The impacts of Civil Wares on basic Education in the Great lakes Region

Table of Contents

The Impact of Civil Wars on Basic Education in the Great Lakes Region (AGLR)

A Case Study of Tanzania

William A. L. SAMBO

Abstract: The study investigates the impact of civil wars on basic education in the African Great Lakes Region focusing on Tanzania. The study is guided by a conceptual framework based on the eclectic model. The model takes into account direct and indirect components as explanations for the impact of civil wars on basic education in Tanzania.

Questionnaires and structured interviews were administered to a sample of 251 respondents consisting of schoolteachers, pupils, parents, and education officers in Karagwe District (Kagera region). Similarly, these were administered to primary and elementary education teachers, school age children out of school, pupils, the education coordinator and commander in refugee settlements in Mpanda District (Rukwa region).

The findings reveal that civil wars had direct and indirect impact on basic education, affecting infrastructure, human and material resources, budgeting, planning and administration, and teaching and learning process. Equity in basic education was a serious problem among refugees due to poverty. Assistance from relief agencies to the affected areas included building and repairing schools, digging wells, providing seedlings and planting trees. However, there were no plans to help teachers and children who suffered from civil wars and the resultant refugee influx. Finally, it is suggested that Tanzania should take precautionary measures whenever civil wars loom in neighbouring countries.

1. INTRODUCTION

1. 1 Background

Education, in whatever form, is an essential *power engine* that plays a dynamic role in the development of people, societies, and the world at large. As Ishumi (1974, 6) argues, "Education becomes an inevitable topic in discussions about development because it is an instrument, a pre-requisite and an outcome of the development (or transformation) process in any given community." Accordingly, any neglect of education could result in socio-economic and political stagnation. As Mosha (1997, 7) puts it, "there is no country in the world, with a poorly developed education system that has managed to develop politically, socially and economically". It is this decisive position of education that has been drawing the attention of people, governments, international and local organizations in developed and developing countries concerning education issues and problems.

However, despite being a crucial prerequisite and panacea to many development problems, education is still haunted by complex challenges, which are threatening to undermine its continued contribution to development in many places, especially in the developing countries. Ongoing civil wars in Africa and other parts of the world have become major threats against educational development.

Civil wars are not new phenomena; neither are they confined to one place only in the history of humankind. In Africa, during the contemporary period, the oldest ones are traceable back to the early 1960s, including the Ethiopian civil wars, which marked the beginning of a series of such man-made catastrophes on the continent.

There is little doubt that civil wars cause stagnation of many development programs, including education. Writing from the Ethiopian civil war experience, Rowley (1998, 482) reveals that, "the civil war with Eritrea and the time of the '*Derg*' impacted schools and families". The civil wars have been very costly and they have crippled social infrastructures including education and other basic and necessary social services (Waal and Vines 1992; Malecela 1999).

The civil wars have not only been causing inestimable cost in the war zones but also in the neighbouring countries, which suffer the effects of civil wars directly and indirectly. As Goulding (1999, 157-159) puts it:

The reality is that no conflict is completely internal. Its causes may be internal and the protagonists may be nationals of the same state. But the consequences of their conflict invariably spread beyond that state's borders. Regional security is undermined; flows of refugees are created; communications and trade are interrupted, especially if sanctions are imposed; environmental damage can be caused.

This has been the case in the African Great Lakes Region. Although Tanzania has not witnessed any civil war, it has suffered significantly from the continual civil wars in the African Great Lakes Region. The underlying assumption is that civil wars do not only result into destruction of basic education in the warring countries but also in the neighbouring states.

1. 2 Statement of the Problem

In recent years, the world has witnessed a resurgence of a series of civil wars. Rwantabagu (2001) indicates that intra-state group conflicts and violence have become a worldwide phenomenon and an important feature of political life. These wars have left behind deaths and misplaced people all over the world. Africa has suffered the most from the impact of resurgent civil wars.

Scholars from varied background of specializations have addressed the essence, cause and consequences of these wars from various perspectives. However, despite the extensive coverage in terms of written documents on civil wars, none has dealt exhaustively and exclusively with the negative impact of civil wars on basic education in neighbouring countries. Apparently, the major problem becomes: To what extent has basic education in Tanzania been affected by civil

wars that have been taking place in the African Great Lakes Region? Specifically, the study attempts to address the following research questions:

1. What is the impact of civil wars on basic education in Tanzania?

2. Do all civil war refugees hosted in Tanzania have access to basic education?

3. How can problems caused by civil wars on basic education be alleviated?

4. What do people say about the impact of civil wars/refugees on basic education?

5. How can civil war problems be prevented for the sake of posterity?

1.3 Study Objectives

The main purpose of the study is to explore the impact of civil wars on basic education, in the African Great Lakes Region, especially Tanzania. Specifically, the study proposes to:

1. Examine the impact of civil wars on basic education in Tanzania;

2. Assess equity issues in education among refugees hosted in Tanzania;

3. Find out ways of addressing problems caused by civil wars on basic education;

4. Present cases of people affected by civil wars in the education industry; and

5. Suggest ways of preventing civil war problems on basic education.

1. 4 Significance of the Study

The study is significant in that it is expected to bring out the actual impact of civil wars on basic education in Tanzania and in countries that border warring countries. To this end, results of the study are expected to be a guide for research activities that focus on problems caused by civil wars in the African Great Lakes Region and other parts of the world. In addition, the study is expected to add to the body of knowledge regarding the impact of civil wars on basic education in countries surrounding strife-torn nations.
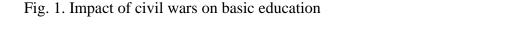
1. 5 Conceptual Framework

The study explores the impact of civil wars on basic education in the African Great Lakes Region. This region has recorded the highest statistics in terms of outbreaks of civil wars in Africa (Moosa 1996). The *eclectic model* has been used for data collection, presentation, analysis, interpretation, and discussion. The model is relevant as it makes use of viewpoints from various models that address the impact of civil wars on basic education in the world.

The eclectic model is based on recognition of major and sub-components as crucial exegesis underlying the impact of civil wars on basic education. The major component tries to capture both direct and indirect views with regard to the impact of civil wars on basic education in countries that border warring nations. In the first place, direct views hold that civil wars that are fought in any country tend to have straight and immediate consequences on basic education in neighbouring countries.

Indirect views, on the other hand, hold that civil wars have far-reaching oblique consequences on basic education in neighbouring countries, causing immense and immeasurable hardships. Specifically, indirect consequences take the form of civil war refuge activities and unexpected influx of masses of people into host countries.

In order to address both direct and indirect consequences of civil wars on basic education in the Great Lakes Region, major components as discussed elsewhere are further categorized into sub-components, namely economic, social, academic, psychological and political parameters. Relying upon sub-components simplifies collection, coding, presentation, analysis, and interpretation of data; discussion of the findings; and the recommendations. Fig. 1 shows relationships that exist between major and sub-components in the study.

Fig. 1. Impact of civil wars on basic education

_____

Social parameter: This takes into consideration deaths of students, teachers, non-teaching staff, and shortage of food in educational institutions because of civil wars. During civil wars, some teachers and pupils are killed and others decide to flee their countries in search of refuge (Brown 1999; Koffa 1999; Stromberg 1997). Consequently, academic programmes are disrupted leading to a backlog due to spontaneous closures of schools.

Eventually, the search for safety in the neighbouring countries causes refugee problems, which in turn creates additional problems in host countries (Moosa 1996). Some of the problems affect the social services in host countries. Mwakasege (1995) shows that the problem of refugees has affected the educational system in Tanzania in two main ways: school property and students' performance.

Economic parameter: The economic parameter holds that due to civil wars, resources that are primarily meant for the education sector are deliberately diverted to battlefields. Even the social amenities, such as the health centres and schools, which are part of the package, are not catered for since the government prioritises the war effort (Mohamed Salih1993, 26).

Psychological parameter: The psychological parameter holds that civil wars affect students, teachers, and other people psychologically as they lead to phobia, anxiety and tension among them. In addition, teachers and students are likely to develop depression following the failure to attain and achieve their dreams that could be realized through education. This relatively tallies with Peters and Richards' (1998) observation that during the civil wars in Sierra Leone, girl combatants aged between eight and fourteen were subjected to military rape.

Political parameter: It is assumed that people (students, teachers and the well-informed public), who have been displaced and/ or have their relatives killed because of civil wars develop a negative attitude towards their governments. Consequently, while living outside their countries as refugees, such people start mobilizing and organizing themselves into political movements against the governments in power. Many underage combatants join militia groups voluntarily; some seeking revenge and for survival (Peters and Richards 1998).

1. 6 Scope of the Study

The scope of the study is divided into thematic, geographical and historical areas. Thematically, the study is limited to the impact of civil wars on basic human rights especially basic education. Geographically, the study was carried out in Tanzania. In particular, it was carried out in Karagwe (a district bordering Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi) and Mpanda (a district with refugee camps). Historically, the study focuses on events of civil wars in the 1970s through 2000 in the African Great Lakes Region.

