted, insulted, and threatened pupils and teachers. For example, one day when I was seated in the staff room with teachers, I heard the head teacher yelling outside. I said to a female teacher, "It seems like he is angry." The teacher responded, "He gets disorganized from home and then he disorganizes us here." The head teacher also frequently caned pupils, but while caning was common at all schools, the head teacher at Piny Dyak would

cane for the slightest infraction, such as making a mistake on exercises. Teachers and pupils made sense of the head teachers' excessive use of physical and emotional violence in terms of his thwarted masculinity. For instance, in a separate conversation with teachers in the staff room, they explained that the reason that the Head Teacher was being harsh with the teachers and pupils was because of his stress with money. They said he came from a very big school with a lot of money where there were a lot of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) working and he had been living extravagantly and had many women and many children and now he is suffering, because he has been pushed to this small school, but he still has all of the responsibilities to care for all those children. In other words, pupils and teachers understood the head teachers' lack of self-control and his excessive use of physical and emotional violence as evidence of his failure to fulfill his masculine responsibilities.

The head teacher of Piny Dyak confirmed his stress about lack of money in informal conversations with me and in his comments to pupils in the classroom. On one occasion the head teacher even asked me for a loan to pay his children's school fees. Notedly, he was the only head teacher and one of only two teachers to ask me for money. The head teacher's vocal complaints about his financial situation support the Piny Dyak pupils' and teachers' claims that the head teacher's violent behavior was in part caused by his financial stress.

It is no coincidence that male teachers at Piny Dyak and Bright Futures exhibited signs of thwarted masculinity. These two schools lacked adequate financial and human resources. Piny Dyak and Bright Futures were among the cheapest schools in terms of school fees charged to parents to top up the government funding of public schools. The school fees for these two schools were around half the school fees for pupils at Sacred Cross, and Piny Dyak only had seven teachers and two administrators, creating a crucial lack of human resources at the school,

since two of the seven teachers were on maternity leave during part of the school year. The inadequate financial and human resources at low-income schools created added stress on already underpaid public school teachers. For male teachers who were heads of households expected to protect and provide for their families, the inadequacy of their salaries to meet their family needs contributed to their proclivity to lose control and themselves and act violently in schools.

Pupils and teachers also gave examples of male violence in the community in relation to notions of failed masculinity or wounded male egos. For example, when talking to pupils about their peers who dropped out before reaching grade seven, several pupils referenced a female pupil who dropped out due to pregnancy and was later killed along with her child by the father of the child. Pupils made sense of the tragedy by using notions of economic hardship and thwarted masculinity. They explained that the girl was not getting enough care at home, which made her search for a male provider. Others said the aunty who was caring for the girl pressured her into finding a man. Both rationales suggest that economic insecurity led the girl to seek male financial support.

Pupils made sense of the young man's violent action using notions of thwarted masculinity. Some pupils explained that the young man's inability to provide for the girl and the baby led to the young man perpetrating violence against the girl, the baby, and himself. Others claimed the young man was jealous and thought the girl was having sex with other men. Both of these explanations reflect the overlapping gender and economic pressures on males to provide for their sexual partners and their children, which lead to stress and also concern that the girl/woman might go to other men to find financial support. The example is demonstrative of the tragic violent consequences of a combination of economic insecurity and thwarted masculinity.

Research participants' understandings of violent masculinities associated with thwarted masculinity are consistent with Dolan's (2009) depiction of the way the war and displacement in northern Uganda tended to produce violence among men whose economic circumstances limited their ability to maintain their authority.

Respectable men, disciplined children, and violence

While the above descriptions distinguish between the violent behavior associated with thwarted masculinity and the self-disciplined respectful behavior associated with *woro*, disciplining young people and, at times, adults to behave with *woro* also could entail corporal punishment. It is important to acknowledge the violent aspects of *woro,* while at the same time delineate the ways research participants differentiated between "appropriate" and "inappropriate" violence. Teachers and pupils emphasized that for corporal punishment to be socially sanctioned under norms of *woro,* it should be used to communicate a lesson, and the severity of the corporal punishment should match the severity of the misbehavior.[34]

Teachers emphasized that corporal punishment was necessary to mold children into disciplined, hard-working, humble, and respectful persons. Teachers often emphasized to pupils that caning was meant to teach children appropriate ways of behaving associated with *woro*. One male Science teacher at Sacred Cross explained after caning pupils for arriving late, "*Ka pe gigoyi* [If they do not beat you], it means you are not being corrected. If you are doing the wrong things and you are not corrected, that is bad." At the farewell party for pupils at Sacred Cross, a

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[34] This is consistent with the findings of Pham et al. (2015) who found that corporal punishment was used much more frequently in the Acholi subregion than in the rest of the country. In the Acholi subregion 22% of children surveyed reported experiencing physical violence in school as compared to 14% of children surveyed in the country as a whole.

male Math teacher said, "You will have to forgive us for the canes, but we are trying to correct you and if you keep making mistakes, the canes will still keep coming."[35] At the Bright Futures farewell party, the male head teacher similarly asked pupils to forgive teachers for caning them, emphasizing that caning was done to correct their mistakes. Teachers in both schools thereby emphasized to pupils they were caning them to train them to be better pupils and better people. In other words, teachers were caning pupils to make them *luworo* or people with *woro*.

Pupils also distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate uses of corporal punishment. For example, according to one male pupil from Sacred Cross, "*Iromo maro lapwony ma goyo ka itimo bal, ento pe imaro lapwony ma goyo lotino atar*." [You can love the teacher who beats you when you have broken a rule, but you will not like the teacher who beats children for no reason.] It is this quotation that emphasizes one of the important differences between "legitimate" and "illegitimate" use of corporal punishment. Particularly harsh and disrespectful teachers might be obeyed with humility in person, but not respected.

Adults complained that the reduction in corporal punishment as a result of the promotion of children's rights by Western aid agencies had led to a reduction in *woro* among children and youth. For example, in an informal conversation with the senior woman teacher from Sacred Cross, she complained that children's rights were undermining *woro* and she spoke about how when she was a child, children would receive a minimum of six canes for any mistake they made and she explained that in those days children were much more *kwiri* – or hard working – an element of *woro*. Like the senior woman teacher from Sacred Cross, many teachers and parents

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[35] At Sacred Cross, the farewell party happened before the final PLE exam, so pupils were still supposed to meet with pupils a few more times before the end of the year.

and some pupils argued corporal punishment helped to mold children into the ideal pupil and young person who was hard-working, respectful, obedient, and self-disciplined.

Fear is different from respect, but fear was used when respect was lost

Teachers' at the two low-income schools lamented that norms of respect and respectability were most eroded in low-income communities, which they asserted meant an even greater need to use corporal punishment with pupils at their schools. For example, in a discussion with a male teacher at Bright Futures, he explained that he would like to see a Westerner try to teach the pupils at Bright Futures. He said if you ask the pupils to do anything they will refuse. He said it is only via the stick that they could be made to obey. Similarly, the male head teacher from Bright Futures on his first day at the school (he joined the school in the third term), visited the grade seven classroom and explained that he wanted children to respect him. He distinguished between fear and respect. But then he quickly shifted from English to Acholi and said that if necessary, he would beat the children to make them fear him. The head teacher's words emphasized the ways that violence was used against pupils who were seen as "lost" or failing to adhere to norms of *woro*. When teachers felt that pupils could not be expected to behave respectably, then fear was seen as the primary method of control. The distinction between fear and respect also demonstrated the ways distinctions in the ways patriarchal authority was maintained. While a "provider patriarch" may be able to elicit respect from dependents by protecting and providing for them, when such respect was not able to be garnered, authority was wielded via fear.

Urban slums as "lost" communities

Urban slums and trading centers around former displacement camps were areas where many research participants described the generational impacts of the erosion of *woro* due to the war. In internal displacement camps, the system of patrilocal residence and patrilineal control over child upbringing was undermined (Gauvin, 2016; Mergelsberg, 2012). The situation of internal displacement left many families feeling a sense of cultural loss due to the cramped living conditions and the difficulty controlling the influences on children and youth. Because families were living in such cramped conditions, childern and youth were exposed to the intimate lives of people deemed strangers. Parents had little ability to control external influences on children.

Whyte et al (2014) describe how many Acholi see former camps as sites where people learned bad behaviors such as "drunkenness" and "prostitution". Whyte et al (2014) explain, "Many Acholi people mentioned the breakdown of moral order in the camps, and the need to rid the former camp sites of bad lots" (p. 607). Similarly, Mergelsberg (2012) describes how some see the people who remain in the camps as morally bereft: "There are those people who refuse going back home, the thieves, robbers and wrongdoers…" (p. 77). Research participants described the children coming from trading centers that have emerged out of former displacement camps as being raised by a generation of parents that were already lost as a result of being raised in a space where parental and patrilineal clan authority was undermined.

Urban slums were also increasingly becoming sites where the most socially marginalized who cannot return to villages are concentrating. For example, children born of wartime violence (particularly if it was at the hands of LRA captors) continue to be more likely to be rejected by the woman's natal family and as a result women come with their children to reside in urban

slums (Atim et al., 2018; Porter, 2017).[36] Branch (2013) notes that the most vulnerable and marginalized are those "stuck" in Gulu town (and I would add former camps) who cannot return to the village due to the ways they have been marginalized at home

While before the war, Acholi rural settlements were quite spread out with extensive distance between homes, increasingly former displacement camps have become trading centers with more densely populated settlements. Sandra Joireman et al. (2012) found increased urban settlement and clustering of homes along roads and trading centers (in comparison to pre-war settlement) in areas of northern Uganda most affected by violence during the war. Mergelsberg (2012) observes this trend of urbanization in the case of Pabbo trading center located in what used to be the largest displacement camp.

Teachers spoke about urban and peri-urban slums and trading centers, particularly those that used to be displacement camps as spaces where children learned bad behaviors and therefore led to children's indiscipline at school. One Bright Futures female teacher described how children who lived in certain areas were more likely to become undisciplined because of the high amount of alcohol consumption in the areas and the presence of "disco halls". The teacher explained that children in those centers sneaked out of the house to go drink in the disco halls. She added that many of the parents from those areas drank a lot of alcohol and went to night clubs and she lamented how children learned the bad behaviors from their parents.

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[36] This is based on survey data from the The Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium that collected surveys from 1,857 households in 2013 and then followed up with the same households in 2015 (though with a 16% attrition rate meaning 1,552 in 2015).

Similarly, a female teacher from Piny Dyak (the other low-income school located on the periphery of town) lamented that children from the school developed inappropriate behaviors that they learned from their parents. She explained,

> The problem that I see there is that the manners/behaviours of parents and other people in the community is not good. As a parent, you go to the market to hang out with men, to drink and engage in improper love affairs. The children see and do the same. You find children drinking alcohol, using drugs, having sex amongst themselves. Because they see that their own parents are doing it. Some parents cannot be respected.

Once again, we see a teacher blaming the bad behavior of youth on the environment in which he/she and even his/her parents were brought up. These communities were characterized by teachers as places where *woro* was not functioning properly. Parents and community members were not behaving respectably and nor were they teaching their children the appropriate behaviors.

Similarly, in pre-dissertation research in a trading center that was previously a former displacement camp, I similarly heard people frequently lament the bad behavior of youth, which they associated with the war and many of the issues that the war brought with it, including overcrowded living in displacement camps, loss of the ability to hold evening fireside chats, poverty undermining parent authority, and foreign influence on youth (including the rise of children's rights activism by NGOs, the influence video halls where youth could watch music videos, and the internet). My predissertation and dissertation research indicated the ways that trading centers that emerged from the former displacement camps became spaces still perceived of as functioning outside of the control of social norms of *woro*.

As mentioned in the section above about the relation between corporal punishment and *woro*, teachers at the two low-income schools believed that they needed to use a greater amount of corporal punishment against pupils at the low-income schools, because they believed the

children at these schools were more undisciplined. In addition to physical violence meted out against pupils was emotional and symbolic violence in the form of condescension and ridicule of pupils themselves and their families. For instance, teachers and administrators treated parents and pupils at Bright Futures with less respect by characterizing pupils and their parents as failing to fulfill ideal pupil and parent behavior associated with *woro*. For example, at a girls' meeting at Bright Futures during the third term, the deputy head teacher lamented to the female pupils, "Your fathers and mothers hate you. They do not come to school when we call for them. They do not see education as something that is important." The deputy's remarks revealed the negative attitude some teachers had toward pupils and their families. Teachers also emphasized the class background of pupils, saying things like pupils wouldn't perform well if they were not willing to pay adequately for their education and comparing the amount in fees pupils paid at with the amount paid at the most expensive and highest performing government school in town. As is evident from the above paragraphs, teachers' negative comments to pupils about themselves and their families were mirrored in their private conversations with myself and with each other about pupils, demonstrating that teachers generally felt disdain toward pupils their families for failing to fulfill the ideals of respect and respectability associated with *woro*.

In general, teachers' comments about pupils coming from low-income families highly affected by the war demonstrated the ways that many teachers saw the war as reinforcing class distinctions among Acholis due to the ways income inequality differently exposed or shielded families from violence, suffering, and, as many Acholis would say, cultural degradation of internal displacement camps.

Pupils' views about generational relations and adult respectability

Pupils also used a language of *woro* to describe ideal generational relations. Pupils emphasized that adults were also expected to treat children with respect. A male pupil from Sacred Cross said, "The child should respect the elder, but the elder should first respect the child before the child respects him/her."[37] Similarly, a female pupil from Bright Futures said, "The elder should respect the child. If not, she/he will not respect you."[38] When I asked what it looks like for an adult to show respect for a child, one male pupil explained that the elder shows respect to the child by speaking to him/her calmly. He added, "The elder should model for the child how the child him/herself should behave."

Some pupils emphasized their lack of respect for adults, because they felt adults did not behave respectably. A female pupil from Sacred Cross described how children often pretended to respect adults, but that they did not really respect them, because of the way adults often acted inappropriately. Likewise, another female pupil from Piny Dyak explained, "None of the children at this school has respect." These statements resonated with my observations in classrooms and other school spaces. When pupils did not respect a teacher, they would talk negatively about him when he was not around, and when he was around, they would engage in covert acts of resistance such as passing notes or whispering jokes. As the pupil quotations and the example above demonstrate, children tended to afford respect to teachers and authority figures who also gave them respect.

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[37] Latin woro ladit, ento ladit kwong woro latin ma pud pe woro ladit.

[38] Madit omyero woro matidi. Ka pe, pe obi wori.

Another male pupil from Bright Futures described the ideal respectable teacher by describing a grade seven male teacher, who I will call Mr. Omara. The pupil explained that pupils respect Mr. Omara because he treats everyone equally, and he talks to pupils as if they are equals. The pupil explained that the faculty often put Mr. Omara in charge of leading the "boys meeting", where male teachers teach boys about sexual health, because "he knows how to talk to the pupils." The pupil emphasized that while other teachers might try to hide things when they talked to the pupils, Mr. Omara talked to them "as if he were a youth". He spoke directly about sexual health rather than trying to shelter pupils from sensitive "adult" topics.[39] In response to this level of respect afforded to them, the pupil explained that the pupils were quiet and listened when Mr. Omara taught. This pupil emphasized that respect meant being talked to like an equal, whereas most adults would emphasize that the relations of respect implied a level of inequality where the adult had authority. While most youth did not expect to be treated like equals, they insisted, they would only respect adults who they felt demonstrated the calm self-control expected of a leader.

Gendered and classed use and responses to corporal punishment

Corporal punishment as a form of gender violence that has class dynamics

Pupils' responses to corporal punishment played a role in the construction of their intersectional gendered identities. At all three schools, there was the expectation among learners that males should demonstrate invulnerability to pain and not wince or rub their buttocks after

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[39] Most Acholis believe that issues related to sex should be hidden from children rather than spoken about directly. Adult Acholis use metaphors and hidden language to refer to sex. See Porter, H.E. (2014). "Say no to bad touches: Schools, sexual identity, and sexual violence in northern Uganda." *International Journal of Education Development.*

caning. This expectation of boys demonstrated the ways masculinity was associated with notions of physical power. Girls responses to corporal punishment varied based on the different levels of social and physical protection they felt at home and in communities, with more socially vulnerable girls tending to perform more invulnerability to violence and more affluent girls performing a femininity associated with frailty and vulnerability.

In general, male pupils at all schools were expected to perform toughness when they experienced corporal punishment. Pupils explained to me and I also observed that children could laugh at male pupils if they rubbed their buttocks or winced in pain after being caned. Boys' fear of ridicule and humiliation by their peers if they did not demonstrate they were manly enough by showing invulnerability to the pain of corporal punishment thus represented a form of peer violence occurring simultaneously with teacher violence. Thus, as in many parts of the world, the USA included, violence and the ability to endure pain played an important role in the construction of masculinity. Male fear of humiliation was also an important part of male violence against females, which will be discussed more below.

At the two low-income schools, female pupils reported experiencing threats of violence from males whose sexual advances they had rejected. At one of the two low-income schools, Bright Futures, which was near a former displacement camp, many girls expressed an identity associated with toughness which they performed during the school day, particularly when faced with corporal punishment. This compared to the performance of girls at Sacred Cross, who would tend to emphasize their vulnerability and pain when experiencing corporal punishment. At Piny Dyak, the other low-income school, corporal punishment tended to happen outside of the classroom and was less of a spectacle than in the other two schools, though threats of corporal punishment and verbal abuse especially from the head teacher were constant.

Several Bright Futures girls performed toughness in response to corporal punishment. They would lay down on their stomachs and then stand up and walk to their seats without registering the pain of the corporal punishment on their faces. In female pupils' performance of toughness and invulnerability, they constructed a femininity associated with strength and the ability to overcome/endure violence. These girls' performances in the context of corporal punishment mirrored the gendered performance of male pupils during corporal punishment at all three schools.

In contrast, at Sacred Cross, female pupils frequently cried and asked the teacher to spare them while looking into their male teachers' eyes.[40] After being caned, female pupils would often cry and rub their buttocks. One male pupil from Sacred Cross argued female pupils made these pleas for leniency, because they sometimes convinced teachers to spare them.

At Bright Futures, the performance of toughness in the classroom gave pupils power and esteem in the eyes of their peers and helped them avoid being bullied by their peers. For example, when I asked a female pupil about why girls are so tough at Highland, she said that it was because they wanted to show people they are tough so that other pupils wouldn't disturb them and so people "would show you that little respect, you know."

Finally, the girls' performance of toughness was also likely a response to gender inequalities between males and females in contexts of sexual relations. In her ethnography of rape in northern Uganda, Porter 2017 describes how there is a lot of grey area when it comes to

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[40] All of the grade seven teachers at Sacred Cross were male.

notions of consent. Porter describes how good girls are supposed to say "no" even when they mean "yes" when approached for sex.[41]

This grey area of consent often meant girls were blamed for any sexual contact even if they said "no". For example, at a public event to support girls' education, which was sponsored by the gender-based violence working group, an Acholi woman who worked at an NGO admonished the schoolgirls who were in attendance for not rejecting men's sexual advances clearly enough and she asked all of the girls to stand up and shout "No for No!" while jumping up and down. She emphasized that if girls were not forceful enough in their rejection of boys, the no could be taken as a yes.

Nevertheless, the context of needing to emphasize one's rejection of a man was juxtaposed with the possibility that a rejection that was perceived of by the boy as "rude" could provoke a violent backlash from the young man. The following quotation from a male teacher from Piny Dyak exemplifies the importance of choosing one's words carefully when rejecting a man:

> Yes, especially the boys, when you abuse them anyhow…at times they will revenge there and then, so you have to get a proper way of humbling them. If you think you can say something that can provoke them, you'd rather keep quiet. Or you just say a word like, 'I'm not yet ready.' And for the boys, if they ask you questions and you keep answering, you keep talking to them, it's like you are inviting them that tomorrow when you see me, you can talk, so the boys we have here, if you don't want to entertain them, don't say much, just say a word and stop there.

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[41] Okot P'Bitek speaks about this issue in depth in 1964 essay on Acholi Love. He explains,

"When the youth declares to the girl that he wants her to be his wife, she declines. She must decline… At night when they meet, the young lady will again say, "No!" As will be seen later, the word "Yes" does not exist in the vocabulary of an Acholi young lady. She never says yes. The young man is not unduly disturbed by her negative answers; he is far from disappointed…" (29).

Thus, girls were in the impossible situation of having to say no loudly and clearly while also needing to perform a soft rejection to avoid a violent backlash. How could girls adequately convey refusal of a male's sexual interest without being too harsh and wounding the male ego and thus provoking violence against themselves?

Bright Futures female pupils' performances of toughness and defiance was a response to this impossible reality. For example, in an informal conversation with one female pupil, I asked why so many female pupils at Bright Futures were so tough. She responded that the Bright Futures male pupils would disturb them trying to date them, so they would ridicule the males so that they would not disturb them. Girls at Bright Futures also talked about sexual harassment in school, such as boys' touching of their buttocks and breast while in the classroom.

Girls emphasized to me that they were willing to take head on the violent reaction of males who they rejected forcefully. In a focus group discussion with a group of girls from Bright Futures, they recounted the dynamic as follows:

> N: At another school there was a parents meeting. One of the boys from the school was bullying a girl because she rejected him. She didn't want to be his girlfriend. The boy was saying that I will beat you in the road. Does this happen?
>
> All: It happens!
>
> Girl 1: One day a boy went to a girl and asked her, "Do you want me?" The girl said, "I don't like you because you are mean." Then the boy responded, "If you don't want me the let me slap you and then go.
>
> Girl 2: [laughs]
>
> N: Slap you?
>
> Girl 2: They HIT you in the face. It happened to me too.
>
> [others laugh]
>
> N: Someone hit you in the face?

> Girl 2: He hit me in the face here. [She points to her right cheek.]
>
> Girl 1: Laughs.
>
> N: He hit your face?
>
> Girl 1: Because she refused to be his girlfriend. She doesn't want it.
>
> Girl 2: If you reject them, they hit you.

Thus, girls' defiant and tough persona was part of the ways they resisted patriarchal relations of power, particularly inequalities in male-female relations of power surrounding sexuality.

Discussion

Violence and gender

As mentioned earlier, gender and conflict scholars have emphasized the relationship between gender and violence (e.g., Cockburn, 2004; Davies, 2004; Dolan, 2002; Shepherd, 2008; Spike Peterson, 2010). Several gender and conflict scholars describe the ways economic distress can lead to violent masculinities (e.g., Cockburn, 2004; Dolan, 2002). For example, in the case of northern Uganda, Dolan (2002) explains that the war and the experience of forced displacement limited the avenues for males the gain masculine status through alternative masculinities such as those associated with wealth or educational attainment, while at the same time eroding men's abilities to fulfill their roles as protectors of the home. Dolan explains that both factors reinforced a hegemonic masculinity associated with the ability to wield violence as a source of protection as well as a source of influence through invoking fear. In post-conflict contexts, researchers have observed how men often try to reclaim sources of masculine authority in society that were undermined during conflict (Maclure and Denov, 2009; Meintjes et al., 2002; Pankhurst, 2003).

In this chapter, I have described how research participants similarly made sense of male violence in schools in terms of poor males' thwarted ability to gain masculine status associated with being a protector and a provider.

Scholars of education and conflict have observed the ways gender violence in schools responds to the influences of war on notions of masculinity and femininity (e.g., Davies, 2004; Kirk, 2008). Davies observes that militarism is often linked to notions of dominant masculinity and she cites the work of Enloe (1993) and Cohen (1998) to note the ways notions of manliness and the "cult of the hero" are mobilized by nationalist forces seeking to promote militarization (p. 60). Davies argues that the burning of girls' schools in Afghanistan by the Taliban (and one might add the abduction of female learners by Boko Haram in Nigeria) demonstrate the ways militarization mobilizes certain notions of appropriate femininity and militaristic masculinity that can reinforce gendered violence in schools.

Education and violence

Education and conflict scholars have warned that the use of violence in schools reinforces the normalization of violence outside of schools as a valid way to solve problems thereby serving to undermine peace (Davies, 2004, 2011; Harber, 2004; Kirk, 2007). Davies (2004) argues that "[s]chools and colleges should not generate fear through repressive punishment and masculinist domination…," which she sees as contributing an environment conducive to violence and war (p. 72). Harber (2004) argues,

> … if those adults who young people are expected by society to admire, respect and imitate are consistently authoritarian to them they will come to accept this as the normal way of relating to others – giving orders or taking orders. Similarly, if those in authority

over them are physically violent and abusive towards them, then this becomes normal for them and they will reproduce this violence in their own relationships with others. (p. 42)

Their warnings are supported by research on corporal punishment and child behavior suggests that corporal punishment is associated with increased rates of aggressive behavior as children grow older (Gershoff et al., 2010; Nelson et al., 2006; Pagani et al., 2004; Sim and Ong, 2005).

The greater use of corporal punishment and insults in low-income schools demonstrates the ways structural violence and physical violence reinforce each other. Education and conflict researchers argue that physical and structural (also called indirect) violence in schools undermine peace (e.g., Lopez Cardoso and Shah, 2016; Salmi, 2000; Seitz, 2004). Salmi (2000) explains that indirect violence includes discriminatory educational practices and policies that reinforce social inequalities and/or social injustices, such as through inequitable access to education, inequitable quality of education, and inadequate educational infrastructure (in Seitz 2004, p. 51). Davies (2011) argues that "Discrimination in education along ethnic, religious, political, and socio-economic lines by means of corporal punishment, denial of access, and non-recognition of achievement, reflecting and reinforcing patterns of inequality" reinforces state fragility (p. 30).

