University of Roehampton London

DOCTORAL THESIS

Girls at the front

an exploration of the relationship between human rights education policy and the experiences of girls taken by the militia in northern Uganda's civil war

Chapman Halsall, Elaine

Award date:
2010

General rights
Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy
If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 04. Feb. 2021

Girls at the Front: An Exploration of the Relationship between Human Rights Education Policy and the Experiences of Girls Taken by the Militia in Northern Uganda's Civil War

by

Elaine Chapman Halsall BSW, MA, RCSW

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
PhD

School of Education
Roehampton University

2010

Abstract

This study explores human rights education policy as it relates to the experiences of twenty-four girls taken by militia during the protracted armed conflict in northern Uganda. The study was concerned with understanding the experiences of girls in war zones and how their ability to achieve basic human rights was affected. To understand the participants' experiences it was essential to be aware of the context in which they lived. A situational field analysis (2005), and a socio-historical political literature review was conducted to serve this purpose. A field study (2006), centered on the premise that those who do not know their rights and responsibilities are more vulnerable to having them abused, was subsequently completed.

The primary purpose of the study was to explore the current thinking and methods best suited to human rights learning in a specific contextual condition, namely armed civil conflict. The study aimed to develop meaningful and innovative methodological insights and findings for human rights learning, to better understand and improve the dissemination, promotion, and protection of human rights. The relationship between human rights learning and participants' experiences was examined within the boundaries of a feminist research methodology, using a variety of data collection tools, including art-based inquiry, and provides an analysis of the issues related to human rights learning for girls in conflict situations.

The key findings in this study suggest that if human rights learning is to move beyond a school-based, rote learned appreciation of rights, an alternate, contextualized and empowering human rights learning framework

which enhances a girl's capacity to communicate and exercise her rights is required. Such a framework needs to explore contextual values and attitudes, be responsive to participants' experiences, and provide an opportunity to critically examine both rights and responsibilities.

Table of Contents

Abstract .... **ii**

Table of Contents .... **iv**

List of Tables .... **xi**

List of Figures .... **xii**

Abbreviations .... **xiii**

Glossary .... **xv**

Acknowledgements .... **xxii**

Chapter One: Giving a Voice to Girls in Northern Uganda **1**

Introduction 1

Research Questions 7

Thesis Outline 16

Summary 18

Chapter Two: Socio-historical Contextual Review **20**

Introduction 20

Descriptive Orientation to Uganda 21

Historical Overview of Uganda 26

Pre-Colonial Uganda: Indigenous Growth, Slavery and Exploration 31

Colonial Encounters: The Great Power Maneuvering 40

Post-colonial Legacies: Political Instability and Increasing War 54

Human Rights in Uganda: Fairness and Justice on Paper 64

Education in Uganda: Universal and Free for All 68

Summary 74

Chapter Three: Gender, Conflict and Transformational Human Rights Learning **76**

Introduction 76

African Feminism and Gender Analysis of a War Zone 78

Human Rights Education: A Transformative Vehicle for Human Rights Promotion and Protection 96
Summary 114

Chapter Four: A Transformative Feminist Research Methodology 118
Introduction 118
Brief Description of Feminist Research Methodology 119
My Transformative Feminist Methodology 123
Using a Feminist Research Methodology: Evolving Issues 127
How I Proceeded: The Research Design 128
Descriptive Documentary Analysis 129
Situational Analysis 130
Fieldwork 131
Interviews and Focus Groups 135
Participants 135
Measures 138
Procedures 139
Art-Based Inquiry: An Alternate Method of Inquiry into the Experiences of Girls Living in Northern Uganda 143
Art-based Inquiry Defined 143
Review of Quilting Literature 149
Assumptions About Art-based Inquiry 152
Subversive Social Texts 153
Limitations of Art-based Inquiry 157
Art-based Inquiry Using Quilting 158
Quilt Planning 159
Development of the Fabric Blocks 160
Sewing of the Quilt Blocks 161
Quilting the Stories Together 164
Data Analysis 168
Trustworthiness and Responsiveness 170
Limitations 172
Ethics 173

Summary 174

Chapter Five: Descriptive Document and Tool Analysis 177

Introduction 177

Concordance of Related Human Rights Conventions 177

Findings from the Cross-Referenced International Instruments 182

Human Rights Learning Tool Analysis 189

Tool Name, Organization, and Date of Production 198

Method of Program Delivery 199

Formal Human Rights Learning 200

Informal Human Rights Learning 202

Non-formal Human Rights Learning 204

Non-formal/Formal Human Rights Learning 205

Classifying Human Rights Tools 205

Values & Awareness Models 207

The Transformative Model 209

The Accountability Model 210

Population 212

Context 212

Evaluation 213

Summary 214

Chapter Six: From Passivity to Action, a Northern Ugandan Field Study ... 218

Introduction 218

Interviewee Profile Summaries 218

Interviewee profile # 1 Sue 219

Interviewee profile # 2 Stella 221

Interviewee profile # 3 Susan 223

Interviewee profile # 4 Joyce 224

Interviewee profile # 5 Jenny 225

Interviewee profile # 6 Winnie 227

Interviewee profile # 7 Stellina 228

Interviewee profile # 8 Milly 229

Interviewee profile # 9 Sarah 231

Interviewee profile # 10 Joy 232
Interviewee profile # 11 Sharon 233
Interviewee profile #12 Harriet 234
Interviewee profile #13 Rose 235
Interviewee profile # 14 Alia 237
Interviewee profile # 15 Alice 238
Data 240
Reflections on the Data Collected 243
Being Taken 243
Reasons for being Taken 245
The Takers 245
Location from which Taken 246
Period for which Taken 247
Roles and Responsibilities in the Bush 249
Gendered and Militarized 249
Girl Mothers 254
Life in the Bush/Hardships Endured in the Bush 256
Sexual Exploitation 256
Traumatic Experiences 258
Physical Abuse 260
Lack of Medical Care 260
The Escape, Rescue and Return from the Bush 261
Shame/Shunning 262
Reintegration Ceremonies 263
Nyono Tong Gweno 265
The Amnesty Process 266
Resilience 268
Factors that Affect Resilience 268
Post-traumatic Growth 269
God 270
Roles Performed 273
Standing up for Self/Strength of Character 275
Obedience 276
Relationships 276

Human Rights Learning in the Field 278

School as the Source of Human Rights Education 278

A Child's Right to Attend School 280

The Responsibility of Leaders to Uphold Human Rights 281

Girls can ask to be Treated "Rightly" 282

Summary 284

Chapter Seven: Ethical and Methodological Issues when Researching with Girls in a War Zone 289

Guideline #1: Conduct a Thorough Contextual and Situational Analysis 290

Guideline #2: Embrace Opportunities to be an Active, Safe Participant within the Environment 293

Guideline #3: Be Willing to Adapt the Research Method 295

Guideline #4: Sensitivity to Language and its Use 298

Guideline #5: Develop Relationships with Locals 299

Guideline #6: Consider the Role Children Play in a War Zones 300

Guideline #7: Provide an Additional Research Mechanism that is Non-textual or Non-verbal for Girls to Express their Experiences 301

Guideline #8: Communicate at the Individual's Level/Ability 303

Guideline #9: Monitor and Mitigate for "Research Fatigue" 304

Guideline #10: Use a Safe and Neutral Territory for the Interview 305

Guideline #11: Fully Informed Consent 306

Guideline #12: Ensure the Emotional Safety of the Participants 307

Guideline #13: Voyeuristic Intrusion 307

Guideline #14: Concept of Reciprocity 309

Guideline #15: Awareness of Vicarious Traumatization and Researcher Burnout 310

Chapter Eight: From Paper to Practice: A Transformative Human Rights Framework. 312

Introduction 312

Core Strategies for Human Rights Learning during an Armed Conflict 313

The Preoccupations of those in Power 315

Circumstances of the Situation 315

Attention to the Context 316
Attention to the Locale 316
Ecological and Child Centered 317
Learning Environment 317
Trainers/Facilitators 317
Definitions 318
Better Practices 319
Evaluation 320
Safety 322
A Pragmatic, Transformative Human Rights Framework 322
Gender Sensitivity 328
Social Relations & Social Roles 330
Anchored in Local Knowledge and Life Skills 331
Breaches of Human Rights versus Responsibilities 332
Indigenous Practices 333
God 333
Summary 334

Chapter Nine: Context, Innovation and Self-Empowerment as Vehicles of Transformation 338
Introduction 338
Study Objectives 338
Context of the Study 340
Areas for Further Exploration 347
Hindsight 348
Limitations of the Study 349
Dissemination of Findings 350
Summary 351

Appendix A: A Chronology of Key Events in Uganda 354

Appendix B: Situational Analysis (2005) 363

Appendix C: Ethics Approval Letter 367

Appendix D: Letter of Participation and Consent in Acholi/Luo 368

Appendix E: Letter of Participation and Consent in English 370

Appendix F: Questionnaire Guide 373

Appendix G: Photos of the Quilt Squares 376

Appendix H: Sample of Coded Guided Lira Focus Group Data 382

References 387

List of Tables

Table 1: Life expectancy differences between northern and southern Uganda 24
Table 2: UPE structure by age and payee 72
Table 3: Participant recruitment sites 136
Table 4: Demographics and social variables of the 24 girls taken by non-state militias (LRA) 137
Table 5: A cross-referencing of related human rights international instruments....180
Table 6: An analysis of relevant human rights education/learning tools 193
Table 7: Reasons participants gave for being taken..245
Table 8: Who had taken them into the bush?...246
Table 9: Roles and responsibilities as reported by the girls 251
Table 10: Type and reported frequencies of traumatic experiences during captivity 259
Table 11: Current status of formerly taken children (FTC) in this study............... 261
Table 12: Roles and responsibilities as reported by the girls...............................274
Table 13: Participants' knowledge of human rights 279
Table 14: Where they had heard about human rights 280
Table 15: Human rights learning model 327

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Uganda, showing Lira and Gulu, where the 2006 study was conducted (Legget 2001). 21
Figure 2: Completed quilt 167
Figure 3: Quilt block depicting girl taken from her home by LRA (Joy, Interviewee profile #10). 244
Figure 4: Quilt block depicting LRA taking girls. "Those who cannot carry luggages I will cut their necks and they rest once and for all" (Sarah, Interviewee profile # 9). 244
Figure 5: Chart indicating the location from which participants were taken 246
Figure 6: Quilt block depicting girls “carrying heavy luggage” (Sue, Interviewee profile #1). 252
Figure 7: Quilt block depicting girls being beaten by non-state militia and beating others (Joy, Interviewee profile #10). 259
Figure 8: Quilt block depicting Nyono Tong Gweno 266
Figure 9: Quilt block depicting Caritas (Rose, Interviewee profile #13). 270
Figure 10-35: Squares completed by participants when asked “to make a picture of something you think I need to know” 376
Figure 11: 9 fabric babies, representing the 7 babies born in the bush and the 2 participants who were pregnant. 381
Figures 12 & 13: Quilt squares representing the weapons the participants indicated were used to physically threaten or harm them. 381