1. 7 Limitations of the Study

The study was not originally intended to cover limited geographical study areas. However, financial constraints have prevented the researcher from collecting data from a large sample as suggested in the research proposal. The second major limitation was the non-existence of both adult and pre-primary education programs, which are equally important in basic education, in the study geographical areas.

1. 8 Organization of the Study

The study is organized into five chapters. The first chapter is an introduction. Chapters two and three focus on literature review and methodology, respectively. Findings of the study are presented in chapter four. Chapter five presents summary, conclusions and recommendations. References, notes, and appendices are presented after this chapter.

2. REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter reveals the knowledge gap regarding the impact of civil wars on basic education. It specifically focuses on the theoretical stance, conceptual overview, historical overview, an overview of civil wars in AGLR, and empirical studies.

2. 1 Approaches to Effects of Civil Wars

Books, journals, newspapers and papers seem to suggest several approaches that could offer a good explanation on the impact of civil wars on basic education in the African Great Lakes Region with special focus on Tanzania.

The rehabilitation approach

The approach holds that civil wars bring problems to neighbouring countries through refugee activities. Such problems lead to a number of setbacks that call for immediate attention and action (Mwakasege 1995). According to Sanders (1997), the problem of refugees has generated among other things social, economic and political consequences.

Sustainable development approach

The approach addresses problems caused by civil wars but it particularly advocates long-term strategic planning as a way of dealing with problems caused by refugees fleeing civil wars (Mwakasege 1995).

Although the two approaches are relevant, they are subject to critique as they deal with the indirect perspective; that is, problems caused by civil war refugees only. The approaches seem to overlook the direct impact of civil wars.

Humanitarian approach

This approach advocates provision of food to people affected by civil wars. The then President of the United States of America, Bill Clinton, propounded the approach in a bid to rescue starving victims of civil wars in eastern Bosnia (Sullivan 1993). Nevertheless, the approach is subject to criticism because it focuses on food supply and neglects other offshoots of civil wars such as the destruction of social amenities. In addition, it is internally based, as it looks at war victims within the country, ignoring other victims who have taken refuge in neighbouring countries. More specifically, the approach does not seem to care about the native people in the neighbouring countries directly or indirectly affected by the war.

Eclectic approach

The aforementioned approaches are inadequate when it comes to explaining the impact of civil wars on basic education. As such, the eclectic approach is preferred because of its flexibility; it incorporates ideas from other models, making it specific and broad enough to address the topic from direct and indirect viewpoints. As Taneja (1983, 86) puts it,

Instead of being rigid to certain beliefs and ideologies, we have to get inspiration from all philosophies, borrow from each what we feel as functional in the prevailing circumstances and fuse them into a new philosophy suiting the higher values of life.

2.2 Conceptual Overview

Civil wars: There are varied definitions forwarded by different scholars. For instance, Henderson (1999) views civil war as a major, sustained, violent conflict between military forces of a state and insurgent forces composed mainly of residents of the state. On the other hand, Graham and Newnham (1998, 64) view civil war as a protracted internal violence aimed at securing control of the political and legal apparatus of a state. Accordingly, there are three types of civil wars: those arising because of attempts to end colonialism; those resulting from the desire a state to break away; and those resulting from the desire of separated states to achieve reunion. Examples of internal conflicts and the countries affected by each of the conflicts in Africa up to 1998 are indicated in table 1.

Table 1. The United Nations and Conflicts in Africa 1988-1998 by type of conflict and the type of UN involvement (June 1998)

Conflict	Type of conflict			Type of UN Involvement			Humanitarian
	Colonial	Internal	Inter-state	Peace-making[1]	Peace-keeping[2]	Electoral[3]	
Angola	-	✔		✔	✔	✔	✔
Burundi	-	✔		✔			✔
Cameroon	-		✔	✔			
C. A. republic	-	✔		✔	✔		
Chad	-	✔				✔	✔
Chad/Libya	-		✔		✔		
Congo/DRC/ Zaire	-	✔					✔
Congo (Rep of)	-	✔		✔			✔

Ethiopia	-	✔				✔	✔
Liberia	-	✔			✔	✔ [4]	
Mali	-	✔			✔		
Mozambique	-	✔			✔ [5]	✔	✔
Namibia	✔				✔	✔	✔
Nigeria	-		✔		✔		
Rwanda	-	✔			✔		✔
Sierra Leone	-	✔		✔	✔	✔	✔
Somalia	-	✔		✔	✔		✔
South Africa	-	✔				✔	✔
Sudan	-	✔					✔
Uganda	-	✔		✔			✔
Western Sahara	✔	-			✔	✔	✔
Other conflicts in which there had been no significant UN involvement up to June 1998							
Algeria	-	✔	-	-	-	-	-
Comoros	-	✔	-	-	-	-	-
Djibouti	-	✔	-	-	-	-	-
Eritrea/ Ethiopia	-	-	✔	-	-	-	-
Eritrea/ Yemen	-	-	✔	-	-	-	-

SOURCE: Goulding (1998, 158)

Notes:

[1.] 'Peacemaking' means attempts to negotiate peace settlements.

2. 'Peacekeeping' means the deployment of military and/or police personnel either as an interim measure to facilitate peacemaking (traditional peacekeeping) or to help implement peace settlements which have been negotiated by the UN or others (' multifunctional peacekeeping').

3. Excluding minor electoral observation missions.

4. In Eritrea only.

5. Classified as peacekeeping because the UN helped the government to implement the disarmament program after a peace settlement had been negotiated, but not UN military or police personnel had to be deployed.

From table 1, it can be deduced that about 37 percent of all African states faced civil wars in a period of only ten years (1988-1998). This suggests a number of problems on basic education and other social services in the affected countries.

The African Great Lakes Region: Geographically, there are several great lakes regions in the world. However, for the purpose of the study, the Great Lakes Region of Africa refers to the area around Albert, Edward, Kivu, Kyoga, Tanganyika, and Victoria Lakes. Countries covered in the region are Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. Fig. 2 indicates the area occupied by the African Great Lakes Region.

Fig. 2. Area occupied by the Great Lakes Region of Africa

Basic education: According to the Human Rights Declaration of 1948, basic education comprises of elementary, primary, and adult education. The study focuses on primary education aspect of basic education.

Primary education: Primary education takes different structures in the world. In Tanzanian context, the primary school cycle begins with Standard One (Std.I), the entry point, and ends with Standard Seven (Std. VII) in the terminal year at that level. It consists of seven years of universal and compulsory basic education for all school-age children in Tanzania (URT 1995).

2. 3 Historical Overview

Civil wars have a long history that cuts across time and space. According to Hoogenboom (1998) and Goetz (1985), civil wars date back to as far as the post-medieval era. Europe, America and Africa provide some relevant examples. In Europe, the oldest civil wars include those of Britain between 1642 and 1646; in America, the notable ones involve the famous American civil wars in 1861 and 1865.

According to Conteh (1998), African countries have been experiencing conflicts in varying degrees and intensity since their independence. The oldest ones include the Ethiopian civil wars that started early in the 1960s, which culminated in the secession of Eritrea in the 1990s. In West Africa, Biafrans fought the federal government troops in 1967 to secede from Nigeria (Petras and Marley 1984; Obiozor 1993).

2. 4 Overview of Civil Wars in African Great Lakes Region

The 1970s through 2000 have been years of terrible experiences and calamities resulting from civil wars and strife in the African Great Lakes Region. According to Moosa (1996), the region has recorded the highest statistics of civil of wars in Africa. Writing from the Ugandan civil war experience, Passi (1995) reveals that all aspects of life, particularly primary education, were affected by civil strife.

2. 5 Empirical Studies

Economic parameter: In survey of the casualties caused by the American civil wars of 1860s-1865, Hoogenboom (1998) and Goetz (1985) show that those wars were immensely costly as many resources were wasted during the wars. In addition, the wars had a profound impact on technology as modern weapons had to be developed and this entailed an increase of taxes to support such war efforts.

Similarly, Brand, Lane, and Silber (1993) discovered that the war that turned the former Yugoslavia into pieces caused food shortage in eastern Bosnia; mainly food producers either were involved in the fighting or ran away in search of security. This could be attributed to the destruction of farms and industries, which were sources of food and livelihood for people. Even efforts of international organizations like the World Food Programme (WFP) to supply food were crippled during the fighting.

The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has reported that the on-going war in the DRC has greatly affected the economy, community infrastructure, and has become a source of serious violations of human rights in the Great Lakes Region. Equally true is the fact that due to civil wars, international organizations such the United Nations of High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) have been spending millions of dollars to refurbish and build new schools for the war-affected children (Stromberg 1997). When Burundian refugees were allowed to leave the refugee centres, they found their homes, schools and clinics destroyed during the fighting (Wilkinson1997).

In 1999, there were about 29,700 foreign students, mainly refugees, enrolled in primary schools in Tanzania (URT 2000). The enrolment of refugee children in primary schools has economic, social, and political implications to Tanzanians.