Like the teachers' accounts of the greater need to use corporal punishment against children from poorer families recounted in this chapter, other scholars have found that children from more disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to experience corporal punishment in schools around the world. Devries et al. (2014) found that socioeconomic inequalities impacted the frequency with which Ugandan children experienced corporal punishment, with pupils from more marginalized backgrounds experiencing greater amounts of corporal punishment. Ogando Portella and Pells (2015) similarly found that "Children from more disadvantaged households

(measured using household expenditure or caregiver's level of education) are significantly more likely to be punished in India, Peru and Viet Nam compared to children from less disadvantaged households living in the same community" (p. 6). In their global review of corporal punishment in schools, Heekes et al. (2020) found that children's low socioeconomic status significantly increased their risk of corporal punishment in schools. In addition to the greater use of corporal punishment against students with low socioeconomic status, in a review of the global literature on corporal punishment in schools, Gershoff (2017) recounts how corporal punishment tends to be more frequently inflicted on boys, ethnic minorities, and children with disabilities.

While discrimination against marginalized children contributed to the increased use of corporal punishment in poorer schools, the working conditions of teachers also contributed to greater uses of violence. Other researchers have made similar findings, such as Elbla (2012) who recounts that teachers in Khartoum indicated using corporal punishment because of stress and frustration and Mweru (2010) who relates teachers' arguments that corporal punishment was necessary to efficiently manage overcrowded classrooms in Kenya. Teachers' working conditions in the three schools will be analyzed more in chapter four where I describe how teachers working in poor schools had lower salaries leading to greater economic distress.

This chapter supports the arguments of scholars of gender and violence who examine the role of violence in reproducing gender relations (e.g. Dunne et al., 2006; Shepherd, 2008; Spike Peterson, 2010). Shepherd (2008) explains that cultural conditions are responsible for fomenting gendered violence by framing aggressors and victims in gendered ways. However, she also explains that violence also reproduces the gendered cultural narratives that lead to gendered identities. Dunne et al. (2006) list several ways corporal punishment in schools works to reinforce gender identities, such as the greater use of corporal punishment against males by male

teachers as the "performance of domination by an adult male in authority over a juvenile male and as a juvenile male's initiation into adulthood, i.e., to 'toughen up' male students" (UNICEF, 2001, as cited in Dunne et al., 2006, p. 83), or the use of corporal punishment against girls in Tanzania as being rationalized as part of girls "socialization into becoming respectful and obedient wives and mothers" (p. 83). Furthermore, Spike Peterson (2010) examines militaristic mobilization of masculinities and femininities during colonialism and the war on terror to demonstrate how notions of western men as superior (e.g. civilized, modern) and "brown men" as uncivilized, backward, irrational are mobilized to justify military action. Like Spike Peterson, in this chapter, I have shown the ways socially marginalized youth are talked about as "undisciplined" as a justification for the use of violence against them thereby reinforcing gender, age, and class hierarchies.

This chapter has also emphasized the agency that some female youth demonstrated as they navigated inequitable gender relations. Hodgson and McCurdy's (2001) edited volume documents how notions of women's respectability and "wickedness" were employed in colonial African contexts to control populations and shift blame for the negative repercussions of economic and social ruptures on women as well as the ways women push boundaries of respectability to challenge gender relations. Of relevance for this chapter are the ways, "… 'wickedness' refers to a manifestation of feminine power whereby women purposefully and effectively challenge political, social, or cultural constraints on their behavior (Hodgson and McCurdy, 2001, p. 20). Bright Futures girls' emphasis of their own toughness in the face of violence defied expectations of *woro* that expected them to be obedient and respectful of authority, and instead emphasized their toughness and power.

Negative impacts of corporal punishment on learning and child wellbeing

It is important to shine a light on the incidences of corporal punishment in schools given the negative consequences of corporal punishment for children and the ways corporal punishment reinforces inequality in society.

Researchers have documented the negative impacts of corporal punishment in schools on children's learning (Dunne et al., 2006; Gershoff, 2017; Ogando, Portela, and Pells, 2015). Corporal punishment inhibits children from developing positive relationships with their teachers (Gershoff, 2017). Fear of corporal punishment or shaming leads to children's reduction of their participation in classrooms (Ogando Portela and Pells, 2015; Talwar, Carlson and Lee, 2011; Dunne et al., 2006) as well as an increased likelihood of children missing or dropping out of school (Ampiah and Adu-Yeboah, 2009; Agbenyega, 2006; Dunne et al., 2006; UNICEF, 2017). Children who do drop out of school, will likely have fewer economic and professional opportunities due to their reduced educational attainment and skills development.

Researchers have also shown that corporal punishment can have negative impacts on cognitive development, psychosocial well-being, and behavioral development (Betancourt and Khan, 2008; Csorba et al., 2001; Devries et al., 2014; Gershoff, 2017). Corporal punishment has been associated with increased risk of aggressive behavior (Gershoff, 2002; Naz et al., 2011). Children who have experienced prolonged corporal punishment tend to have lower self-esteem (Ogando Portela and Pells, 2015; UNICEF, 2017) and higher incidences of depression (Csorba et al., 2001; Naz et al., 2011).

Corporal punishment in schools reverberates beyond the immediate pain to impact children's wellbeing in multiple aspects of their life including academic achievement, economic

opportunities, psychological wellbeing, and their social relations. Furthermore, this dissertation demonstrates the ways violence in schools reinforces class, age, and gender inequalities.

Conclusion

This chapter explores communities' sensemaking around conflict-related social change. As research participants distinguished between appropriate and inappropriate behavior, they drew on the discourse of respect and respectability (*woro*). From their different vantage points, adult men, adult women, and youth described the erosion of relations of respect (*woro*) in terms of economic insecurity and wartime loss of the authority of male heads of household.

Research participants contrasted appropriate masculinity associated with norms of respect and respectability with violent masculinities. Women and young people perceived of violent men in low-income communities as evidence of the ways economic inequalities reinforced the erosion of *woro*. Women and young people responded that men who were unable to gain respect by providing for their families turned to fear as a method of gaining authority and obedience inside and outside the household.

For their part, some poorly remunerated male teachers lamented that material inequalities rather than age hierarchies determined how respect flowed. The claim that norms of respect were no longer clearly following age and gender hierarchies, but were instead influenced by economic inequalities, led some to assert that people did not respect their elders anymore – rather they only respected money.

Research participants also indicated that children's adherence to *woro* was undermined by the loss of authority of male heads of household. For instance, teachers at all three schools and some Sacred Cross pupils asserted that the inability of the male head of household to provide

for the family led to "undisciplined" children who did not adhere to norms of *woro.* Orphaned children and children in poor families, in particular, were seen as more likely to be "undisciplined", demonstrating the ways social and economic marginalization was perceived of as a threat to *woro.*

Urban and peri-urban slums were also spaces where children and adults were seen as "undisciplined". Teachers described how war-related changes in social relations were most concentrated in urban slums and former displacement camps which were most affected by loss of life, abduction of children, and loss of the ability to control influences on children. Communities remaining in trading centers that were formerly displacement camps were seen as places where parent authority was most undermined by experiences of war and displacement due to the fact that the overcrowded displacement camps limited parents' and families' ability to control children's exposure to unwanted influences. Teachers generally depicted the pupils and their families coming from slums and trading centers that emerged out of displacement camps as morally degraded and lacking in respect. Because many participants saw the performance of *woro* as the performance of moral personhood, as people distinguished between those who succeeded and those who failed to adhere to norms of *woro*, they reinforced symbolic violence against marginalized communities who were portrayed as morally degraded.

Physical, emotional, and symbolic violence were primary methods used by teachers (and communities more broadly) to discipline children and youth who did not adhere to norms of *woro.* Many teachers asserted that pupils from poor families and marginalized communities needed greater amounts of corporal punishment in order elicit obedience. They asserted that while "undisciplined youth" might fail to show the proper respect to adults and persons of authority, teachers could still make undisciplined youth respond to fear.

In contrast, children and youth at all the schools explained that they would only respect adults who themselves behaved respectably and who treated them with respect. Young people asserted that adults themselves often failed to behave respectably (according to norms of *woro*), which undermined youth's respect for adults. Furthermore, youth asserted that respect should flow two ways with adults also showing respect to youth and youth then reciprocating that respect. Pupils asserted that they only respected adults who respected them. However, as will be noted in the following chapter, youth at the wealthier school, Sacred Cross, were much more likely to be treated with respect than youth at the two low-income schools.

This chapter contributes to the literature examining gender and social change in the post-conflict context. It demonstrates how communities use the category of youth as a way of talking about appropriate and inappropriate social relations and as they seek to influence social relations. I document how physical, emotional, and symbolic violence are used in schools to discipline young people seen as falling outside the bounds of appropriate moral personhood, characterized by gendered gerontocratic norms. I also show how this violence is classed using teachers' words and actions as evidence of the ways they see war-related social change to be more evident in poor communities that were highly affected by the war. Finally, I demonstrate how young people create their own meaning in the post-conflict context as they judge the behavior of their elders.

Chapter 4: Disciplined and Undisciplined Youth: Resisting Unequally Resourced Schools

In the previous chapter, I discussed how teachers and youth asserted that inter-generational relations of respect (*woro*) were founded on the ability of male heads of household to provide for young people. As in other conflict-affected contexts, this gerontocratic and gendered relationship was eroded by the war. Teachers perceived of children and youth from marginalized backgrounds (e.g. orphans) as less "disciplined" according to norms of *woro*, and poor youth and adults felt the norms of *woro* did not function properly for them because material inequalities mediated parents' abilities to provide protection and support in exchange for respect.

In this chapter, I describe how children's ability to strive for an "educated status" and to "become someone" respectable through schooling was mitigated by resource inequalities at the school level. Because the government did not adequately fund schools, schools depended on parent contributions to meet their needs and school finance varied according to parents' abilities to contribute to the school. Parents' different abilities to contribute to school funds led to resource inequalities among the schools that had important consequences for the working conditions of teachers, teacher morale, teacher-pupil relations, teaching and learning, and extracurricular opportunities for pupils.

This chapter shows how the inequitable conditions of labor and learning at under-resourced schools influenced the ways teachers and learners co-constructed learner identities. Structural violence at the most under-resourced schools had implications for children's adherence to cultural norms of the ideal child associated with *woro*. While teachers preached to children that if they acted respectfully to their guardians and teachers, they would get the support they needed to succeed, the different gendered realities of poorer and wealthier learners, such as

experiences of violence versus protection and support respectively, influenced how young people navigated social norms.

Universal Primary Education in Uganda

While the government of Uganda implemented Universal Primary Education in 1997, the inadequate government funding to primary schools made schools continue to depend on Parent Teacher Association fees to cover much of the resource inadequacies. This situation reinforced inequality in the conditions of teaching and learning among primary schools. Higher performing schools could charge higher fees and enjoy greater resources for teaching, whereas lower performing schools charged less and had fewer resources for teaching and learning, and a higher concentration of pupils from poor families. Furthermore, higher performing schools tended to have more powerful School Management Committees and Parent Teacher Associations and could resist the transfer of a poor performing or corrupt head teachers to their schools (as reported by teachers in this study). This led to inequality in the leadership of schools as well.

Zuze and Leibbrandt's (2011) research supports the notion that high achieving schools tend to enroll wealthier pupils and low achieving schools tend to enroll poorer pupils. They found that controlling for the average socioeconomic background of Ugandan pupils partially explained the differences in the achievement advantage experienced by private schools and schools with younger populations. They argue this finding suggests "that low performing government schools with older students tended to enroll students who were socially disadvantaged" (p. 174).

Funding structures for UPE

Since 2000 the government funding for Universal Primary Education has reduced from 10% of public spending in 2000 to 8.9% of public spending in 2014 (Datzberger, 2018). Uganda's spending on education as a percentage of GDP has also gone down and is low in comparison with its neighbors. Uganda's expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP has gone down from 2.5% of GDP in 2000 to 2.3% of GDP in 2014.[42] This compares with Kenya's expenditure of 5.2% of GPD in 2000 and 5.3% of GDP in 2014 and Rwanda's expenditure of 4.1% of GDP in 2000 and 4.3% of GDP in 2014. [43] Thus, not only is Uganda's expenditure going down, but its expenditure as a percentage of GDP is well below that of its neighbors. Government funding to primary schools is provided through four primary sources: 1) a capitation grant given directly to schools, 2) a school facilities grant given to district governments, 3) inspection grants given to district governments, and 4) funding for teachers' salaries given directly to teachers (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2016). The capitation grant to schools is partially determined by school enrollment, which means that bigger schools have bigger capitation grants. The school inspections grants given to districts are made based on the number of schools in a district (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2016). School facilities grants are based on the number of pupils in schools in each district with the target being no more than 53 pupils per classroom and no more than 54 pupils per stance (latrine) (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2016). For districts with large enrollment of pupils, funding is given to construct more classrooms and sanitation facilities.

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[42] See: http://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/149206 Accessed June 9, 2020

[43] See: : http://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/149206 Accessed June 9, 2020

The capitation grant given to schools under Universal Primary Education is supposed to cover the child's school tuition (Ssewamala et al., 2011; Ministry of Education and Sports, 2016). Controlling for inflation, the capitation grant has been declining, such that in 2016, the grant was "a third of what it was when UPE was introduced in the late 1990s" (UNICEF, 2018; p. 3).[44]

The capitation grant is the sum of a monthly "threshold grant", which is the same for all schools, and a "variable grant", which is given on a per pupil basis and varies according to the total annual budget for Universal Primary Education (UNICEF, 2014; National Planning Authority, 2018). Each school is guaranteed a "threshold grant" of 150,000 Ugandan shillings per month (Ministry of Education and Sports, 2016; National Planning Authority, 2018). The variable grant (VG) is calculated according to the following formula:

VG = (Total annual budget for UPE – Total Threshold Grant)/Total Enrollment[45]

In other words, the variable grant is equal to the difference between the total annual budget for UPE minus the cumulative of the threshold grant divided by the total enrollment in UPE for that year. For the year of this study (2015), the variable grant given to schools on a per pupil basis was 10,000 Ugandan shillings (National Planning Authority, 2018). This means that if a school had one thousand pupils, it would receive 10,000,000 Ugandan shillings from the

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[44] See: https://www.unicef.org/esaro/UNICEF-Uganda-2018-Education-Budget-Issues-Paper.pdf Accessed June 9, 2020

[45] National Planning Authority. (2018). "Comprehensive Evaluation of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Policy: Thematic Report 5, Financing and Costing of UPE." Accessed on June 10, 2020 at: http://npa.go.ug/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Thematic-Report-5-Financing-and-Costing-of-UPE-080119.pdf

variable grant and 1,350,000 Ugandan shillings from the threshold grant (of 150,000 Ugandan shillings per month) to combine for a total capitation grant of 11,350,000 Ugandan Shillings.

The above description of the funding for the capitation grant and the funding for the facilities grant demonstrates the ways that rural districts or districts that are sparsely populated receive less central government funding. This has been an issue highlighted by those examining inequity in funding between rural and urban schools in Uganda (e.g., Datzberger, 2018; Sakaue, 2018; Ssewamala et al., 2011).

Yet the inadequate government funding in general has also created important and understudied inequities in urban schools as well, due to the dependence of government schools on Parent Teacher Association fees.[46] As mentioned above, UNICEF (2014) found that in the ten urban schools they studied, Parent Teachers Association fees made up on average 90% of the school budget in the schools studied for the report. Also, in a UNICEF and Ministry of Education and Sports supported evaluation of the Global Partnership for Education's support for primary schooling in Uganda, Universalia (2020) reported that for urban and rural primary schools in Uganda, "households continue to pay over half primary education costs" (p. 76). Thus, differences in parents' abilities to pay into these fees translate to inequities in the system.

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[46] While the Education Act of 2008, also allows the religious founding bodies of schools to contribute resources to the schools they founded, it is unclear how much religious bodies contribute to schooling. I spoke to several people involved in schools in northern Uganda, including one member of a School Management Committee for a Catholic-founded school, and they all argued that apart from the religious fee that religious organizations charge to families as part of the child's school fees, religious groups were not providing additional resources to schools. However, Selah Agaba, an anthropologist and education researcher, explained to me that the founding bodies do provide some support to schools though the amount given is unclear and it varies by school and by region.

Education in Uganda: Constructing the Modern Educated Person
Education for national development and unity

Like other parts of Africa, Uganda has sought to use education as a means of promoting a national identity linked to notions of national development and modernity (Cheney, 2007; Coe, 2005; Fuller, 1991; Serpell, 1993; Stambach, 2000; Meinert, 2009). At the time of independence from the British in 1962, the Education Review Commission identified education (particularly secondary and tertiary) as essential to development of the new nation, but government political instability in the following two decades undermined the government's involvement in and funding for education (Zuze and Leibbrandt, 2011).

Since the beginning of his presidency in 1986, Museveni has emphasized that national unity is crucial to promoting national security and development and he has sought to use education as a means of creating patriotic citizens and national development (Cheney, 2007; Museveni, 1997). In its national strategy on education published in 1991, the National Curriculum Development Center emphasized that education is expected to contribute to national development and unity (as cited in Meinert, 2009). When Museveni's Education Policy Review Commission designed a set of goals for the education system in its 1992 white paper, among the goals of education was "developing a sense of patriotism, nationalism, and national unity…" (as cited in Muyanda-Mutebi, 1996, p. 21). The current vision of the Ugandan National Curriculum Development Center is the development of "A holistic curriculum for producing responsible citizens equipped with productive skills."[47]

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[47] Accessed on April 24, 2020 at: https://www.ncdc.go.ug/content/strategic-plan

Meinert (2009) and Cheney (2007) describe how the Ugandan education system seeks to promote nationalism and the modern educated person in practice through the use of general assemblies where the whole student population gathers to sing the national anthem before the Ugandan flag. In the schools where I conducted observations, I similarly observed the singing of the national anthem at general assemblies and other meetings and events with learners. Furthermore, Meinert notes that the use of English as the language of instruction is a means of emphasizing national affiliation rather than affiliation to a specific ethnic group or region.

According to Cheney (2007), the Ugandan government promoted the idea that proper development of the child through education could lead to development of the nation. Cheney (2007) argues, the government and the broader population saw childhood as a space for either the promotion of the nation's development through schooling or underdevelopment in the absence of schooling. In this vision children are symbols of either national promise or decline.

Similarly, in her ethnography on health education in primary schools in Eastern Uganda during the introduction of universal primary education, Meinert (2009) found school goers commonly distinguished between educated and uneducated persons seeing the latter as not fully members of the nation.

This distinction between the ideal educated child who promotes the future development of the nation versus the uneducated person who can undermine national development resembles Levinson's (1996) account of the Mexican government's efforts to blur ethnic, class, and regional differences by instead promoting a common schooled identity associated with the nation-state that is only distinguished from the unschooled identity.

While Cheney (2007) and Meinert (2009) identify the distinction between the ideal school going child and the out-of-school child as a critical marker of difference, in this chapter I

describe how teachers also distinguish *among* school children depending on the category of school they are attending. The fact that teachers make distinctions between school goers rather than between in-school and out-of-school children is likely due to the fact that so many more children are in school with the advent of universal primary education. Kattan and Burnett (2018) report that prior to UPE, 60% of Ugandan children of school going age were out of school. This compares to less than 20% of school age children who were out of school in 2012/3 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2014). In Meinert's study of a rural school, she noted how teachers distinguished among children at one school depending on if the family could afford a uniform. Since my study was in one urban and two peri-urban schools with more options for school choice, I found that these distinctions among school children tended to happen between schools due to the inequity of education provided at wealthier and poorer schools.

History of Education and Social Stratification in Uganda

Education in Uganda, as in other parts of the world, contributed to social stratification. Education was largely run by Christian missions until 1920, when the colonial government began to provide oversight and supplementary funding for schooling. Access to education was limited mainly to chiefs' sons and other elites (Meinert, 2009; Otim, 2018). Also, the colonial administration limited access to secondary education through high stakes testing (Oketch and Rolleston, 2007). This meant that only a small portion of those who entered primary school could move on to secondary school and eventually get paid employment in the colonial administration. The visible rewards of an education (a civil service job) symbolized to Ugandans the value of education and contributed to the notion that education led to personal gain and increased socioeconomic status (Molyneaux, 2011).

Christian and Muslim Missions would play a prominent role in primary schooling in Uganda throughout colonialism and it wouldn't be until after independence that the Ugandan government would curb the role of religious groups in the governance of primary schools under the 1963 Education Act, which would give the government of Uganda control over all government-aided schools (Ssekamwa, 1997). However, even with this change, the founding bodies, or religious institutions that founded the schools, such as the Catholic and Anglican Churches, still were consulted on issues such as the selection of head teachers and members of the School Management Committees and they were still "free to have Chaplains in these schools to take care of [the] religious and moral side of students' lives" (Ssekamwa, 1997, p. 173). Under their responsibility to guide learners morally and spiritually, the founding bodies continued to play a key role in shaping national education policy around sex education.[48]

After independence, when the government took over education, schools began using parent-teacher association fees to supplement the reduction of Catholic and Anglican mission contributions to schools (Dauda, 2004; Muwanga, 2000). The use of parent-teacher association fees limited access to education because poor families could not afford them. In the following decades as a result of economic instability, involvement in civil and international conflict, and in the 1980s the experience of structural adjustment, government funding to schools virtually disappeared and parent-teacher association fees played an even greater role in funding of schools, which further exacerbated inequity in access to education (Dauda, 2004; Molyneaux, 2011; Nabuguzi, 1996; Oketch and Rolleston, 2007; Passi, 1996; Tripp, 2010).

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[48] This fact was communicated to me in interviews with Ugandan staff persons at INGOs and a bilateral organization in charge of implementing donor-funded HIV education in schools.

With the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997, parent-teacher association fees were abolished, however the government did not have human, material, and infrastructural resources to absorb the massive influx in pupils that came as a result of the program (Dauda, 2004; Tripp, 2010). This meant the quality of teaching and learning at the schools reduced significantly. Teachers went months without pay and sometimes without textbooks and other teaching materials necessary to do their jobs (Tripp, 2010). Eventually, parent-teacher association fees were re-instated formally in urban schools and informally in rural schools (Dauda, 2004; Tripp, 2010). In the current system, higher performing schools can charge higher fees and lower performing schools charge lower fees, thus giving the higher performing schools greater resources to devote to teaching and learning and teacher remuneration and reinforcing inequity among schools.[49]

The Ideal Pupil: Manners, hygiene, "smartness", discipline, and bodily control

Ugandan schools also strive to create the ideal citizen-subject through the promotion of the self-disciplined individual who embodies a set of ideals that have a legacy that dates back to mission schools in Africa – namely a focus on controlling the body, such as emphasizing hygiene, "smartness" in dress, standing in lines, sitting still and with good posture (Cheney, 2007; Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992; Meinert, 2009; Ssekamwa, 1997). Schools' emphasis on the ideal modern schooled child remained true in my own research as will be discussed below, and overlaps with Acholi norms related to *woro*, which celebrated notions of self-discipline.

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[49] Nancy Kendall (2007) describes a similar context in Malawi with the introduction of "free" primary education. She notes that this policy had the unintended consequence of reproducing regional education inequalities because it relied on communities to informally support schools.

Christian mission schools in Uganda played a powerful role in the creation of rituals, routines, rules of dress, and bodily comportment. According to Ssekamwa (1997), mission schools in Uganda attempted to promote British bourgeoisie values through schooling. Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) similarly describe how mission schools in South Africa were heavily concerned with controlling and disciplining the "African body" in order to transform colonial subjects into modern "civilized" persons that reflected the bourgeoisie values of British society. Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) describe the ways mission schools sought to discipline the "African" into a modern subject through a focus on disciplining the body:

> Rules of dress, comportment, and table manners all reinforced rituals and routines that, even more relentlessly than the formal curriculum, worked to create persons of individual, uniform, contained identity. Their stated goal was to instil in the inmates 'moral backbone,' the wherewithal to live 'clean and healthy' Christian lives (Willoughby, 1912, p. 70, as cited in Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992, p. 231)

The idea of creating a self-disciplined well-mannered educated person through schooling remained among the goals of education in Museveni's regime. The regime's Education Policy Review Commission designed a set of goals for the education system in its 1992 white paper among which was "developing discipline and good manners" (as cited in Muyanda-Mutebi, 1996, p. 21).[50]

In Meinert's (2010) description of the aesthetics of embodying the ideal modern schooled person in Eastern Uganda she similarly describes a focus on hygiene, smartness, and material symbols of wealth:

> Dressing well, washing and ironing clothes, 'smearing beautiful perfume' and 'having nice shoes' are considered ideal necessities of a good life. For many children dressing in a school uniform is a way of looking 'smart' and gaining recognition as someone who is

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[50] The goal of developing a sense of patriotism, nationalism, and national unity was goal number 8.

> learning and is pursuing a 'morally right and modern' life. Some children from families, who can afford it, are keenly trying to improve and embellish their uniforms by adding belts, pullovers, watches and badges from the school. (p. 19)

Meinert (2009; 2010) argues that all of the above constitute a habitus of the modern educated person that can offer the person appropriating the above behavior the cultural capital necessary to navigate important terrains of one's life, such as use of the Ugandan health care system.