Abbreviations

ACRWC: African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

ACHPR: African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, on the Rights of Women in Africa

BERA: British Educational Research Association

CAT: Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Punishment

CDAW: International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CMI: Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence

CPU: Child Protection Unit

CRC: Convention on the Rights of the Child

CSO: Civil Society Organizations for Peace in Northern Uganda

DDR: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

DHRE: United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004)

DTID: Department for International Development

FTC: Formerly Taken Children

GU: Government of Uganda

GUSCO: Gulu Save the Children Organization

HRW: Human Rights Watch

HSM: Holy Spirit Movement

ICC: International Criminal Court

IDP: Internally Displaced Person

LDU: Local Defence Unit

LRA: Lord's Resistance Army

NGO: Non-Government Organization

NRA: National Resistance Army

OCAC: Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict

OHCHR: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

PEAP: Poverty Eradication and Action Project

SIDA: Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UHRC: Ugandan Human Rights Commission

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

UNHC: United Nations High Commission

UNHCR: United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNPAC: Uganda's National Programme of Action for Children

UNRF: Uganda National Rescue Front

UPDF: Ugandan People's Defence Force

UPE: Universal Primary Education Program

WFP: World Food Program

WPHRE: Plan of Action for the First Phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-2009)

Glossary

Abduction
Forcibly carrying someone away against that person's will; abduction is usually a criminal act regardless of purpose (see Formerly Taken Children).

Animism
Animism is one of the African Traditional Religions (Otiso 2007). "The word comes from the Latin *anima*, meaning soul. It is a broad label that includes the belief that the world is filled with spirits that exist in and of themselves, separate from bodies, just as the Western World" (Eichstaedt 2009, p. 75). The spirits can be either good or evil and those who have power over them in some way are greatly feared.

Armed conflict
Armed conflict for the purposes of this study is seen to refer to "violent conflict between (representatives or members of) groups" (Tomlinson & Benefield 2005, p.4).

Bush
The "bush" or heavily forested areas of rebel strongholds cover great distances around Acholiland and extend into the Congo and southern Sudan.

Caritas
A Catholic non-governmental organization (NGO), which offers rehabilitation and reintegration services to the children of northern Uganda who have returned after having been taken.

Convention
A binding agreement between countries or states; used synonymously with treaty. Conventions are legally binding for the governments that have signed them. When the United Nations General Assembly adopts a convention, it creates international norms and standards. Once the U.N. General Assembly

adopts a convention, Member States can then ratify the convention, promising to uphold it (Conde 2004; Harvey 2002).

Child

The United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (United Nations 1989) defines children as those under the age of eighteen years. The age of the participants in this study appeared to be between twelve and twenty-plus years.

Child soldiers

There is no precise definition for child soldiers: however, the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers considers a child soldier "... any person under 18 years of age who is a member of or attached to the armed forces or an armed group, whether or not there is an armed conflict. Child soldiers may perform tasks ranging from direct participation in combat; military activities such as scouting, spying, sabotage, acting as decoys, couriers or guards; training, drill and other preparations; support functions such as portering and domestic tasks; sexual slavery and forced labour" (Child Soldiers Global Report 2004, p.15).

Comfort women/bush brides

Named after the system during World War II in which the Japanese military rounded up thousands of women and forced them into military prostitution. These women became euphemistically known as "comfort women" (Yoshiaki 1995).

Demobilization

The process by which participants in an armed conflict are released from the military and transition back into civilian life.

Donor dependent economy/donor dependency

An economy, such as northern Uganda is characterized by and reliant upon heavy donor funding of public services by outside governments and NGOs.

Egg ceremony/Nyono Tong Gweno

Nyono Tong Gweno is the traditional name given to a cleansing ceremony by the Acholi people. It is called the "Egg Ceremony" by outsiders and loosely translated means "stepping on the egg."

Ethnocentricity

The tendency to look at the world primarily from the perspective of one's own culture. This term is attributed to William Graham Sumner, who defined it as the viewpoint that one's own group is the center of everything, against which all other groups are judged. Ethnocentrism often entails the belief that one's own race or ethnic group is the most important and/or that some or all aspects of its culture are superior to those of other groups.

Formally Taken Children (FTC)

This term used in this study to describe the condition of girls who had been taken away from their home environments to live in the bush with militia and had then been captured or had escaped and returned.

Formal human rights education

Formal education, as defined broadly by Claude (2008, p.326) refers to the "normal 3 tier structure of primary, secondary and tertiary education". Governments generally provide this model of education.

Gum boots

Three-quarter-length rubber boots favoured by non-state actors, also referred to as wellingtons.

GUSCO

A child-focused organization working in the Gulu district to provide psychosocial support to formerly taken children returning from Sudan and elsewhere.

Human rights education

Human rights education is often called by other names, such as peace education, gender education, and environmental learning. It is best loosely defined as "a participative process which contains deliberately designed sets of learning activities using human rights knowledge, values, and skills as content aimed at the general public to enable them to understand their experiences and take control of their lives" (Asia Pacific Regional Resource Centre for Human Rights Education 2003, p. 13).

Informal human rights education

Informal human rights education as proposed by Claude (2008, p. 326) refers to "education that may or may not be organized, and is usually unsystematic education, having its affect on lifelong processes by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure".

Internally Displaced Persons (IDP)

Refers to persons who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers, as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or manmade disasters, and who are within the territory of their own country (United Nations General Assembly 1992).

Kalashnikov or AK47

This is an automatic assault rifle, favoured by the LRA and UPDF.

Luggage

Anything required to be transported in the bush, as ordered by captors.

Matatus

Small mini bus that has the capacity to seat 10, but can accommodate up to 30 human bodies, numerous chickens, goats and other staples (matooke, corn oil, mattresses). These buses often carry messages such as “God love you,” “God willing” or “Travel hopefully” on their back windows.

Matooke

Green banana (Ugandan food staple).

Mazungu

Swahili word for white person.

Non-informal human rights education

Claude (1999, p.21) defines non-formal education as, “human rights education occurring outside of the school system by NGOs around the world to assist people to develop knowledge and skills and to help them meet their basic needs”.

Non-state actors/militia/rebels

Refers to armed groups or factions operating within a sovereign nation without formal legitimacy. The intention in using this term, rather than “rebels” or “freedom fighters,” is to avoid moral imputation when referring to armed groups with widely varying informal legitimacy (Lancaster et al. 2005).

Panga

A machete that is often used in bush fighting.

Rachele Rehabilitation Centre

A rehabilitation centre in Lira, Uganda, built in 2003 by the Belgian government. The centre is named after Sister Rachele, who was instrumental in rescuing the 109 Aboke girls who were taken by non-state actors in 1996,

as written about in De Temmerman's 2001 book. The centre offers rehabilitation and reintegration services to those who have returned from the bush.

Rebels

See non-state actors.

Recruitment

"Refers to three different means by which persons become members of armed forces or armed groups: compulsory, voluntary, and forcible. …Compulsory recruitment is defined in national legislation and thus typically applies to regular conscript armed forces. Voluntary recruitment is usually regulated by law or policy and occurs without conscription or force. Forcible recruitment entails the use of force outside the law, for instance in the form of abduction or under other duress. It is important to note that the lines between compulsory, voluntary, and forced recruitment are often blurred. Children may be subjected to various political and economic pressures that provide them with little alternative than to "voluntarily" join armed forces of armed group"(Child Soldiers Global Report 2004, p.355).

Reintegration

Reintegration is a process which allows ex-combatants and their families to adapt, economically and socially, to productive civilian life. When child combatants are demobilized, essential services such as health, counseling, and psychosocial support are provided at a civilian interim care site. One of the goals of reintegration is to help child soldiers reunite with their families. Girls or women who have suffered sexual abuse, have been forced to participate in violence, or have had to bear children to their victimizers may risk rejection by their communities. Special intervention measures are often needed to respond to the needs of girl soldiers. A minimum three-year commitment of resources and staff is generally necessary to ensure child-soldier reintegration (Lancaster et al. 2005).

Rehabilitation Centre

See Rachele Centre.

Sexual slavery

Women held in sexual servitude for the use of militia/troops (Bales & Robbins 2002; Brownmillar, 1976).

Slippers, flip-flops

Open sandals, made of plastic or rubber.

Social age

Refers to the calculation of age based upon a specific contextualized event, rather than on actual chronological age (Refugee Law Project 2007, p.3).

Ting ting

Term used for a young girl forced to act as a servant in the bush.

Acknowledgements

Many people have been responsible for bringing this work to completion and for providing me with the opportunity to take this journey. I am most truly indebted to the twenty-four girls who shared their strength, pain and vulnerable selves with me in the telling of their stories. To these courageous participants I owe co-authorship of this work. I am also indebted to Mr. Charles Mugasa and his family and to Ms. Beatrice Oling, who were my steadfast supporters and partners in Uganda. Their insight, wisdom and amazing hospitality were pivotal to the safe completion of this work. I would also like to acknowledge the loss of gentle, resilient Stella, who died during the course of my work. Stella gave me great insight into life in rural Uganda: she also provided unfailing mothering to ten AIDS orphans and worked to support a women's craft cooperative. She was the epitome of compassion and of human rights learning.

In order to commit the participants' voices to paper I have been privileged to have had many other supporters. There are too many to mention here, but they know who they are and the effect that they have had upon me. Special thanks to: Professor Pat Mahony, my Director of Studies, for her honest clarity and capacity to always ask just the right question at just the right time; to Professor Liam Gearon, my Internal Co-Supervisor, who supported my initial interest in this work and has demonstrated an unfailing passion for human rights learning throughout; and to Dr. Sibylle Artz, my External Supervisor, for her willingness to engage in the process with me and

to remain genuinely interested and available when I needed her. I would also like to thank Kim Ellison, who read this thesis too many times to mention.

I am grateful to my family in England and Canada, to my husband Ray and to my children, Amie, Aynsley, Nick and Harriet who have traveled the many pathways with me and at times wondered if this journey would ever come to an end. Their love and belief in me have sustained me, even though at times completion seemed unfathomable.