Social parameter: According to Kumar (1996), by mid July 1994, Rwanda's entire health delivery system had collapsed and was in complete disarray following the civil war. It is estimated that over eighty percent of Rwanda's health professionals were either killed or had fled the country. Djeddah (1996) states that in most civil conflicts, children are separated from their families. Children are abandoned, orphaned, lost, abducted or are recruited as child soldiers. Citing the study by International Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Coalition in 24 countries worldwide, Malecela (1999, 5) reveals that,

…more than 300,000 children both boys and girls are being used as soldiers, saboteurs, spies, carriers, "wives", and general camp followers. This is becoming pervasive, as the many civil wars in Africa - ranging from Angola to Uganda and Sierra Leone - have shown.

Reporting on what really happens in the African Great Lakes Region especially in Rwanda, Stromberg (1997) states that when suspected Hutu militants attacked a rural Rwandan school they told children to group themselves according to their ethnicity. When the youngsters refused, the gunmen cold bloodedly killed 17 children and their teacher, a Belgian nun.

Academic parameter: According to Mohamed Salih (1993), because of the war in the Sudan that began in 1980s, education has been highly disturbed in two ways. First, the resource allocation to the education sector is dwarfed as the government's priority is on war; second, instead of using the scanty financial resources of the country are directed towards the destruction of the education sector.

Due to the destruction of schools during the war, the surviving schools are swamped with big numbers of students (Askin 1988/1989). This suggests two things: Firstly, teaching becomes a painful task for teachers as they are now overworked; secondly, overcrowding becomes a problem in the host schools. In addition, academic programmes cease, disrupting education systems. According to Schwab (2001), civil wars were behind the closure of the school system in Liberia.

Psychological parameter: According to Askin (1988/1989), schoolchildren that lived in *Resistencia Nacional Mozambicana* (RENAMO) captivity for long periods were greatly affected psychologically. This is because children stayed among insensitive soldiers and under brutal circumstances, which exposed them to merciless killings of innocent people. Furthermore, civil wars generate depression, phobia and tension, which contribute to students' and teachers' ineffectiveness and inefficiency. As a result, it becomes an uphill task to get girls and boys, psychologically and physically abused by civil wars, back into classrooms, since their minds and their bodies need rehabilitation (Koffa 1999). Similarly, Stromberg (1997) indicates that refugees who returned to Rwanda were still stricken physically and psychologically.

Political parameter: Mhone (1992) and United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNRCPDA) (2000) reveal that civil wars deny school-age their right to

education, mostly in the form of their forceful recruitment as child soldiers, sometimes even at the age of eight years. Children are forced to join the rebel group and end up committing atrocities. As Askin (1988/1989) puts it,

Sixteen-year old Fernando (last name withheld by UNICEF) told a hushed and saddened audience at the Harare International Conference Centre that RENAMO gave him an automatic rifle and a hand grenade and ordered him to participate in its October 1987 tanning massacre… where almost three hundred civilians were killed.

From this quotation, it is evident that children are forced into war to suit the whims and political ambitions of few individuals. Dyregrove and Roundalen (1987) confirm that some children, instead of going to school, are used as soldiers in armed conflicts. For example, the use of children was common in the civil war that brought President Yoweri Museven of Uganda to power.

2.6 Summary

In view of the reviewed related literature, the following gaps can be discussed. First, the available studies seem to have concentrated on the internal aspects of the impact of civil wars on education, either completely overlooking or partially covering the impact of such wars on neighbouring countries. Thus, the findings of the study are expected to fill this gap. Second, as most of the available studies on the impact of civil wars are highly general, the study has attempted to elucidate the authentic impacts of civil wars on basic education in Tanzania. Third, although Tanzania has suffered from the impact of civil wars that have been going on in neighbouring countries, very little has been studied about the extent to which basic education in the country has been affected.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the technical part of the study. It synthesizes procedures employed in collecting relevant data. It closely examines the research design, study area, target population, sample and sampling techniques, data collection instrumentation and validation and analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The study is based on qualitative and quantitative case study research, which gives the researcher an opportunity to explore one entity deeply and allow for generalizations on the wider population to which that entity belongs (Creswell 1994; Cohen and Manion 1994).

3. 2 Study Area

The study was carried out in Tanzania. The selection of Tanzania was determined by the assumption that it suffered directly and indirectly from the impact of civil wars, which took place in Burundi, the DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda. In particular, the study was carried out in Kagera (Karagwe district) and Rukwa (Mpanda district) regions (fig. 3).

Fig.3. Location of Nyabionza Division in Karagwe District

SOURCE: URT (1978).

The fieldwork was carried out in two different geographical areas, namely Nyabionza division in Karagwe District, Kagera region and Katumba refugee settlement in Mpanda District, Rukwa region (Fig. 2). Karagwe District was included in the study because its people suffered considerable immediate effects of civil wars in Uganda and Rwanda.

Fig. 4. Location of Katumba Refugee Settlement in Mpanda District

SOURCE: BRALUP (1976).

Mpanda District was chosen because it was characterized by the presence of old refugee settlements. It should be borne in mind that most of the refugees in Mpanda refugee settlements were established in the 1970s. It was thought that the question of equity in education among refugees hosted in Tanzania could be well portrayed by involving refugees who had stayed in Tanzania for a long time.

3. 3 Population

Usually any target population of a study aims at answering the question should constitute the study's participants. Breakwell (1995) defines population as the set of all "units" of analysis in one's problem area. Based on this definition, the population from which the conclusions for the study were made included education officers, teachers, pupils, village government officials, and

parents/guardians. Others were school going age refugee children that are out of school, refugee pupils, primary school teachers, education coordinators and commanders in refugee settlements.

3. 4 Sample and Sampling Techniques

According to Nesbary (2000), a sample is a subset of a population that has been selected to reflect or represent characteristics of a population. As it was not feasible for the researcher to study every member in the target population, a sample consisting of 251 respondents – 147 in areas affected by civil wars and 104 in refugee settlements – was used.

District/village education officers: Relevant information for the study was gathered from Karagwe District Education Officers. A simple random sampling technique was used to sample the District Education Officers.

Parents/guardians: Parents and guardians in Karagwe District formed a category for the study since it was believed they were aware of the impact of civil wars on their schoolchildren and basic education in general. Simple random sampling was used to select 34 respondents.

Pupils: Pupils in primary schools in Nyabionza division were included in the study; pupils are ostensibly the most affected by any drastic change in the educational process (Tierney and Dilley 2002). It was assumed that pupils could be a reliable source of data as they were among victims of the civil wars. A simple random sampling technique was employed to select 60 respondents.

Teachers: Primary school teachers in Nyabionza division were included in the study as a reliable source of data since teachers are affected directly or indirectly be civil wars. A simple random sampling technique was used to select 37 respondents.

School-age children out of school: Non-schooling children in Katumba refugee settlements were included in the study, to seek information regarding what forced them to quit primary schools. A simple random sampling technique was used to select 30 respondents.

Pupils in refugee settlement: Primary school pupils in Katumba refugee settlement were included in the study, to collect data on problems that hinder some children from having access to, and participating in basic education. Thirty respondents were randomly selected.

Teachers in refugee settlement: Twenty-two primary and twenty elementary education teacher respondents in refugee settlements were randomly selected.

Refugee camp commander: The commander in the Katumba refugee settlement in Mpanda District was selected as he was thought to have information on the settlement's activities, including social services.

Refugee camp education coordinator: An education coordinator in Katumba refugee settlement was included in the study because she was thought to have information as she coordinated all activities regarding education in the settlement.

Table 2. Sample and sample characteristics by sex

Category	Female	Male	Total
Pupils	21	39	60
Primary education teachers	12	34	46
Education officers	-	4	4
Parents/guardians	7	33	37
Non-schooling children in refugee settlement	15	15	30
Refugee pupils in refugee settlement	13	17	30
Teachers in refugee settlement	3	19	22
Elementary ed. teachers in refugee settlement	12	8	20
Refugee settlement commander	-	1	1
Education coordinator in refugee settlement	1	-	1
Total	81	170	251

3. 5 Data Collection

A multi-method approach was employed to gather relevant data in line with the model that guided the study. According to Jick (1983), the multi-method approach views qualitative and quantitative methods as complementary rather than as rival paradigms. Methodological triangulation draws on the methods' complementary strengths and offsets their respective weaknesses (Atkinson and Coffey 2002; Cohen and Manion 1994). Interviews, questionnaires, observation and documentary analysis were used to collect primary and secondary data.

3.5.1 Primary Data

Interviews, observation, and questionnaires were used to gather primary data from teachers, pupils, parents and/or guardians, and Karagwe District Education Officers. Essentially, the instruments were deliberately designed to capture key issues in the study objectives.

Interviews: Structured interviews were used to allow consistent data collection and analysis. As Breakwell (1995) puts it, "structured interview yields information, which is easily quantified; and the data are usually already framed for analysis". The interviews were administered to education officers, parents/guardians, non-schooling children in areas affected by civil wars and/or influx of refugees, and the Education Coordinator and commander in Katumba refugee settlement.