Cheney (2007) similarly notes how the performance of one's educational status contributes to class distinctions: "School uniforms and short hair that cannot be 'worked' into fashionable styles constitute in themselves selves a 'style' that marks one's educational and class status" (Kindle Location 1268). Yet, as I will argue later, and as Meinert (2009) notes, as universal primary education came into effect and the socioeconomic stratification among school goers increased, people began to make distinctions among pupils. For example, as mentioned above, Meinert argues that to be treated "decently" in school by peers and teachers, a pupil needed to wear a uniform. In this chapter, I show that to be treated decently in school learners needed to have the material wealth necessary to be able to afford the school fees of a higher achieving school where teachers were paid adequately.

Ideal child in Uganda: Respect

The ethnographic literature on education in Uganda demonstrates that Ugandan schools also work to reinforce gerontocratic norms of respect like *woro* that are common throughout much of the country (Cheney, 2007, Meinert, 2009). In this section, I describe the ways notions of *woro* resonated with depictions of the ideal child in other parts of Uganda and how notions of the respectful obedient child were reinforced in schools.

Cheney (2007) argues that "respect and obedience are two significant markers of the ideal African childhood identity" (Kindle locations 2682-2683).

Cheney (2007) describes the cultural construct of *mpisa* among the Baganda of central region of Uganda, which is similar to *woro*:

> a code of conduct that applies specifically to children: '*Mpisa* [custom, habit, conduct] includes such things as being obedient to authority figures; not interfering in adult conversation; not eating while walking on the road; greeting people properly; and many other social expectations. The content of *mpisa* constitutes a code of social etiquette on how to relate to other people. Specifically, having *mpisa* requires one to become socially involved with others in the proper way' (Kilbride and Kilbride, 1990, 89, as cited in Cheney, 2007, Kindle Locations 837-840).

In eastern Uganda, Meinert (2009) similarly observes local notions of the ideal child that resonate with norms of *woro.* According to Meinert (2009), "Being 'well-behaved', 'greeting politely', 'helping others', and 'respecting parents' are important qualities for a 'good child', which should be learnt from home in early childhood" (p. 17).

Not only are notions of the ideal child who is respectful of elders common in many parts of Uganda, but this notion is an important part of the curriculum. Cheney (2007) talks about how the children's rights discourse in Uganda was often seen as undermining children's respect and obedience to their parents' and other authority figures. She says that Ugandan educational administrators reinstated gerontocratic values of respect by balancing children's rights with responsibilities and using the language of *mpisa* to emphasize responsibilities. The following excerpt is an example of the ways that educational administrators emphasized obedience to parents as an important ideal for children:

> To return to the point of children's responsibilities more generally, and to tie children's rights to *mpisa*, Inspector Nakhanda then talked about honoring parents "to live longer on earth." Quoting the Bible, she said, "Your mother and father are the what? The God you have on earth. You hear that?" "Yes," the children replied. She asked them to repeat her

words loudly and often. "We want a God-fearing country," she said. "So children must respect their parents." (Cheney, 2007, Kindle Locations 955-957).

Cheney's observations of the ways educational administrators emphasized the importance of schools in reinforcing gerontocratic relations of respect resonate with my own observations of the role of schools in transmitting to pupils the importance of respect for elders and other authority figures.

Children's responsibilities were not only taught informally but were also part of the official knowledge taught to children in primary school. For example, the primary leaving exam (the high stakes test to pass grade seven and enter secondary school) tests children on their rights as well as their responsibilities as children, which includes their responsibility to respect their elders.

In the section below, I describe the ways the ideology of respect (*woro*) was communicated to pupils as a means of achieving individual and family success and how adherence to norms of *woro* were important to adherence to classed notions of the ideal pupil.

The ideal educated child and the ideology of respect (woro) in schools

As was mentioned in chapter two, primary schools have historically been a space where were children were taught cultural norms and values as part of the official curriculum (Finnström, 2008). Finnström (2008) describes how missionaries compiled vernacular texts that documented Acholi history and culture, which was taught in schools. For example, in 1921, Father Pellegrini, a Comboni missionary, wrote the primary school textbook *Acholi Macon* (The Old Acholi), which was a history of the Acholi. *Acholi Macon* became required reading in all Catholic-founded primary schools. Educated Acholi teaching at Church Missionary Society schools (Anglican mission schools) would likewise create texts about Acholi history, culture, and

tradition, such as the publications by Reuben Anywar and Lacito Oketch (Girling, 1960; Otim, 2018).

In my fieldwork, I observed the teaching of Acholi norms in the informal or hidden curriculum. In my fieldwork, I observed teachers simultaneously instructing pupils to embody the ideals of the modern educated person as described above, but also emphasizing how behaving respectfully (or with *woro*) toward teachers and parents could support pupils' abilities to become the ideal educated person. Teachers said if you want to perform well on your exams, you must show respect and obedience to your teachers and parents.

Furthermore, beyond the individual success gained from performing *woro,* teachers also asserted that the wellbeing of the fabric of Acholi culture was at stake. For example, below is an excerpt from the girls' meeting at Bright Futures, one of the two low-income schools, where female the teacher emphasized the importance of *woro*:

> The teacher says: "*Woro* allows paths to open for you. You should start respecting from home. A girl who does not do well in school, does not respect her mother. If you do not respect your mother, you have no future. You have uprooted the pumpkin. If they chase you [presumably from the home to which you have married], where do you go?"
>
> The pupils respond, "*Mamani* [Your mom]".
>
> The teacher advised, "Begin to respect your mother. Greet your mother in the morning asking how she woke up."
>
> The teacher continued, "Also respect your father."
>
> The teacher asserted, "Your results on exams are terrible because you do not respect your parents. You all are boastful. Full of yourselves."
>
> The teacher emphasized, "The person whose bread you eat you should respect most."[51]

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[51]While the excerpt provided above is in English, the teacher spoke in Acholi. Here is the Acholi version of her comments: "*Woro wek yoo oyape. Omyero cak woro ki gang. Anyaka ma pe timo maber, pe woro mamane. Ka pe*

In this quotation, the female teacher emphasized of the importance of respecting one's parents (particularly through greetings) and she lamented that failure to show respect to one's parents could undermine pupils' academic success.

But then teacher moved beyond pupils' individual academic performance to hint at how undermining cultural norms of respect was harmful to the community. She cited the well-known Acholi proverb, "Don't uproot the pumpkin", which is frequently repeated in the famous work *Song of Lawino* by Acholi intellectual and writer Okot P'Bitek. In *Song of Lawino*, Lawino, an Acholi woman who has been left by her Acholi husband for a modern educated woman, warns her husband Ocol repeatedly to not uproot the pumpkin. For example, below is an excerpt:

> Listen, my husband,
>
> You are the son of a Chief,
>
> The pumpkin in the old homestead
>
> Must not be uprooted!

According to P'Bitek (1985), uprooting the pumpkin is an act of wanton destruction. In P'Bitek's (1985) description of the Acholi proverb, he explains:

> To do so would merely be purposeless destruction of foodstuff. Old customs which are harmless and may even be useful should not be uprooted. [The proverb] is used a great deal by old men who feel that the young educated men throw the entire Acholi culture overboard. This is the theme of my poem, *Song of Lawino* (pp. 37-38).

Interestingly, teachers presumed the threat to Acholi culture came not from modernization and education, but rather from young people who were no longer acting according

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iworo mamani anyimi pe. Ipwuto ite okono. Ka giryemi, icito kwene? Cak woro mamani. Peny mamani, 'Icoo?'
Babani woro bene. Resultwu rac pien pe wuworo lunyodo. Wujenye. Ngati ma icamo kwone woro me acel."

to Acholi norms of *woro*. The teacher's claim that pupils were boastful was frequently lamented at schools and referenced the ways that pupils acted defiant of authority. By referencing the Acholi proverb about uprooting the pumpkin, the teacher emphasized the destructive consequences of not behaving with *woro* toward one's parents/guardians and teachers, both in terms of the young person's life path as well as in terms of the social fabric of the family and society in general.

The teachers' discourse about uprooting the pumpkin parallels the national discourse about how education can lead to development, but lack of education can lead to underdevelopment. Being educated well by one's family to perform respect helps society prosper whereas lacking that education was seen as the source of social unraveling.

As will be described below, the ideology that behaving respectfully and obediently toward teachers was undermined by the realities that pupils' abilities to gain the academic support they needed were reliant on the abilities of their families to financially support their schools.

The notions of the ideal educated person and the ideal child overlapped considerably in schools. The modern educated person who could stand in lines, sit still, and take directions resonated with Acholi ideas about the importance of self-discipline and self-control in the performance of respect and obedience toward authority, or *woro.* However, the ideology of *woro* also required teachers to behave respectably and to support to those who performed respect toward them. As will be seen in the discussion below, the inequitable conditions of teaching and learning at the three schools had important implications for teachers' and learners' performance of respect, learners' abilities to achieve the ideal educated learner status, and learners' proclivity to perform respect.

Conditions of work: Human and material resource inequities at the three schools

In this section, I describe the conditions of work at each of the three schools and how these conditions of work related to teachers' actions in school and their attitudes toward pupils. Later I will discuss how some poor pupils resisted the ideology of the ideal obedient child (*latin ma woro*) and the ideal pupil in contexts where the experience of schooling is disempowering.

Teaching as labor

The government of Uganda fails to adequately train, pay, and support teachers. Teachers complain about low and irregular pay (Tromp and Dadtzberger, 2019) and poor preparation for teaching in teacher training colleges (Altinyelken, 2011). Furthermore, parents often question the quality of education provided at government schools (Tromp and Datzberger, 2019). All this has led to low teacher morale and low public respect for the teaching profession (Tromp and Dadtzberger, 2019).

The material conditions of teacher's labor have an important impact on their work. Zuze and Leibbrandt (2011) found that resources available to primary school teachers in Uganda significantly affected teaching and learning outcomes even when controlling for the average socioeconomic status of students. Vavrus and Salema (2013) similarly found in Tanzania that the material conditions of work impacted Tanzanian teachers' willingness and ability to implement newly learned teaching techniques. All this suggests that just by providing better and more equitable material support to schools, governments can improve the equity of learning. This has considerable relevance for post-conflict schools. Education and conflict scholars have documented the ways that inequitable education can contribute to social tensions and the roots of conflict (e.g., Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; King, 2013; Salmi, 2000; Seitz, 2004).

In the sections below, I describe how differences in teacher pay, the quality of school administration, the quality of school infrastructure, and the material and human resources available at the schools all influenced teacher morale, implementation of extracurricular and curricular activities, and treatment of pupils.

Furthermore, I describe how at the three schools, the conditions of teachers' work had implications for teaching and learning and pupil-teacher relations.

Sacred Cross
School location

Sacred Cross is in the center of town. While it is a government school, the school compound is connected to the main Catholic Church serving the town and it was founded and overseen by the Catholic Church through the School Management Committee (SMC). Because of its central location and its proximity to the Catholic Church, the school was under the watchful eye of the Parish Priest and people in town. For example, in one general assembly, the head teacher spoke about how the Parish Priest complained about some pupils leaving the school compound.

School administration

The head teacher at Sacred Cross was consistently present and active in the school's extracurricular and academic activities. She attended pupil competitions and practices for music dance and drama (MDD) and track. She regularly held staff meetings where she gave feedback to teachers on their progress and provided transparent reports about School Management Committee meetings to the teaching staff. She also had two deputy head teachers who were

active in ensuring that extracurricular activities were implemented regularly and in a timely manner. During the head teacher's tenure at the school, the head teacher had saved thousands of dollars to pay to build a perimeter wall around faculty housing, which teachers requested as added security.

The head teacher also ensured the school was an environment where pupils acted respectfully and where they were treated with respect. She organized for pupils to receive public recognition of their achievements during general assemblies, including for awards won during competitions and good performance on exams. She also provided space during general assemblies for pupils to occasionally present to the school. For example, the head prefect presented to the general assembly about issues such as the prefects' meeting and general discipline at the school.

The school administration was also responsive to teacher complaints. For example, in response to teacher complaints, the school administration doubled the rate of pay for teaching extended lessons on Saturdays from 2,500 to 5,000 shillings. When teachers complained about the quantity of extracurricular activities they were assigned, the school administration worked to support teacher implementation of extracurricular activities by assigning multiple teachers to work together on the extracurricular activities to ensure that there was adequate support for implementation of activities. Teachers took this approach as they adapted other external programs that entered the school. For example, in their implementation of the School Family Initiative, a sex education program funded by USAID, teachers combined their "families" of pupils they were responsible for instructing so that some teachers could use the time allotted for the School Family Initiative to complete other tasks. While this was against the design of the program and the instructions of the school administration, at least the teachers worked together

to implement the program. At the other two schools, teachers outright refused to implement the School Family Initiative.

Material resources

The price of school fees at Sacred Cross was almost double the amount of school fees at the other two schools in which I conducted research. While several pupils in the grade seven class came from relatively poor families, and a few were staying with relatives (either because their families were living outside of town, or because they were orphans), all grade seven Sacred Cross pupils had sufficient economic support for them to attend one of the better government schools in the municipality.

The higher cost of school fees at Sacred Cross allowed for more resources to be spent on paying staff for teaching extended lessons, providing learning materials, and on extra-curricular activities at school. Parent Teacher Association fees were high enough for Sacred Cross to hire additional teachers to support the grade seven pupils, who faced the high stakes test at the end of the year. The school had eight teachers to teach seventh grade English, Math, Science, and Social Studies to approximately 50 pupils. This compares to only three grade seven teachers teaching at Piny Dyak, one of whom was teaching both Science and Social Studies for grades seven and six, and four teachers at Bright Futures.

The greater amount of resources available for teaching and learning was visible in the classroom. The classroom was full of visual aids to support learning such as a map hung on the wall showing the history of migration in Uganda and a poster size example of a business letter. Sacred Cross was the only school where pupils were given a textbook at the beginning of the school year to help them review for the primary leaving exam. The Social Studies teacher, who

was also the school librarian, distributed the Social Studies textbooks to pupils and although there were not enough text books for each child, teachers oversaw the regular rotation of the Social Studies textbook among pupils over the course of the school year.

Material support for extracurricular activities was also easily observed. At the pupil track competition, Sacred Cross had a tent and uniforms for the pupils racing, whereas Piny Dyak pupils had no uniforms and sheltered in a shaded corner of the municipal track building that smelled like urine. Sacred Cross was also the only one of the schools to take grade seven pupils on a class excursion to Kampala. Parents paid extra money for children to spend a few days visiting important historical and political sites, such as the Parliament.

Teacher pay

Unlike at the other two schools, teachers at Sacred Cross received "top up" on their salary. This money was meant to encourage teachers to work hard to promote the pupils' success. At Sacred Cross, teachers received an extra 50,000 shillings per month (on top of a net 360,000 shillings per month from the government) as "motivation" to focus on their work and not take up extra jobs to help make ends meet.

Teacher pay for extended lessons at Sacred Cross was about the same as that of Bright Futures, but much higher than at Piny Dyak. Extended lessons were lessons given to upper level primary school pupils after the regular school day. The district government passed a policy stating that government schools should offer extended lessons for a fee. These lessons were mandatory for pupils and much of the regular syllabus (not just review) was covered during this time. Teachers were paid per hour of extra teaching. At Sacred Cross, teachers were paid 2,000 shillings per hour Monday through Friday and 5000 Uganda shillings per hour on Saturdays. At

Bright Futures teachers were paid 3,000 shillings per hour Monday through Saturday. This compares to 2,000 shillings per hour at Piny Dyak, which was later reduced to 1000 shillings per hour by the head teacher of Piny Dyak.

Parent involvement

Parents were also actively involved in overseeing school functioning. Sacred Cross was the only school where I witnessed a parent visit the school to observe a class. Parents also conducted a qualitative assessment of teaching and learning after the mock exam to ask pupils what aspects of teaching were going well and what aspects were not going well. Parents presented their findings to teachers along with pupil recommendations for how things could be improved. Following the parent evaluation, there was a parent-teacher meeting where parents followed up about their concerns. Parents even became involved in pupils' extracurricular activities, with one mom volunteering her time to help with the music, dance, and drama team. Parents' interest and ability to take part in school activities suggests the financial stability to be able to take time off work to dedicate to the school, a level of respect from the school leadership for parents' views and concerns, and parents' sense of their own authority in governing the school.

Infrastructure

The greater resources invested in the school were also evident in the infrastructure at the school. The school compound was fenced in (unlike the other two schools) so pupils could not easily come and go from the school during school hours. Sacred Cross had new toilets and a hand washing facility for the teachers and pupils that was brought to the school by an INGO.

Classrooms were also generally in good condition. The library at the school was well organized, clean, and occasionally made accessible to pupils at the school.

Despite the high-quality infrastructure in the school compound, teachers' quarters needed improvement. The school was saving to build a perimeter wall around teacher housing and teachers requested for all the teachers' housing to be changed to cement buildings, but the school had not yet saved enough for this.

Teacher-pupil relations

The better conditions of work at Sacred Cross had implications for teaching and learning. Teachers generally completed all their curricular and extracurricular activities on time. Teaching and learning at Sacred Cross was participatory, well planned out and respectful of pupil knowledge. Teachers provided plenty of opportunities for pupils to participate in lessons by having pupils provide their own examples of concepts discussed in class. Teachers also occasionally used creative interactive lessons to demonstrate concepts taught, such as when the Science teacher taught about static electricity by having pupils rub their pens on their heads and then pick up small pieces of paper with the tips of their pens using the static electricity generated from the rubbing. Pupils also regularly corrected teachers throughout the lesson and teachers tended to respectfully thank pupils for the corrections. While at times teachers ridiculed pupils or used corporal punishment to manage pupil behavior, teachers' use of these negative forms of discipline was much rarer than at the other two schools. For the most part, teachers created a participatory classroom environment where pupils felt confident asking and answering questions and correcting teachers.

Sacred Cross teachers also actively sought to encourage pupils' abilities as public speakers. Teachers frequently would use the phrase, "Can someone read for us like a candidate?" or "Can you speak like a candidate?" to describe the ways that grade seven pupils should feel comfortable speaking confidently in public. Teachers would coach pupils saying that with their status as grade seven candidates, they will be asked to speak in front of large audiences such as a public gathering for the clan.

Sacred Cross teachers treated pupils with respect even when pupils were actively questioning teacher knowledge and authority. Indeed, it was likely teachers' respectful treatment of pupils that made pupils feel confident questioning teacher knowledge during teaching and learning. When pupils felt the teacher was representing the material incorrectly, they would raise their hand and provide alternative information cited from previous lessons. The teachers generally responded respectfully to the pupils' questions, responding that they would double check the information, though if pupils repeatedly questioned the information given by the teacher, the teacher could get frustrated and lecture the pupils about respecting his (all grade seven teachers were male) authority. In general, pupils had confidence in their own knowledge of the subject matter they were reviewing, and they also felt confident that their assertions would be respected by the teacher.

Teacher's respect for pupil knowledge and their willingness to be challenged by pupils contrasted with the teacher treatment of pupils at the other two schools. It is hard to imagine pupils questioning the knowledge of the head teacher at Piny Dyak given his tendency to enter the classroom feeling angry and peppering pupils with insults. At Bright Futures, while pupils might question teacher knowledge about a topic particularly to get a laugh from their peers, most

teachers would respond to pupils' questioning with insults rather than with respect (though at least one teacher was respectful to pupils' challenges).

Support for extracurricular achievement

At Sacred Cross, pupils had many opportunities to practice their leadership skills. Beyond the election of prefects and head girls and boys, who are meant to reinforce the embodiment of discipline in the schools, the greater number of extracurricular activities and the greater school support for these activities provided opportunities for pupils to excel in these other spaces as well. For example, Sacred Cross was the only school that had an active Scouts club. Participation in the Scouts however was also an embodied representation of one's class distinction, because to participate in Scouts, one needed to have bought the Scouts uniforms. Wearing the uniform signaled status and leadership. The Scouts were used widely to help with crowd control in public events, providing the pupils who were active in the club the opportunity to participate in these events. For example, the Scouts were used to manage crowds at the public stadium where major events such as the municipal track competition were held. When President Museveni came to speak at the opening of the new market that had been constructed, Scouts were given the opportunity to sleep overnight at the Paramount Chief's compound and Scouts were utilized in the organizing of the event.

Also, while all the schools had Music Dance and Drama clubs, only Sacred Cross hired external specialists in the field of Music Dance and Drama who could coach pupils on their singing and dancing. They hired an expert in singing to coach pupils on the choir portions of their competition. They hired an expert in traditional dance to come and coach pupils on Acholi

traditional dance. This extra support yielded important dividends to pupils, three of whom won awards in the MDD competition for drama, singing, and dance.

Sacred Cross pupils were also given the opportunity to participate in public events and to travel outside of town. For example, during the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence, INGOs organized a march through town followed by a series of speakers and presentations at a public park in town where most major events are held. A select group of primary and secondary schools were invited to participate, including pupils from Sacred Cross. Piny Dyak and Bright Futures were not among those schools in attendance.

Finally, only Sacred Cross took an end of year field trip. The pupils took a week-long trip to Kampala where they had the opportunity to see the source of the Nile, visit parliament and meet the ministers of parliament who represented them, and to go to the Uganda Museum.

These greater opportunities to express themselves as leaders in various fields, to participate in public life, and to travel outside of the region demonstrated the expanded horizons of Sacred Cross pupils.

The multiple and varied opportunities for pupils to become leaders at Sacred Cross as well as pupils' greater participation in public life likely contributed to pupils' feelings of confidence in their status as educated persons.

Youth culture: Esteem for the schooled identity

At Sacred Cross, power and respect were given to the person with the highest marks or the most school knowledge. While performance of the ideal schooled identity largely overlapped with the performance of the respectful and respectable child, there were times where pupils asserted their knowledge vis-à-vis the teacher that served to question teacher authority and

knowledge (presumably a disrespectful action). Nevertheless, teachers tended to respond respectfully to this challenge, acknowledging the knowledge of the child, when he/she was correct, thus reinforcing the child's "schooled identity".

At Sacred Cross, pupils largely conformed to the embodied performance of the ideal pupil, associated with "smartness" and bodily discipline. Pupils wore their uniforms as intended (with their shirts tucked in and the buttons fully buttoned up). They (mostly) sat still and quiet during lessons and they stood quietly in straight lines during the general assemblies.

Performance of the disciplined pupil at Sacred Cross, was also reinforced by the pupils themselves. The pupils who were given the most respect and esteem by their peers were the ones who performed best on exams. These pupils were seen as being disciplined and hardworking.

In contrast, the handful of bigger, more physically mature pupils could be ridiculed by their younger peers for being "too big" to still be in primary school. For example, in a conversation I had with a female pupil, I asked which pupils were bullied by their peers. She explained that the older bigger pupils could not make the mistake of ridiculing a younger more intelligent pupil, because the younger pupil could challenge the older pupil using his knowledge. In a conversation with two other younger male pupils from Sacred Cross, they talked about how older pupils sometimes dropped out of the school, because they were ridiculed by their younger peers for repeating classes and delaying their education, which made them seem less bright.

Indeed, the idea that pupils could challenge an older pupil with their knowledge was also part of the relationship between pupils and teachers, where pupils would challenge teachers when they made a mistake. Pupils had power in this challenge as they were able to assert their own knowledge and status vis-à-vis their peers and even their teachers. Furthermore, teachers'

(mostly) respectful responses to pupils' questioning of their knowledge and authority served to reinforce pupils' confidence in themselves as knowledgeable schooled persons.

The respect given to high achieving pupils was also reinforced by the head teacher who gave prizes and public recognition to the highest performing pupils, thereby elevating their status and recognition in the school.

At Sacred Cross, the children who received the most respect and esteem from their peers and from teachers were high achieving in school as well as adherent to the embodied discipline of the classroom (e.g. sitting still and quiet), which largely overlapped with notions of the ideal respectful child, though at times overturned notions of respect as children questioned the knowledge of the teacher. The ideal student I observed in this context was a classed identity that reflected the aspirations of parents and the child him/herself as showing promise to become "someone" through the path of education.

Conclusion

At Sacred Cross, pupils received the message that they had the potential to "become someone" and they largely responded by conforming to the norms of the ideal educated disciplined and respectable person. The greater material supports for teaching and learning, and extracurricular activities created an environment where pupils had greater access to information (such as textbooks) and instruction, had more opportunities to practice their leadership skills and to expand their participation in public life. Pupils received recognition and respect from their peers and teachers for excelling in learning and in extracurricular activities.

Pupils' abilities to embody the ideal pupil shifted the dynamic of respect, granting them greater respect from an adult than they might have otherwise received. Similar to how Meinert

(2009) described the differential treatment of pupils according to the perceived class background of the pupils in the government school in eastern Uganda, at Sacred Cross, teachers' and administrators' perceptions that pupils had the potential to become someone granted pupils more respect in the school and enabled pupils to stretch beyond the deferential treatment of authority figures to actively question teacher knowledge in the classroom. This shows the ways the relations of respect and authority shift, such that class intersects with age in determining the flow of respect.

Piny Dyak

School location

Piny Dyak was located at the periphery of the town (about 5 kilometers from the center of town) on a dirt road about 600 yards from a small trading center that had a small produce stand, a mechanic and a kiosk that sold airtime [people can purchase small amounts of time for phone calls], soap and a few other commodities. The school was flanked on one side by a swamp. On the other side there were some small grass-thatched huts.