One of the aims of this study was to make the findings available and accessible to many. I have been fortunate enough to have begun this process and the quilt has proven to be an ideal vehicle. An example of this occurred when the quilt was displayed as part of a presentation that I gave entitled “Arts-based trauma research: Quilting whole the pieces of war torn lives” (at the 23rd Annual Meeting of the Society of Traumatic Stress held in Baltimore November 15-17, 2007). I realized that, rather than taking the quilt down as the presentation ended, two members of the conference “take-down” crew were standing and looking at each quilt block very intently. They began to ask me about the context and I told them a little about the creation of the quilt. After a few minutes, one of them turned to me with tears in her eyes and said, “why haven’t I heard about this and what is happening to the girls now?” I gave her a brief background and watched her go and gather another crewmember and proceed to pass along the information I had given. This was the grass roots dissemination that I sought, where empathy and connection to the issue through the quilt occurred at a visceral level.

I have experienced similar situations when presenting my work internationally and I am grateful for all of the peer comments that I have

received during these periods, which have strengthened my work. To date I have given thirteen presentations based on my study:

1. “Human Rights Learning in Situations of Gender-Based Violence and Armed Conflict”, Mumbai, India (February 15-19, 2009);
2. “On the Precipice of Disaster: Trauma, Ethics and Research Lessons Learned from Uganda’s War Zone”, Mumbai, India (February 15-19, 2009);
3. “Using Quilting as an Art-Based Methodology”, a full day workshop, University of Victoria (July 5, 2008);
4. “Ethics in Research with Children”, Roehampton University, London (June 24, 2008);
5. “Northern Uganda Conflict Quilt (2007)”, Quilt Fever, (May 2-4, 2008);
6. “Arts-based Trauma Research: Quilting Whole the Pieces of War Torn Lives”, Baltimore, USA at 23rd Annual Meeting of the Society of Traumatic Stress (November 15-17, 2007);
7. “On the Precipice of Disaster: Trauma, Ethics and Research Lessons Learned from Uganda’s War Zone”, at the 23rd Annual Meeting of the Society of Traumatic Stress Baltimore, USA (November 16 2007);
8. “Using Quilting as a Method of Inquiry in Social Research”, (November 20, 2006) “Girls at the Front: Stories of Girls Taken by the Militia in Northern Uganda”, Public Presentation at the United Church, Victoria, Canada (November 9, 2006);
9. “The Abduction of Girls in Northern Uganda: Research Challenges”, Queen Alexandra Hospital Rounds, Victoria, Canada (November 8, 2006);
10. “Research on the Precipice of Disaster: The Complexities of Conducting Action Orientated Research with Young Girls, Abducted into Sexual Slavery During an Armed Conflict”, Child and Youth Care in Action Conference, Victoria, Canada (June, 2006);

11. “Learning about Human Rights as a way of life-An Essential Building Block for Justice”, 5th Civicus World Assembly, Glasgow, Scotland (June, 2006);
12. Human Rights Education International Conference, Theoretical and Practical Considerations for the 21st Century. “It’s Just Not Right: Bush Brides and the Role of Human Rights Education in Promoting and Protecting the Rights of Girls Abducted into Sexual Slavery during Armed Conflicts”, London, England (June, 2005);
13. "Quilts do not only Cover People, they Hold Them", Unraveling quilted texts, University of Victoria, Canada (February, 2005).

Each time that I have presented I have become more convinced that the experiences of the twenty-four girls need to be told. All along, I have felt this to be my moral commitment to the participants: this has compelled me to continue. One participant requested that I “please finish the work you have come here to do” (Lira focus group). Perhaps the term that best describes my experience is the name given to me by a group of people in northern Uganda, “Akiiki.” In the Swahili language this means, the “key to opening opportunities and hope.” This research has provided me with a key opportunity to participate in an influential and sobering journey. For the young women whom I met, it has provided an opportunity to be heard and to have their stories validated.

Chapter One: Giving a Voice to Girls in Northern Uganda

Introduction

In Chapter One of this thesis I outline the manner in which I became involved in the research study. I then identify the issue, the research questions that are the basis of this study and I provide brief summaries of the subsequent eight chapters.

I have been interested, for most of my professional career, in sexual exploitation and trauma and in the roles and responsibilities held by communities and countries to protect their vulnerable citizens. This has led me to theorize that if girls know about their rights, they can learn to advocate for them, to take responsibility for their rights and to work toward achieving them.

The impetus for this study has been my long-standing concern for and professional career working with women, youth and children who have experienced many kinds of trauma in a variety of settings. In 2000, this interest led me to take on the role of clinical supervisor for a three-year Canadian project, exploring innovative community responses to support youth who are sexually exploited through the local sex trade. During this time I began to experiment with another pursuit of mine, quilting. As an avid sewer of functional and decorative quilts, I began to explore how having groups and/or individuals use pictorial quilting to record their experiences could be a powerful research data collection tool. Two research projects that I conducted during that time demonstrated that bringing together stories

about a shared experience into the form of a quilt further expanded the research potential (Halsall & Ali 2004; Clover & Stalker 2007).

As I was completing my involvement in the sexual exploitation project in August, 2003, I attended a Children's' Spirituality conference in Victoria and heard a presentation given by Professor Liam Gearon, entitled*, "Trends in Brutality: Spirituality, Violence and the Rehabilitation of Child Soldiers".* At the completion of his presentation, I inquired about the roles performed by girls in these same conflicts where boy soldiers were exploited. He indicated that to his knowledge there existed little research in the area. This brought to the forefront my concern about the gendered nature of violence and its invisibility: I had observed this same in the sex trade context. I wondered whether girls in these circumstances were merely seen as collateral damage. At the time, I began to speculate that there were connections between what I had learnt about Canada's sex trade and what was happening for girls in conflict zones. As I further compared the two situations, I noticed that the militia in conflict zones, who were taking the girls, were often reportedly using similar tactics in their recruitment and retention phases as the pimps were using on the streets in Canada (Hodgson 1997; Honwana 2006). I also became curious about why, in both situations, the relevant international conventions and legal acts in place to protect girls from such circumstances did not seem to be enforced or enforceable (Evans 2008; Harvey 2002). I turned initially to the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of The Child* (United Nations 1989) and *The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography* (United Nations General Assembly

2000) to see what level of protection they might afford. I chose these particular documents because I was most familiar with them from my work within the field of child sexual exploitation and knew that they represented tools designed to protect youth in similar circumstances.

In early 2004, almost simultaneously, I had the opportunity to present a workshop at a conference in Gaborone, Botswana entitled, *"Breaking the wall of silence: Making connections, exploring hope."* The subject of the presentation was the sexual exploitation of children. At this conference, I met Charles Mugasa, the Director of Solace (a small Ugandan national non-government organization). Mr. Mugasa spoke about what was happening in the northern part of his country, where young women were experiencing sexual exploitation as a tactic of military warfare. He explained that his understanding of the issue was gleaned primarily from Uganda's media and stories told to him by locals. His understanding was that girls were forcibly taken from their schools and home compounds and used as sexual incentives for militia rebels in Uganda's ongoing civil war.

At this stage, I began to look more actively at the "why" and "how" questions. I wondered why countries were unable or unwilling to protect their most vulnerable citizens despite ratified legal agreements to do so. Moreover, in lieu of this protection, I wondered how girls might develop the capabilities to be empowered at the community level to protect themselves. It was during this period that the United Nations initiated the first phase of the *World Program for Human Rights Education* (*WPHRE)* (2005-2009) (United Nations General Assembly 2005) as a follow-up to the *Decade for Human Rights Education (DHRE)* (1995-2004) (United Nations General

Assembly 1994). As I read the materials produced by these initiatives, there appeared to be burgeoning support behind the idea that human rights learning could provide the potential vehicle to promote and develop human rights at the grass root or community level. This prompted me to look at human rights learning as a means to bridge the divide between the experiences of girls during conflict, the violation of their rights, and what could be done on the ground to empower them to exercise their rights.

As my interest continued to grow, I turned to the literature. In an initial review, I found that human rights education was a documented, effective strategy to prevent human rights abuses. Banks (2001), in his work on human rights education, suggested that people who do not know their rights are more vulnerable to having them abused and also tend to lack the language and conceptual frameworks to effectively advocate for them. I found this sentiment to be consistent with the growing world-wide consensus at the time, which recognized education for and about human rights as essential. Koenig (2002), in her work on "*Human rights education for social transformation*", suggested that human rights learning could contribute to the building of peaceful, free, and just societies. Former Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan (2000, p.3), in his message for *Human Rights Day* (2000), used the words from the 1945 constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2000) as indicative of offering further support to the linkages between human rights education and achieving peace during conflict:

> Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed. The more people know

> their rights, and the more they respect those of others, the better the chances that they will live together in peace. Only when people are educated about human rights can we hope to prevent human rights violations, and thus prevent conflict, as well.

I found this perspective to be supported in principle by the Ugandan Government. In a 2000 Ugandan Government Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development publication issued by Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP 2000, p.16), it was noted that:

> There is a lot of ignorance among people about their rights, making them vulnerable to abuse. Human rights organizations at the district level are few and their roles not well understood by the people. This makes it difficult for the people to know where to go for help when their rights are abused. Participants pointed to the need for better dissemination of information to the population concerning human rights and to get the inclusion of human rights education in the school curriculum.

By 2005, all of these serendipitous circumstances and wonderings culminated into my first PhD proposal titled, “Bush brides and comfort girls: Are human rights documents worth the paper they are written on when it comes to addressing the wrongs committed against girl children in armed conflict?” Upon review, I realize that this title now serves to illustrate my early thinking about this topic and provides a marker for the development of my understanding and how this study has shifted. My final research proposal title, “Girls at the front: An exploration of the relationship between human rights education policy and the experiences of girls taken by the militia in northern Uganda’s civil war,” reflects the shift that I made once I

had an improved comprehension of the context. Through a situational analysis conducted in Uganda (2005) I learnt that I needed a conceptual and linguistic shift around the labeling I was doing of certain phenomena in the Ugandan context. I discovered that "bush brides" and "comfort girls" were largely Western linguistic constructs and were not accurate reflections of how girls in northern Uganda described their experience of being "taken." In addition, I found that the assumption that one particular faction of the war had committed all of the "wrongs" biased my research from the outset and would prevent the deeper exploration of topics with participants who held alternate opinions.

I decided, therefore, to conduct a situational analysis in the field before beginning my formal data collection. This involved extensive travel to and habitation in northern Ugandan's war zone. It necessitated meeting with numerous elders, internally displaced persons (IDPs), community members, government and military members, former child soldiers, and representatives from several non-governmental organizations. The completion of this analysis allowed me to gather multiple perspectives and to deepen my understanding of what was happening in Uganda. I came quickly to appreciate the sentiments of Evans (2008, p.82), that when it comes to war:

> One-dimensional general explanations of any kind are bound to be unsatisfactory, and that we are condemned to acknowledge that most of today's conflicts are a complex amalgam of economic, political, ethnic and security dynamics, in which contests over resources intersect with and often reinforce contests over identity and power.