Observation: Data collection through interviews opened room for observations. As Gubruim and Holstein (2002, 8) put it, "interviewing gives us access to the observation of others". Observation, which involved looking at the world and making measurements of what is seen (Babbie 1986), was used to collect data. It was particularly used to observe physically the impact of civil war refugees on primary education in the study area.

Questionnaires: Along with interviews and observation, a questionnaire was prepared to address the research objectives and to address many respondents within a short period (Kothari 1990). Open and close-ended questions were employed in collecting appropriate data. Questionnaires were administered to teachers and pupils in areas affected by civil wars and/or influx of refugees. Others included primary and elementary education teachers, and primary school pupils in Katumba refugee settlement.

3.5.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data were collected from administrative records, management information systems, and various types of documents such as prior research studies, fugitive unpublished research literature, published literature, magazines, newspapers, and journals.

3.6 Validity of Data Gathering Instruments

To evaluate the effectiveness of the research instruments in taping the required data, the instruments were administered to student teachers at the University of Dar es Salaam. This helps to establish the face validity of the instruments and improve the questions (Creswell 1994, 128).

3. 7 Data Analysis

Data collected from close-ended type of questions were coded, tabulated and converted into percentages for easy interpretation. On the other hand, data generated as responses to the open-ended questions, interviews, and observation were subjected to content analysis (Wilson 1995). Content analysis involves explanation of status of some phenomena or contents of documentary materials or contents of verbal materials that can be spoken or printed (Best and Kahn 1993; Kothari 1990).

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The main purpose of the study was to examine the impact of civil wars on basic education in the African Great Lakes Region with a special focus on Tanzania. Towards this end, data presentation, analysis, interpretation, case studies, and implications are presented in this chapter.

4. 1 Impact of Civil Wars on Basic Education

4.1.1 Impact of Civil Wars on Basic Education

The assumption was that civil wars – which took place in the African Great Lakes Region, that is, Uganda in 1980s, Rwanda in 1980s/90s, and currently in Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) – were without problems on the warring and neighbouring countries. In an attempt to examine the strength of the assumption, the respondents were asked to indicate whether there was any impact of civil wars on basic education in Tanzania. The findings are summarized in table3.

Table 3. Impact of civil wars on basic education in Tanzania

Problems	Respondents				Total	
	Pupils (N=60)	Teachers (N=46)	Parents (N=37)	E/Officers (N=4)	(N=147)	%
Yes	56	45	37	4	142	97.04
No	4	1	-	-	5	2.96
Total	60	46	37	4	147	100.0

SOURCE: Field data, November-December, 2001.

As shown in table 3, civil wars that were fought in the African Great Lakes Region had a far-reaching impact on basic education in Tanzania. The implication is that civil wars do not necessarily confine their impact to the warring countries. Instead, they cross boundaries and affect people in neighbouring states (Goulding 1999, 157-159). It is, however, very important to note that, usually, consequences of civil wars that spill over to neighbouring countries are largely spontaneous.

4.1.2 Problems of Civil Wars on Basic Education

Questionnaire and structured interviews were employed asking the respondents to cite problems caused by civil wars on basic education. The findings are presented in table 4.

Table 4. Problems of civil wars on basic education in Tanzania

Problems	Respondents				Total	
	Pupils	Teachers	Parents	Officials	(N=147)	%

	(N=60)	(N=46)	(N=37)	(N=4)		
Truant pupils increased due to petty businesses	58	42	29	4	133	90.47
Fear of warplanes and bomb explosions	48	41	18	3	110	74.82
Environmental degradation	52	30	24	3	109	74.14
Destruction of school facilities	41	39	22	4	106	72.10
Closure of schools due to civil wars/refugees	42	30	28	4	104	70.74
Outbreak of diseases	36	31	26	1	94	63.94
School property was stolen	35	34	21	-	90	61.22
Increase of dropout cases	34	38	16	2	80	54.42
School production declined	20	34	26	-	80	54.42
Theft and robbery	35	19	26	-	76	51.70
School compounds became dirty	22	17	19	2	57	46.25
Shortage of teachers	42	6	12	4	62	42.17
Rapes of schoolgirls/teachers	31	28	2	-	61	41.49
Slept in bushes due to fear	12	13	19	2	46	31.29
Food shortage	11	8	21	-	40	27.21
Grenades located in school premises	-	15	12	-	27	18.36
Teachers employed in refugee camps	6	14	2	-	22	14.96
Migration of teachers/parents	4	5	11	-	20	13.60
Deaths and killings	7	6	-	-	13	8.84
Rise of standard of life	-	6	-	-	6	4.08
SOURCE: Field data, November-December 2001.						

Based on data in table 4, it may be said that the civil wars fought in neighbouring countries had a significant negative impact on the basic education in the country, specifically in terms of infrastructure, human and material resources, budgeting, process of provision of education, planning and administration. It appears that districts located on borders with warring states were the hardest hit hard by the impact of civil wars and refugees.

Secondly, basic education in Tanzania was affected directly and indirectly. Seventy-four percent of all respondents admitted that during civil wars in the neighbouring Rwanda, primary schools, teachers, pupils, and parents in the study areas, especially Kandegesho and Chamchuzi,[2] suffered from the traumatic experience of the war.

Outbreaks of civil wars in neighbouring countries spilled refugees into Tanzania in search for safety. In accord, Schwab (2001) states that:

Almost one million people were transmuted with refugees, with many fleeing to Guinea, Sierra Leone, and the Ivory Coast; during the era of civil wars in Liberia. Indeed, many people end up settling in neighbouring countries, which apparently seemed safe and peaceful.

It has been indicated that periodic military activity in Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) forces large groups of people to seek refuge in Tanzania. Consequently, a huge influx of refugees had an indirect severe impact on the basic education in Tanzania and other countries that hosted them. This had implications not only on education but also on all other sectors in Tanzania.

Thirdly, the problems that had a significant impact on basic education because of civil wars and refugees could be categorised into social, educational, psychological and economic parameters.

Social parameter

It is evident that there was a significant causal relationship between civil wars/ refugees and social instability in Tanzania. More specifically, social problems that could be attributed to civil wars/refugees included the outbreak of diseases such as diarrhoea, scabies, and malaria. Similarly, children accompanying their parents to spend nights in bushes due to fears of refugee attacks were exposed to mosquito bites and became vulnerable to malaria. Other problems were food shortages, theft and robbery, rape, intermarriages, rise in the cost of living, murder, living outdoors, and migration of parents from their villages to other villages in search of security.

Educational parameter

Educational problems that emanated from civil wars/refugees included, *inter alia*, truancy among school pupils, school dropouts, shortage of schoolteachers, and closure of schools. When asked how civil wars/refugees caused truancy and dropout cases, respondents mentioned two main reasons: First, fear of attack by warplanes and bomb explosions. Second, the schoolchildren could be used in income generating petty businesses in refugee camps. Many children acted as "middlemen" between villagers and refugees, buying and selling items from refugees to villagers and vice versa.

It is also logical to argue that civil war/refugee problem was a factor that influenced children in Nyabionza division and Karagwe District as a whole to join the labour market. Although economic recession, persistent poverty, social and cultural orientation[1] catalyses child labour in Tanzania, refugee camps would appear to have created a conducive environment for pupils to abscond and drop out of schools to engage in money generating petty businesses.

Other problems such as shortage of schoolteachers and school closures, on the other hand, affected the education delivery system, especially the teaching and learning process. It should, however, be acknowledged that shortage of teachers could not solely be attributed to civil wars/refugees as this was a serious problem even in other districts that had not suffered any

direct effects of civil wars, especially in rural area based primary schools as the research findings by Masudi *et al*. (2002, 29) show. Two reasons were behind this problem: freezing of employment and the negative attitude among teachers towards working in rural areas.

Psychological parameter

There were evident indicators of a psychological impact on people. Table 4 indicates that some of the psychological problems that people in the study area faced, including teachers asking for transfers to other schools on temporary basis for fear of being invaded by refugees; fear among villagers of warplanes and bomb explosions; and sleeping as well as spending nights in bushes due to fear of refugee attacks. In addition, seeing refugee corpses and wounds had a considerable traumatic impact on the schoolchildren.

Economic parameter

Civil wars/refugees had an economic impact on individuals, schools and the government. This can be seen in the destruction of school facilities, theft of school property, the fall of living standards, wanton tree felling and destruction of schools' coffee trees. According to the respondents, refugees hosted in schools ended up destroying desks, windows, and doors of classrooms.

Similarly, members of Kandegesho primary school community indicated that there were several thefts of school property. All this had serious implications for schools' development, teachers, pupils, parents, and the government. Apart from economic implications, it is evident that indiscriminate cutting down trees and collection of large multitudes of people in a school with limited waste disposal system had severe implications on the environment.