While any activity happening at Sacred Cross could be seen and disapproved of by the many passersby in town as well as the Parish Priest, Piny Dyak was so isolated that the head teacher's tendency to shout at staff and pupils was easily hidden from community supervision.

School administration

The school culture at Piny Dyak was strongly shaped by the head teacher. He had been transferred from a bigger school that had had many INGOs working there. However, teachers shared that the reason he had been transferred from that school was that some of the foreigners

who worked with INGOs at the school had reported him to the municipal education office.[52]

Teachers reported that it was common for the municipal education office to transfer head

teachers to poorer schools as a punishment for bad behavior. The teachers interpreted the head

teacher's transfer to Piny Dyak as a demotion, because Piny Dyak received very little money

from the government and from parents, giving the head teacher fewer opportunities to take

money from the school coffers.[53] The government sent money to schools based on the number of

pupils enrolled in the school. At Piny Dyak, there were very few pupils – around a quarter of the

pupils at Sacred Cross. Further, school fees at Piny Dyak were among the cheapest in the

municipality, so the Head Teacher had very little budget to work with. Further, transfers

happened within the district or municipality a teacher was recruited in, so the fact that the head

teacher remained within the municipality did not mean the transfer was not considered a

punishment.

The teachers also talked about how the head teacher's demotion and his sudden loss of

funds created a hostile work environment. Frequently, the head teacher would come to school

shouting and threatening people. The teachers explained that he had married multiple women and

had many children when he was flush with money, but now he could no longer support the needs

of his children and wives, and this was creating a lot of stress in his personal life. They

complained, "He brings his stress from home and takes it out on us." The head teacher made his

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[52] I do not know the details of the problems he had at his other school

[53] According to research participants, it was common for head teachers to take some money from the school. Indeed, it seems this practice was even encouraged by some of their supervisors, such as the district or municipal education officer who reportedly would only visit schools if they were given some money to "facilitate" their inspection. Head teachers ended up falling into trouble when the amount they excessively stole from the school's coffers such that they impeded the functioning of the school.

financial distress explicit to me. He sat me in his office and asked me for money to help him pay

for one of his sons to attend secondary school.[54] While being asked for money was a common

occurrence for me in Uganda, this was the only head teacher to solicit money from me and only

one of two teachers to ask me for money.

The head teacher's stress and anger were felt every time he was in the school. Pupils

would be smiling and interacting until they heard a motorcycle drive up, transporting the head

teacher to school. Then they would whisper to each other, "He's here."

Material resources

The head teacher and teaching staff continuously emphasized the lack of funds at Piny

Dyak; however, while the head teacher talked about his difficulty paying his children's school

fees and his inability to pay teachers' salaries, the teachers regularly discussed the potential ways

the head teacher might be mismanaging funds, such as the fact that the money budgeted to pay

for learning materials was missing, yet the school still did not have the supplies that were

budgeted for. At an impromptu staff meeting held with teachers to discuss the head teacher

withholding their pay, the head teacher explained how there was absolutely no money at the

school. He explained that if some money had come in for another purpose, he would gladly "take

from one pocket to pay the other", or use money reserved for one budget item on another. The

teachers, on the other hand, did not believe him and his promise that their salary would be

prioritized.

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[54] I told him that I was unable to pay for his son's school fees, because I believed that it would conflict with my IRB protocol, which emphasized that participants would receive no personal benefit in exchange for participating in research.

The lack of resources for the school was visible in the classroom and when pupils went out for extracurricular activities. The classroom walls were usually empty of any visual aids to support learning. As mentioned before, Piny Dyak was one of the few schools that lacked a tent for the municipal track competition and while pupils at Sacred Cross were fed lunch during competition, pupils at Piny Dyak received no lunch other than what they could bring for themselves.

Teacher pay

As mentioned earlier, at Piny Dyak, teachers did not receive top up money. At Piny Dyak and teachers were paid 2000 shillings for extended lessons, but the head teacher later reduced the payment to 1000 shillings per hour, which the teachers resisted by refusing to teach the extra lessons. The municipal education officer intervened, and the head teacher agreed to pay 2000 shillings per hour until he ran out of money (about the middle of the term), at which point teachers simply stopped providing extended lessons.[55]

The head teacher terrorized teachers, which was necessary to keep them quiet when he was not paying them. The head teacher would report teachers who were absent to the municipal education office, even after they had asked for permission to be absent. He would also threaten teachers who spoke up about lack of pay. For example, in one staff meeting, the head teacher spoke about how the government policy was going to change such that they would only provide one teacher per every 50 pupils rather than allowing smaller schools to have a slightly better

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[55] While arguably extended lessons could be incorporated into the regular school day, the fact remained that pupils at Piny Dyak received fewer hours of instruction than pupils at the other two schools and teachers received less remuneration than at the other two schools.

pupil-teacher ratio in order to assure at least one teacher per grade level.[56] Piny Dyak currently

had seven teachers and two administrators, but it did not have 50 pupils per grade level. The

head teacher threatened that he would likely have to fire two teachers and he insinuated that the

teachers who had been most resistant to his control would be the first to go.[57]

Parent involvement

Parents had very little involvement in the school. Nevertheless, when the head teacher

called a parent meeting at the beginning of the school year a considerable number of parents

attended: 13 parents attended, out of a total of 47 pupils in grade seven. This was a larger number

than the number of parents who attended the Bright Futures parents meeting (2 parents out of a

total of a total of 52 pupils) and the number of parents who attended the Sacred Cross parent

meeting that I attended (11 parents out of a total of 54 pupils). However, the high attendance of

parents at the meeting was likely due to the head teacher's threat that if pupils did not come to

school with their parent, they should not attend school that day. Indeed, he sent several pupils

home who came to school without parents.

Parents generally respected or feared the head teacher and rarely openly questioned his

authority. Some parents believed the head teacher had the authority to govern the school as he

saw fit and they guided their children to be obedient. Some parents supported the use of corporal

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[56] Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports and UNESCO. (2014). Teacher Issues in Uganda: A shared vision for an effective teachers policy. UNESCO - IIEP Pôle de Dakar.

[57] While the head teacher cannot fire teachers, the head teacher explained that with the reduction in staff, head teachers would have the ability to identify teachers who would be transferred to less desirable village schools in the same district or perhaps even in another district. This threat was an important one for teachers who want to stay near relatives in the municipality.

punishment to promote student achievement and discipline. For example, some parents at a parents meeting encouraged the teachers to cane their children if they were not performing well.

Other parents may have had some reservations to the head teacher's behavior, yet they feared his reaction to their objections. For example, in a focus group discussion, female pupils explained that if a parent went to the head teacher with a complaint, the head teacher would threaten to expel their child from the school. This was an important threat for a parent of a grade seven student, because once a child is registered in a school for the primary leaving exam (PLE), the child could not transfer to another school. If the head teacher decided to expel a student, then the child would not be able to take the primary leaving exam. Another point of leverage the head teacher had over parents was the fact that most of the parents were very poor and so they were often late or had not completed their child's school fees for the term. Being in arrears in payment made it difficult for parents to make complaints about the management of the school.

Infrastructure

The water and sanitation infrastructure at the school was very poor. The teachers' toilets were run down and almost full. One of the boys' toilets was flooded. Teachers complained that the poor quality of water meant they and their children occasionally experienced bouts of typhoid. While there was a borehole at the school, which was meant to provide drinking water for students and teachers as well as the surrounding community, one male pupil said he saw red worms in the water from the borehole at the school.

The library at the school was not maintained. Books were not organized and were covered with dust. The library remained locked and inaccessible to anyone but teachers who might occasionally look for a book they needed. Teachers also did not always have access to the

books they needed. For some subjects there might be pupils' editions of the books, but not a teachers' edition, resulting in teachers sometimes providing incorrect information to pupils.

The classrooms and teachers' housing at the school were of similar quality to those at Sacred Cross except for the fact that the school had no perimeter wall. The classrooms had cement walls and iron sheet room and a black board at the front. Teachers' housing was in good condition, but despite there being very few teachers at the school, there was still insufficient housing at the school to house all the teachers. Therefore, several teachers commuted to the school.

Teacher-pupil relations

At Piny Dyak, the head teacher created a culture of fear at the school and teachers and pupils largely blamed the head teacher for the poor working and learning environment. Teachers and pupils showed solidarity and respect for each other vis-à-vis the head teacher who they obeyed, but did not respect, because they saw him as not acting according to the norms of a respectable male who showed self-control and humility.

The teachers and pupils would all complain to each other about the behavior of the head teacher. Occasionally, pupils would ask teachers to talk to the head teacher about his behavior in the classroom, which they (and I) did. On some occasions the male math teacher sat in on the English lessons by the head teacher, which worked to tame the behavior of the head teacher. Teachers also complained about the head teacher to the Parent Teacher Association Chairman, the Municipal Education Office, and to the School Management Committee Chairman.

Apart from the head teacher, teachers generally had a favorable opinion about the pupils at the school. In my private conversations with teachers, they indicated that the pupils generally

behaved respectably at the school because the head teacher was very strict. Some indicated that pupils were "undisciplined" outside of the school because they learned bad behaviors such as drinking and early sex from their parents. However, I never heard the Piny Dyak classroom teachers ridicule pupils for behavior such as drinking or having sex (the way they did at Bright Futures). Nevertheless, the head teacher did actively ridicule pupils and accuse them of being sexually active and thus failing to meet the ideals of a respectable child and pupil. While all but one of the teachers at the school did use corporal punishment, it was always connected to a behavior or a lesson and corporal punishment was used less frequently by Piny Dyak teachers (other than the head teacher) than by Bright Futures teachers.

While teachers asserted that outside school many pupils behaved in ways that conflicted with the ideal pupil, they generally respected Piny Dyak pupils who they saw as working hard under difficult learning conditions and they offered kindnesses, such as one teacher sharing food with vulnerable pupils and all the teachers offering guidance and occasional interventions to help pupils manage their interactions with the head teacher.

Support for extracurricular achievement

At Piny Dyak support for pupil involvement in extracurricular activities was minimal, mostly due to the small number of teachers and teachers' poor remuneration.

Apart from the athletics competitions (track and field) and the music dance and drama, pupils had very limited opportunities to engage in extracurricular activities. The main reason why these two extracurricular activities received any time and attention was that the municipal education office organized public events in which schools competed. But with limited material

and human resource support for them, pupils (unsurprisingly) achieved limited success in these areas.

There was one INGO-supported program in the school that occurred a handful of times, but the program only allowed for the participation of up to 12 pupils, so the impact of the program on the school as a whole was minimal.

Youth culture in an environment of fear

At Piny Dyak, pupil behavior was shaped by the culture of fear that the head teacher implemented in the school. Pupils largely adhered to norms of respect (*woro)* and to the bodily discipline (e.g. sitting up straight and siting still and quietly in class) expected of the ideal pupil, though pupils found small and large ways to resist the head teacher's authority.

Pupils contrasted fear from respect and indicated that while they could be forced into obedience, they did not respect the head teacher's behavior. For example, one female pupil explained, "None of the children at this school has respect. They pretend to act with respect, but they are not respectful." Indeed, when the head teacher was not around, children and teachers often spoke negatively about him. Children would sometimes mimic him and his behavior. Even in his presence, children's response to the head teacher demonstrated fear and not respect. For example, when the head teacher entered the classroom and greeted the pupils, the pupils might stand up in response, but they often remained quiet rather than offering a greeting in response.

When the head teacher sent a large group of pupils home from school because they did not have math sets (e.g. a compass, a pencil, and a protractor), the pupils went to a human rights organization and reported the head teacher for kicking them out of school. The organization staff approached the Municipal Education Office about the issue, but little to nothing was done about

the complaint and teachers and pupils explained that the head teacher punished the pupils who reported the incident with several canes.

Pupils at times asked teachers to intervene and talk to the head teacher about his behavior in the classroom, which we all did. Teachers and I also spoke with the PTA chairman about the head teacher's behavior and the teachers also complained to the chairman of the School Management Committee.[58]

According to one teacher, at one point some of the male pupils approached her with the idea of ambushing and beating up the head teacher when he was not at school. Reportedly the teacher talked the pupils out of the idea. However, this form of resistance is not unique to Piny Dyak. According to teachers at Bright Futures, the deputy head teacher (DHT) at one point was ambushed on his way back to the school by a group of youth, and the teachers believed it was likely pupils taking out frustration on the DHT. This response by pupils supports the arguments made by education and conflict scholars who argue that teachers' use of corporal punishment (and other forms of violence) in schools reinforces the notion that violence is a legitimate means of solving problems (Davies, 2004, 2011; Dupuy, 2008; Harber, 2004; Kirk, 2007).

While pupils adhered to the behavior of the ideal child and pupil in school, outside of school when pupils were not under the watchful eye of the head teacher, pupils at times defied norms of the ideal pupil and child. For example, some teachers and parents reported seeing some of the male pupils drinking alcohol in the trading center. One female parent at a parent's meeting recounted seeing six of the male pupils from Piny Dyak drinking sachets of Uganda waragi (a

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[58] I sought assistance from a Ugandan colleague from Gulu University to help me speak to the School Management Committee about my concerns.

hard liquor) while still wearing their school uniforms. She said that the boys claimed that the sachets were "*laket wic wek wareading maber.*" [helped them clear their heads so they can study well].

Also, at the farewell party, after administration left the classroom, many of the pupils changed into different clothes. Some boys returned sagging their trousers and wearing sunglasses and baseball caps with flat brims and some girls put on tight pants. Thus, there is some indication that Piny Dyak pupils experimented with western styles of dress that teachers and adults broadly saw as not respectable), yet when in proximity of the head teacher, pupils tended to perform *woro*.

Conclusion

At Piny Dyak, the conditions of fear that affected the school brought pupils and teachers together in solidarity against the head teacher. Apart from the head teacher, most teachers at Piny Dyak treated pupils with respect and perceived of Piny Dyak pupils as largely behaving according to norms of respectability while at school. Though the teachers recognized that outside of school, pupils would veer from the ideal pupil behavior, they respected what they saw as disciplined, hardworking behavior of Piny Dyak pupils while at the school. Pupils and teachers asserted that the head teacher did not behave according to norms of respect and that though he might be obeyed, he would not be respected. Both teachers and pupils found small and large ways to resist the head teacher's authority at the school.

Bright Futures

School location

Bright Futures was located at the periphery of town (3.6 kilometers from the center of town), but in the center of a large trading center along a major road connecting the municipality to the next major town. The liveliness of the trading center could at times be heard in the school when music was played loudly in bars just outside the school. The boundary of the school demarcated the boundary between the town and the neighboring subcounty that was the location of a large displacement camp during the war. There had been several violent attacks on displaced persons in the area. Many of the pupils at Bright Futures commute from the former displacement camp – about a 45-minute walk. The former displacement camp is now a very urban space with an active trading center and market along the road. It also has a nightclub, which is reportedly frequented by many of the pupils at the school. The trading center also has video halls where young people can watch music videos.

School administration

The school did not have a head teacher for the first two terms of the school year and the head teacher who was eventually assigned to the school had been suspended for six months as a punishment for issues that occurred at his previous school.[59] Teachers frequently talked about how educational administrators in the municipal office would never appoint a bad head teacher to a beloved government school like Kings Primary, which had a sterling reputation and school

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[59] I learned this through conversations with several teachers.

fees more than three times that of Bright Futures, but a school like Bright Futures was neglected. The deputy head teacher, who was sitting in for the absent head teacher, was very permissive with teachers, so much so that one of the male teachers was infamous for being out of school and failing to perform his duties.

Teachers complained that the school leadership failed to create an environment where teachers worked together to teach pupils, provide extracurricular activities, and promote discipline. For example, one female teacher explained that many of the teachers had active conflicts with each other and did not respect each other.

Material resources

School fees at Bright Futures primary school were slightly higher than Piny Dyak but still very low for the municipality and considerably lower than Sacred Cross. The lack of material resources at the school were felt in the low teacher pay and in the lack of materials available to teachers to do their jobs.

Teachers complained that sometimes materials that they needed to prepare their lessons were not available at the school. For example, during an impromptu meeting with the leaders of the school management committee, one female teacher raised the complaint that teachers received their books for scheming lessons late in the term and that there were no pens or manila cards available to them at the beginning of the term. The teacher explained that while she would like to use the holiday period to lesson plan and prepare for the next term, the lack of materials made it difficult for her to do so.

Nevertheless, there were slightly more visual aids at Bright Futures than at Piny Dyak. While at Piny Dyak, there were no visual aids hung on the walls of the classroom, in the Bright

Infrastructure

The infrastructure of the school was adequate. The water and sanitation facilities at the school were in relatively good condition. The toilets were functional, and the pupils I spoke with felt the toilets were satisfactory. However, according to one female teacher, even though the toilets were supposed to be emptied yearly, over a three-year period the toilets had only been emptied once. The library was clean, though not accessible to pupils and was typically used for meetings rather than for learning. Teachers' housing was generally in good condition. Nevertheless, teaching staff frequently lamented the lack of a perimeter wall around the school, which they explained made it difficult for them to monitor pupil movement in and out of school and to protect pupils from people coming from outside of the school.

Teacher-pupil relations

Teachers blamed pupils for their poor working conditions and expressed to pupils that parents' limited support for their children's education was evidence that the children were not respectful of their parents and thus not deserving of their parents' support. Teachers simultaneously emphasized to pupils that if they wanted to learn they had to pay teachers adequately and they had to show respect to teachers and parents so they could find "energy" to support pupils' learning.

Teachers and administrators often blamed pupils and their families for the difficulties of teaching at Bright Futures. Teachers and administrators emphasized the hardship of teaching at Bright Futures in their remarks to pupils. For example, below is an excerpt from the girls' meeting with pupils at Bright Futures. In the excerpt the head teacher emphasizes that pupils could not expect to pass their exams if their families did not contribute adequately to the school:

He told the pupils that to study costs money.

Then he complained, "*Lunyodo gitamo Bright Futures konye peke. Lotino pe kato. Ka imito kato maber culo cente adi? Kings culo cente adi*?" [Parents think that Bright Futures is worthless because the children do not pass the exam. If you want to pass the exam well, how much should you spend?] How much do they spend in [Kings?]

One of the female teachers raised her hand and said her children were in Kings primary school. She said P1 and 2 you pay 70,000 per term. In P7 you pay 300,000/term.

Then the head teacher asked the pupils, "*Kany I Bright Futures iculo adi*?" [Here at Bright Futures how much do you pay?]

Innocent raised her hand. He called on her and she stood up and said that in P7 you pay 85,000/term and that includes the extended lessons, mock and food (for boarders).

Another pupil stood up and said in P3 you pay 26,000 shillings per term.

The head teacher then said, "*Wungeyo pingo pe kato? Lok pol cente*." [You know why you do not pass? The issue is mainly money.]

In another meeting with the SMC, teachers responded to school management chairpersons' threats to cut teacher pay if they did not attend lessons daily and on time saying that the school was poor and the teachers did not receive "top up" money the way they do at other municipal schools, therefore, "what is needed at Kings may not happen here".

Teachers and administrators frequently denigrated pupils and their families during daily interactions in school such as in classroom lessons and during general assemblies. The teachers and administrators frequently referenced pupils' poor socioeconomic backgrounds, supposedly dysfunctional families and at times they also made references to town-village distinctions.

Teachers' references to pupils' poor socioeconomic backgrounds at times were meant to connect the content of the curriculum to pupils' lived realities, however, their doing so teachers often reinforced the construction of class distinctions and sent a message to pupils that teachers thought negatively about them and their families. For example, in the following lesson the teacher likened a poem about a neglected child to the families of youth in the classroom:

> Then the teacher tells the pupils to read the poem. The pupils read the following stanzas:
>
> "Blame me not for what I am.
>
> Neither blame my creator nor that woman who bore me.
>
> Blame the son of man who took me not to school.
>
> That man drank all his wealth leaving me to suffer..."

The poem is not yet through, but the deputy interrupts the poem to say the class, "We have some people like that here."

Teachers not only denigrated pupils and their families during lessons, but they also did so during their own private conversations. Comments about pupils' families' inappropriate behavior came out in my private conversations with teachers. For example, in a private conversation with a grade five female teacher, she argued many pupils got involved in alcohol because their parents were going out to dance clubs at night and were getting drunk too.

Teachers' comments about pupils' backgrounds emphasized that teachers were working in a context where pupils lacked the cultural capital to perform the proper behavior of a pupil and a young person. Teachers' derisive comments to and about pupils reflected their own views that they were sent to a "hardship school", where families did not adequately support the school with PTA fees, where pupils were undisciplined, and where pupils were coming from "the village".

Often teachers and administrators compared pupils to "villagers" when pupils were making too much noise, wearing their uniforms improperly, not working hard enough in school, and/or performing poorly on exams. For example, during the general assembly after the Bright Futures team's strong performance in music dance and drama competitions the head teacher congratulated pupils, but then lamented that people from other schools were complaining that the

pupils from Bright Futures were shouting and making a lot of noise during the competition. He complained that the pupils were acting like they were from the village.

The reference to Bright Futures pupils' lack of self-discipline and their origins in the village serve to emphasize how diametrically opposed these pupils are to the ideal modern educated person. Teachers frequently lamented that while Bright Futures was a municipal school, it was at the edge of the municipality and many pupils came from the village. They frequently indicated that though they were at a hardship school, they were not being remunerated for the "hardship" of working "in the village". Among the "hardships" teachers saw in their work was the fact that pupils were "undisciplined".

Both the teachers at Sacred Cross and Bright Futures remarked about how I must be seeing very different realities between the pupils at Sacred Cross and Bright Futures. For example, giving a speech to Bright Futures pupils in preparation for the primary leaving exam, the deputy head teacher talked about how Bright Futures pupils in comparison to the pupils at Sacred Cross never wanted to look smart and wear their uniform. He said Nancy must be wondering what the problem is with them, and he said that the comparison between the pupils at Bright Futures and the pupils at Sacred Cross must be a good one for Nancy's research.[61]

The conditions of teachers' work, their perception that pupils acted disrespectfully toward them and that Bright Futures pupils were generally "undisciplined" affected their treatment of pupils. Bright Futures teachers' derogatory characterizations of Bright Futures pupils and their

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[61] Since all three schools were in the same municipality, there were several occasions where the three schools participated in municipal wide events together. In these events some teachers spoke to each other about my presence in their schools. To reduce the visibility of which schools were involved in the study, I visited several other schools in the municipality.

families indicated how enrollment in school did not necessarily grant a young person access to a "schooled identity", and the associated class status. Whereas for Cheney (2007), wearing a school uniform demonstrated one's class status, in this research, teachers did not see all learners as being from a "good" or "well off" family.

Support for extracurricular achievement

At Bright Futures, like at Piny Dyak, there was very little support for extracurricular activities beyond the somewhat mandatory Music Dance and Drama and track competitions, which all schools participated in.

While Bright Futures performed well in the Music Dance and Drama (MD&D) competition, my observation of the MD&D practices demonstrated the lack of willingness of teachers to work together to promote the achievement of pupils. To the contrary, while the teacher who was assigned the task of managing the Music Dance and Drama practices worked largely alone to coordinate practice, the other teachers, who had stopped teaching during the days leading up to the MD&D competition due to the large number of pupils in the club, simply sat under a tree (often not watching the practice).

Apart from Music Dance and Drama, I did not observe any other extracurricular activities occurring in the school, though since I arrived in the second term of the school year, I was not in the school during the time when pupils would be practicing for the primary school track competition.

Youth culture: Gaining status by being "undisciplined"

In general at Bright Futures, many Bright Futures pupils sought gain status by impressing their peers through their rowdy behavior in the classroom and in general assemblies and their

gendered performance of "Western" behavior and dress associated with American hip-hop artists (sometimes called "banda style"), rather than by conforming to notions of the ideal respectful child.

During class, pupils frequently shouted out answers, called out jokes or insults, and/or moved across the classroom during the lesson. For example, during a student debate organized by the Social Studies teacher, the teacher questioned why a female pupil was getting up and moving across the classroom. She responded by pointing at the teacher and saying, "People have to move around to get swag and words." Not only was this young woman defying the teacher's authority by talking back to him, she was signaling a different identity by referencing an American hip hop term "swag". The teacher ignored her comment and continued with the activity and the girl was rewarded with a few smiles and laughs from her friends.

Both boys and girls disrupted classroom time to ridicule each other and more covertly the teachers. Boys and girls who were clever and could ridicule authority figures without being caught could gain esteem from their peers. Peers would sneak smiles of approval to the pupil who made the clever joke. This disruptive behavior created a lively atmosphere in the classroom where pupils wrestled a bit of control from teachers to create some fun out of a someone boring school day. My observations resonate with Michael Apple's (2012) analysis of the ways working-class pupils resist school culture by "…looking for ways of generating fun and collectivity, and working the system to expand one's control of a situation" (p. 98).

During assemblies as well, pupils often defied standing still and quiet in lines. For example, on one occasion the head teacher complained about how many of the pupils had not shaved their heads and he emphasized that it did not cost much money to get your head shaven. In response to the head teacher's claim a grade seven female pupil laughed loudly. Then a male

teacher approached the line of grade seven girls and asked who was laughing loudly like that in a very "undisciplined" way. He then mimicked the laugh and talked about how this is the very issue of shouting and making noise that they were talking about. He then walked along the line and selected a female pupil and took her to the front of the crowd and made her stand there while he told the crowd that he was going to beat her for the way she laughed and also the fact that she didn't have her shirt tucked in. This example demonstrates both the ways pupils resisted the expectations of what an ideal pupil should be as well as the ways their defiance could be met with harsh punishment.