In addition to the above combination, I would also add gender as a consideration in understanding the complexity of conflict. Simultaneously, I began reviewing the literature about Uganda from both a historical, cultural and current perspective. In addition, I reviewed human rights education literature, models, and policies. Consideration of all of these aspects gave me a deeper appreciation of the complexity and roots of the Ugandan conflict, the influence of slavery and colonialism on the development and decimation of the country's social structures, and the resulting human rights education culture. From here I formulated the research questions that I thought would facilitate an understanding of the experiences of girls who had been caught up in northern Uganda's war, their relationship with human rights education policy and what could be done at the ground level to bridge the apparent disconnection between the two.

Research Questions

Many reports and research studies have been conducted describing and analyzing the circumstances and situations of child soldiers abducted in African countries including northern Uganda (Boyden 2003; Cook 2007; Daniel 2000; De Sas Kropiwnicki 2002; Eichstaedt girls taken 2008; Honwana 2006; Iweala 2005; Keitetsi 2004; Massey 2000; Singer 2005; Wessells & Strang 2006; World Vision 2004; United Nations Children's Fund 2002). However, there has been limited research on the situation for by the militia and their experiences of sexual exploitation in African conflicts (Cook

2007; De Temmerman 2001; McKay & Mazurana 2004). Conversely, sexual slavery is a well-documented phenomenon with many examples from the Second World War, particularly in protracted conflicts waged between militarized ethnic groups (Allen 1996; Bales 1999; Barry 1979; Yoshiaki 1995). In general, the effect of sexual slavery and sexual exploitation on women and girls also appears to have been well investigated in the literature (Gerdes 2006; Brown & Barret 2002; Goldstein 2001; Gorkoff & Runner 2003; Hodgson 1997). Again, there is limited knowledge of this phenomenon from an African feminist context and an even greater dearth of understanding from a Ugandan perspective (Cook 2007; De Temmerman 2001; McKay & Mazurana 2004).

The current civil war in northern Uganda began in 1986 and is one of sixty armed conflicts currently raging around the world (Human Security Report 2005). The literature indicates that children in these wars are among the most vulnerable groups affected (Allwood et al. 2004; Paadekooper et al. 1999). During the last decade, two million children have been killed in conflict situations, more than one million have been made orphans, six million have been seriously injured or permanently disabled and more than ten million have been left with psychological trauma, malnutrition, and disease. Another estimated twenty million children have been displaced by war within and outside of their countries, having been forced to become refugees and IDPs. In addition, armed conflicts deprive children of the security of their communities, family, education and health systems, exposing them to multiple dangers (Farmer 2005; Harvey 2002).

In addition to the documented psychological, physical, emotional, social and economic effects, unending conflicts and insurgencies significantly disrupt and alter the informal and formal education systems and structures in war zones (Tomasevski 2003). Schools often become targets for attack during armed conflict. As a result, most schools in armed conflict areas are closed because teachers are targeted and children risk stepping on landmines, or are taken on their way to or from school (Boothby et al. 2006; UNESCO 2005; De Temmerman 2001).

Specifically, Uganda's war in Acholiland (known as northern Uganda by the Western world) has displaced over 1.6 million people and seen approximately 20,000 children taken by non-state actors: only approximately 5,000 have been reintegrated back into their families (Eichstaedt 2008; World Vision 2004). Rough estimates suggest that as many as 7,000 girls have been taken by non-state actors since 1986 (Eichstaedt 2009; Rachele Rehabilitation Centre data 2006). Reports indicate that children who are taken are denied multiple human rights. They are used as porters, servants, child minders, human shields and child soldiers. They are forced to kill, maim, beat and take other children (Eichstaedt 2008; Finnstrom 2008; Wessells 2006; World Vision 2004). Female children in these circumstances are most often used as domestic servants, sexually exploited and forced to become commanders' "wives." Some Western literature refers to them euphemistically as "bush brides" or "child brides" (De Temmerman 2001; OHCHR 2003).

Running concomitantly to these violations are documented confirmations that the Ugandan government has ratified and is committed to

uphold many human rights instruments, conventions and treaties designed to protect young girls in situations such as sexual slavery (Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI) 2005). However, despite the Ugandan government having made available these protection mechanisms, it appears to lack the ability (as do the governments of many countries) to enforce, act upon or uphold the intent of these documents (Evans 2008).

Uganda has created the Uganda National Programme of Action for Children (UNPAC), (Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development 2003) a framework for implementing the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly 1989) and formed the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC 2005). The Ugandan government has initiated training for the military, the Ugandan People's Defense Force (UPDF 2005), to promote children's rights in conflict situations. It also developed the first African Universal Primary Education Program (UPE) (Ministry of Education and Sports 1999a), with a component of the curriculum committed to human rights education[1].

Despite the aforementioned efforts to promote and protect the rights of Ugandan children, there remains a significant gap between policy and practice. This is particularly true regarding the rights of girls and most especially those taken during the northern conflict. There exists a significant incongruity between what is happening in reality and what is reported to be

---

[1] While the UPE is program is free, there are still significant school fees charged for food, uniforms and scholastic materials that often move primary education beyond the reach of some Ugandans.

in place for the protection of human rights.

This is not to negate the significant movements in human rights learning that have been made in the past twenty years. These serve to affirm the international recognition that human rights education is a vital transformative vehicle for human rights promotion and protection, with the capacity to move human rights beyond abstract principles of international standards into practice. For example, at the *World Conference on Human Rights* (1993) held in Vienna, Austria, 171 countries reiterated their commitment to human rights education through the adoption of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action
(VDPA 1993, section 36, p.89):

> The World Conference on Human Rights reaffirms the important and constructive role played by national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights, in particular in their advisory capacity to the competent authorities, their role in remedying human rights violations, in the dissemination of human rights information, and education in human rights.

Again in 2005, international interest and support for human rights education was obvious in the publication of the *Plan of Action for the First Phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 2005). This plan of action was more specific in its support and objectives for human rights education (United Nations General Assembly resolution 2004, p. 71), stating that:

> Human rights education contributes to the long-term prevention of human rights abuses and violent conflicts, the promotion of equality and sustainable development and the enhancement of people's

> participation in decision-making processes within a democratic system.

It is perhaps the *African Charter on Human and People's Rights* (ACHPR 1986, p.25) which provides the simplest statement in international norm-making regarding governmental responsibility for education, as well as a significant and unique call for effective human rights education. The Charter obliges its fifty-two signatory African states to:

> Promote and ensure through teaching, education and publication, the respect for the rights and freedoms contained in the present Charter and to see to it that these freedoms and rights as well as corresponding obligations and duties are understood.

Despite international recognition and the fact that human rights education now holds a pivotal place amongst human rights documents, methodologies for distributing human rights education have been less defined. Richard Pierre Claude (1999, p.7) suggests that:

> The effectiveness of human rights education should not only be the concern of the Charter signatories, but of everyone who takes human rights education seriously. The standard suggests that those obliged to teach human rights should also ensure that such programs are effective in that people accept and understand their rights and that they are thereby empowered to use them and can benefit by exercising them.

Regardless of the international recognition and support for human rights learning, there remains limited research that examines the relationship between policy and practice. There are anecdotal observations available which discuss whether human rights learning, particularly in an ongoing

conflict situation, can have any impact on affected children. In her handbook on human rights education, Flowers (2000) suggests that evaluation methodologies for human rights education are still in the developmental stage. This assertion is further echoed by Miller and Affolter who assert that "there is relatively little evaluative and reflective material available about educational interventions in many post-conflict contexts" (2002, p.1).

While there are many human rights education models available (Amnesty International 1998; Flowers 2000; SIDA 2002; Tibbetts 1997; United Nations 2004; UNESCO 2000), there are few published evaluations on their performances in a field situation. The literature examined also reveals a further gap between research and practice. Tomlinson and Benefield (2005, p.13) note:

> While there are clearly research gaps in what is a new and developing field, the biggest gap is that between research and practice. That is published research is often inaccessible, or at least not accessed by those who make use of it in practice.

Taking this apparent research/practice gap into consideration, I was determined to ground this study in the contextual circumstances, so as to keep the participants' voices central to the results and to allow the research to be accessible to practitioners in the field. Another goal was to provide practical solutions to the issues as they arise in order to ease the dissemination of the findings. This desire for a pragmatic research product created a continuous tension between conducting academic research for a PhD and the more practically-orientated aims of the study. While this aspect added another thread of complexity throughout the study, the tension was

not unexpected and had been mentioned by other researchers with similar aims (Sinner et al. 2006). The tension became more evident in the art-based component of the study, where the method and data were presented (and conducted) in such an unconventional manner as in the form of a quilt.

It would appear that in times of war, education —particularly human rights learning— is considered to be almost superfluous to the more immediate needs of survival, such as food and shelter. In these situations, children's rights appear to become hierarchical, with human rights learning falling far below the right to shelter, food and health. Often the accompanying mentality is that, in enduring armed conflicts, it is enough just to keep children from dying; post- conflict is the time to consider education and learning (Boothby et al. 2006).

Despite the current lack of informal or formal human rights learning in conflict situations, many humanitarian organizations continue to report the benefits of human rights education and are trying to promote it as a "protective factor … as the provision of information that can help children contribute to their own protection" (World Vision 2004, p.24). Similarly, the Swedish humanitarian aid group indicates that situations of emergency and conflict are prime times to promote rights in and through education, and views this approach as constituting a fundamental operational principle in conflict situations (SIDA 2002). While these reports indicate and establish the need for human rights education, few give any indication of how to achieve this objective or indicate suitable methods other than through the formal educational curriculum. In a protracted war such as the one in northern Uganda, girls have often been denied the right to a formal

education and, consequently, education in human rights. As this rights denial has been in place for over twenty-two years, more than a generation of girls has gone without formal human rights education. Access to education during situations of emergency and conflict raises legitimate concerns regarding gathering girls in one location, making them potential targets for violence (UNESCO 2005).

Given the conflict, the ability to receive formal or informal education in northern Uganda is limited, especially for girls. The current human rights curriculum is delivered through the school system: therefore, access has been affected by school closures. For girls who escape from the bush and return to the IDP camps this situation is further worsened. Demobilized girls are placed in rehabilitation camps (Lancaster et al. 2005). According to humanitarian organizations based in northern Uganda, these camps focus on limited life skills training with some psychosocial and health support, and not on human rights education or learning (World Vision 2004).