Fourth, as discussed elsewhere the impact of civil wars was of a varied nature that affected other sectors, other than education, including health, economy, and the environment in Tanzania and other countries due to outbreaks of civil wars and resultant refugee influx. Outbreaks of diseases such as scabies and diarrhoea among children in villages that had refugee camps forced the Ministry of Health to step in with immediate and long-term remedial actions. School and parents' cash and food crop production were among economic aspects that were affected by the influx of refugees. Cutting down trees and bushes for firewood was a contributory factor behind environmental degradation. Consequently, this had a special meaning to the environmentalists in the district and countrywide.

4. 2 Equity Issues in Education

4.2.1 Access to and Participation in Basic Education among Refugees in Tanzania

The assumption was that civil wars in the African Great Lakes Region displaced most of those who had found refuge in Tanzania. In order to assess equity and equality in basic education among civil war refugees, respondents in refugee settlements were asked to indicate whether all people hosted in Tanzania had access to and participated in basic education. The question took into account the fact that ensuring access to basic education as a basic human right is a

responsibility of every country whether or not it has ratified the 1948 Convention on Basic Human Rights. Essentially, the convention advocates basic education to all people wherever they are, regardless of their race or socio-economic status. Questionnaires and structured interviews were administered to refugee respondents in Katumba Refugee Settlement in Mpanda District (KRSM). The findings are summarized in table 5.

Table 5. Access to and participation in basic education among refugees in Tanzania

Schooling	Respondents						Total	
	NSCRS (N=30)	RSC (N=1)	RPS (N=30)	PST (N=22)	EST (N=20)	ECRS (N=1)	(N=104)	%
Yes	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1.0
No	30	1	30	21	20	1	103	99.0
Total	30	1	30	22	20	1	104	100.0

SOURCE: Field data, November-December, 2001

KEY:

NSCRS: Non-Schooling Children in Refugee Settlement

RSC: Refugee Settlement Commander

RPS: Refugee pupils

PST: Primary School Teachers

EST: Elementary School Teachers

ECRS: Education Coordinator in Refugee Settlement

From the data in table 5, access to and participation in basic education among civil war refugees in the African Great Lakes Region is still a serious issue that needs both immediate and long-term remedial actions. Thus, the international community must do something especially in assisting all refugee-hosting countries to implement resolutions of the Human Rights Convention. Failing to do so would seem to undermine the spirit of the 1990 World Conference on Education For All (EFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand, that recognised the role of education in ensuring a safer, healthier, more environmentally sound world and a crucial contributor to social, economic and cultural progress, tolerance and capacity for cooperation (Wanjama 1998, 123).

4.2.2 Obstacles Against Access to Basic Education among Refugees

The respondent refugees were asked to mention possible problems that barred some children from having access to basic education in the host countries. To get relevant answers to this question questionnaires and structured interviews were administered to non-schooling and schooling children; refugee settlement officials, and teachers in the Katumba Refugee

Settlement. Findings on the problems that deny school age children from having access to, and participation in basic education are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. Hindrances against access to basic education among refugees in Tanzania

Hindrances	Respondents						Total	
	NSCRS (N=30)	ECRS (N=1)	RSC (N=1)	RPS (N=30)	PST (N=22)	EET (N=20)	N=104	%
Parents' lack of motivation	2	1	1	11	10	4	29	27.9
School requirements	-	-	-	11	-	13	24	23.0
Lack of school uniforms	8	-	-	6	5	-	19	18.3
Lack of money	9	-	-	2	-	-	11	10.6
Lack of school fees	-	-	-	-	7	3	10	9.6
Farming activities	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	2.9
Orphans	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	2.9
Fear of punishment	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.9
Petty business	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.9
Can't walk to school	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.0
Total	30	1	1	30	22	20	104	100

SOURCE: Field data, November-December, 2001

KEY:

NSCRS: Non-Schooling Children in Refugee Settlement PST:

Primary School Teachers

EST: Elementary School Teachers

RSC: Refugee Settlement Commander

ECRS: Education Coordinator in Refugee Settlement

RPS: Refugee pupils

It can be deduced from the data in table 6 that all problems that hinder refugees from having access to basic education revolve around abject poverty, a major problem common in all developing countries. This is evidenced by the fact that over 61 percent of all factors that hindered refugee children from having access to and participating in basic education were economically determined.

4. 3 Mitigating Civil War Problems on Basic Education

4.3.1 Assistance to Basic Education

It was assumed that there were several forms of assistance directed at rescuing education in areas affected by civil wars in Tanzania. Respondents in the study areas were asked to indicate whether there was any effort made in alleviating problems caused on basic education by civil wars/refugees. While questionnaires were administered to pupils and teachers, interview schedules were employed to collect data from parents, schoolchildren, and education officers. A summary of the findings is presented in table 7.

Table 7. Assistance to basic education

Assistance	Respondents				Total	
	Pupils (N=60)	Teachers (N=46)	Parents (N=37)	E/officers (N=4)	N=147	%
Yes	32	36	24	4	96	65.31
No	28	10	13	-	51	34.69
Total	60	46	37	4	147	100.0

SOURCE: Field data, November-December, 2001.

In view of data presented in table 7, the following conclusions can be reached: First, there were several volunteers that addressed problems caused by civil wars on basic education. Secondly, it would seem that although some villages were assisted in or had the problems facing basic education been alleviated or were even mitigated by relief agencies, a few places that were equally affected did not enjoy such advantages. This is evidenced by 34.5 percent of respondents who admitted to have not received any assistance.

4.3.2 Agencies that Responded to Problems on Basic Education

The respondents were asked to mention various sources of relief assistance. The results are summarized in table 8.

Table 8. Agents assisting to solve civil wars problems

Source of assistance	Respondents				Total	
	Pupils (N=60)	Teachers (N=46)	Parents (N=37)	Officials (N=4)	N=147	%
Government of Tanzania	29	16	19	4	68	46.25
OXFAM	13	20	25	4	62	42.17

CONCERN	18	21	13	3	55	37.41
UNICEF	9	21	18	4	52	35.37
UNHCR	6	20	18	4	48	32.65
ACCORD	16	21	1	3	41	27.89
CARITAS	18	9	7	2	36	24.48
WANANCHI	-	15	9	4	28	19.04
HELPAGE	13	4	2	3	22	14.96
UN	-	10	5	4	19	12.92
Nearby countries	11	2	2	3	18	12.24
HESAWA	-	5	10	2	17	11.56
Japanese embassy	-	7	4	2	13	8.84
KARADEA	-	3	1	2	6	4.08
KADEP	-	-	1	3	4	2.72
KDRP	-	1	-	2	3	2.04

SOURCE: Field data, November-December, 2001.

From table 8, it can be said that the government of Tanzania appears to have played a vital role in resolving basic problems caused by civil wars on basic education. Secondly, local and international organisations are assisting in combating the problems caused by civil wars and refugees on basic education.

4.3.3 Nature of Assistance

To evaluate assistance extended to the affected areas, the respondents were asked to show the nature of assistance they received. The results are summarised in table 9.

Table 9. Nature of assistance

Form of assistance	Respondents				Total	
	Pupils (N=60)	Teachers (N=46)	Parents (N=37)	E/officers (N=4)	(N=147)	%
Build/repair schools	43	19	24	4	90	61.22
Build toilets	21	17	9	4	51	34.69
Construct of wells	19	4	14	4	11	27.89
Provide school facilities	22	1	8	4	35	23.80
Build health	4	11	9	3	27	18.36

centres						
Supply of seedlings	7	14	-	4	25	17.00
Environmental education	-	6	4	4	14	9.52

SOURCE: Field data, November-December, 2001.

In view of data in table 9, it should be acknowledged that there were several cases where civil wars and the presence of refugees on a refugee-receiving nation might help the local people. The civil war problems exported to neighbouring countries attracted aid from international relief agencies. Essentially, that was primarily meant for refugees hosted in Tanzania, but local populations also benefited from it. These include supply of seedlings to Kijumbura primary school and rehabilitation of primary schools in Nyabionza division, Karagwe district by CARITAS and UNICEF, respectively. This is true of what UNHCR (1998, 4) found:

Villagers in Karagwe District poised to benefit from the Rwandan refugee presence than their neighbours in Ngara. This is not to deny the many negative effects such as theft, environmental destruction, and inflation that some people in Karagwe experienced worse than others. Nevertheless, many villagers took full advantage of the opportunities created by the refugee presence.

Another relevant example is of Kakonje primary school in Nyabionza ward. According to education officers, the school was primarily built by the United Nations for refugee children. However, after the repatriation of the refugees, the school was left to serve children in outlying areas. The Japanese Embassy volunteered to build new classrooms and offices to replace the old ones. HESAWA built pit latrines for the school. Second, problems caused by civil wars in the neighbouring countries drew the attention of government, local, and international organizations. Third, aid given to areas also covered health, water, and roads in addition to education.

4.3.4 Assistance to War-affected Children

It was assumed that schoolchildren that dropped out of education system as a result of civil wars and refugees had access to assistance. In view of the data in table 9, there were no special plans to help children who did not finish school due to civil wars/refugees in the study areas. This implies that many children involved in petty businesses became loiterers after the refugees had left. One of the respondents who opted for petty businesses instead of schooling indicated that most of them had not succeeded in eking out a meaningful vocation after the refugees had left.