Pupils creatively resisted the ways school was meant to discipline bodies. After several weeks of observing the class and seeing that pupils frequently laughed when their peers were caned, I asked several pupils why. Pupils consistently explained that when they knew corporal punishment would be used, such as in response to poor marks on a practice exam, they placed cardboard boxes or extra cloths under their trousers or skirts. The pupils were able to decipher the difference in sound of the stick hitting the cardboard box or clothes and they would laugh when a pupil successfully protected him/herself from disciplinary measures.

Bright Futures pupils would also perform "Western" styles associated with the behavior and dress of American hip-hop artists, as a source of power and status. Research participants said those who use this style copy the behavior of musicians they see on music videos.[62] This "Western" style was sometimes called banda and sometimes referred to as "Niggaz" or pejoratively by some as acting like a "muyayi", a term which comes from the central region; the

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[62] In town, villages, and peripheral neighborhoods, children can enter "video halls" where music videos are shown.

term "muyayi" was sometimes associated with illegal behavior like doing drugs and engaging in theft.

Boys performing "Western" style would "sag" their pants, wearing them low on their hips. Depending on their access to clothing and accessories, outside of school spaces boys and some girls would also wear baseball hats with flat brims and sunglasses and they would walk swinging their arms.

In school, girls with this "Western" style would emphasize their sexuality and toughness in their dress and behavior. For example, girls would untuck their shirts and unbutton two of the top buttons. Outside of school, girls would sometimes wear tight fitting jeans or shorts that they sometimes "sagged". Girls would also act tough in the classrooms, getting in fights, shouting out loud to ridicule other classmates or call out an answer, or laughing loudly.

In general, following "Western" styles was seen by many adults as evidence of the erosion of norms of respect and respectability among young people. Teachers strongly resisted this style of dress, saying it opposed proper manners and claiming it made young people vulnerable to dangerous foreign influences.

There was a small minority of pupils who continued to conform to notions of *woro* at Bright Futures. In contrast to pupils who performed Western styles at Bright Futures, pupils who performed *woro* in the classroom took a lower profile than the rest of the pupils. They were quiet and rarely raised their hands to answer questions. However, despite the power of defiant pupils in the classroom, most pupils generally liked those pupils who were humble and respectful. For example, in a conversation with two pupils, I asked if there was anyone from the school that everyone respects. The pupils responded that those people are there. One of the pupils, a girl who frequently got in fights at school responded, "*Dano maro ngat ma woro dano weng ma pe lakwo*

ki bene ma pe wake, pe lacac." [People like someone that respects everyone else and that is not a thief and who does not brag and who is not proud.] Thus, the power of norms of respect, or *woro,* continued to coexist with other forms of behavior and was a source of esteem among pupils at Bright Futures.

Also, pupils' behavior varied based on the teacher who was teaching. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there was one male grade seven teacher, Mr. Omara, who pupils appreciated for treating them with respect and they responded by behaving respectfully during his lessons. For example, pupils articulated appreciating that Mr. Omara would speak to them as equals. On the other hand, pupils emphasized that they would not respect a teacher who did not respect them.

At Bright Futures, many pupils responded to a disempowering school environment where they were ridiculed by teachers and where they did not receive the support that they needed to achieve the ideal "educated status" by pursuing alternative sources of status and through alternative notions of modernity, such as appropriating the style of dress and behavior associated with western hip hop culture. Unfortunately, these pupils' defiance of norms of *woro* and the ideal schooled identity reinforced teachers' perceptions of them as "undisciplined" and as failing to live up to the ideals of the respectful child and disciplined pupil/student.

Youth culture, the educated person, and social inequalities

Scholars of education in the United States of America and Europe have long examined the role of schools and formal and informal education in (re)producing unequal class, race, and gender relations (e.g., Apple, 2012; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, Durkheim, 1973; Lareau, 2003; McRobbie, 1978; Willlis, 1977). This chapter

builds on some of the insights of these scholars to examine the ways that inequalities among primary schools in Uganda (both in terms of the resources available to schools and the background of pupils at the schools) served to reinforce inequalities among pupils. Bourdieu's (1977) notion of cultural capital is useful when thinking about the ways that young people learned the embodied practice of social distinctions. Furthermore, critical ethnographies of schooling have showed the ways some pupils from poorer families produce their own culture in schools which is oppositional to the middle-class ideology of schooling (e.g., McRobbie, 1978, Willis, 1977).

Levinson and Holland's (1996) concept of the "cultural production of the educated person" helps to make sense of the ways that schools are a space where young people form their own identities in relationship to the ideology of schooling transmitted by the nation-state, existing structural constraints, and local cultural conceptualizations of the "educated person", in which education is broadly defined according to local cultural norms.

Finally, this chapter demonstrates the ways that processes of social marginalization of low-income youth were reinforced in post-conflict schools. The inequitable quality of education and treatment of learners at middle- and low-income schools had implications for teachers' and learners' co-construction of young people's identities, and learners' conformance to social norms of *woro* and to the embodied self-discipline associated with the ideal student. The structural, symbolic, and physical violence that learners experienced in unequally resourced schools undermined the respect pupils had for the head teacher at Piny Dyak and for the classroom teachers at Bright Futures. In the wealthier government school, the greater material support for teaching and learning contributed to more positive teacher-pupil relations, more student-centered learning, and more opportunities for pupils to practice their leadership skills and expand their participation in public life, all of which allowed them to receive recognition and respect from their

peers and teachers. Pupils at wealthier schools largely responded to this supportive environment by conforming to "traditional" gerontocratic patrilineal norms of respect. Thus, the unequally resourced school environments served reproduced socioeconomic inequalities in educational outcomes and reinforced patterns of social exclusion.

Not only does the reproduction of inequalities through schooling have important consequences for children's abilities to achieve their potential, the reproduction of inequalities in post-conflict contexts has the potential to contribute to social tensions and violence (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). Branch (2013) argues that existing violence in urban slums in post-conflict northern Uganda are a symptom of the processes of social marginalization in the post-conflict context, and he warns that this violence could undermine peace. Structural change is needed to address the resource inadequacies in government schools if schools are to play a role in post-conflict peacebuilding.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that Universal Primary Education expanded access to schooling for most children in Uganda, the inadequate government funding to primary schools led to the continued dependence on Parent Teacher Association fees to cover the costs of education, and more importantly to important human and material resource inequities among schools that profoundly impacted the conditions in which teachers work and pupils learn. Teachers and pupils resisted the inequitable conditions of labor and learning at under-resourced schools. This created a situation where the opportunity to strive for an "educated status" was mitigated by the economic abilities of families to support schools.

This structural violence also had implications for children's adherence to cultural norms of the ideal child who acts respectfully to persons of authority and elders (*woro*). While teachers preached to children that if they acted respectfully to their guardians and teachers, they would get the support they needed to succeed, the different gendered realities of poorer and wealthier learners, such as experiences of violence versus protection and support respectively, influenced how young people navigated social norms.

Some young people resisted the disempowering context of school by resisting the ideology of the respectful child (*woro*) and the disciplined pupil by performing alternative modern identity associated with American hip-hop. Unfortunately, this resistance only reinforced their classification as failing to live up to the ideal child and schooled identity, thus reinforcing their social marginalization and the perception of them as undermining the welfare of the community and the nation.

Finally, while the UPE policy increased children's access to primary schooling, children's status as students no longer symbolized a privileged class status. Instead, teachers made distinctions among students based on the type of school that learners attended.

Chapter 5: Teenage Pregnancy: The Ideal and "At-risk" Pupil

Introduction

At the time of my fieldwork, international organizations and their non-governmental partners organized public campaigns to raise community awareness about the issues of teenage pregnancy and girls' education. The international messaging about teenage pregnancy reflected trends in international development and popular media representations of "Third World Girls" as simultaneously victims and heroines (Moeller, 2013). The messages emphasized both the vulnerability of girls to pregnancy as well as the costs of pregnancy to the girl, her family, her community, and the nation. The messages from international agencies tended to represent girls' vulnerability as a universal problem affecting girls in the Global South as a whole.

As local leaders and activists participated in these public campaigns about teenage pregnancy, they framed the topic of teenage pregnancy in terms of the local realities that were seen to contribute to teenage pregnancy including the impact of the war on social norms and economic wellbeing, as well as people's frustration with a dysfunctional justice system that failed to prosecute powerful men who committed statutory rape of underage girls. Local interpretations of the problem of teenage pregnancy took various forms, but the dominant narrative combined an analysis of structural causes of teenage pregnancy with moralistic analyses that saw teenage pregnancy as the result of the moral decline in poor communities highly affected by the war.

Like local leaders' interpretations of teenage pregnancy, the national curriculum framed teenage pregnancy as an issue affecting girls from poor and otherwise "dysfunctional families".

Although the curriculum acknowledged structural factors that contribute to transactional sex, the curriculum still depicted transactional sex in terms of a moral a choice that girls make.[63] The national curriculum portrayed poor and otherwise marginalized girls as being "lured" by sugar daddies out of a "desire" for material things rather than in response to survival needs. Using messages about morality, respect, and class, the curriculum tended to create a dichotomy between two types of girls: 1) the ideal, pious, chaste, respectful, studious schoolgirl who was either content with her economic status or willing to work hard to get ahead, and 2) the greedy, promiscuous, undisciplined schoolgirl who was self-interested and would engage in transactional sex in order to improve her socioeconomic status. Such moralizing messaging served to stigmatize poor and otherwise marginalized girls by representing them as more likely to engage in transactional sex.

These national messages in Uganda are part of a legacy of public health programming that were highly influenced by international public health campaigns, which both identified the structural aspects of transactional sex and the ways it made girls more vulnerable to STIs such as HIV, but which still transmitted moral messages about "appropriate" and "inappropriate" sexual relations.

In all three schools, teachers' messages to learners about teenage pregnancy, relationships, and the ideal pupil aligned with the messaging in the national curriculum that framed teenage pregnancy in moralistic terms and as a choice that was more likely taken by poor girls who "desired" material things. Like the national curriculum, teachers distinguished between

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[63] This intertwined structural and moral narrative around teenage pregnancy was also present in the USAID-funded School Family Initiative Curriculum, which targeted additional sex education to districts highly affected by HIV.

the ideal pupil and the promiscuous girl, that had classed connotations. In their lessons about teenage pregnancy, teachers' distinctions between the ideal pupil and promiscuous girl, also invoked notions of *woro,* or the gendered performance of respectability (in terms of dress, interpersonal relations, and bodily movement). Teachers emphasized that girls who acted respectably, could avoid unwanted sexual advances.

In all three schools, teachers tended to assume that poor and otherwise marginalized girls were engaging in transactional sex, and thus defying norms of *woro*. These narratives about marginalized girls engaging in transactional sex resonated with local fears about patrilineal families losing control over social reproduction because of the war (Finnström, 2008; Gauvin, 2016; Schlect et al., 2013; Vorhölter, 2014).

In this chapter, I argue that as local leaders and teachers engaged in public campaigns, classroom lessons, and school-based disciplinary regimes, they made sense of the topic of teenage pregnancy according to perceptions about the classed impact of the war on social norms and economic wellbeing. I argue that the focus on controlling girls' sexuality in the aftermath of conflict reflects concerns and contestations over gender relations in a time of social rupture. I demonstrate the importance of socioeconomic inequalities on teachers' perceptions of which youth are likely to be "undisciplined", or outside the control of their families and to be resistant to "traditional" Acholi values.

Literature on teenage pregnancy, sugar daddies, and transactional sex
International development framings of girls' education

Girls in the Global South are increasingly represented in both international development and popular media representations as simultaneously victims and heroines (Moeller, 2013). For

example Kristoff and WuDunn's Half the Sky movement, ignited by their book (2010) and film (2012), described the "ripple effects" of girls' education on girls themselves and generations to come.[64] Corporate foundations and multilateral and bilateral development agencies have also joined those who claim that investment in girls' education is vital to overcoming girls' vulnerability and creating change for their communities and nations (e.g. the Nike Foundations' "Girl Effect", USAID's "Let Girls Learn" Initiative, the Clinton and MasterCard Foundations' "Girl Charge" and DFID's "Girls' Education Challenge"). Recent development reports claim girls' education can lead to economic growth, poverty eradication, and improved human development outcomes (e.g., DFID, 2012; Clark, 2011; BRAC Uganda, 2013; Plan International, 2012; Tembon and Fort, 2009).

Education is often discussed in international development literature as leading to women's equality and economic empowerment by enabling girls to delay marriage, reduce fertility and make more informed choices around sexuality. The international development education literature has long been silent about pregnancy other than to claim that schools offer protection against early pregnancy and STIs (Grant, 2012; Luttrell, 2003; Silver, 2019; Unterhalter, 2013). Indeed, the basis for these claims is relatively shallow: correlations between increased years of schooling and lower pregnancy rates have begun to fray (Grant, 2015), and extensive qualitative literatures point to the dangers schools can pose to girls. Nevertheless, considerable evidence suggests schools are a space where girls face sexual harassment and assault (Bajaj, 2009; Bowman and Brundige, 2013; Chisamya et al., 2012; Dunne et al., 2006;

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[64] Accessed 11/14/13 from http://www.halftheskymovement.org/issues/education

Kirk, 2008; Mirembe and Davies, 2001; Muhanguzi, F., Bennett, and Muhanguzi et al., 2011). Furthermore, girls' desires to continue their schooling in contexts of economic decline can lead some girls to pursue sexual relationships as a means of securing school fees and other material support for their schooling (e.g., Bajaj, 2009; Bledsoe, 1990; Mojola, 2015; Vavrus, 2003).

Public health campaigns and girls' sexuality

Public health campaigns tend to use moral framings of "appropriate" and "inappropriate" sexual relationships, where the latter is associated with vulnerability to transacting STIs, particularly HIV (Boyd, 2015; Esacove, 2016; Silver, 2019; Summers, 1991; Stoebeneau et al., 2016). While sex in the context of marriage is often assumed to be "safe", public health literature portrays women and girls' engagement in transactional sex as particularly risky and likely to lead to HIV transmission (Boyd, 2015; Esacove, 2016; Silver, 2019).

Academics and practitioners alike have analyzed the role of transactional and inter-generational sexual relationships on the spread of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Bajaj, 2009; Kakuru, 2008; Stoebeneau et al., 2016; Vavrus, 2003 Wyrod et al., 2011). The literature on transactional sex in sub-Saharan African tends to fall into three main paradigms: "sex for basic needs", "sex for social status", and "sex as material expressions of love" (Stoebeneau et al., 2016). Kakuru (2008), demonstrated the ways marginalized girls in Uganda engaged in transactional sex to meet their basic needs, in part due to the gendered segregation of labor market opportunities in which girls had fewer opportunities to earn an income than their otherwise similarly situated male counterparts. In comparison, Mojola's (2015) analysis of Kenyan schoolgirls' use of transactional sex assumes girls have more agency and choice in their sexual relationships. Mojola (2015) argues schoolgirls' use transactional sex to fulfill their desire

to attain a "modern" femininity associated with educated status and the consumption of material goods. Stoebeneau et al. (2016) describe the distinction between these two paradigms of transactional sex as a "continuum of deprivation that describes the context within which [transactional sex] takes place or the extent to which [transactional sex] is structured by poverty (absolute deprivation) as compared to economic inequality (relative deprivation)" (p. 192). Finally, anthropologists and historians have emphasized that material exchanges in sexual relations as expressions of love are typical characterizations of everyday aspects of sexual relationships in much of sub Saharan Africa (e.g., Bledsoe, 1990; Hunter, 2002; Setel, 1999).

The degree of agency attributed to girls has implications for the ways various stakeholders have interpreted transactional sex and the amount of protection women and girls "deserve". Thomas (2007) and Parikh (2004, 2015) described how debates in Kenya and Uganda about legislating protections for schoolgirls from sugar daddies have revealed the distinctions made between the innocent schoolgirl and the young mistress. For example, Thomas examined parliamentary debate in Kenya around the removing the Affiliation Act, which required men to pay paternity support to women of children they had fathered. Thomas used these debates to examine ideas in Kenya around female respectability and the determination of which women were promiscuous and did not deserve support, versus which females had been taken advantage of by powerful men. She noted that even among the denouncers of the Affiliation Act, there was a call for some protections for schoolgirls who were preyed on by sugar daddies. Male legislators worried about their innocent daughters being taken advantage of by unscrupulous powerful men. She said these men argued for a special law to protect schoolgirls. However, she also noted that the law was never passed. She claimed the lack of dedication to passing the law as evidence of the ambiguity around the figure of the schoolgirl:

> On the one hand, politicians and parents recognize schoolgirls as a uniquely valued group of females requiring special protections. On the other, some schoolgirls engage in activities that place them dangerously close to that group of females deemed most undeserving, prostitutes. After all, one man's schoolgirl daughter can be another's mistress just as one girl's father can be another's sugar daddy (p. 55-56).

Similarly, Parikh (2004) noted the vocal opposition from many male legislators to the Age of Consent law in Uganda, which prohibits sex with girls under the age of 18 years. Among the arguments made against the law was that some girls who are neither in school nor working have "nothing better to do" and therefore should be made sexually available to men. Both Parikh and Thomas's analyses of debate around how/whether to protect schoolgirls from sugar daddies demonstrated a sense of ambiguity around notions of the innocent girlhood after girls enter puberty. They also demonstrated the ways this ambiguity is associated with different interpretations of schoolgirls' agency in their engagement in transactional sex.

The colonial legacy of girls' education to promote respectability in Africa

Controlling female sexuality was an integral part of the colonial project which portrayed black/African women as hypersexual and deviant (e.g., Gilman, 1985; Mama, 1995, 1996; Tamale, 2011). Later, a focus on controlling African women's sexuality and reproduction was part of the development project, particularly in relation to international interventions in the 60s and 70s that sought to control the "population boom" and later as a result of efforts to control HIV (Tamale, 2011). Schooling and education have long been seen as the solution (or even a panacea) to "social problems" including desires to control African women's reproduction and sexuality (Parpart, 2001; Summers, 2002; Vavrus, 2003).

Several authors have written about how girls' and women's education under European missionaries working in Uganda and elsewhere on the continent endeavored to control female

sexuality and promote European values of domesticity, motherhood, and marriage (e.g., Callan, 1984; Hanson, 2010; Harris, 2017; Hunt, 1990; Masemann, 1974; Parpart, 2001; Summers, 1991, Tripp, 2010). In northern Uganda, Harris (2017) describes how Anglican missionaries remarked at the considerable equality among men and women among the Acholi and how male Anglican missionaries believed that they could "civilize" the Acholi population by promoting the notions of male superiority, female domesticity, the masculine responsibility of providing for the home, and female respectability associated with of covering up the female body.

Victorian efforts to control African women's sexuality initially focused on preventing women's and girls' movement into urban spaces, which were seen as having a "corrupting influence" on women who could be lured into prostitution by the appeal of material goods in towns (Musisi, 2001; Parpart, 2001). Yet, given the inevitable urbanization in many former African colonies, in the post-World War II era, colonial governments instead sought to establish a stable upper-middle class of respectable urban Africans (Parpart, 2001). Mission schools in collaboration with colonial governments used women and girls' schooling to create a "respectable " class of women and girls living in an urban environment who could be "good mothers and wives" to African elite men (Parpart, 2001; Hunt, 1990). Ssekamwa (1997) describes missionaries'' views about importance of girls' schools for creating marital partners for the educated male ruling elite in Uganda. For example, he lists out specific missionary-founded girls' schools that were meant to "supply wives" to corresponding boys' schools. Furthermore, he notes that the missions endeavored to transmit the British upper-class values transmitted to the ruling elite in Britain.

Not only did colonial governments endeavor to construct the notion (and a cadre) of respectable educated woman, but some educated African women appropriated this construct

when trying to establish themselves as part of the urban elite. Parpart (2001) describes how some upper-class Zambian women appropriated their knowledge of western norms of housekeeping to distinguish themselves from the "disreputable" women living in urban spaces who were perceived of as being promiscuous. Parpart's (2001) research suggests that the promotion of women's respectability through formal and informal education in Zambia contributed to the construction class distinctions among women based on gendered notions of respectability associated with European values of Christian marriage and domesticity.

Despite efforts to instill European norms of female domesticity through girls' schooling, in Uganda, missionary education, particularly higher education conferred considerable professional and social status for the few women who were able to access it (Tripp, 2010). Tripp (2010) describes how as early as 1964 educated Ugandan women occupied numerous professional and political roles of authority:

> By 1964, women were represented in a variety of professions: members of parliament, doctors, teachers, social workers, as well as members of medical services such as nursing, midwifery, radiology, physiotherapy, and dietetics. Others were serving as civil servants and in private firms (p. 137).

Thus, education granted the Ugandan women who had access to it an improved status in economic, social, and political spheres of life.

Women's educated and professional status shifted social relations. Obbo (1986) argues that women's unequal access to education contributed to class-based stratification among Ugandan women and she notes that the educational and occupational status of women often superseded other norms of deference such as age differences. Meinert (2009) similarly notes how education intersects with other identities such as gender and age to transform notions of authority and relations of deference.

As will be detailed throughout this chapter, the legacies of colonial constructions of the respectable educated woman continue to reverberate in schools, where teachers reinforce classed distinctions between girls considered to be "at-risk" [65] of engaging in transactional sex.

International Messages about Teenage Pregnancy in northern Uganda

I spent four months in 2014 mapping out the organizations working in education and/or gender in northern Uganda. As part of this effort, I was an active participant of the district Gender-Based Violence (GBV) working group, which was comprised of government workers and INGO staff persons in the fields of gender, child protection, and education.[66]

From the vantage point of the GBV working group, I observed the processes of diffusion of international messages around gender, sexuality, and education. I actively participated in the GBV working group's activities, to commemorate important events such as International Women's Day, 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-based Violence, and the Day of the African Child. Members of the GBV working group also participated in talk radio, organized marches and public events, and made visits to schools to raise awareness about important issues related to

[65] I am drawing on Jessica Fields' (2012) depictions of classist and racist constructions of the "at-risk" pupil at school board meetings on sex education in North Carolina. The term "at-risk" was not used in schools in northern Uganda, however, the ways that teachers, pupils, parents, and even school curricula conceptualized certain girls as being at greater risk of sexual activity resonated with Fields' descriptions of the construction of "at-risk" pupils by North Carolina school board members.

[66] The working group was a remnant from the war when the government and INGOs coordinated their efforts to support the internally displaced persons through thematic working groups. After the IDP camps closed, most of the working groups ended, but the gender-based violence and child protection working groups merged under the umbrella of a GBV working group. The main participants of the group were members of community based organizations, governmental representatives (such as the child protection officer from the police department and the district gender officer), and international non-governmental organizations such as CARE, UN Women, War Child Canada. While local leaders such as clan chiefs sometimes were invited to attend events I did not observe them participating in these activities.

gender and child protection. These efforts were funded by major INGOs that participated in the group such as CARE, UN Women, UNICEF, AMPCAN, War Child Canada, War Child Holland, and World Vision. Among the issues the group tackled were teenage pregnancy and early marriage.

The numerous events organized around the 16 Days of Activism Against GBV was demonstrative of the group's focus as well as the ways they worked to transmit international messages about women's and children's rights. In November of 2014, the Gender-Based Violence working group launched a series of events to commemorate the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence. The events were funded by international organizations including UNFPA, CARE, and UN Women. The national theme for the 16 Days of Activism Against GBV was "Act Now: Stop Teenage Pregnancy, Child Marriage and Forced Marriage".

At the pre-launch event, funded by UNFPA, participants were given T-shirts with the UNFPA logo the front which read, "Let girls be girls! Invest in preventing teenage pregnancy" (shown below). On the back of the t-shirt were the words, "First Things First! Books before Babies." As is evident from the signs and t-shirts, much of the messaging from international agencies included simplistic slogans that failed to delve into the structural causes of teenage pregnancy.

The event, like most of the GBV working group events held in town, began with a march around town. Participants in the march included pupils and students from seven town schools,[67] students from the National Teachers' College, women's groups that were funded by INGOs, and INGO staff. The march ended in a big public space where most events were held (e.g. concerts, visiting evangelical preachers, presidential visits). There were tents with plastic chairs for attendees, and INGOs set up tents with posters and containing their messages on them.

When the procession of students, women's groups, and INGO staff arrived at the public park, speeches began. National and local leaders as well as INGO representatives gave speeches about the problems of teenage pregnancy and early marriage. The representative from UN Women spoke about how women and girls were vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence and about the ways that pregnancy derails girls' education and their job prospects. She also

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[67] Pupils from Sacred Cross were among those who participated in the march. Indeed, when I looked back at my pictures of the event, I saw the faces of many of the grade seven pupils who would become research participants.

spoke about the reproductive health and economic consequences for girls who dropped out due to pregnancy. She argued that the productivity of Uganda would be 15 times higher if girls could delay pregnancy, get an education, and eventually a job, and she encouraged Ugandans to "revisit" the idea of providing reproductive services and information to young people.