Therefore, this feminist-based research study focuses on human rights learning and education, and, in particular, the experiences of girls who have been "taken" during conflict in the Ugandan context. The research aims to uncover the girls' experiences and to explore this in relation to the significance of human rights education/learning in a situation of armed civil conflict in northern Uganda. From here, the study aims to develop meaningful and innovative methodologies for human rights education, leading to better understanding and improvement of the dissemination, promotion, and protection of human rights through human rights education.

The questions posed by this study are:

1. What is the situation in Uganda in relation to a) historical/current political context and b) human rights education?
2. Which human rights education/learning models and practical tools have been developed so far?
3. What are the experiences of girls living in northern Uganda who participated in the study?
4. Given the results of questions two and three, which perspectives and methods are best suited to human rights education/learning in a situation of armed civil conflict in northern Uganda?

Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapter Two provides a socio-historical backdrop of Uganda's history and current conditions as a means to contextualize the research. This chapter is divided into five sections: a brief descriptive and demographic overview is followed by pre-colonial, colonial, and current perspectives with particular attention given to the gender and tribal nature of the current violent conflict in the north. Finally, it offers the present status of education and human rights learning in Uganda.

Chapter Three holds the theoretical context for the study. It begins with a theoretical overview of African feminism and consideration of the literature pertaining to a gender based understanding of war and its impact on women, particularly in the context of Africa. Next, it focuses on understanding the theory behind the development of human rights education. The literature is applied to suggest that human rights education can be an appropriate way to affect a culture's understanding, empowerment,

and upholding of human rights and responsibilities. In this chapter, particular attention is given to the role of gender and to the imposition of human rights values on human rights learning in a conflict situation.

Chapter Four discusses the research methods used in this study. It describes the feminist research methodology employed and the research methods of descriptive documentary analysis, interviewing, focus groups and art-based inquiry. In this chapter, I describe my own account and unique understanding of art-based inquiry using quilting as a mode of research. It explains why and how the girls from northern Uganda were selected as participants, how the study was conducted, and how the data were analyzed.

Chapter five explores, documents, and presents a cross-reference of nine related international human rights instruments and a descriptive, documentary analysis of seventeen human rights learning tools. These are included to demonstrate which instruments are in place to empower human rights education and, in particular, what documents are available to protect girls in conflict situations. A brief descriptive analysis of existing human rights learning tools is also described here in order to contemplate which ones might, either in entirety or partially, be appropriate to empower girls in northern Uganda.

Chapter Six discusses and presents the findings from the field study conducted in northern Uganda in 2006.

Chapter Seven provides the ethical and methodological findings used to ensure participants were protected during the study.

In Chapter Eight, the understandings gathered in Chapter Six are synthesized with the knowledge gained from the work in Chapter Five. An

alternate, transformative human rights learning framework for use in northern Uganda is proposed based on these findings.

The study is concluded in Chapter Nine, where the original research questions are revisited. This chapter also includes a postscript, epilogue and future recommendations for research.

Summary

In this first chapter I have outlined the impetus for and my resulting interest in the topic of human rights learning. I established the international position which views human rights education as a viable tool of advocacy and empowerment in the protection of human rights. I noted that my curiosity was rooted in the apparent gap and incongruence between policies and practices, which have resulted in a dissonance between what, is reality in the field and what is reported to be in place for the protection of human rights. I demonstrated the path that I traveled methodologically and physically to speak with those most affected in the field: the young girls caught up in a violent war in northern Uganda. I did so to fully appreciate what they understood (and understand) about human rights education, whether they now see it as beneficial and what key components might constitute an ideal model applicable in their context.

In the following chapter, I present the complex, diverse socio-historical context that is the backdrop against which these young girls live their lives. Understanding these circumstances has assisted in my understanding of the

realities of Uganda's human rights culture and, specifically, human rights education.

Chapter Two: Socio-historical Contextual Review

Introduction

Extensive but not exhaustive, this chapter covers a diverse range of material and situates the study within the context of socio-historical processes and structures that have shaped the Ugandan experience. Providing such a review supports an understanding of the complex linkages, contradictions and trajectories that exist between the current circumstances in Uganda, the historical struggles and the influence that these have had on the progress of human rights development and human rights education policies. It also presents a foundational understanding of the research participants' context. The latter has allowed for examination of my potential Western ethnocentric bias and has informed and therefore mitigated some of the potential imposition of interpretations which I held before entering the field. Throughout the study I have been acutely aware of my role as a Westerner, my location and authorship in this study.

This chapter is comprised of five parts. Part one provides a descriptive introduction to the country of Uganda; giving a brief demographic overview. Parts two through four follow with a review of the appropriate sociopolitical history, which is divided into three sections: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial time phases. In each of these sections, particular attention has been paid to understanding the relationships between tribal and northern geo-political matters and the gendered aspects of the context. The fifth part in

this chapter examines the development of human rights and of formal education in Uganda.

Descriptive Orientation to Uganda

Figure 1: Map of Uganda, showing Lira and Gulu, where the 2006 study was conducted (Legget 2001).

Uganda is a relatively small, independent, land locked country located in Eastern Africa. It sits astride the equator, bordered to its east by Kenya, to

the south by Tanzania and Rwanda, on the west by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly known as Zaire), and on its northern border by Sudan. Uganda covers an area of approximately 236,040 square kilometers, of which 36, 330 square kilometers are covered by water. In addition to Lake Victoria, which includes the greatest part of the water in Uganda, there are numerous other large lakes, some of which include Lakes Albert, Edward, George and Bisina. The Nile River, which has its source in Uganda, traverses the entire country and divides the south of the country from the north. The terrain in Uganda is primarily plateau, rimmed by volcanic mountains that generate rich, fertile soils (Eichstaedt 2008; Gakwandi 1999; Leggett 2001).

Given Uganda's tropical climate and substantial natural resources — including fertile soils, regular rainfall and mineral deposits— agriculture is the most important sector of its economy. According to 2005 Ugandan government statistics, 21.57% of the land is arable and permanent crops cover 8.92% (Leggett 2001). Estimates suggest that 80% of the work force is currently employed in this sector (Leggett 2001); coffee is the primary crop export. Other products produced by Uganda's agricultural market are: tea, cotton, tobacco, cassava, potatoes, corn, millet, pulses, goat meat and poultry.

Those who live in the regions north of the Nile River have fewer natural resources and harsher climates to contend with. In this part of Uganda, the majority of the people are not able to depend solely on cultivation and agricultural production. The people living here, in particular the Karamajong, practice mobile livestock herding and seasonal cultivation, resulting in a semi-nomadic lifestyle. This lifestyle often results in disputes

and conflict in the northern region, as the nomadic Karamajong are stereotypically viewed as cattle rustlers, gun traders, and abductors of young women. Some evidence was found that supports these accusations, but the extent of these activities are unclear (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development 2003). The Karamajong refute these claims indicating that they do only what must be done to protect their lifestyle in order to survive, and only own guns in order to ensure and protect grazing land for their animals from predators (situational analysis 2005).

According to the same 2003 government report mentioned above, northern Uganda occupies the largest region in the country, covering 35% of its total land surface, followed by the central (25%), western (23%) and eastern (16%) regions. It was the least populated region in 2002, with an estimated population of 5.4 million. This results in many unused or underutilized areas of land, compared to other parts of the country where pressure for land has been escalating and has resulted in the fragmentation of land tracts and increased land conflicts (Lunyiigo 2007).

The population of Uganda, according to the Ugandan census report for 2007, is estimated to be at 30.7 million. This is projected to double by 2025. Approximately half of the population is below fifteen years of age, 47% between fifteen and sixty-five years, and only 3% aged sixty-five or older. According to the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (2003, p.1), "A fifth of the population is below five years [of age]…a quarter is aged six to twelve years … another third is aged ten to twenty-four years". Infant mortality rates are currently 67.22 deaths of infants under one year per every 1,000 live births. As a comparison, Canada's infant mortality rate is 5.05

(Human Resources and Skills Development Canada 2009, p. 3). The maternal mortality rate in Uganda is 505 per every 100, 000 live births. The current total fertility rate is 6.84 children born per woman (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development 2003, p.1). There is considerable regional disparity of life expectancy between northern Uganda and the south/central areas (Finnstrom 2008; The Protection Project 2002).

Table 1: Life expectancy differences between northern and southern Uganda

	North	**South/Central**	**Difference**
Total population	43.7 years	51.73 years	8.03 years
Males	42.59 years	50.78 years	8.19 years
Females	44.17 years	52.73 years	8.56 years

Despite having lower population numbers in total, the north is still threatened by high and unprecedented population growth rates, which surpass what is happening in the rest of the country. Preliminary results from the Ugandan 2000 census indicate that the average population growth rate for the north is 4.65 per annum, which is far above the 2.7 % (south/central), 3.5 % (eastern), and 2.9 % per annum in the western region. Such high growth rates are viewed as potentially damaging to the development process and are proposed as a catalyst for the increased poverty per household in northern Uganda (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development 2003, p.1).

The poverty rate overall in Uganda declined rapidly between 1992 and 2000, going from 56% to 35%. Poverty levels have not fallen at the same pace

regionally, and have remained high in northern Uganda. The proportion of people in the region unable to meet their basic consumption needs declined from 72% in 1992/93 to 66% in 1999/00, although urban dwellers experienced a much faster poverty decline from 55% to 31% within the same period. In the northern region, between 1997 and 2000, poverty rose from 60% to 66%, implying that 2 out of 3 persons are poor. Almost half (44.3%) of the poorest 20% of people in Uganda live in northern Uganda (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development 2003, p.6).

To add to the complex situation, Uganda is home to many refugees who have fled conflicts in nearby countries (Enloe 2000). These people are primarily from Sudan (209,860 people), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (27,560 people) and Rwanda (19,710 people). In addition to this large "external" refugee population, between 1.2 and 1.7 million people have been displaced within Uganda and have been forced to move into camps in other regions of the country. Researchers optimistically estimate that 350,000 of these internally displaced persons (IDPs) have now returned to their villages, following the recent peace talks which began in 2006 (Finnstrom 2008; Leggett 2001).

Uganda is said to have ten identifiable major tribal or ethnic groups. According to (Behrend 1999), these ten groups can be divided into two broad linguistic groups: the Bantu-speaking majority, who live primarily in the central, southern and western parts of the country; and the non-Bantu speakers, who occupy the eastern, northern and north-western part of the country. These two groups, are often further sub-divided by anthropologists into Nilotic and Central Sudanic people (Gakwandi 1999).

According to the Protection Project (2002, p.6), 66% of Ugandans identify themselves as Christians (33% of which self-identify as Catholics and 33% as Protestants), 18 % identify as practicing traditional or indigenous beliefs such as animist worshipping, and 16% identify as Muslim. There is broad ethnic and cultural diversity in Uganda; although the population can be split into Bantu-speaking and non-Bantu-speaking, many languages are spoken in this country. English, a colonial implant, still remains the official national language and is taught in grade schools; it is also used in courts of law, by most newspapers, and in some radio broadcasts. The age of political franchise, or right to vote, is eighteen years in Uganda and is officially considered to be a universal right.