4. 4 Case Studies

To understand the actual impact of civil wars on individuals in the education sector, especially basic education, a few respondents were asked to narrate their experiences. The following case studies illustrate the impact of civil wars and the influx of refugees on basic education:

4.4.1 Case 1: Mr. Ndyali Mwambalagha (real name withheld)

An account of this primary school male teacher shows how basic education suffered from the civil wars in the neighbouring countries.

I am Mr. Ndyali Mwambalagha, 44 years old. It was a night of April 12,1994 at 7:30 pm when my house was invaded. I was caught and tied with ropes before my own wife and children. I was stripped naked before and beaten. My hands and feet remained tied as the refugee robbers continued beating me, demanding money.

My clothes, school uniforms, food, furniture, mattresses, and money were stolen. During the same night, while naked, I was commanded to carry stolen items, and the beatings continued. As we walked, I was stabbed in several parts of my body. At around 6:30 am, I was told to go home, still naked.[3]

4.4.2 Case 2: Mr. Kambani Silya *(real name withheld)*

His case illustrates the dilemma children who forced by circumstances to drop out of school face to try their hand in petty businesses in refugee camps for income to supplement their family incomes.

My name is Kambani Silya. I was born in 1981, at Kijumbura Village, Karagwe District. I started Standard One in 1989. Unfortunately, I could not finish Standard Seven, having dropped out of school in Standard Five. I used to see my friends who were engaged in petty businesses with the refugees with a lot of money to spend. As my family was facing hard times, I decided to do the same. I dropped out of school and started working full time, selling peanuts, chicken, bananas, and fish to the refugees. From the refugees, I bought soap and cooking oil and sold them house-to-house at Kijumbura Village.

Although I liked schooling, joining my friends in petty businesses was an opportunity for me to raise some money for my family. This is because I saw my friends who conducted petty businesses in refugee camps had a lot of money. I failed to resist the temptation. Hence, in 1994, I dropped out of school to engage in petty trade on full time basis to and support my parents and myself.[4]

4.4.3 Case 3: Ms. Kalumbu Kisyesye *(real name withheld)*

Kalumbu is one of the schooling girls, who faced multiple problems because of civil war refugees. Her account is typical of what happened to many children in the village.

The problems that we school pupils faced include frequent closures of school and backlog. Instead of sleeping in our houses, we slept in bushes for fear of being invaded by refugees. Outside, there were mosquitoes that bit us throughout the nights. Consequently, some of our friends lost their lives because of untreated malaria.

Some of us also failed to regularly attend school as we slept during the day, as we were unable to sleep at night due to mosquito bites. Some refugees threw corpses in our banana farms, bushes, and latrines. Pupils were forced to dig graves for the corpses. Because of fear of being invaded

by civil war refugees, we spent a month living at ward offices. Refugee robbers killed some people too.[5]

4. 5 Prevention of Civil War/Refugee Problems

As civil wars and the influx of refugees affect basic education provision in neighbouring countries, the assumption was that preventative measures would help enhance education prospects. Furthermore, prevention of civil wars would mean marking an end to the massive inflows of refugees into Tanzania and other nations sharing borders with strife-torn countries. In this respect, the respondents were asked to suggest ways of rescuing basic education from such a number of problems experienced in the past. Summary of the suggestions are presented in table 10.

Table 10. Prevention civil war problems on education

Suggestions	Respondents				Total	
	Pupils (N=60)	Teachers (N=46)	Parents (N=37)	Officials (N=4)	(N=147)	%
The government should strengthen security in borders during civil wars and in villages with refugee camps	22	31	19	2	74	50.34
The government should intervene immediately before refugees invade schools and villages	31	17	24	-	72	48.97
Civil war refugee camps be kept away from people	-	30	26	3	59	40.13
Immediate move to repatriate civil war refugees	7	18	-	-	25	17.34
Refugees be confined in camps only/special camps	4	-	14	-	18	12.24
Refugees be disarmed on their arrival in Tanzania	13	-	-	-	13	8.84

SOURCE: Field data, November-December, 2001.

Data evolution in table 10 leads to the following observations. First, prevention of the outbreak of civil wars in African countries is a plausible way that could set basic education and other social services free from the overwhelming problems resulting from such strife. Second, most of

the suggested problems are long term. Third, the government of Tanzania should take precautionary measures whenever civil wars are looming in neighbouring countries.

4. 6 Discussion of Findings and Their Educational Implications

4.6.1 Impact of Civil Wars on Basic Education

Study findings reveal that civil wars and the subsequent influx of refugees had a severe negative impact on basic education in Tanzania, especially in districts bordering warring countries. Aspects of education that suffered most included *inter alia* infrastructure, budgeting, planning and administration, human and material resources, and teaching and learning process. It is worth noting that any argument on the subject should take into account the fact that the impact of civil wars on basic education was not deliberate or intentional but rather a spontaneous disaster.

Since the success of education sector depends on many stakeholders (schools, community, teachers, pupils, parents, local institutions, international organizations, and the government), close and effective collective action is essential. After all, the disruption or disturbance of one or all of these by civil wars, or even by refugee problems, ultimately has implications for education development.

Primary schools: Primary schools in civil war affected wards encountered a number of failures in the course of trying to achieve both school and national stated goals. In particular, schools could hardly be managed according to the country's governing philosophy of education-*Education for Self-Reliance* (ESR) - due to civil war and the influx of refugees. Under normal circumstances, the philosophy encourages educational institutions to make use of available local resources to run schools instead of relying solely on government funding that had been shrinking in recent years. Civil wars/refugees in the neighbouring countries weakened economic ability of different schools. Incomes from production units such as forestry, coffee farms, and bananas that helped in the maintenance and running of schools disappeared as civil war refugees took refuge in classrooms and school premises, destroying the units in the process.

Teachers: Teachers' scheduled programmes became casualties of civil wars in neighbouring countries and the refugee problems they created. As a result, teachers failed to fulfil their daily professional and academic duties.

Equally important is the fact that teachers could not perform their professional and academic duties thoroughly as their family members were in constant danger of being attacked by errant civil war refugees. The state of insecurity among teachers due to frequent attacks, which were carried out by some misguided refugees, created a hostile environment that hindered effective teaching and learning.

It is worth noting that civil wars/ refugees had resulted in the exodus of teachers. One education official who was present during the civil war in Rwanda and the aftermath influx of civil war refugees into Tanzania said during an interview that several teachers absconded from work:

During the influx of refugees into Karagwe district, about 27 primary school teachers – 23 female and 4 male - absconded from their teaching stations. However, the office does not have evidence of their whereabouts with the exception of three teachers who got employment with UNHCR, CARITAS and CONCERN in Kigoma region[6].

From this information, it can be argued that the civil wars and resultant presence of refugees in Tanzania cannot be dissociated from the shortage of teachers that worsened in some primary schools during the same period. For those who left to work with relief agencies, the explanation is better payment those organisations offer, as poor remuneration is a generally acknowledged fact among teachers in Tanzania. An opportunity to work with such agencies that deal with civil war displaced people hosted in Tanzania meant far better pay and fringe benefits.

Parents: Civil wars in neighbouring countries and the presence of refugees weakened parents' economic ability to support their schoolchildren. They were robbed of their property. Moreover, living in perpetual fear of criminals among the refugee ranks, who were dangerously armed, forced parents with their children to spend nights in bushes and, and sometimes left their villages altogether in search of security elsewhere. As one UNHCR official who visited one of the affected primary schools wrote:

I arrived at Matara Primary School at 14:45 hours to meet with the head teacher, the head village man, about the case where 200 people have been misplaced. The bandits are said to be of Rwandan and Tanzanian origin. Up to now, the situation is normal[7].

All this had implications in attendance of pupils in schools. The quotation above indicates that problems encountered by families because of civil wars/refugees had an impact on basic education.

Pupils: Pupils in different primary schools experienced hardships that made the learning process difficult. They failed to realize their education ambitions due to the civil war/refugee problem. Irregular school attendance was a common feature in areas hard-hit by this problem. Such an environment is not conducive for learning, especially among children who also have to spend nights in the bush for fear of being invaded by criminals among civil war refugees. This is in line with the observation by Byrnes (2001) who argues that students encountered learning problems, had a difficulty time in concentrating, and were easily distracted.

Government of Tanzania: As for the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, the unanticipated consequences and problems of civil wars in neighbouring countries that spilled refugees into its borders meant extra expenses, implying a cut elsewhere. In other words, any money diverted to basic education in these areas meant denial to other social sectors that needed government attention. Resources meant for the development of other sectors are directed to address the problems on basic education caused by civil wars in the affected districts.

Local and international organisations: The impact of civil wars on primary education had implications on Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), which had to deploy additional resources to deal with the unfolding scenario. Both local and international organisations intervened in problems caused by civil wars and refugees in Tanzania. The intervention took

different forms ranging from the mobilization of local people's resources to the provision of physical items such as buildings and rehabilitation of primary schools and health centres.