National and local leaders who participated in the event discussed the international focus on teenage pregnancy according to issues of local priority, including the changes that occurred during the war, which led to higher rates of teenage pregnancy. For example, below is a transcript of the comments from the Resident District Commissioner:[68]

> Our theme of today invites us all to commit ourselves in our different capacities in fighting teenage pregnancy and child and forced marriage. We all have roles to play and it is crucial we embrace the roles we have. Before in the Acholi traditional society, issues of forced marriage, issues of teenage of pregnancy was not really as it is now in our society. But the decades of armed conflict made us lose a lot of value. Now we are nursing the results. Now these abuses, forced pregnancy, the issue of forced marriages, which they are registering in our society today, we all know the armed conflict in our society is the origin of this. It is also true that now that we are in a recovery period, we need to address these challenges. I want to say that it is only through partnership that we can address it. It is only in partnership with boys and girls. It is only with partnership of men and women that we can make change at the grassroots. Because the men and boys have a role to play. We need to advocate having men who are role models, boys who are role models.

In this excerpt, we see the ways the district leader linked the campaign to fight teenage pregnancy to the erosion of social norms that occurred because of the war. She urged men and boys to be partners with women and girls in supporting girls' wellbeing. This message of men and boys partnering to empower women and girls was a theme I heard in other spaces as well

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[68] This was the government appointed head of the district.

from local activists. It shifted the blame and responsibility from just women and girls to a joint effort to improve society.

The woman Minister of Parliament[69] for the district also spoke, but she emphasized the ways poverty and "dysfunctional" families contributed to the high rates of teenage pregnancy in the district. She spoke about how she and other ministers of parliament were sponsored by UN Women to visit local sub-county leaders in the district to examine the causes of teenage pregnancy. She recounted that, during the visits, they learned that the causes of teenage pregnancy were poverty, drunkenness, women having children from different fathers, men having multiple wives, parents who did not follow the child to school, lack of enforcement of the miniskirt law,[70] video halls that show youth pornography, lack of by-laws, and a lack of enforcement of laws. In short, the Minister of Parliament framed teenage pregnancy in terms of the moral depravity in poor communities and "dysfunctional" families.

This same narrative was articulated by members of the GBV working group through other advocacy channels such as the following transcript from a radio show where one of the members of the GBV working group spoke to raise awareness about an event that the group held to promote girls' education.[71] In the excerpt, were two of the main features of the discourses around teenage pregnancy that were prevalent in schools and in the community where I worked.

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[69] In Uganda, the constitution sets quotas for female representation in Parliament.

[70] In 2014, the Ugandan Parliament passed an Anti-pornography Bill that was supposed to protect women and children from gender-based violence by making pornography illegal. While the bill did not mention women's clothing, in the media coverage and popular representations of the bill it became known as the anti-miniskirt law and people used the law as an excuse to police women's dress.

[71] The show was in Acholi, but I recorded it and had it translated into English.

First was the assumption that girls from poor families, or from families where the marital union

has broken down, were likely to engage in transactional sex. Second, was the assertion that

teenage pregnancy was the worst possible outcome for a girl and something that necessarily

barred her from schooling[72]:

> **Activist**: We asked the girls why things like this are happening among you? They
> recounted the things that they tried to say earlier. Poverty. Some others said pregnancy.
> Now pregnancy in Acholi, we know that under our customary law, if a girl gets pregnant
> in the Acholi community all that they say about the issue is take your pregnancy to whom
> [meaning you should go to the person who impregnated you to seek marriage and/or child
> support]?
>
> **Radio host**: The Owner
>
> **Activist**: Your boyfriend that you got pregnant with. Automatically, if you leave the
> home of your mother and father or your guardian and you take your pregnancy to your
> boyfriend... Even if you are 16 years old, because a girl of 16, you find that girls don't

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[72] Here is the Acholi version of this discussion: Activist: Wan dong wapenyo lotino anyira, pingo wun gin ma kit eni tye ka time bot wu? Gukwano en jami ma nakanen kitemo wacone ni. Can jo mukene owaco ni yacu. Now yacu I Acholi, wangeyo te cikwa nyako ka oyac I Acholi I kin gang lok bedo ni te iyi bot nga?
Radio show host: Rwede.
Activist: Cwari mu yac kedi. Automatically, in ka dong I aa ki gang pa meni gin ki woru onyo ngat ma gwoko in ni itero iyi bot cwari. Kadi mwaka ni tye apar wiye abicel, pien nyako me mwaka apar abicel, anyira nongo bene pe guoo mwaka apar wiye aboro by then. En aye oweko nakanen wawaco ni eni gender-based violence a form of it, sexual. So ka ineno mot mot, mogo nongo nyako mwaka apar wiye angwen tye I P5 oyaco. Nyako ni enoni omyero otim ango? Cit I gange. Ka oceto I gange, kibi wace ni "Onywal ci odok I school?" Obi doko dako ot. Kwane tuki bale. Anyime tuki bale. Pieni en...
Radio show host: Manyuti gin ma itye ka waco ni peko pe tye iwi I schools totwal ma giexpelling onyo giryemo anyira eni ki I paco ma gin bedo iye.
Activist: Guti kama wan lotino wa aa ki iye I base, gender-based violence,
Radio show host: gangi gi
Activist: Gangi gi. Romo bedo ni gang pa aunty ne dong odoko gange pien mine gin ki wone pe… Romo bedo ni gang pa uncle ne dong gang gi. Ento gang enoni in inyir kong kodi kwo ma tye iye. Pien gang mogo tye ma lunyodo nongo omake kiti eni kuku kuku nong tye iye lotino kite eni ciro. Wan dong walwongo ni "labwor ma tye ka kwan". Naka gioo wa I dog tol.
Radio show host: mm
Activist: Ento gang ma inongo ni disfunctioning families leb munu owaco macek kiti eni gang ni enoni, nongo mede tye ka functioning ento pe I yoo ma atir. Lacoo ma mogo nongo tye ki mon adek. Dako mogo nongo onywal, tye ki gange kene. Kelo coo ma ma ma ma gin... Latin anyaka neno. So jami eni weng en aye ariya barriers and yaco en aye dong tye I kin jo ma dong balo lotino numba acel. Twora kong dok ka opor ka waceto waloko kede, wiye ogony dok I school. Meno nong yacu pe iye. Onyo ka onongo two... onongo two, oceto I ot yat health center 3, nong omunyo yat dok I school. Ma dong onywal omyero nong dong odok lanyodo and giending up I awaro. Ki dong giending up I town kany I apoli. Kwo mogo ma nongo pe ber me cako dong yenyo kwo me gwoko latin.

reach 18 by then… That is why earlier we called gender-based violence, a form of it – sexual. So, if you look closely, you find that some girls of 14 that are in P5 have gotten pregnant. What should that girl do? Go to her home. If she goes to her husband's home, will the people at her husband's home say, "Give birth and then go back to school?" She will become a housewife. Her education is automatically spoiled. Her future automatically is spoiled. Because she...

Radio host: Which means that you are saying that the problem is not as much with schools that are expelling or chasing the girls in the community.

Activist: The child's foundation is based on gender-based violence.

Radio host: Their home.

Activist: Their home. It can be that they are living with their aunt because they don't have their parents. It can be that the home of the uncle becomes their home. But in this home, you investigate the type of life that is there. Because some homes the parents take their children like this. Violence is in the home and those children suffer. We call it "The lion that is studying until they can take it no more.[The bitterness or anger in a girl as a result of her suffering at home until they can take it no more.][73]

But you find they are in dysfunctional families as they say in English, you find the family is functioning but not in the right way. The man is with three women. The woman you find gave birth and is at her home alone. She brings home a man that is... The girl sees. So, these are all barriers and pregnancy is number one among the things that spoils children. At least if she has eloped, we can go and talk with her and then she regains her senses and returns to school. That is when there is no pregnancy. Or if she got HIV, she can go to the health center/hospital and get medication and go back to school. If she gave birth, she should become a parent and she will end up as a woman who does petty trade/business. So, they end up in town here in prostitution. They end up with some kind of life that is not good in order to take care of their child.

The activist's words here resonated with much of the commentary I heard in schools, among pupils and among parents about the pregnant teenage girl who was a threat to the community. Her impregnation meant that she could no longer continue her schooling, and if she

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[73] I consulted multiple sources who all said that the phrase "The lion that is studying" is not a common saying in Acholi. I sent the entire transcript of the radio recording to a colleague who has a degree in Luo/Lwoo. She concurred that this is not a common saying in Acholi, but she offered the interpretation provided in brackets.

did not successfully remain in her "marital home" with the father of the baby, she would be a social outcast engaging antisocial behaviors like prostitution.

The third frame that came out of the gender-based violence (GBV) working group's events was public criticism of the malfunctioning justice system that failed to prosecute powerful men who committed statutory rape against underage girls. For example, at the time of the pre-launch event for the 16 Days of Activism Against GBV, lawyers and INGO staff involved in the GBV working group pressured the local police and officials to follow through with an investigation against the director of a school accused of raping a female pupil. At the pre-launch event for the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-based Violence, I observed one courageous member of the group publicly question the head of police for the district about why there was so much difficulty following through with cases of "defilement" [the Ugandan term for statutory rape of girls].

While the above three main narratives emerged from the public events held by the gender-based violence working group (teenage pregnancy as an impediment to national and community development, teenage pregnancy as a result of social and economic decline, and teenage pregnancy as a result of sugar daddies), the Ugandan government took up the topic of teenage pregnancy in terms of notions of morality, respect for parents and elders, and class distinctions.

National level

President Museveni and national religious leaders, who made up the founding bodies of schools, have historically advocated for an abstinence only until marriage (AOUM) and be faithful approach to public health campaigns around sexual and reproductive health in schools

(Cohen and Tate, 2006). Early in the national public health campaign against HIV, President Museveni engaged religious leaders and the local council system in the management of the disease (Allen and Heald, 2004). Religious leaders actively participated in be faithful campaigns (Ibid). The US President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief (PEPFAR), which included funding for education to teach communities about HIV prevention, similarly promoted Abstinence Only until Marriage (AOUM) approaches to HIV education in schools (Boyd, 2015; Cohen and Tate, 2006).

President Museveni's Abstinence Only until Marriage approach to public health campaigns about HIV continued during my research. In December of 2014 just before the start of the 2015 school year, President Museveni, speaking at a World AIDS Day event, advised youth the best way to avoid contracting HIV was to completely abstain from sex. He went on to condemn people who contracted HIV as betraying their families, saying:

> These NGOs and whites come deceiving you that circumcision and condom use are the best ways to protect yourself against HIV. But for me, I advise you to put padlocks on your private parts… I told my children that once someone is affected by HIV, they have betrayed their families because of the high hopes we usually have in children. So, whenever my children would return for holidays, I would ask them whether the padlock is still on.[74]

Later in his speech, the president questioned why anyone, adult, or child, would use a condom saying, "I feel so ashamed and angered when I attend these HIV meetings. Why should you sleep with someone you do not trust?"[75] The president's advice to his children and to the

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[74] Basiime, F. & Katusabe, R. (2014) "Put padlocks on your private parts to avoid Aids, Museveni tells youth." *Daily Monitor.* Accessed at: http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Put-padlocks-on-your-private-parts-to-avoid-Aids-/688334-2541374-6k0ocez/index.html

[75] Ibid.

nation emphasized abstinence as the only acceptable behavior for children, youth, and unmarried

adults. Furthermore, he suggested failure to remain abstinent was a failure to respect and fulfill

one's obligations to their family. The president emphasized to the youth of the nation the

importance of self-control and linked self-control to gerontocratic norms of respect. The

president's words resonated with Gauvin's (2016) assertion that Acholi families worried about a

loss of elders' control over courtship due to the rise of out-of-wedlock pregnancies that never

become a successful union.

The emphasis on AOUM education shaped the creation of the USAID-funded School

Family Initiative. According to a USAID staff member, the religious founding bodies of the

schools, [76] particularly the Catholic Church, rejected the original version of the curriculum

because it included condom use among the ways it was teaching pupils how to avoid

transmission of HIV. The USAID staff person explained that the Catholic Church objected to

teaching about family planning and condom use in primary schools; she recounted how the

church claimed teaching about contraception was not age appropriate or "faith-based

appropriate" for primary school pupils who should instead be taught to not have sex.

Consequently, the initial curriculum was cast aside, and the curriculum was re-written with the

collaboration of the founding bodies of schools.[77] This revised version of the SFI curriculum

taught abstinence as the "appropriate" behavior for pupils and highlighted the role of religion in

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[76] In Uganda, most government schools were initially founded by religious missions – particularly, the Catholic, Anglican, or Muslim faiths.

[77] Cohen and Tate (2006) similarly describes how powerful religious leaders in Uganda played an integral role in shaping the abstinence only until marriage sex education in the PIASCY (President's Initiative on AIDS Strategy for Communication to Youth) program, which has been functioning in schools since 2001 and which is funded by the USAID program. At the start of PIASCY, the George W Bush administration promoted an abstinence only approach to sex education abroad and in the USA.

teaching children how to avoid being lured into sex and the negative outcomes of sex, such as HIV and teenage pregnancy.

The Ugandan government and the religious founding bodies' emphasis on abstinence as the only appropriate behavior for pupils was reflected in the national curriculum for primary school as well as in the SFI, both of which reflected and constructed notions of the ideal chaste pupil. For example, the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) guidelines for grade seven emphasize that among the "important concerns for all learning activities" is the need to "sensitize learners on the dangers of having early or pre-marital sex to avoid HIV and unwanted pregnancy. This is dangerous for their lives" (p. xv). Consequently, topics related to abstinence only until marriage are incorporated throughout the six major subjects.

Similarly, the School Family Initiative curriculum emphasizes the importance of pupils remaining abstinent to protect themselves from HIV and teenage pregnancy. The manual frames the ideal pupil as chaste, disciplined, pious, humble, respectful, and studious. For example, the SFI teacher's manual lists the following characteristics of learners who it says "do **not** engage in transactional sex":

1. Have a high value for themselves and their bodies

2. Accept their economic situation and do not try to get rich quickly and easily

3. Value marriage when they have completed school

4. Think that older people should be viewed as parents

5. Have strong religious beliefs

6. Believe that their school and teachers care about them and are willing to guide and advise them" (Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Sports, 2015, p. 142).

This portrayal of "good children", or children who avoid transactional sex, conveys messages to pupils about the ideal young person, but it also hints at the characteristics of learners who *do* engage in transactional sex. For example, if learners who have strong religious beliefs do not engage in transactional sex, the lesson implies that learners who *do* engage in transactional sex do not have strong religious beliefs. Similarly, if learners who accept their economic situation do not engage in transactional sex, learners who *do* engage in transactional sex are unwilling to accept their economic situation – or rather they are greedy. And if young people who respect older people and see them as parents do *not* engage in transactional sex, young people who *do* engage in transactional sex undermine gerontocratic norms.

I found more explicit language about pupils who engage in transactional sex in the grade six Science textbooks which cover the topic of the reproductive health system and a sub-topic on teenage pregnancy. In the 2014 edition of the MK Integrated Primary Science grade six textbook, the publishers list among the causes of teenage pregnancy, "Desire for luxury or material things: Some girls may have interest in possessing expensive things such as mobile phones and watches. They end up having early sex with men who could offer them these things" (p. 192).

Messages about the girls likely to become pregnant as being motivated by immorality (greed) also were transmitted in classroom discussions. As discussed later in this chapter, in classroom conversations about teenage pregnancy, I observed teachers and learners describe one of the causes of teenage pregnancy as the "desire for material things." This framing parallels the literature on transactional sex that portrays it in terms of "sex for social status" (Mojola, 2015) rather than "sex for basic needs" (e.g., Kakuru, 2008; see Stoebeneaue et al., 2016 for a review of the literature).

The School Family Initiative (SFI) curriculum and the grade six Science curriculum also discussed ways poverty and neglect can lead to teenage pregnancy. The SFI teachers' manual listed several contributing factors to teenage pregnancy, among those were situations of poverty, neglect, and mistreatment. The 2014 edition of the MK Integrated Primary Science grade six textbook listed, "Failure to provide enough for a child's needs: Parents sometimes fail to provide enough of the necessities of their children. Failure to get them may force a girl to get involved into sex in exchange for money to buy these things" (p. 192). Also, a question on the English section of the pre-mock exams, conveyed a message that girls affected by poverty were likely to engage in transactional sex. The question required pupils to re-write a series of sentences in the correct order to create a coherent message. The sentences all pertained to the issue of early pregnancy and marriage. In the review, the pupils called out in unison the following 10 sentences in the correct order as the teacher wrote them on the board:

1) Girls in Uganda face many problems today.

2) One of these problems is early pregnancy.

3) What is the main cause of early pregnancy?

4) This is not an easy question to answer.

5) This is because there are many factors to consider.

6) One of these factors is poverty.

7) Girls from poor families who love good things in life are the main victims.

8) They can easily be deceived by rich men.

9) Once girls accept money and gifts, they become easy prey for rich men.

10) Girls should therefore refuse such gifts and concentrate on their studies.

The sentences above convey a message I heard repeatedly in schools about teenage pregnancy, which is that poor girls who are greedy for material things are "at risk" of early pregnancy and marriage. The responsibility for early pregnancy was ascribed to the greediness of the poor girl who was not content with her status and to a lesser extent on the sugar daddy. The message thus portrayed an image of a girl who was a problem to the community and to herself. Furthermore, while there was a distant recognition that poverty contributed to the use of transactional sex, the final sentence demonstrated the assumption that girls still had choices and viable alternatives to maintaining their own and their families' survival.

Missing from these narratives about teenage pregnancy were discussions of sexual violence, sexual consent, and contraception. Although the School Family Initiative contained lessons on sexual abuse, these lessons were divorced from the discussions of the causes of teenage pregnancy.

As will be detailed in the sections on sex education in the three schools, identification of certain types of pupils as likely to engage in transactional sex contributed to the notion of an "at-risk" pupil that was classed and morally laden. Pupils from low-income homes often were suspected and accused of engaging in transactional sex. Furthermore, because the dominant narrative described transactional sex as a moral choice that girls made, such accusations served to label girls as immoral and unrespectable.

In practice, these messages about "at-risk" girls ended up blaming girls for their own vulnerability. For example, during the teacher training that I observed for the School Family Initiative, a staff person from the implementing organization gave a presentation on the importance of the program and among her comments was the fact that girls from grades five through standard four (the equivalent of 11th grade) had the highest prevalence of HIV in

Uganda. To that, the head teacher of Piny Dyak, who was seated in front of me, commented to the person seated next to him "*mon gubi nekowa*" [women are going to kill us].

School level discourses around ideal and "at-risk" female pupils

The following excerpt from a fieldnote about a girls' meeting[78] at Bright Futures, one of the low-income schools I visited, demonstrated the ways attention around girls' education and the problems of teenage pregnancy and child marriage were made sense of and taken up in schools. In this field note, the head teacher of Bright Futures discussed the international attention placed on the "girl child" and used this attention to emphasize ways girls created problems for their communities:

> The head teacher then said, "*I wii lobo cawa ducu iwinyo I kom anyira. Pingo? Kadi UNICEF, kadi radio, kare ducu iwinyo lok kom anyira. Pingo*?" [All over the world all the time you hear about girls. Why is that? Be it UNICEF, be it the radio. Why is it?"]
>
> None of the pupils raise their hands.
>
> The teachers call out to the pupils asking them whether they know.
>
> A few girls then raise their hands.
>
> The head teacher said, "*Answer pe acel*." [There is not one answer.]
>
> He calls on one female pupil. The female pupil stands and says, "*Tic gi racu*." [They do bad things.]
>
> The head teacher repeats the girl's answer and the girl sits back down on the grass.
>
> Then he points to another female pupil with her hand raised. The girl stands up and says, "*Tic gi pat ki lu kin gang*." [They are behaving in a way that is not in accordance with the behavior of the community.] The head teacher repeats her answer and the girl sits back down on the grass.

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[78] In primary schools in Uganda, girls' and boys' meetings are typically held once a semester to give pupils guidance on issues related to their sexual and reproductive health as well as around discipline in general.

The head teacher's words along with the female pupils' responses demonstrated the ways schools served as spaces where teachers transmitted to girls messages about the problem of "undisciplined" girls who did not behave according to the norms of the community (see Gauvin 2016 for similar findings).

In the three schools, teachers constructed notions of ideal and "at-risk" pupils that positioned female pupils from poor households as likely to engage in inappropriate sexual relationships. In all three of the schools, teachers and school administrators transmitted messages to pupils about the ideal chaste abstinent pupil who eschewed romantic relationships and performed *woro* (respect and respectability). Often messages about the ideal pupil and appropriate sexual relationships invoked religiosity and morality to frame right and wrong sexual relationships. In contrast to this ideal pupil, teachers and administrators in all three schools suggested that pupils coming from low-income homes, or pupils who do not live with both parents were likely to pursue sexual relationships. Teachers tended to label the girls perceived as likely to engage in sexual relationships as "undisciplined" or (lacking in *woro*) and bad influences on their peers. The messages about ideal and "undisciplined" pupils thus reinforced the marginalization of low-income pupils, particularly girls, as well as the stigmatization of pregnant girls and people who contracted HIV.

The notion that certain pupils were "undisciplined" led teachers at the two low-income peripheral schools to make accusations and assumptions about their sexual activity. Teachers frequently emphasized how low-income pupils (often female) failed to live up to the ideal pupil image due to assumptions that they were engaged in sexual activity. These (often public) accusations reinforced notions of gender and class inequalities.

The three schools handled accusations of pupil relationships quite differently. At Sacred Cross, the middle-income school, teachers tended to assume pupils were not involved in relationships and handled accusations of relationships discretely with guidance and counseling. In contrast, at Piny Dyak and Bright Futures, the two low-income schools, teachers assumed most girls were involved in or interested in pursuing romantic relationships with their peers or with sugar daddies; and therefore they tended to police pupils' behavior and punish those accused of being in relationships. The different handling of relationships at the three schools demonstrates differences in teachers' perceptions of pupils from different class backgrounds where some pupils were considered innocent and just in needed guidance whereas other pupils were assumed to be guilty and "in need" of punishment.

Despite recognition that structural inequalities make certain children more vulnerable to being taken advantage of by men seeking transactional sex, teachers at all three schools used messages about individual responsibility, to teach pupils how to avoid unwanted sex. Teachers argued that by focusing on their studies, performing respectability, and (in the case of the Catholic school) being pious, pupils could avoid being lured into sex and being affected by the negative outcomes of sex. These messages thus individualized blame for outcomes such as teenage pregnancy and STIs on the pupil – and particularly on the female pupil.

Resource differences (both human and material) at the three schools also impacted the frequency and quality of provision of Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH) education. The middle-income school, Sacred Cross, implemented the weekly USAID-funded School Family Initiative (SFI) lessons, the full primary seven curriculum, and held two boys' and two girls' meetings, in which male and female teachers respectively gave guidance on topics including hygiene, body changes, and relationships. Bright Futures implemented the official primary

school curriculum, but not the supplementary SFI program. Bright Futures also held one boys'

and one girls' meeting. Finally, Piny Dyak failed to complete the Science curriculum; failed to

implement the supplementary SFI program; and failed to hold any boys' or girls' meetings. Thus,

while at the middle-income school, teachers and pupils actively engaged in the official

international and national messages about the "ideal" and "at-risk" pupil, at the two low-income

schools, the messages pupils received about "appropriate" and "inappropriate" youth sexuality

were more informal and focused on disciplining and policing youth sexuality.

Sacred Cross: Constructing the "at-risk" pupil who is a bad influence

At Sacred Cross, I found that teachers and students talked about the structural factors that

lead to teenage pregnancy.[79] These discourses served to construct a class-based notion of an "at-

risk" student/pupil who was likely to fall prey to sugar daddies. For the most part, these were not

Sacred Cross students, but instead other youth in households that were deeply impoverished or

woman-headed.

Lessons on teenage pregnancy at Sacred Cross identified sexual and gender-based

violence (SGBV) as a factor affecting teenage pregnancy, but the messaging around SGBV held

females responsible for SGBV perpetrated against them. In tandem, these two discourses both

identified risk factors associated with high rates of pregnancy among female pupils and blamed

victims for the structural and gender inequalities that made girls victims to SGBV.

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[79] I observed two different teacher-family groups conduct two different SFI lessons on teenage pregnancy.

The following is an excerpt from one of the two SFI lessons on teenage pregnancy where the teacher and pupils discussed the relationships between poverty, appropriate femininity, and SGBV:

> The teacher asked the group, "What is teenage pregnancy?"
>
> He calls on a female pupil who raised her hand. The pupil answers, "A mother below 18 years."
>
> The teacher asks the students, "Is she correct?" Then he clarifies that there is a difference between child mothers and teenage pregnancy. He says that teenage pregnancy is the condition in which someone gets pregnant before the age of 18. He says all child mothers were at one time teenage mothers.
>
> The teacher then asks, "What are the reasons for teenage pregnancy?"
>
> He calls on a male pupil who has raised his hand.
>
> The male pupil says, "Poverty."
>
> The teacher repeats, "Poverty. Because of poverty a person can be pressured to go for teenage pregnancy."
>
> The teacher calls on a female pupil who has raised her hand.
>
> The female answers, "Bad peer groups."
>
> The teacher repeats her answer and then calls on a female pupil with her hand raised.
>
> The female pupil answers, "Lack of parental love."
>
> The teacher repeats, "Lack of parental love. That thing always happens when someone is staying with a stepmom. Who stays with a stepmom here? [One girl raises her hand.] Do you know what a stepmother is?"
>
> Students reply, "Yes."
>
> The teacher asks again, "Who stays with their stepmom here?" [4 hands are raised.]
>
> Then the teacher explains, "If you stay with your stepmom, you may not get the love that your mothers would give."
>
> The teacher calls on another female pupil who answers, "Moving in lonely places."