The President of Uganda is elected every five years and becomes both Chief of State and Head of the Ugandan government. The President is given the power to appoint a cabinet from among the elected legislators. The President, with legislative approval, appoints judges for both the Court of Appeal and the High Court.

Historical Overview of Uganda

Historical accounts of Africa in general and Uganda specifically were examined for the purposes of this contextual review. It was noted as customary for authors to consider three historical areas of focus: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial (Ayittey 1992; Behrend 1999; Berkeley 2001; Calderisis 2006; Chrétien 2003, Finnstrom 2008; French 2004; Schwab 2001; Tamale 1999) in such reviews. Several of these authors

asserted that if these differing and multiple historical perspectives were not included in a review, there existed greater tendency for researchers to impose a pan-African or a colonial Eurocentric view upon a country (Calderisis 2006; Tamale 1999).

Finnstrom (2008), a cultural anthropologist, emphasized the effect of a Eurocentric colonial view on a country's history. His work suggests that, generally, one of two theorizations occurs. In the first instance it becomes accepted that colonial regimes merely magnified and exploited tribal differences that were already in existence, using "divide and conquer" tactics for their own imperialist benefits (Harlow & Carter 1999). Such representations often label tribal conflicts as "ethnic cleavages" (Chrétien 2003) that later formed the basis for genocides and constant violent conflicts.

This discourse only serves to further perpetuate ethnocentric African stereotypes, similar to those found in the earlier philosophical writings of Hegel. Hegel described Africa as "the unhistorical, undeveloped spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature" (Hegel 1956 p.91). This view is supported by the continual portrayal of Africa as the "dark continent" in the literature and creates little room for alternate explanations or considerations. It also, as indicated by Harlow & Carter (1999), continues the need for a "civilizing mission" in order to bring Africa into the "light" both spiritually and politically. David Livingstone, a legendary nineteenth century African explorer, aptly suggested that the basis for all European missions in Africa was, "Civilization, Christianity, and Commerce" (Harlow & Carter 1999, p.244).

While the terms may be different, there continues to be a residual sentiment from this earlier era, in what we now refer to as the humanitarian intervention projects located in Uganda (Berkeley 2001; Calderisis 2006; Hamad & Frederick & Smart 2003; Harlow & Carter 1999). Derbyshire (2008, p.3) suggests, in reference to Africa, that "once as a colonial project, now a moral playground, the ancient continent remains the object of great power maneuvering". He offers an example of this connection by demonstrating how AIDS relief to Africa from the United States is conditional upon one third of the recipients practicing abstinence and none being involved in prostitution. These policies fit with the moral position of the Bush government (the government in power when I conducted my research) and their right-wing Christian base, not necessarily the current situation or moral position in Africa (Epstein 2008). Epstein, a scientist-researcher working in the AIDS field in Uganda, suggests that this abstinence policy, which is supported by the Museveni government, may be responsible for the recent rise in AIDS after a period of significant decrease. She stresses that HIV rates in Africa are not high because Africans have more sexual partners than people in other regions of the world (research demonstrates that the contrary is true), but rather because Africans are more likely to have concurrent sexual relationships. She proposes that the epidemiological reality, not a subjective moral base, be foundational to an AIDS policy.

Secondly, Finnstrom (2008) proposes that when pre-colonial history is neglected, colonialism forms the starting point of a country's history. When this happens, the history presented is from a paternalistic, imperial, pan-African perspective that promotes a universal hegemony as the determinant

of local traditions and identity. Consequently, an understanding about a country is developed which lacks sociopolitical and geographic nuances and which is built on the authoritative documentation of male, European explorers and adventurers who wrote about the area. The position of women is often missing from these historical narratives: this negation creates misconceptions about women's participation in history. The pivotal roles played by them are left obscured or ignored (Tamale 1999). The roles of women become textually constructed based on patriarchal, Eurocentric impositions, which perpetuate and entrench social roles.

While all historical representations seemed accurate when they were initially documented, they should to be considered from the gendered perspective of the authors who originally gathered the information. Further issues arise when scholars and politicians premise current research and policies on the theories and beliefs of another era without being mindful of the original context (Ayittey 1992). Chrétien (2003, p.38) indicates that there is also a tendency for some to look at history, and in particular African history, in order to evoke a nostalgic attachment with the past. To emphasize this, Chrétien points to how the use of European colonial ethnic ideals can lead to the re-creation of an ideology which may in turn support a "quasi-messianic desire to return to a purified ethnic state". This ideology then becomes the foundation to support ethnic based militia groups, genocide or other tribal based conflicts, as has been evident in Ugandan conflicts (Behrend 1999; Finnstrom 2008).

Ayittey (1992, pp.3-4) offers additional cautions around the use of historical accounts to understand or influence the current climate in Africa.

Ayittey is focused on black neo-colonialism. He points to the way African subjects have been denigrated to stereotypical generalizations and portrayed by European colonizers as, "savages" with "no history, no culture, no civilization, and nothing of value to contribute" prior to their salvation by the 'civilized' conquerors". On the other hand, Ayittey (1992, p.6) also notes the tendency for some African historians, particularly those who are local, to negate their present situation and to become overly focused on the travesties committed during the slave trade and colonization as the sole stem of the present problem. He suggests that when present problems are seen solely as the legacy of the past, it "invariably distorts their perception of current black problems so that they are incapable of making a dispassionate, objective analysis". Ayittey (1992, p.xvii) argues:

> It is naïve for commentators to blame Africa's misery on external factors: African leaders have betrayed both just aspirations of their countrymen and Africa's indigenous political systems, which in no way endorse tyranny.

Chrétien (2003, p.15) summarizes these previous author's dichotomies and recommends that researchers do not negate the history of Africa pre-1885; nor should "the affect of colonial rule be neglected… [or] inspire idyllic nostalgia and intransigent denunciations".

In summary, this historical contextual review attempts to capture an inclusive historical understanding of multiple perspectives to offer a balanced point of view. Uganda's history is multi-faceted and complex and has been prone to oversimplification in the past (Chrétien 2003). In addition, as noted by Tamale (1999, p.3):

> The dialectical relationship between gender, class, ethnicity, religion, imperialism, and neocolonialism is especially pertinent for gender relations in the African context. Any analysis that lacks such a multifocal approach to gender relations in the African context can only be superficial and truncated.

Therefore, in this review, care has been taken to balance the need for a full exploration, while not oversimplifying the topic in order to accommodate this contextual review. As Calderisis (2006, p.3) advises, "Foreigners, including long-term lovers of Africa, need to be careful, even humble, when describing the diverse cultures and countries that make it up".

Chrétien (2003, p.85) has extensively studied the history of the Great Lakes area, including Uganda. He refers to the copious amounts of literature available on the history of the area and offers caution that, "this same textual information is loaded with traps that require careful deciphering". The care he refers to is similar to that previously expressed by other scholars. In some form, they all appear to suggest that researchers considering this topic need to be especially mindful of the author's standpoint, gender and the historiography from which the narrative has emerged (Chrétien 2003; Tamale 1999).

Pre-Colonial Uganda: Indigenous Growth, Slavery and Exploration

The term pre-colonial is used reluctantly in this review, given previously stated concerns that using the term has the potential to locate or reinforce the importance of the colonial time period as a starting place for Uganda's

history. Rather, it has been consciously used to acknowledge the documented, dramatic historical shift brought about by colonialism, and also as a starting place from which to look back at Uganda's significant indigenous pre-colonial history (Chrétien 2003).

In general, the term pre-colonial can be defined as "relating to or being the period of time before colonization of a region or territory" (Houghton Mifflin 2000). Texts related to pre-colonial Africa define pre-colonial as "the time before the European conferences" (Ayittey 1992). These conferences referenced were organized to establish rules governing the European race to stake their land claims in Africa, to avoid the possibility of open conflicts with other European powers, and to formally recognize frontiers (Ayittey 1992; Harlow & Carter 1999; Meredith 2005; Schwab 2001). The conferences were held in Berlin, between November 1884 and February 1885; they were attended by most European powers of the time.

Prior to the apparent "discovery" and uninformed "carving up" of the African continent at these conferences, there exists ample documentation that organized societies had already been in existence for thousands of years. Archeological evidence supports the fact that habitation of Uganda occurred as early as the prehistoric era (Chrétien 2003; Harlow & Carter 1999; Ndagire & Albi 2007). In a recent excavation in the area of Lake Albert, the existence of habitation and village life dating back to the Iron Age was uncovered (Chrétien 2003; Ndagire & Albi 2007). Further evidence suggests that between 500-1000 AD, Bantu people originating from Central Africa and the Congo basin began migrating into the area. Chrétien (2003, p.43) refers to this as the "Bantu expansion period". Other authors speculate that

the Bantu, pressed by increased population pressures, originally migrated into Southern Uganda in search of fertile land and water for their settled agricultural lifestyle (Ndagire & Albi 2007). Chrétien (2003, p.41), using population settlement theories, speculates that this may have been an instrumental period in the creation of an ideological shift that ultimately created the "ethnic cleavage theory". It is often pointed to as the centre of many of the twentieth and twenty-first century's conflicts between the Bantu agriculturalists —primarily in the south and central regions— and the Nilo-Hamitic pastoralists in the north. He suggests that while this migration ideology is part of the story, it must be viewed with some prudence and not be used to explain all of Uganda's current conflicts.

Chrétien's (2003, p.43) extensive research cites the migration of the Bantu-speaking people as a slow spread of people over great periods of time, "each made up of an infinite number of local dynamics, each with its own chronology". He speculates that it was not a mass migration that forced other tribes out overnight and built resentment: on the contrary, the Bantu people hailed from a variety of areas and they slowly assimilated into the Ugandan area over long periods of time with seemingly limited dramatic effect. This early period in Uganda's history is important to explore as it has formed the basis of much of the rationale for understanding current issues. It could be more aptly summarized as a time of population growth based primarily upon migration, the development of collaborative social and political structures, and the availability and challenges of securing natural resources.

By the 14th century, there were five main centralized and independent kingdoms established in the area now encompassing Uganda: Buganda, Bunyoro, Batooro, Ankole and the state of Busoga (Nzita & Miwampa 1993). By the late 16th and 17th centuries, Bunyoro had become the most powerful kingdom. However, by the 18th and 19th century, the Buganda had superseded Bunyoro's power.