4.6.2 Equity Issues in Education among Refugees in Tanzania

Equity and equality, that is, access to and participation in basic education constitute a severe problem among refugee children, which overstretched the fiscal capability of the host of Tanzania. Democratisation of education seems to have not been relevant to the refugees. The philosophy calls for education for all. However, poverty and lack of understanding of the role of education were among reasons that made refugees hosted in Tanzania to find difficult to take their children to school. This had implications on Human Rights Convention of 1948 that advocates basic education as crucial universal human right, regardless of cost implications and socio-political backgrounds.

Invariably, it appears that uphold the call made in 1990 during the Jomtien Conference in Thailand, long-term measures must be adopted and enforced. However, given meagre resources and the amount of money currently directed to the education sector in Tanzania, it is very difficult to ensure equity and equality in education among all children in the country.

4.6.3 The Role of Relief Institutions over Civil War Related Problems on Education

There is evidence that both local and international institutions have been active and responsive to natural and man-made catastrophes. However, it should be recalled that probably the best reaction to such problems must be implicated in the available local initiatives and resources instead of relying solely on international institutions. Relief assistance should be an addition to local efforts. This will steer local population to work hard to help address the mitigating problems caused by civil wars/refugees on basic education.

Nonetheless, this seems to have implications in the mobilization process. International efforts should help people at the grass roots to be educated along the philosophy that calls for people to work for their own development rather than wait for certain individuals or NGOs to bring upon progress. People should be made aware that solutions to problems or development do not fall like *manna* from heaven. The desire for any stage of development should be considered within the framework of individuals' initiatives or simply creativity.

4.6. 4 Civil Wars and Child Labour

It can be noted with concern that apart from affecting the education industry, civil wars also contributed to the growth of child labour in Karagwe District. A considerable number of children failed to complete their primary school education in Nyabionza division as some of them dropped out of school or absconded classes to engage in what they considered lucrative petty businesses to supplement their family incomes. It is acknowledged that poverty was the principal driving force behind the dropping out of school of many of the children to join the informal economy. This corresponds with findings by Masudi *et al* (2002) that indicate significant relationship between dropouts and child labour in Tanzania.

4.6. 5 Concluding Remarks

In light of the foregoing discussion and implications, it may be said that civil wars were and are still behind stagnation and retardation of development in education industry and other sectors in both the warring and neighbouring countries. As Murdoch and Sandler (2001, 2) put it:

Regardless of whether these intrastate wars are grievance or greed based, they may have profound consequences on economic growth, not only at home but also in neighbours from such factors as the diversion of foreign direct investment (FDI), disruption to trade, destruction of social overhead capital, loss of human capital, the displacement of people, and the reallocation of resources to less productive activities.

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5. 1 Summary

The purpose of the study was to examine the impact of civil wars on basic education in the African Great Lakes Region with an exclusive focus on Tanzania. The conceptual framework based on the eclectic model was adopted to guide the study. The model took into account direct and indirect components as explanations for the impact of civil wars on basic education in Tanzania.

Review of the related literature disclosed two observations. First, the eclectic approach, a theoretical stance that borrowed ideas from rehabilitation, sustainable development and humanitarian approach, was a possible explanation to the impact of civil wars on basic education. Second, available studies regarding the impact of civil wars on basic education in the African Great Lakes Region were, among other things, not exhaustive as they overlooked the impact of such turmoil caused in neighbouring countries, and were too general to elucidate the actual impact of civil wars on basic education.

Questionnaires and structured interviews were administered to a sample of 251 respondents consisting of schoolteachers, pupils, parents, and education officers in Karagwe District (Kagera region). Similarly, the tools were also administered to primary and elementary education teachers, school age children out of school, pupils, the education coordinator and commander in refugee settlement all in Mpanda District (Rukwa region).

Findings reveal that basic education in Tanzania suffered tremendously from both direct and indirect effects of civil wars in neighbouring nations within the African Great Lakes Region. The

impact cut across social, educational, psychological and economic parameters. Moreover, it was found out that there was no equity regarding access to and participation in basic education refugee children hosted in Tanzania. Poverty and lack of awareness on the role of education among refugee parents were the main causes for the failure to realize equity issues in education.

Findings indicated that in trying to address problems caused by civil wars on basic education, several relief agencies were involved. These included UNICEF, UN, CARITAS, OXFAM, ACCORD, KADEP, KARADEA, CONCERN, UNHCR, URT, HELPAGE, Neighbouring Countries, KDRP, Japanese Embassy, HESAWA, and WANANCHI. The form of assistance ranged from building and rehabilitating schools, well construction, and provision of seedlings to schools, to planting trees. Finally, findings revealed that there were no proper plans to help individuals especially teachers who in one way or another suffered from the impact of civil wars and the resultant refugee influx.

5. 2 Conclusions

In view of the study findings, the following conclusions can be drawn:

> 1. Although civil wars did not physically take place on Tanzanian soil, they caused significant problems that affected the country's basic education. They affected the education system directly and indirectly. This suggests that unless the on-going civil wars are brought to an end, both warring and neighbouring countries would continue suffering the consequences directly or indirectly.

> 2. Poverty was found to be a crucial factor that prevented many children in refugee settlements from benefiting from basic education. Logically, it could be argued that equity in education was still a serious problem, and had not been achieved as stipulated under the 1948 United Nations Human Rights Convention. For many children, especially those in developing countries, articulated declarations have remained on papers as mere placards that are hardly enforced and implemented.

> 3. It was evident that problems of civil wars caused on basic education in Tanzania were at least noticed although inadequately addressed. The government of the United Republic of Tanzania and local and international organisations were among those who responded proactively to the problems. Relief assistance to basic education and other social services took different forms, ranging from building and repairing schools, provision of facilities to schools, and construction of wells to supplying schools with seedlings.

> 4. Apart from causing problems to the education industry, civil wars also heightened cases of child labour in Karagwe District. Many children failed to complete their primary education because some of them dropped out of school and others absconded from classes to engage themselves in petty businesses.

5.3 Recommendations

In light of the findings, two kinds of recommendations are made:

5.3.1 Need for Action

1. It is recommended that deliberate efforts be made to identify and help children, who were affected by civil wars in one form or another, including dropouts and truants who ended up becoming loiterers.

2. Local and international organisations should deliberately help local and central governments in addressing the problem of access to and participation in basic education in refugee settlements. This will be practical and fruitful only if international action oriented policies are formulated and enforced to enable the practitioners in the international/local organisations to have access to refugees at the grass roots.

3. As neighbouring countries have been hosting civil war refugees for over three decades now, arrangements should be made and conducive environments be created to enable all refugee children to have access to basic education. This is borne out of the fact that basic education is not a privilege but a universal right, regardless of one's socio-economic and racial backgrounds, political affiliation, or religious inclination.

5.3.2 Need for Further Research

1. Since civil wars and resultant massive influx of refugees made some pupils drop out of schools for employment in the informal sector, it is recommended that a study to examine the correlation between civil wars and child labour and its implications for education be carried out.

2. As most of the available studies on the impact of civil wars in the warring countries appear too general to reveal the real impact on education development, it is recommended that a project on the appraisal of the impact of civil wars on the education industry in the African Great Lakes Region be launched.

3. Refugees are human beings who deserve rational treatment and access to quality social services wherever they may be. On this basis, it is recommended that a study be carried out to help assess the status of equity issues in social services among refugees in their respective refugee settlements in the host countries [in the African Great Lakes Region].

6. NOTES

1. For the causes underlying child labour in Tanzania, see A.Masudi, A.Ishumi, F.Mbeo, and W.Sambo. 2002. *Investigating the worst forms of child labour in Tanzania: Children working in commercial agriculture: Tobacco: A rapid assessment*, pp.60-64. Geneva: ILO.,

2. Chamchuzi and Kandegesho are villages located on the border between Rwanda and Tanzania; Kagera River separates them from Rwanda. People in these wards could see and feel warplanes and smoke during daytime, sparks of fire due to bomb explosives at night, and feel tremors during civil wars in nearby Rwanda.

3. A narration by the Chamchuzi Primary School head teacher at Chamchuzi village, Bweranyange ward, who was captured, robbed, beaten, and harassed by civil war refugee bandits.

4. A twenty-one-year-old who dropped out of Kijumbura Primary School to carry out petty businesses as a middleman between refugee camps and the nearby villages.

5. A girl in standard six at Kandegesho Primary School, Nyakakiika ward, narrating what befell her because of civil war refugees.

6. The Education officer representing the Karagwe District Education Officer in the interview.

7. Remarks made by the UNHCR official who visited Matara Primary School on 22nd May 1995. The remarks were cited from the Matara Primary School Daily Events Record Book for November 2001. Matara Primary School is found in Nyakakiika ward-Nyabionza division located a few kilometres from the Rwanda/Tanzania border.

7. References

Askin, S. 1988-89. RENAMO raiders wage war against education. *The Southern African Political Economy Monthly* 12, no. 2 and 4 (January): 5-7.