The teacher responds, "Moving in lonely places, you can easily be raped and get pregnant and also have the possibility of getting HIV or STDs.

The teacher calls on another female pupil with her hand raised.

The female pupil answers, "Indecent dressing."

The teacher answers, "Very good. Wearing minis… miniskirts. That one is a signal saying, I am ready."

The teacher calls on a male pupil with his hand up.

The male pupil answers, "child-headed families".

The teacher responds, "Very good. They can go for sugar daddies."

In the discussion, the teacher and pupils focused on the ways that teen pregnancy was related to gender-based violence, poverty, and neglect. In SFI lessons on teenage pregnancy, the teachers and pupils identified issues related to poverty, child neglect, early marriage, rape, and transactional sex as causing teen pregnancy.[80] Poor pupils and pupils from certain types of homes (such as those living with stepparents or those staying with relatives) were defined as the pupils likely to engage in transactional sex with "sugar daddies". Some of the pupils in the classroom saw themselves and their families represented in the depiction of the children "at-risk"

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[80] The curriculum did not include rape as one of the causes of teenage pregnancy. Among the causes listed in the curriculum were as follows: "i. Many girls live in child headed homes. As a result, they are forced to fend for themselves and their siblings. ii. Many of the child mothers ran away from their homes because of harsh parents and stepmothers. iii. Irresponsible men entice young girls with gifts and free transport and in turn the girls innocently give into their sexual demands. iv. Ugandan children are growing up at a time when the media and music industry romanticize premarital sex and portray it as "normal." v. Myths about pregnancy: for example, some learners are led to believe that if they have sex while standing they will not get pregnant. vi. Lack of access to information about reproductive health: school administrators and teachers sometimes assume that children in primary school are too young to engage in sex, and sometimes ignore the responsibility of talking to them about the dangers of premarital sex. As a result, children engage in premarital sex and get pregnant out of ignorance" (Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Sports, 2015, pp. 132-133).

of being drawn into transactional sex or pressured into early marriage and school dropout. For example, four pupils raised their hands admitting they were living with stepmothers.

SFI lessons on teen pregnancy also identified certain behaviors of young women, often associated with victim-blaming in rape discourses, as causes of teenage pregnancy, including walking at night, indecent/bad dressing code, and "receiving gifts from strangers".

After reviewing the causes of teen pregnancy, the SFI teachers' manual instructed teachers to explore the consequences of teen pregnancy with pupils. In this discussion, the teacher emphasized a bleak picture of teenage motherhood. Below is an excerpt from the lesson.

> The teacher then asks the pupils for the "implications" or "effects" of teenage pregnancy.
>
> A teacher calls on a female pupil with her hand up saying, "uh huh".
>
> The female pupil says, "Commit Suicide."
>
> The teacher repeats what she has said explaining, "They can commit suicide, because they are not allowed to go home or to school."
>
> A male pupil said, "School dropout."
>
> The teacher responds, "Very good. School rules do not allow pregnant pupils in school. The same sweater they used in school they will use to carry the child. They will use it as a towel or as a bed sheet. It will be your only possession."
>
> A male pupil answers, "Death due to bad pregnancy."
>
> The teacher repeats, "Death. Your reproductive organs are not fully developed. Where the baby passes, is not developed. There are two possibilities. You may give birth to a child who is dead, or you and the baby die."
>
> The teacher asks, "Any others?"
>
> [There are no hands raised.]

The teacher emphasized the ways pregnancy and becoming a mother exacerbated the marginalization of vulnerable girls. The teacher stressed that pregnant girls were not allowed in school. His depiction of the young mother using her school sweater as her only possession

suggested the way the girl would be bitterly reminded of her past life as a student and how pregnancy ended that possibility.

In the next section of the lesson, students debated whether a pregnant girl should be allowed to stay in school. All but one of the pupils who spoke argued that pregnant female pupils should be removed from school. Most said a pregnant girl would be a bad influence on her peers. Others said the girl would be ridiculed while in school, or the pregnant pupil would need to stay at home to care for her child. During the debate, only one grade seven male pupil argued that it was important for a young mother to be educated so that she could provide for her child in the future. Throughout the debate, the teacher repeatedly supported the arguments of those claiming pregnant girls should not be allowed to remain in school.[81]

The teacher's emphasis on the inappropriateness of a pregnant girl staying in school and the general commentary that pregnant girls were a bad influence further stigmatized pregnant girls by excluding them from education as well as constructing them as "bad."

In both lessons on teenage pregnancy, the teachers concluded the lessons by emphasizing to female pupils that they should choose education over relationships. Teachers solidified the message that girls had a choice over their future paths by having female pupils publicly affirm their commitment to their studies.[82] For example, at the end of the SFI lesson where pupils

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[81] While in the classroom, pupils often parroted teacher comments that pregnant girls were a bad influence on their peers and should be removed from school, in private conversations, pupils' understandings of pregnant schoolgirls were more nuanced. In informal conversations about whether pregnant girls should be allowed to stay in school, several pupils emphasized that pregnant girls should be allowed to return to school after giving birth. Pupils emphasized that girls needed to pursue an education to have a future for themselves and their children. They also noted that frequently girls get pregnant due to rape rather than a personal choice.

[82] The year before entering this school, I observed a similar process of having girls publicly affirm their focus on schooling over early sex at a march to promote girls' schooling organized by international organizations participating in the district's Gender-Based Violence Working Group. An Acholi woman who was spearheading the march asked all of the pupils attending the march (among which were pupils from Sacred Cross) to stand up and

debated whether pregnant girls should be allowed to stay in school, the teacher asked the female

pupils to stand up and vow to first finish their education before getting pregnant:

> The teacher says, "We decided to make you debate to make you understand the dangers associated with getting pregnant when you are young. Even clothing, even food will be problems. So, girls who are here, let us stand on our ground to say we must finish school before getting pregnant."
>
> All the girls in the group stand and say, "We must finish school before getting pregnant."
>
> The boys remain silent.
>
> The teacher then says, "Pregnancy can wait, but education cannot wait."

The process of having girls affirm aloud their commitment to their schooling emphasized

to pupils that girls were the ones who were responsible for preventing pregnancy. Teachers

stressed to students that at the end of the day, girls who remained committed to their education

would be the ones who had a successful future, and those ones who allowed themselves to get

into relationships, would be failures. This message blamed girls who were already marginalized

for their conditions.

Similarly, in the other SFI lesson on teenage pregnancy I attended, the male teacher

emphasized that if a girl concentrated on her studies, she would avoid pregnancy and school

dropout. He concluded the lesson by reminding the girls about a popular Acholi pop song called

"Mak kwan niking," or concentrate on your studies. In the song, Sherry Lameny, an Acholi

female singer, advised schoolgirls to concentrate on their studies and warned girls that if they

allowed themselves to start getting involved in relationships it would not only spoil their studies,

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practice shouting "No for no! No for no! No for no!" to adults who might approach them for sex and thereby attempt to derail their education. Thus, this public affirmation made by pupils to focus on their studies was not only limited to school spaces.

but might even kill them because they might die trying to abort the baby. Or if they gave birth,

they would become *ogek*, a derisive term for a single woman with children. In the lesson, the

teacher had the girls repeat the refrain from the chorus of the song, thereby having them

reiterating their commitment to focus on their studies. Below is an excerpt from my fieldnote:

> The teacher tells the pupils that education prevents girls from getting pregnant early. He concludes, "That is why we say, '*Mak kwan ki ngo?*'" [How should you handle your education?]
>
> The female students respond, "*Niking!*" [Concentrate!]
>
> The teacher repeats, "*Ki ngo?*" [How?]
>
> The female students respond, "*Niking!*" [Concentrate!]

When I spoke with students about the saying, they explained to me that a girl who was

focused on her studies, would not allow herself to be lured into relationships. The saying was

frequently repeated to female pupils and the song was occasionally played on the radio as a

warning to schoolgirls. These framings of the ideal schoolgirl being abstinent and focused on her

education and the girl who dropped out of school due to pregnancy becoming *ogek*[83] were meant

as lessons to young people, lessons emphasizing that already vulnerable female youth were

responsible for the reproductive outcomes they experienced, no matter the situation or sexual

interactions that led to those outcomes; and to reinforce the ideal pupil versus "at-risk" pupil

dichotomy.

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[83] While I was conducting research in northern Uganda, there was another popular song called "Dul yen" and it likened *ogek* to the piece of firewood that had already been used and should be thrown away rather than put back in the fire. The song warned young men (and to a much lesser extent young women) not to choose a partner who was *ogek,* because the *ogek's* previous relationship failed due to his/her antisocial behavior. In the song, the singer explained that an *ogek* can insult a man to his face, use obscene language in front of his mother, and refuse any control from her husband. This song was controversial among many women, who opposed the term *ogek* and its blame of women for failed relationships, yet it was also a catchy tune that was played frequently on the radio.

Teaching respectability

At Sacred Cross, teachers emphasized the importance of performing respectability (*woro*)

to avoid being perceived as an unrespectable female youth and to avoid unwanted sexual

attention. By indicating one's class affiliation through the performance of *woro* (or

respectability), one could indicate not being in the category of "undisciplined" girls likely

interested in premarital sex. For example, one female teacher from Sacred Cross instructed

female pupils at the term two girls' meeting,

> You should walk with discipline. Don't just walk anyhow. Show *woro*. Walk as a
> disciplined person. Talk like a disciplined person, like a girl whose parents have taught
> her well. If you walk around the way I have seen some of you moving without discipline,
> men will come to you and try to sleep with you and will impregnate you. If you do things
> with discipline, the man will know that you will not support his ideas of pursuing you.

As is evident from the quotation above, teachers instructed female pupils to perform

woro/respectability by acting with self-discipline in dress, work, study, walk, talk, laugh, indeed,

in all aspects of moving through the world. The performance of *woro* was viewed as a deterrent

to males seeking a sexual relationship in part because it demonstrated a girls' good family

background. Thus, the distinctions between the respectable schoolgirl and the

promiscuous/unrespectable schoolgirl had important implications for the girls' safety.

These distinctions also played into what Lynn Thomas (2007) described as ambiguity

toward the pubescent girl in Southern and Eastern Africa. In her review of the literature on pre-

marital/pre-initiation/schoolgirl pregnancies in different sub-Saharan African contexts she

emphasized the ways the categories of schoolgirl, prostitute, and mistress have overlapped and

been distinguished among each other and she asks a question that is at the center of this analysis:

> How has schoolgirls' simultaneous embodiment of promise and promiscuity been
> variously manifested over the past century and from one context to another? And in what

> ways has the distinction between the schoolgirl temporarily led astray and the prostitute been defined by class divisions and aspirations?" (p. 56).

At Sacred Cross, we saw the ways international, national, and local messages around teenage pregnancy served to co-construct class distinctions among schoolgirls painting low-income girls in the category of the "at-risk", promiscuous, undisciplined girl, and girls coming from "good families" in the category of the ideal, chaste, pious, disciplined schoolgirl. Given that girls at Sacred Cross were from slightly better off (and for the most part) Catholic families, teachers tended to assume that most girls at Sacred Cross fell on the "good" side of the good girl/bad girl dichotomy.[84]

Piny Dyak – Policing and punishing pupils

At Piny Dyak the international, national, and local attention on girls' education and the "problem" of teenage pregnancy was experienced in the school in terms of intense policing of pupil relationships. Much of the official sex education curriculum was not implemented due to material and human resource inadequacies at the school. In its place, the school administration utilized punishments and surveillance to control pupil behavior.

As one of the least expensive schools in the municipality, the school administration saw its population of low-income pupils as in the "at-risk" category for sexual relationships and the school administration frequently accused pupils of not acting respectably and pursuing/engaging in sexual relationships. The male head teacher and male deputy head teacher consistently

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[84] In her work on the discrimination against Latina youth, Garcia (2009) uses the phrase good girl/bad girl dichotomy to express the difficulties young women have in expressing their sexual agency within the constraints of a good girl/bad girl dichotomy.

assumed pupils were involved or interested in such relationships. Furthermore, the school administration used pupils' poor performance on exams as evidence of the pupils' failure to adhere to the ideal pupil model who is studious, chaste, and pious.

Nevertheless, not all teachers agreed with the administration's draconian approach and its portrayal of the pupils at school. While teachers generally agreed that the female pupils' economic circumstances placed them in the "at-risk" category, some teachers used this understanding as a justification to be allies to female youth, rather than to police and shame them.

Concern over teenage pregnancy and policing of pupil behavior

The male head teacher frequently made public assertions about how he was a champion of "girl child education", positioning himself as a modern man, but he did so while lamenting about the sexual engagement of female (and male) youth in his school. For example, during the farewell party that I threw for grade seven pupils of Piny Dyak, in his speech to the attendees (including the local councilor 1, a representative from the municipal education office, and the chairmen of the SMC and the PTA), the head teacher bragged about how he championed "girl child" education and then as he shifted his remarks to pupils he emphasized how he did not want to see them engaged in sexual relationships, warning pupils that he was policing their activity.

The head teacher also indicated he felt pressure from the municipal education office to ensure that no female pupils in his school got pregnant and dropped out. For example, in the first term parents' meeting, the head teacher recalled how the municipal education office was "on his neck" about a female pupil who got pregnant at his school the year before. He emphasized to

parents that they should focus on their daughters' education because if not, the girl would likely get pregnant and bring problems on the home.

However, the school administration's concern about teenage pregnancy led to policing pupils rather than to sex education. This approach saw sex as bad and the best way to deter it being one that involved punishment and constant surveillance of pupil relationships.

Handling student relationships: Gender and policing of student relationships

In contrast to Sacred Cross, where teachers largely assumed pupils were not involved in sexual relationships and if a relationship were to be reported, it would be handled discreetly by the senior woman teacher, at Piny Dyak the head teacher assumed pupils were involved in relationships and pupils were tasked with proving their abstinence and avoidance of relationships by performing well on exercises and exams and avoiding interactions with the opposite sex.

While usually the senior male and female teachers are responsible for providing guidance and counseling to students accused of being engaged in relationships, at Piny Dyak, the head teacher took over this role and he used harsh gendered punishments to curtail student relationships.

The head teacher closely monitored pupils for relationships. During the school year, he kept a close eye on pupils and occasionally questioned pupils about any relationships that might be happening. The head teacher's daughter was also a grade seven pupil and some of the other pupils suspected that she spied on them and reported them to the head teacher for such minor "infractions" as sitting next to a pupil of the opposite sex to ask questions about class exercises. The fear of constant monitoring of male and female pupils' interactions became a barrier to male and female pupils studying together. On one occasion, when an INGO that was visiting the

school arranged an activity where pupils were supposed to play a game similar to musical chairs where they would pair up with another pupil when the music stopped, none of the pupils paired with a pupil of the opposite sex and when a female pupil was almost paired with a boy the two ran away from each other. The same female pupil scrambled to find someone to pair with so that she wouldn't be kicked out of the game and when she came across another male pupil, both pupils ran away from each other again and the girl was then excluded from the next round of the game.

The policing of pupil relationships was gendered, with the head teacher largely using corporal punishment and public shaming to punish female pupils and physical labor, corporal punishment, and school suspension to punish male pupils. For example, the head teacher publicly shamed a grade seven female pupil who was accused of being in a relationship with a boy by making poorly concealed allusions to her alleged sexual activity in class and at a general assembly. For a short time after the girl was accused of being in a relationship, the head teacher's daughter and another of the top performing schoolgirls stopped sitting next to the accused girl in class. It took a couple months before the head teacher's daughter and the other top performing female pupil would sit with her. By this point the head teacher had stopped shaming the girl in school.

Boys accused of being in relationships, or courting girls, were described as a threat to girls' studies and were suspended and given heavy labor upon return to the school. For example, the male pupil accused of being in a relationship with the female pupil mentioned above was given corporal punishment and suspended from the school for two weeks. When he returned to the school, he was given physical labor to complete during school breaks.

The harsh treatment of pupils accused of being in relationships reinforced the feeling among students that they needed to be on guard at all times in their interactions with the opposite sex and reinforced the head teacher's message that Piny Dyak pupils could not be trusted to behave in responsible and respectable ways.

Through public accusations and punishments, the Piny Dyak head teacher communicated that pupils fell on the "bad" side of the good pupil-bad pupil dichotomy. They were told that their poor performance in school was due to their immoral behavior rather than the school's failure to teach or the socioeconomic constraints on their families. Furthermore, pupils were made to feel afraid of their school administration rather than seeing it as a source of support against sexual and gender-based violence as envisioned by the School Family Initiative. And pupils were denied the right to relationships (sexual or platonic) with their opposite sex peers.

At Piny Dyak, the school administration reinforced notions that girls and boys at the school could not be expected to behave according to norms of respectability (*woro*). The school cited pupils' poor academic performance as "evidence" that pupils at the school did not fit into the mold of the ideal pupil who was focused on his/her education and eschewed relationships. Instead, pupils' poor performance confirmed to the head teacher that pupils were involved in sexual relationships and therefore should be treated as "undisciplined youth" who should be policed and controlled.

The head teacher's approach to dealing with sexuality aligned with his broader approach toward school management. He blamed poor performance of the school on others, pupils' sexual engagement or teachers' lack of commitment, and he took an overall vigillation approach to controlling all activities within the school. As discussed in chapter three, this approach to maintaining authority and control via fear was consistent with the view held by some teachers

that low-income pupils could not be expected to behave respectably and should instead be controlled by fear.

Using poor academic performance as "evidence" that pupils were sexually promiscuous

The school administration's assumptions about Piny Dyak pupils' interest in relationships was used to explain their poor performance on exams. The school administration emphasized that involvement in relationships distracted from school and lowered performance. The belief that girls' involvement or interest in relationships weakened their academic performance has been found in other contexts across the continent as well (e.g., Bajaj, 2009; Mojola, 2015; Kendall and Kaunda, 2015). Notions that pubescent girls' interest in boys reduced their performance in schools thus further served to marginalize girls perceived to be more likely to pursue sexual relationships due to their low-income status.

At Piny Dyak, pupils often were accused of being in relationships or seeking a relationship, suggesting they fell short of the ideal. The head teacher frequently blamed pupils' poor performance on exams and class exercises on their alleged involvement in relationships, which he claimed detracted from their focus on their studies. For example, in the following quotation from an English exam review, the head teacher told learners they would perform better if it were not for their insistence on being in relationships:

> *Ka ikwano buk, nong leb munu obi mede, ento wun wutye ki cawa* [If you read your book, your English will improve, but you all have time] and you don't spare time for studying. I know what you do. Leave what you are doing and begin studying. You know what you do *mapat ki kwan* [instead of studying]. Stop what you are talking about and talk about studies. If you don't listen to what I am telling you, at the beginning of the year… You are burning everything I am telling you in your memory. When you fail, the words I am telling you will be playing in your ears and you will be dancing to it. When you fail, John will be telling you, 'I love you.'

The head teacher saw involvement in relationships as a distraction from studies and asserted it harmed a learner's performance. Like at Sacred Cross, the Piny Dyak head teacher reinforced the belief that relationships decreased a pupil's concentration on his/her studies and consequently his/her performance in school. The head teacher frequently claimed that pupils were in relationships even when there was no evidence of any relationship, simply because pupils performed poorly on exams and class exercises. The accusation that pupils were involved in relationships reinforced the idea that pupils at Piny Dyak failed to perform the ideal pupil identity. In contrast, when pupils made mistakes at Sacred Cross, no public accusation was made that they were involved in relationships, even though I heard a similar level of gossiping among learners about pupil relationships in the two schools.

It is much more likely pupils' poor performance in school was due to their poor socioeconomic background. Indeed, in comparison with learners at Sacred Cross who spoke English with ease and were selectively let into the grade seven class, most learners at Piny Dyak understood very little English, as was demonstrated in numerous observations in class where they could not answer a question posed in English, but could when it was posed in Acholi. (Government policy required that grade seven exams were given in English.) Similarly, when I helped pupils review their books, I frequently had to translate the notes into Acholi to help them understand what was written. Finally, in the welcome test at the beginning of the school year, most of the pupils scored lower than 20% on the practice primary leaving exam, which was mostly a review of grades one through six. This contrasted with Sacred Cross, where students had to score an average of 50% on a practice primary leaving exam in order enter grade seven.

Blaming learners' poor performance on their involvement in sexual relations created a context where educational performance was used as evidence of a pupil's moral uprightness or

moral depravity. For example, one day in class the head teacher was lamenting the poor

performance of pupils in answering questions on the exam. He said to the class,

> "*Latin ma ryek mako weng i wiye*. [The intelligent child keeps everything in his/her head.] Let there be a difference between you and *ngat ma pe okwano* [someone who has not studied]. In Uganda now they expect you to be in secondary. Where you are now, *mito bed mon. Mat saket* [… you want to be women. You drink alcohol from a sachet.] I have done my research, Madame [referring to me] and girls here have five boyfriends and live with them all and have sex with them all. See how sex distorts the brain?"

The head teacher thus questioned the morality and respectful behavior of girls in the

school, claiming that they were instead drinking alcohol, wanting to be someone's wife, and

having sex with multiple partners. However, the generalization about girls at the school fit into

the head teacher's general negative comments about the pupils at the school, and particularly

girls, in terms of their academic performance and their lack of seriousness about their studies.

Female teachers who were allies

It is important to note that not all Piny Dyak teachers actively ridiculed and accused

female pupils of being involved in sexual relationships. Indeed, some teachers supported low-

income pupils by providing material support such as food for girls who they felt might be

vulnerable. For example, below is an excerpt from an interview with a female teacher, in which

she discussed the material causes of girls engaging in transactional sex as well as the ways she

and other members of the community were supporting girls in poor households:

> … there is a young girl at our school. She is in P.4. Her mother says she is born-again [Christian] and keeps moving up and down. The girl has to look for food to feed her siblings… They are four. The girl should be 13-14 years old. She is young. Moreover, I think she started caretaking her siblings when she was just 10 years. A child can think that if I am to care-take my siblings, then I would rather get my own home. [The mother] claims that she has gone to look for money, but she still complains that there is no money. So where did she go to look for that money? Her children keep moving to people's homes looking for food. If the women in our neighborhood were not kind-hearted persons, those children would suffer. Even when they come around, we give them

food. Even when they do not ask, you just see that they are hungry, and you just give something to eat. Some children are in real problems.

While the teacher emphasized the grade four pupil was extremely vulnerable to pursuing a relationship with a man to solve her very real problems of hunger and her great responsibilities at a very young age, she also demonstrated the ways she was trying to protect the girl from sexual and gender-based violence from a male who might take advantage of her situation. The teacher's depiction of the female pupil emphasized the girl's innocence in the very difficult situation. In general, at school, this teacher tended to be an ally to vulnerable pupils. I observed this teacher share food with some pupils who could not go home for lunch and who never came to school with food.

Nevertheless, the teacher demonstrated an ambivalence about the girl's mother's moral uprightness. The teacher placed blame on the single mother for not providing for her children. She questioned what the mother was doing all night if she was still unable to provide for the children. In other comments from the teacher about the behavior of youth from the school, she emphasized that youth learn bad behaviors from their parents.

The teacher's perspective was a variation on the assertion that low-income communities are characterized by an erosion of respectability. The teacher still perceived of low-income female youth as "at-risk", yet instead of using this perception as a justification for policing youth, she used it as a justification for providing extra material support to youth.

Concluding section Piny Dyak

At Piny Dyak, the school administration handled the "problem" of teenage pregnancy and girls' education using policing of pupil behavior and punishing those accused of pursuing relationships. The school administration assumed its population of low-income pupils were

interested in and/or involved in relationships. For example, the school administration blamed pupils' poor academic performance on pupils being focused on sexual relationships rather than on their studies, thus indicating that pupils fell on the "undisciplined", "unrespectable", bad side of the good pupil/bad pupil dichotomy.

While Piny Dyak teachers generally accepted the idea that female pupils' low-income status put them "at-risk" of engaging in sexual relationships for material gain, not all teachers agreed with the school administration's approach to controlling pupil behavior. Other teachers acted as allies to support vulnerable pupils by providing material support such as food to pupils who typically went hungry at school.

Bright Futures: The respectable and unrespectable low-income girl

This chapter's analysis on school level discourses around the "ideal" and "at-risk" pupil starts with an excerpt from the girls' meeting at Bright Futures, where the head teacher asked female pupils why it was that everywhere one went one heard about the "girl child". He then, together with the female pupils, described why girls are a problem to the community.

At Bright Futures, teachers generally thought girls failed to adhere to norms of respect and respectability. Teachers frequently assumed that female pupils were engaged in or pursuing sexual relationships. This meant that girls typically received messages that they were morally degraded and unfit to be pupils. Teachers claimed girls were in or were pursuing relationships if they missed school, were seen sitting with male pupils in the schoolyard, if they were found with clothing items or song lyrics associated with American hip hop, if they had their shirt untucked or the top two buttons of their blouse unbuttoned. These teachers believed that although a handful of pupils were quiet in class, kept a low profile, and dressed and behaved according to

norms of respect (*woro)*, these girls were the exception that proved the rule that "girls at Bright Futures had no respect" (*gi pe ki woro).*

One of the reasons teachers identified for why girls from Bright Futures behaved without *woro,* or without respect, was that they came from dysfunctional families. Indeed, in the girls' meeting, teachers frequently referenced the trading center where many pupils lived, which was formerly a displacement camp. In my informal conversations with teachers, they explained that girls learned bad behavior from their parents who often got drunk and failed to adequately look after their children.