During the 16th century, the migration of people, who in colonial times became known as the Acholi and the Luo, settled in the north of what now constitutes contemporary Uganda (Behrend 1999). Atkinson (1984) speculates that they arrived in several waves from southern Sudan to their present territory in the north and Bunyoro.

In considering the social structure of Ugandan society at the time of the great kingdoms, Kasozi et al. (1994, p.17) offers a theoretical foundation for understanding the political/social structures as they existed. These scholars suggest that societies were either organized as "stratified or non-stratified". In stratified structures, the power was distributed vertically through a graded system of status groups or individuals. In non-stratified structures, the power was spread horizontally. These non-stratified structures are also referred to as segmentary structures. Most of the people living in northern and eastern Uganda during this period lived in non-stratified structures (Atkinson 1984). Kasozi et al. (1994) describe how some writers erroneously refer to these structures as "stateless" (Tosh 1978, p.17). Moreover, they propose, "these societies are organized such that the right to use violence was not centralized under a King or hereditary ruling clan but was spread horizontally through the social unit". These structures went

beyond the "limits of family compounds and limited lineages; they combine kinship, exogamy, shared symbols and rules of solidarity" (Chrétien 2003, p.88). Today as then, Ugandans tend to identify themselves in relation to their clan or social identity rather than as Ugandan (Chrétien 2003; Leggett 2001; situational analysis 2005).

Despite the numerous historical texts, there appears to be limited written documentation available regarding the manner in which the kingdoms, chiefdoms or states actually evolved, fused and came to be in specific areas. In addition, few texts were found that explored how rights and responsibilities of people were established and how violations were traditionally managed in tribal kingdoms. Ayittey (1992, p.62), in reviewing historical indigenous systems of government as documented in foreigners' accounts, notes that no written recordings were made of proceedings by those involved. He cautions that the observations available were made by foreigners and therefore often "originates from careless overgeneralizations… whereby Europeans hastily dismissed the indigenous system of government as undemocratic, authoritarian, and primitive". This view is supported by Finnstrom (2008, p.63). However, he does offer a quote from a 1963 Kenyan paper that offers some insight into the rights held by individual Africans during this era:

> In [traditional] African society a person was born politically free and equal and his voice and counsel were heard and respected regardless of the economic wealth he possessed. Even when political leaders appeared to have greater wealth and hold disproportionate political influence over their tribal or clan community, there were traditional checks and balances including sanctions against abuse of power.

No further documentation was found in this review to explain what sanctions were implemented if traditional uses of power were abused. Gakwandi (1999, p.12), a Ugandan native, also identifies a variety of "diverse political institutions" in place during pre-colonial Uganda. He offers limited explanation of the intricacies of these institutions and their responsibilities and power; he generally names the basic structures involved. In the south, Gakwandi (1999, p.12) points to a highly developed centralized system of government based on a monarchical model. In eastern Uganda, "there evolved varying chiefdoms or principalities of various sizes". Between the Iteso and the Karamojong, the political and military activity revolved around a system of elder councils. Village heads called "Nalundiho" managed the remaining smaller principalities in this area. In the north, the people were organized in small chiefdoms (Behrend 1999; Finnstom 2008; Gakwandi 1999).

Tamale (1999) reports that those reading the majority of texts about pre-colonial Uganda could assume that politics at the time were the exclusive domain of men. She suggests that these texts are most likely based on misunderstandings and oversimplified cultural evaluations of gender roles and premised upon a patriarchal, dichotomist domestic/public divide. Tamale identified this divide as artificial and acknowledges the fluidity that existed between the private and public worlds inhabited by women. She suggests that pre-colonial women had multiple responsibilities in both domains and were not confined. Tamale (1999, p.5) continues by noting that male–authored, andocentric, pre-colonial historical texts tend to reduce

women to mere chattels who were viewed as “material rewards” and signifiers of a male’s wealth and power. Consequently Tamale (1999, p.5) suggests that “the capturing of women and girls in warfare became linked to sociopolitical and economic growth of pre-colonial African societies”. The construction of this gender-based link between warfare, power, and acquisition of women remains entrenched in the current conflict in Uganda (Honwana 2006; Keitetsi 2004; Mazurana et al. 2002).

In pre-colonial Uganda, women held several powerful roles (Jjuuko 1993; Burnett et al. 2007). Tamale (1999) describes the role that Luo women living in northern Uganda had as “divine-mediators,” known locally as “ajoka” (Tosh 1978). This role was only given to specific women, expecting that they would operate as a link between the living and ancestral spirits. This function carried considerable power and influence, as the women received transmissions from spiritual messengers (Behrend 1999; Tamale 1999; Tosh 1978). This capacity to harness spiritual power allowed them to “cure sickness, mental disorders, to identify witches, and to determine auspicious moments for dangerous undertakings like hunting, cattle raiding and long journeys” (Tosh 1978 p.68). Two of the most widely known ajokas were Angwen of Ngai, who lived around the 1800’s, and Alice Auma Lakwena. Lakwena later founded and led the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM), a predecessor to the current Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) (Eichstaedt 2009).

During this period, other women were also celebrated as war heroes and leaders, including Nyabingo of Kigezi, Nambi of Buganda, Nyangi of Bunyoro-Kitara and Bagaya of Toro. As noted by Tamale (1999), their names

do not appear in historical accounts and they are known only through oral legends and traditions.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, there was limited contact with foreigners. However, Uganda, like much of the African continent, developed meaningful intellectual, cultural and historical accomplishments in isolation from the rest of the world (Ayittey 1999). Little is known about these activities; possibly, because written language was not universal on the continent and history was generally recorded mentally and transmitted through "griots" (elders). These griots were responsible for holding and transmitting knowledge about ancestral lineage, geographical data, customs, beliefs, events, names, dates, and legends from generation to generation (Tobin & Dobard 2000).

Tobin and Dobard (2000) have studied and written about alternate methods that Africans had to record their history. Of particular interest to this study, which utilized quilting as one method for data collection, is their book on the historical role played by encoded messages within African textiles and quilt patterns. Tobin & Dobard (2000, p.37) studied how particular quilting designs were set within quilts to be used as maps by African slaves to assist them in navigating their escape through the Underground Railway in North America in the 1800s. The authors also point to the common African use of "specially designed mnemonic devices, encoded staffs, stools, memory boards, sculpture and textiles as a means to chronicle the history of people".

In summary, the texts reviewed with regards to pre-colonial Uganda illustrate that Uganda has been populated for thousands of years and had a

vibrant history before that which was documented by the European/foreign explorers, traders, and missionaries (Chrétien 2003; Finnstrom 2008; Ndagire & Albi 2007; Nzita & Miwampa 1993). Given the limited textual recording, much of what is known about this history is based on the ethnocentric, andocentric narratives of missionaries and explorers (Baker 1866 reprinted 2005; Gakwandi 1999; Hall 1974; Ondaatje 1998). There is evidence, both socially and politically, that the area now called Uganda was originally based on a non-stratified political and social system which supported horizontal tribal/clan structures of power and control (Gakwandi 1999; Kasozi et al. 1994). These structures appear to be the basis of a tribal identity that created communal laws and collective social values. These same tribal/clan structures at times also resulted in inter-tribal conflict. This inter-tribal conflict has often been used as the basis of a continuing ethnic cleavage ideology and used to give rationale for current conflicts on all sides (Chrétien 2003). Capturing members from other tribes and holding them as slaves existed pre-colonially. The impact of the European slave trade was vastly different and has had long-term effects on both the political and social structures in Uganda (Behrend 1999; Schwab 2001; French 2004). The decimation of population, political and social structures, and power destabilization opened the pathway and thus became the "precursor to colonization" (Baker 1866, reprinted 2005).

Colonial Encounters: The Great Power Maneuvering

In order to consider Uganda from a colonial perspective, it is useful to operationally define what is meant by the term “colonialism”. Gurukkal (2002, p.1) suggests the following:

> Colonialism is a term that critically refers to the political ideologies, which legitimated the modern invasion, occupation and exploitation of inhabited lands by overwhelming outside military powers. For the local populations, it implied the forceful elimination of resistance, the imposition of alien rules, and the parasitic utilization of natural resources including manpower… It was meant to counter the positive connotations attached to the use of "colonization" —understood as a legitimate "civilizing process" often reinforced by a religious agenda—by calling attention to its actual economic motivations and denouncing its ruthless oppression.

Uganda was largely unknown in the West or Europe prior to the colonial period (1730-1880). What was known was often mythologized and Uganda was referred to as either the “Mountains of the Moon, a country that towered over lakes from which the Nile somehow sprung” (Chrétien 2003) or as “the dark continent…upon which a veil must be thrown over many scenes of brutality” (Baker 1866, reprinted 2005). During the Berlin conferences of 1884 and 1885, Africa was “minutely, almost effortlessly diced and distributed to European nations while its own concerns were given not a moment’s thought” (Schwab 2001, p.15). At these conferences, the securing of trade routes via rivers, ridges or mountains was the primary interest of the Europeans. This focus was reflected in the demarcation boundaries that were

drawn up in a seemingly arbitrary manner as suggested by Meredith (2005, p.1):

> Using inaccurate maps, large areas were described as terra incognito. When marking out boundaries of new territories, European negotiators frequently resorted to drawing straight lines on the map, taking little or no account of the myriad of traditional monarchies, chiefdoms and other African societies that existed on the ground…. In all, new boundaries cut through some 190-culture groups. In other cases, Europe's new colonial territories enclosed hundreds of diverse and independent groups, with no common history, culture, language or religion.

In 1885, Eastern Africa was determined to be under the control of both German and British influence (Harlow & Carter 1999; Gakwandi 1999). After many negotiations and the formation of the country's respective trading companies (Imperial British East African Company and the German East Africa Company), an Anglo-German agreement was signed in 1890 declaring Uganda to be solely under British influence. In 1894, Uganda was officially recognized and became a British Protectorate. The term protectorate is perhaps best described by the United States of America, Federal Research Library of Congress (2007, p.7) as a:

> Political entity (a sovereign state or less developed native polity, such as a chieftainship or feudal princely state) that formally agrees by treaty to enter into an unequal relationship with another, stronger state, called the protector, which engages to protect it (diplomatically or, if needed, militarily) against third parties, in exchange for which the protectorate usually accepts specified obligations, which may vary greatly, depending on the real nature of their relationship.

At the time of colonization, the British Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, commented, “We have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that we never knew exactly where they were” (Meredith 2005, p.2).

The literature suggests that Uganda experienced multiple changes under the colonial rule of the British. While much has been documented about the negative impacts of colonialism, Calderisis (2006, p.24) encourages a balanced perspective suggesting that:

> The colonial experience also had positive effects that Africans are reluctant to acknowledge. Without the new technologies, habits, ideas, and education introduced by foreigners, the continent would have started later on the path toward modernization.