Atkinson, P., and A. Coffey. 2002. Revising the relationship between participant observation and interviewing. In *Handbook of interview research: Context and method*, edited by J. F. Gubrium and J. A. Holstein, 801– 814.Thousands Oaks: Sage Publications.

Babbie, E. 1986. *The practice of social research*. 4th ed. California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Best, J.W., and J. V. Kahn. 1993. *Research in education.* 7th ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Brand, J., C. Lane and L. Silber. 1993. The white death trail. *Newsweek*, 15 March, 40-43.

BRALUP. 1976. *Mpanda District village map*. Dar es Salaam: Surveys & Mapping Division.

Breakwell, G. M. 1995. Interviewing. In *Research methods in psychology*, edited by G.M.Breakwell, S. Hammond, and C. Fife-Schaw, 230-242. London: SAGE Publications.

Brown, S.G.1999. *Education in the developing world: Conflict and crisis*. London: Longman.

Byrnes, D.A. 2001. War and conflict: Educators advocating for the protection of children. *The Educational Forum* 65, no.3 (spring): 227-231.

Cohen, L., and L. Manion. 1994. *Research methodology in education*. 4th ed. London: Routledge.

Conteh, J.S.1998. Colonial roots of conflicts in Africa: A historical perspective, prevention and resolution. *African Journal on conflicts Prevention, Management and Resolution* 2, no. 3 (January – April): 17-20.

Creswell, J. W. 1994. *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London: Sage Publications.

Djeddah, C. 1996. Wars and unaccompanied children in Africa: Who they are and major health implications. *International Psychogeriactric Association (IPA) Journal (INCH)* 8, no.2.,

Dyregrov, A., and M. Roundalen. 1987. Children and the stresses of war: A review of the literature. In *War, violence, and children in Uganda,* edited by G.P. Dodge and M. Roundalen. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.

Goetz, P.W., ed. 1985. *New Encyclopaedia Britannia* 28. Chicago: The University of Chicago.

Graham, E., and J. Newnham. 1998. *Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*. London: Penguin Books

Goulding, M.1999. The United Nations and conflict in Africa since the Cold War. *African Affairs* 98, no. 391 (April): 155-166.

Gubrium, J. F., and J. A. Holstein. 2002. From the individual interview to the interview society. In *Handbook of interview research: Context and method*, edited by J. F.Gubrium and J. A. Holstein, 1-32. Thousands Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Henderson, E. A. 1999. Civil wars. In *Encyclopaedia of violence, peace, and conflict*, edited L. Kurtz and J. Turpin, 279-287. vol. 1 A-E. New York: Academic Press.

Hoogenboom, A.1998. Civil war. In *Encyclopaedia Americana* 6, 782-787. Banbusy: Grolier Incorporated.

Red Cross .2001. Internal wars responsible for civilian deaths. International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Hirondelle News Agency, All Africa Global Media.

Ishumi, A. G. 1974. Community education and development: A study in the problems of harnessing community education and development efforts among rural and peri-urban communities in Tanzania. Ph. D. thesis, University of Dar Es Salaam, Dar es Salaam.

Jick, T. D .1983. Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. In *Qualitative methodology*, edited by J. V. Maanen, 135-148. London: SAGE Publications.

Koffa, B. B. 1999. Post-war education in Liberia. *Women and war*, no. 55/56: 32-33.

Kothari, G. R. 1990. *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*, 2nd ed. New Delhi: Wishwa Prakashan.

Kumar, K.1996. The international response to conflict and genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda. In *Rebuilding post-war Rwanda*. Joint Evaluation of Emergency to Rwanda, Copenhagen.

Malecela, J. S .1999. Keynote statement. Presented at the Africa Leadership Forum: International Conference on Sub-regional Security Protocols and Demilitarisation in Africa, Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress and UNDP, 9 May, Gateway Hotel, Ota, Nigeria.

Masudi, A., A. Ishumi, F. Mbeo, and W. Sambo. 2002. *Investigating the worst forms of child labour in Tanzania: Children working in commercial agriculture – Tobacco: A rapid assessment*. Geneva: ILO.

Mhone, G.1992. Mozambique: Structural adjustment in a war economy. *The Southern African Political Economy Monthly* 15, no. 10 (July): 14-17.

Mohamed Salih, M. A. 1993. Pastoralists and the war in Southern Sudan: The Ngok Dinka/human conflict in South Kardafan. In *Conflict and the decline of pastaralism in the Horn of Africa*, edited by J. Markakis, 16-29. London: Macmillan Press Limited and Institution of Social Studies.

Moosa, J. M.1996. Refugee problem: A comparative study of Africa and South Africa. *Africa Quarterly* 36, no. 4: 87-107.

Mosha, H. J. 1997. Ethical and moral attributes of an effective teacher/educational administrator. Valedictory Lecture Series, Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam.

Murdock, J., and T. Sandler. 2001. Civil wars and economic growth: A regional comparison. World Bank (http://econ.worldbank.org/files/3165_M&Sregional.pdf)

Mwakasege, C. 1995. Impact of refugees on host communities: The case of Kasulu, Ngara, and Karagwe Districts in Tanzania. Unpublished.

Nesbary, D. K. 2000. *Survey research and the world wide web*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Obiozor, G.A.1993. *The United States and the Nigerian Civil War: An American dilemma in Africa 1966-1970.* vol. 4, Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

Passi, F .O. 1995. The rise of people's organizations in primary education in Uganda. In *Service provision under stress in East Africa*, edited by J. Semboja and O. Therkildsen, 209-222. Copenhagen: Centre for Development Research.

Peters, K., and P. Richards. 1998. Why we fight: Voices of youth combatants in Sierra Leone. *Africa* 68, no. 2:182-210.

Petras, J. F., and M. H. Marley.1984. Ethiopian military state and society: US involvement in the Horn of Africa. *Review of African Political Economy,* no. 90 (September): 21-31.

Rowley, D. 1998. First steps towards quality and equity in primary education: The expanding role of school committees in the SNNPR. In *Quality education in Ethiopia: Visions for the 21ˢᵗ century*, edited by A. Asgedom, W. Cummings, D. Dufera, J. Odharo, H. Wondimu, and G. Zewdie, 481-491. Addis Ababa: Institute of Educational Research, Addis Ababa University.

Rwantabagu, H. 2001. Explaining intra-state conflicts in Africa: The case of Burundi. *International Journal on World Peace* xviii, no. 2 (June): 41-53.

Sanders, C. 1997. Where have all the flowers gone … and the trees … and the gorillas? Crisis in the Great Lakes. *Refugees Magazine*, no. 110 (winter). (http://www.unhcr.ch/pubs/rm110/rm110toc.htm).

Stromberg, P. 1997. Going home … to an uncertain future. Crisis in the Great Lakes. *Refugees Magazine*, no. 110 (winter). (http://www.unhcr.ch/pubs/rm110/rm110toc.htm)

Sullivan, S. 1993. We haven't even begun. *News Week*, 15 March, 21.

Schwab, P. 2001. *Africa: A continent self-destructs*. New York: Pagrave.

Taneja, V.R. 1983. *Educational thought and practice*. India: Sterling Publishers Private Limited.

Tierney, W. G., and P. Dilley. 2002. Interviewing in education. In *Handbook of interview research: Context and method*, edited by J. F. Gubrium and J. A. Holstein, 453-471. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

UNHCR .1998. Milestone: Anniversary edition. Vol. 2. Issue 2, April-June.

UNRCPDA (United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa) .2000. Caught in the crossfire. Lome, Togo.

URT. 1978. *Ramani ya Vijiji Mkoa wa Ziwa Magharibi* (a map indicating villages in West Lake Region), Surveys & Mapping, Ministry of Lands, Housing & Urban Development, Tanzania.

_____ .1995. *Education and training policy*. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education and Culture.

_____ .2000. *Atlas kwa Shule za Msingi Tanzania* (Atlas for primary schools in Tanzania), Dar es Salaam: Macmillan Aidan.

_____.2000. *Basic primary education statistics: District level data, 1999.*Dar es Salaam*:*Ministry of Education and Culture.

Waal, A., and A. Vines. 1992. Conspicuous destruction: War, famine and the reform process in Mozambique. *The Southern Africa Political Economy Monthly* 5, no.10, (April): 9-13.

Wanjama, L.N.1998. The role of research in promoting quality education: A gender perspective. In *Quality education in Ethiopia: Visions for the 21st century*, edited by Amare Asgedom, C. William, Derebssa Dufera, J. Odharo, Habtamu Wondimu, and Girma Zewdie, 123-128. Addis Ababa: Institute of Educational Research, Addis Ababa University.

Wilkinson, R. 1997. The crisis the world forgot. *Crisis in the Great Lakes,* no. 110 (winter). (http://www.unhcr.ch/pubs/rm110/rm110toc.htm).

Wilson, M .1995. Structuring qualitative data: Multidimensional scalogram analysis. In *Research methods in psychology,* edited by G.M. Breakwell, S, Hammond, and C, Fife-Schaw, 259-273. London: SAGE Publications.