During the Bright Futures girls' meeting, the distinction between respectable poor girls and poor girls who were greedy and easily lured by sugar daddies was exemplified in the story told by a student teacher who began working at the school as part of her practicum at the primary teachers' college. In this story the student teacher emphasized the archetype of the respectable poor female pupil who worked hard for her future, versus the undisciplined poor female pupil, who engaged in transactional sex for short-term material gains. Below is an excerpt of her story.[85]

> When I studied in P7, the school was close to the senior secondary school. I thought the uniform for senior was so nice that it made me focus on my studies. I studied in the village and I did not speak English well.
>
> I worked hard in Senior and then I went back home.
>
> My mother then told me that if I want to continue my education, I am going to need to work in the fields hard to raise the money. I labored in the fields hard for a year. So hard that the sweat dripped down and I went and bathed in the river.

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[85] The excerpt is taken from my handwritten notes taken during the meeting. Some of the phrases are not direct quotes.

> Some of my peers who studied with me in primary ridiculed me for still wearing the out of fashion clothes from those days. I replied to them, "Let me study. I will get the fashion."
>
> Now that I am almost done with my teaching degree, I am going to start getting a salary. I am going to be buying those clothes.
>
> *Abi timo cuna I leb munu. Abi kwero lapwur*. [I will be courting in English and I will not end up with a farmer.]
>
> If a boy comes to you, tell the boy, "*Wek a kwan*." [Let me study.]

Later in her depiction, she described how the girls who used to ridicule her were working as hairdressers in someone else's salon and not even earning 50,000 shillings a month (less than 20% of a teacher's salary). The teacher's message emphasized the distinction reiterated to Bright Futures girls about the respectable and disrespectable poor female pupil. Girls were warned not to desire material things and were directed to pursue success through hard work rather than through sexual relationships

The distinction the student-teacher made in her story resembled the distinction Mojola (2015) described in her research on perceptions of modern femininity in Kenya, where girls thought about the performance of modern femininity in terms of consumption of material goods. The student-teacher described the morally acceptable/respectable path toward modern femininity without behaving disreputably. Mojola's research found a similar, narrow path for girls from poor families and noted poor boys generally were expected to behave in this same manner and did, with many fewer pressures to link their educational efforts to material goods. The morally bereft use of transactional sex for "luxury" goods, in this story, only led to poverty. The student-teacher explained her path was an arduous one that took self-discipline, but in the end, through hard work and struggle, one could access modern femininity. The morally bereft use of transactional sex only led to poverty.

The moralizing story about reputable femininity given by the student-teacher assumed transactional sex was for "luxury" goods (e.g. fashionable clothes), rather than for basic survival. In other words, she assumed girls had a choice as to whether they engaged in sexual relationships. As was evident in the story told by the female teacher from Piny Dyak, the reality for some girls was they had responsibility not only of their own welfare, but also for their siblings. For the schoolgirl from Piny Dyak, she and her siblings survived by begging from neighbors, but as the girl got older, such a survival strategy could prove untenable.

Teachers generally agreed that girls who defied norms of *woro* were either in relationships or pursuing relationships. In informal staffroom conversations, Bright Futures teachers spoke of their concern for "undisciplined" girls, whom they thought were involved in relationships. Teachers described these girls using the language of *woro* or discipline, respect, and respectability. For example, in a staffroom discussion with teachers about a meeting they held in the library for parents of girls who repeatedly had missed Saturday lessons, teachers speculated the girls probably were meeting motorcycle taxi drivers – insinuating they were having sexual relationships with those men.[86] The teachers lamented the high number of girls who were "undisciplined".

When I asked teachers about which male pupils similarly were "undisciplined" (as the teachers labeled it), teachers cited male students who regularly attended lessons, but often acted sarcastic toward teachers. Though several male pupils also frequently missed lessons, teachers

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[86] Motorcycle taxi drivers frequently were cited as threats to girls' studies because they always had cash on hand. For example, at the pre-launch event to the 16 days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence, the District Education Officer complained that motorcycle taxi drivers were the group who most commonly impregnated schoolgirls.

did not identify those students as "undisciplined" or as pupils they should be concerned about. After asking about "undisciplined" male pupils, the senior male teacher explained to me it was more common for girls to be "undisciplined" than boys because girls were more vulnerable. He elaborated sugar daddies can lure girls into relationships by buying them things. Then a female teacher interjected, explaining, "poverty plays a role in this, because the girls have needs for some things."

As mentioned earlier, Kakuru's (2008) found that in Uganda, the gender division of labor, both at home and in society, meant girls were less likely to have their work, which is mostly reproductive, remunerated than boys. Kakuru noted girls with financial instability also had less access to income generating opportunities than boys, which meant girls might resort to exchanging sex for small gifts or money.

At Bright Futures' third term girls' meeting, the head teacher emphasized the lack of *woro* or respect at the school as evidence of pupils' engagement in sexual relationships. He said, "In the class you are very stubborn. Some of you are defiling in the classroom. Some of you are defiling from outside. Thinking about, 'my boyfriend.'" He continued, "In other schools there is so much *woro*. *Woro aye ryeko*. [*Woro* is intelligence]." The head teacher's remarks compared girls at Bright Futures to girls at other schools who were seen to behave with *woro*. The remarks demonstrated the ways *woro* was associated with notions of self-discipline and appropriate social and sexual relationships, and how deviance from behaving with *woro* was associated with involvement in sexual relations.

By frequently and publicly accusing Bright Futures female students of being in or looking for relationships with males, teachers emphasized that Bright Futures girls failed to live up to the ideal student image.

Frequently, teachers would simply make general accusations that girls at Bright Futures were engaged in sexual relationships. For example, at the girls' meeting, teachers and administrators admonished girls nine times for pursuing "boyfriends". Among the allegations that teachers made during the girls' meeting were charges that girls had relationships with the motorcycle taxi drivers, who had a stand just outside of the school gates, and that girls were flirting with their male peers and male teachers in an effort to find a "boyfriend". The head teacher even said he had heard accusations that girls from Bright Futures were "selling themselves" at a nearby bar frequented by upper-income Ugandans and some foreigners from the USA and Europe. Repeatedly, teachers advised girls that if they were to have any chance of a successful future, they would need to stop pursuing men and reform their ways.

During the girls' meeting at Bright Futures, teachers actively accused girls of being in or pursuing relationships with males at school and in the community, thereby differentiating girls at the low-income school from the ideal female pupil. In contrast, at the girls' meeting at Sacred Cross, the only mention of girls' relationships was a reference to some female pupils from the previous year whom the senior woman teacher accused of pursing a male teacher. At Sacred Cross, teachers largely assumed girls were not interested in male attention.

Discussion

Despite laws in many African countries stating pregnant girls should be allowed to study, it is common for schools to expel girls who become pregnant (Bowman and Brudige, 2013; Human Rights Watch, 2018; Kendall and Kaunda, 2015; Silver, 2019). Schoolgirl pregnancy often is stigmatized in schools and communities as evidence of girls' and their families' moral failure and as a general example of moral decline (Kendall and Kaunda, 2015; Rutaremwa, 2013;

Sekiwunga and Whyte, 2009; Silver, 2019; Thomas, 2007; Unterhalter, 2013). Grant (2012)

shows how in Malawi, some parents have withdrawn their daughters from school due to the

stigma and threat associated with premarital pregnancy. Several authors have described how

sexually active unmarried girls are considered a threat to their families' authority, their families'

investment in education, and even to their community's wellbeing (Grant, 2012; Kendall and

Kaunda, 2015; Parikh, 2015; Stambach, 2000; Thomas, 2007; Vavrus, 2003).

The trope of the schoolgirl engaged in transactional sex with sugar daddies often is a

target of international sexual and reproductive health interventions, particularly HIV

campaigns.[87] Such campaigns have emphasized that adolescent girls are many times more likely

than their male peers to have HIV because of their alleged vulnerability to sexual relationships

with sugar daddies (Parikh, 2015). International development organizations' focus on targeting

"at-risk" groups for HIV interventions has led to public health campaigns that publicly identify

adolescent girls as vulnerable to HIV, as well as other "negative sexual and reproductive health

outcomes". According to Parikh (2015), in Uganda this has meant heightened surveillance of

adolescent girls' sexuality. Parikh described how in Iganga district of Uganda, many families

cited an increase in out-of-wedlock pregnancies (where no bridewealth was paid) and HIV

infections as evidence of inappropriate sexual behavior and moral decline.

The trope of the schoolgirl engaged in transactional sex with sugar daddies tends to

portray schoolgirls' use of transactional sex in terms of "relative deprivation", rather than

"absolute deprivation"," and therefore sees transactional sex as a "moral choice". The continued

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[87] In this case study, this focus was evident in the HIV education provided in schools through the national
curriculum and the school family initiative.

focus on abstinence-only education, that envisions the virginal schoolgirl and considers sexual relations in terms of individualized rational actors assumes girls have a "choice" in their sexual encounters and fails to account for the realities of many girls' first sexual encounters (either during or immediately after schooling) are characterized by some degree of coercion or force (e.g., Bajaj, 2009; Kendall and Kaunda, 2015; Mirembe and Davies, 2001).

This moralizing framework for understanding sexuality resonated in Uganda particularly among communities of faith (Allen, 2004; Boyd, 2015). In northern Uganda, at the beginning of the HIV epidemic, the Catholic Church was actively involved in creating an explanation for HIV. For example, in Moyo district, the Catholic Church took confessions from the first two men known to have died from the disease about how they contracted the disease. The next day in church the priest read the confessions to the congregation, explaining that the men confessed that they contracted the disease by having sex outside marriage (Allen, 2004). Allen noted the local council (LC) system also became intricately involved in controlling the spread of HIV through coercive measures to root out anyone suspected of spreading HIV. For example, the LC systems became involved in discussions about women in sexual relationships where no bridewealth[88] had been paid. They in some cases expelled people from communities who were suspected of spreading HIV and accusations of witchcraft were meted against individuals (mostly women) who were thought to be spreading the disease. Often those individuals were killed. If they were

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[88] "Bridewealth" is the money or goods the man's family gives the woman's family as part of the process of getting married. The man's family pays bridewealth to the woman's family to formalize the relationship between the woman and man as well as between the two families. Bridewealth payments typically happen over several years, but the first payment helps to legitimize the relationship between the man and woman.

simply expelled from the community, the LC system published the names of the individuals in the national newspapers.

The impacts of the war in northern Uganda on perceptions of schoolgirl pregnancy

In the context of war and displacement in Acholi, the prevalence of childbearing and relationships that were not sanctioned by intergenerational negotiation and exchange of wealth through bridewealth payments led to large numbers of children whose claim to clan membership and land was in question (Finnström, 2008; Gauvin, 2016; Joireman, 2018). This is seen as deeply troubling to social welfare.

Concern over teenage pregnancy in northern Uganda does not appear to be a result of rising numbers of pregnant girls. The percentage of northern Ugandan adolescent girls becoming pregnant before age 19 is similar to that of the whole country, 25.5%, compared to 25%, respectively, in 2010 (Gideon, 2013). Further, teenage pregnancy declined in Uganda from 43% in 1995, to 35% in 2000-2001 (Neema et al., 2004), and 25% in 2010 (Gideon, 2013).

Many scholars working in northern Uganda have argued that concern over girls' pregnancy appeared to reflect parents' and elders' concern that pregnancy and sexual relationships increasingly happened without the social sanctioning and exchange of wealth of the girl's and boy's families (Finnström, 2008; Gauvin, 2016; Schlect et al., 2013; Vorhölter, 2014). During the war, war-related poverty undermined families' control over marriage and kinship relations and left impregnated women and girls in a liminal state where they were considered threats to their families. Finnström(2008) emphasized that war-related poverty limited the ability of families to pay bridewealth, leaving young women, who had given birth but who had not

married, in a liminal state where the man's family could think her loyalties were unclear (see also Schlect et al., 2013). Furthermore, girls and women living in forced displacement camps were vulnerable to rape or sexual exploitation by soldiers who would give them small amounts of money or goods in exchange for sex (Joireman, 2018; Porter, 2014). In either case, the girls and women had little choice in the sexual encounter, and when the soldiers left, the young women were abandoned to care for the children. Female abductees of the Lord's Resistance army, who gave birth to children because of forced marriage, often experienced difficulty resuming their places in their home communities, including difficulty accessing land for obtaining a livelihood, or on occasion, to bury their children born of war (Joireman, 2018; Porter, 2017).

Gauvin's (2016) ethnography of post-conflict rebuilding in Acholi similarly cited elders' complaints about lack of bridewealth payment as a key component of social breakdown. According to Gauvin, research participants repeatedly cited the breakdown of *woro* or norms of respect and respectability, as it related to processes of *cuna* or courtship and marriage as evidence of the breakdown of the social order.

While premarital pregnancy has long been common in Acholi (Girling, 1960)[89], usually these relationships eventually were formalized through the payment of bridewealth (Gauvin, 2016). According to Gauvin (2016), the current lack of involvement of elders in formalizing unions was perceived as a general breakdown of respect and of the social order.

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[89] In Girling's 1960 ethnography, he reported that in 50% of marriages in Acholi, pregnancy preceded marriage. It was common for partners to "test" each other's fertility to avoid the problem of a childless union

Vorhölter (2014) noted that in northern Uganda a young woman's sexuality was seen as a threat to gerontocratic authority, because young women potentially could use their sexuality to undermine the authority of patriarchal heads of household by seeking financial support from male sexual partners.

Finally, given the overlap between the war and the HIV epidemic, fear of HIV probably also contributed to elders' concern over controlling youth sexuality (as discussed by Parikh, 2015 and Allen and Heald, 2004).

Hodgson and McCurdy's (2001) edited volume demonstrated how concerns about promoting women's respectability often surged at times of social, political, or economic rupture. They explained that a focus on "wicked women" often reflected contestations of power relations:

> By analyzing the processes through which some women become stigmatized as "wicked," the nature of their alleged transgressions, and the effects of their actions, the chapters in this volume document how "wicked" women and the paradoxes they generate become sites for debate over, and occasionally transformations in, gender relations, social practices, cultural norms, and political-economic institutions (p. 3).

I argue that the focus on controlling girls' sexuality in the aftermath of conflict reflects similar concerns and contestations over gender relations in a time of social rupture. Furthermore, I demonstrate how marginalized women and youth are considered the greatest threat to social wellbeing.

Throughout this dissertation, I have demonstrated the importance of socioeconomic inequalities on teachers' perceptions of which youth are likely to be considered "undisciplined" or outside the control of their families and resistant to "traditional" Acholi values, which emphasize respect for elders and other persons of authority. Teachers perceived upper- and middle-class youth from "good families" as likely to conform to gerontocratic norms of *woro*, because they remained under the control of their families, while young women and men from

low-income families have been considered less "disciplined," hence, a threat to social wellbeing, in part because their parents did provide them the social and economic support necessary to maintain relationships of respect and obedience.

This chapter demonstrated the ways schools become places where teachers perceived low-income girls as "undisciplined" and prone to engage in sexual relationships that are a threat to their community wellbeing. I demonstrate how the international and national focus on the pregnant dropout, and the "at-risk" pupil in the context of heightened concern over the threat of uncontrolled female sexuality reinforced the vilification of certain girls implicitly branding them as prone to engage in risky sexual relationships that threaten the girls themselves, their peers, schools, families, and the community as a whole.

Conclusion

If war shifts familial and social relations by demanding that women, children, and youth take on new roles and responsibilities to survive, the aftermath is a period where stakeholders debate about how best to reconstruct social life. Calls to revitalize pre-war social relations are common in post-conflict settings and often reflect the desires of men and elders to regain their authority and power lost during wartime changes. This research shows that efforts to revitalize an imagined past in the post-conflict context not only have gender and age-based dimensions, but also class dimensions.

This research documents how concerns about the erosion of gendered gerontocratic relations of respect during the war crystallized around concerns about "undisciplined" youth. Furthermore, perceptions about "undisciplined" youth, or youth who did not adhere to gerontocratic norms of respect had a class dimension. Teachers perceived of marginalized youth, such as orphans, as less likely to comply with gerontocratic power relations. Poor and otherwise marginalized families were seen as less able to instill values of respect in their children, because of the loss of the male head of household's ability to fulfill his role as provider, protector, and disciplinarian.

Teachers claimed life in urban slums in town and in the urban trading centers that emerged out of former displacement camps were characterized by a general moral decline where even children's parents did not behave according to Acholi norms of respect and respectability (*woro*), thus resulting in children who also did not follow norms of respect. Perceptions that both children and parents coming from marginalized communities did not behave according to norms of *woro* demonstrate the ways that marginalized communities were generally seen as threats to social norms.

In a hierarchical school environment, concern for returning to an imagined pre-war patrilineal order resulted in physical and symbolic violence against the most marginalized youth who were seen as "undisciplined". This was reflected in the greater use of corporal punishment at poor schools and in teachers' comments that corporal punishment was the only thing that would work with "undisciplined" youth. Poorly resourced schools also undermined teachers' abilities to be "good" parents who provided for their children. The financial stress and feelings of loss of respect due to loss of ability to provide for children, led to some teachers' use of physical and symbolic violence in school.

While teachers sought to instill in learners adherence to norms of *woro,* asserting that if young people behaved respectfully and obediently toward teachers and parents/guardians, they would receive the support they needed to succeed, the different gendered realities of poorer and wealthier learners (e.g., experiences of violence versus protection and support respectively) influenced how young people navigated social norms. In lieu of a path to gaining material and social support through *woro,* some youth pursued alternative sources of power and status by performing identities associated with the material wealth of the West.

Fear about poor female pupils' sexual engagement at the two low-income schools was linked to a general concern about the loss of male heads of households' abilities to control daughters' sexuality and thus social reproduction due to economic decline. The school was a space where teachers transmitted official messages about appropriate youth sexuality that aligned with notions of patrilineal gerontocratic control over social reproduction. Teachers' messages to youth about appropriate sexuality also incorporated gendered notions of respectability. Teachers asserted that by performing respectability, girls could signal that they belonged to a "good" family. Respectability was thus a form of cultural capital that signaled social inclusion and thus

could help girls protect themselves from sexual and gender-based violence. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this class-based protection was unhelpful for poor female youth who reported difficulty responding to suitors. Girls faced an impossible situation where their no was not considered a no, due to social norms that required girls to say no to men's advances even if they were interested in a sexual relationship, while at the same time girls risked violent retribution by thwarted males if girls rejected boys or men too "rudely". Because poor girls were seen as more likely to be interested in relationships and transactional sex, it is likely that their rejections of suitors were taken less seriously. Some poor girls in this research reported that they chose to navigate this situation by forcefully saying no and confronting head on the potential violent backlash from males.

This research contributes to the literature on social change in post-conflict contexts by demonstrating how patriarchal backlashes against conflict-related social change target poor children and youth as well as women. Scholars of gender and conflict have described patriarchal backlashes against women's wartime gains in participation in economic, political, and social life (e.g., Burnet, 2011; Jennings, 2012; Liebling-Kalifani, 2004; Oosterom, 2011; Pankhurst, 2003; 2007; Sengupta, 2016; Tripp, 2015). While others have demonstrated the ways post-conflict change in generational relations can create inter-generational tensions (Hampshire et al., 2008; Joireman, 2018; Vorhölter, 2014), and education and conflict scholars have noted the prevalence of violence in post-conflict schools (Sharkey, 2008; Winthrop and Kirk, 2008), this research has documented how the use of violence against children and youth targets marginalized youth who are seen as more likely to fall outside of patrilineal gerontocratic norms.

I also contribute to the education and conflict literature by demonstrating how the three schools in this study worked to reinstate pre-war gender and age relations. While many have

hoped post-conflict schools can be spaces for promoting peacebuilding, gender equality, and democratic societies (Baranyi and Powell, 2005; Bickmore, 2017; Chinen et al., 2016; Davies, 2004; Kirk, 2004, 2013; Winthrop and kirk, 2008;), this research contributes to authors who have cautioned that without adequate resources, support, and teacher training, schools are much more likely to be spaces that reproduce inequalities (Betancourt et al., 2008; Davies and Talbot, 2008; Davies, 2011; Kirk, 2007; Kirk, 2013; Maclure and Denov, 2009). Teachers are much more likely to revert to the methods of teaching they are most comfortable with in cases where they do not have adequate resources (in terms of finances, time, training, curricular materials, and supervision) (see also Mendenhall 2015; Vavrus and Salema, 2013). This is particularly the case in countries where inadequate government support for public schools means that schools depend on parent resources to meet their needs.

This research has policy implications for post-conflict reconstruction of education systems. The inherently hierarchal structure of school means that schools are likely to be a place where backlash against wartime changes in social relations will occur. This needs to be taken account of in post-conflict aid to education systems. If development agencies and governments want to see schools contributing to peacebuilding, child wellbeing, youth resilience, and gender equity, more resources are needed to adequately train and support teachers and fund school systems.

In particular, while there is a growing trend to ban corporal punishment in schools around the world, it continues to be practiced in many schools (e.g., Cheney, 2007; Meinert, 2009; Sharkey, 2008; Tostenson and Onyango, 2015; Winthrop and Kirk 2008), and without adequate training and support, teachers will likely continue to use methods such as corporal punishment that they are most familiar with to manage classroom behavior (Ellba, 2012; Mendenhall et al.,

2020). The continued use of corporal punishment in conflict-affected schools has implications

for peacebuilding; education and conflict scholars warn that the use of corporal punishment in

schools teaches young people that violence is a valid means of solving problems (Davies 2004,

2011; Harber 2004; Kirk 2007).

This research contributes to the education and conflict literature that examines if and how

schools contribute to social tensions by examining the role of Ugandan schools in reinforcing

social marginalization and violence. I show the ways that the insufficient funding from the

national government to schools and the continued dependency on parent support for school

finances led to resource inequalities among the schools, which had important consequences for

teachers' working conditions, teacher morale, teacher-pupil relations, teaching and learning, and

extracurricular opportunities for pupils.

Furthermore, this research contributes to the literature on corporal punishment in schools

by showing the ways that structural violence, symbolic violence, and physical violence reinforce

each other in schools. The existing literature reveals that marginalized children are more likely to

suffer corporal punishment in schools around the globe (e.g. Devries et al., 2014; Gershoff,

2017; Ogando Portella and Pells, 2015). Through this qualitative research, I document teachers'

claims that marginalized learners "needed" more corporal punishment in order to become

"disciplined" and to conform to *woro*.

This dissertation contributes to understandings of the role of violence in reproducing

gender relations by demonstrating the ways that violence was a space where gender, class, and

age was performed and constructed in relation to violence. I show the ways socially marginalized

youth were talked about as "undisciplined" as a justification for the use of violence against them.

I demonstrate the pressures on male youth to perform toughness in relation to threats of corporal

punishment and I show the class differences in the ways that marginalized and wealthier girls navigated threats of violence, with wealthier girls emphasizing their vulnerability to violence, while more marginalized girls at times performing toughness to navigate threats of violence and inequitable gender and class relations.

This work also contributes to the social sciences literature on schoolgirl pregnancy in Africa by showing how fears about uncontrolled adolescent sexuality had class dimensions both in the official curriculum that teachers taught to children, as well as in teachers' perceptions of which girls were likely to be the ideal virginal pupil and which girls were likely to fail as pupils by engaging in transactional sex. Scholars of gender and education in Africa have shown how girls' pregnancy outside of wedlock is often considered a potential threat to their families' authority, their families' investment in education, and even a threat to community wellbeing (Grant, 2012; Kendall and Kaunda, 2015; Niinsima et al., 2018; Parikh, 2015; Stambach, 2000; Thomas, 2007; Vavrus, 2003). Schoolgirl pregnancy is highly stigmatized and often treated as a failure of the girl, her family, and the school (Kendall and Kaunda, 2015; Silver, 2019; Thomas, 2007; Unterhalter, 2013). Some parents remove their adolescent daughters from school to avoid the stigma associated with becoming pregnant outside of marriage (Grant, 2012).

This dissertation also offers insights into the ways that formal education and public health campaigns contribute to moralizing narratives about girls' sexuality that can reinforce existing processes of social marginalization. The narratives about teenage pregnancy in the official Ugandan curriculum aligned with long-standing themes in the public health field about "risky" and appropriate sex and the ways that poverty and economic inequalities lead certain categories of people to engage in "risky" sex. The notion of risk contains within it a moral narrative about "responsible" sexual behavior, thus suggesting that "at-risk" groups are likely to act immorally.

Furthermore, the notion of risk contains with it the suggestion that "at-risk" groups might threaten the community by bringing in disease and/or threatening patrilineal gerontocratic control over social reproduction. Messages about poor girls as likely to engage in "risky" sex within post-conflict contexts may also reinforce the documented tendency of patriarchal backlashes in the form of domestic violence against women and girls.

Finally, this research contributes to the anthropology of education in Africa, which has examined the use of African schools in the construction of the modern educated person (Cheney, 2007; Coe, 2005; Fuller, 1991; Serpell, 1993; Stambach, 2000; Meinert, 2009). This research shows with the expansion of access to education to poorer and more marginalized youth, communities make distinctions not only between school goers and out-of-school children, but also among schoolchildren based on children's different backgrounds.

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