In the 1830's, southern Egypt begun to move into an exploration of southern Sudan and northern Uganda. The attraction for Egypt to this area was initially ivory, which was in high demand for use in piano keys, billiard balls and cutlery handles (Baker 1866, reprinted 2005). Then, in 1850, the first European explorers begin to arrive in the area. John Speck (1827-1864), an officer in the British Indian army, made three explorations to Africa. His primary purpose in Uganda was to seek the source of the Nile River (Harrison 1984). Francis Burton (1821-1890), another British explorer, followed in 1854 (Ondaatje 1998). David Livingston (1813-1873), a doctor and missionary, was next. He was followed by Henry Stanley (1841-1904), an American journalist and explorer of Welsh descent (Chrétien 2003; Hall 1974). These explorers documented their findings and observations. These published narratives have come to form much of what is known of Uganda at

the time and, for some, still constitutes the basic understanding of Uganda today (Chrétien 2003). In his 1866 book (reprinted 2005, p.4), Baker held the popular view that "the explorer was the precursor of the colonist; and the colonist was the human instrument by which the great work must be constructed-that greatest and most difficult of all undertakings-the civilization of the world". This pre-colonial sentiment became the precursor for the colonization of Uganda, which then followed.

Along with adventure and ivory, another commodity sought by Arab traders during this period was slaves. African slaves were taken to Egypt and were also shipped to Arabia and the Arab Gulf. In the early 1860's, the abuses committed by the slave traders were noted in the writings of Nile explorer Samuel Baker (1813-1873), a Scottish medical missionary. Baker (1866, reprinted 2005, p.4) referred to the slave traders as "savage men" and saw it as his responsibility to "erase the stain from disfigured human nature, and thus open the path now closed to civilization and missionary enterprise". Baker's campaigning along with others ultimately led to an attempt by Khedive Ismail and the Egyptian Government to establish administrative control over the slave trade in the area and to extinguish slavery.

During this period, Baker and, later, Colonel Gordon (1833-1885), were appointed as Governors of the area. These governors began to establish military stations to enforce Egyptian control (Baker 1866, reprinted 2005). The utilization of Sudanese troops, Egyptian officers, and European commanders represented the first Imperial contact with an area that had virtually no previous contact with the outside world. In the early 1880's, the rise of fundamentalist Islamic leader, the self proclaimed Mahdi, ultimately

led to the collapse of Egyptian power in the Sudan. In 1885, Khartoum fell and Colonel Gordon was killed. The Ugandan portion of the Upper Nile, part of the Sudanese province of Equatoria, remained under the control of Emin Pasha (1917-1927), who left the area in 1889 (Baker 1866, reprinted 2005; Behrend 1999).

In 1877, the first Protestant missionaries began to arrive in the area, followed by the Roman Catholics in 1879 (Gakwandi 1999; Gifford 1995; Hastings 1996). Ayittey (1999) quotes a comment made by the late President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, who summarized how some have reflected upon the arrival of missionaries to the area:

> When the missionaries arrived, Africans had the land and the missionaries had the bible. They taught us to pray with our eyes closed. When we opened them, they had the land and we had the bible.

The slave trade begun by the Arab slave traders continued and was dramatically increased by the arrival of European and Western slave traders (French 2004; Heuman & Walvin 2003). French (2004, p.21) notes that while it is often the habit of Europeans to point to the undeniable fact that the slave trade was already in existence long before “the white man set foot on the continent”, French (2004, p.21) concludes that it is misguided to make a direct comparison between “the age–old institution of African based slavery, in which captives were typically absorbed and assimilated into a similar culture that captured them” and the mass industrial-scale capture, death, transport and bondage to the Americas of millions of Africans.

To illustrate the differences, Behrend (1999, p.39), in his research on the war in northern Uganda, explains how the Acholi in pre-colonial times had a name for the raiding of women and cattle: "lweny lapir". This type of raid referred to a group of warriors setting out in a pillaging party and was seen as quite distinguishable from a retaliatory or aggressive attack, which they referred to as "lweny kula kwar". According to Behrend (1999, p.39), lweny lapir was what might be considered "a regular phenomenon of normal life… like hunting, war as raiding took place more or less regularly at the beginning of every dry season" and was an accepted part of life.

This is vastly different from the repercussions of European- and Western-led slavery on the African continent. Schwab (2001, p.13) identifies how the "robbing of Africa of its best and brightest, its farmers and workers, brought about acute economic stagnation…. Africa had an arduous time recovering from the economic vacuum formed as its people were mercilessly removed from their communities". Schwab (2001) points out that the political and psychological damage of slavery equaled or surpassed its economic devastation.

Other scholars agree with Schwab (2001), suggesting that the European slave trade was more than responsible for the decimation of a continent of people. It also established the dominant role of the West in Africa (French 2004; Heuman & Walvin 2003). This set in motion what Schwab (2001, p.14) refers to as "the beginning of the destruction of a culture once united by its group or collective notion". Along these same lines, French (2004, p.23) describes the slave trade as:

> Wiping out the intricate and inherently conservative social values that prevailed on society after another. In the space of a generation, or even less in many instances, the authority of king or chief, and the respect for communal laws and customs that kept people finely tuned with their local environment over centuries, was destroyed.

Tribes and tribal chiefs were set in competition for the economic benefits of the slave trade. Behrend (1999) argues that during the height of slavery it can be assumed that wars in northern Uganda increased as slaves were traded for rifles. While it is well documented that the Acholi were themselves initially victims of slave traders, they also played a role as slave hunters.

The current President and Prime Minister of Uganda, Museveni, is quoted in Berkeley (2001, p.226) as saying:

> I have never blamed the whites for colonizing Africa. I have never blamed the whites for taking slaves. If you are stupid you should be taken a slave.

This opinion, while it was in reference to historical slavery, remains reflective of the current Ugandan government's ideology with regards to the northern conflict. The ramifications of the European slave trade continue to affect Uganda and, to some extent, the current political ideologies. With this in mind, it is estimated that 25,000 children have been taken since 1986 and used as slaves by rebels with limited intervention by the current Ugandan government (Human Rights Watch et. al. 2002).

The negative aspects of colonialism tend to be discussed in the literature. Initially, under colonial rule, there was an influx of British soldiers who were perceived by the people as "a new wave of intruders, adding to the

missionaries and Zanzibar's Arab-Swahili people" (Chrétien 2003). In 1900, a new British colonial commissioner was appointed to Uganda. Sir Harry Johnston was given orders by Britain to establish an efficient administration and to levy taxes as quickly as possible. This was to assist in paying for the transportation of the thousands of British troops sent from India to quell the various pockets of resistance in the area. Johnston developed the Buganda Agreement of 1900 (Lunyiigo 2007) and imposed a tax on huts and guns, and designated the Buganda chiefs from the southern part of Uganda as the tax collectors. The British administrators went on to sign less generous treaties with the other Ugandan kingdoms, creating a tribal rift (Toror in 1900, Ankole in 1901, and Bunyoro in 1933). With the exception of Buganda, no other kingdom was provided with large-scale private land tenures. Some of the smaller chiefdoms of Busogo were ignored altogether, as if they did not even exist (Behrend 1999).

The consequences of the Buganda agreement continue to exist. As illustrated in a recent book by Ugandan professor Samwiri Lwango Lunyiigo (2007), by 1900, when the Buganda Agreement was signed between Sir Harry Johnston and the regents of young Kabaka Daudi Chwa, the Kabaka was a custodian of all the land. He argues that the agreement only divided communal land for the Kabaka as an individual, his chiefs, and the British Crown, leaving the majority of the people without land. The author adds that since then, the land has been transferred to fewer and fewer people who do not use it to produce but, instead, evict the peasant users. He suggests that redress of this issue is still needed, especially for the bakopi (peasants) before further conflict ensues (Lunyiigo 2007).

Through this agreement, the Buganda became the British-paid administrators over their recently conquered neighbours. As local tax collectors and labour organizers, they moved into such areas as Kigezi, Mbale, and Bunyoro (Lunyiigo 2007). This sub-imperialism and Ganda cultural chauvinism was not accepted by those affected. This was in part because the Buganda insisted on the exclusive use of their language, Luganda. The Buganda also encouraged and engaged in mission work, attempting to convert locals to their form of Christianity or Islam (Lunyiigo 2007). In some areas, the resulting backlash aided the efforts of religious rivals. For example, the Catholic missionaries won converts in areas where oppressive rule was identified with a Protestant Buganda chief (Gifford 1998; Lunyiigo 2007). The British continued their focus on moralizing religious objectives, the racial division of the kingdoms, and financial frugality (Chrétien 2003). As Meredith (2007, p.154) reports, at the outset of colonial rule there existed “a mosaic of lineage groups, clans, villages, chiefdoms, kingdoms and empires were formed often with shifting and indeterminate frontiers and loose allegiances. Identities and languages shaded into one another…”. During colonial rule, the imperialists set out to classify the tribes and sort them into areas that could be plotted on a map. Meredith (2007, p.154) proposes that this was because the “colonialist administrators wanted recognizable units they could control”. In some cases, Meredith (2007) supports the assertions of Behrend (1999) and suggests that the colonialists’ imposition of tribal names to groups who were not previously ethnically connected, such as the Acholi in the north, led to the formation of new ethnic groups based on tribal areas instead of ethnicity or cultural units.

Missionaries and explorers also played a role in this process by attempting to document local customs and traditions and by compiling “tribal histories” that facilitated the spread of “created ethnic identities” (Finnstrom 2008; Meredith 2007). In addition, once the missionaries began to set up schooling, they perpetuated these “new tribal identities” by legitimizing them in the curriculum and languages that they offered (Behrend 1999).

The people of Bunyoro were particularly aggrieved by the colonial oppression. They had fought the Buganda and the British. They had a substantial section of their heartland annexed to Buganda as the "lost counties" and then had the Buganda administrators issue orders, collect taxes, and force unpaid labour upon them (Lunyiigo 2007). Finally, in 1907, the Bunyoro rose in a rebellion called nyangire, or "refusing," and succeeded in forcing the Buganda sub-imperial agents to withdraw (Lunyiigo 2007). In northern Uganda, the colonialists attempted to “pacify” the Acholi people (Behrend 1999). The Acholi, who pre-colonially were made up of multiple Nilo-Hamitic tribes, did not exist collectively as Acholi until, “the ethnonym came into usage during the colonial period” (Behrend 1999, p.14).

In order to subdue this area, the colonialists began to disarm the Acholi and insist that all of their firearms be registered. They promised them that they could keep their weapons if they registered them. However, Behrend (1999) implies that the weapons were publicly burned once revealed. Reports located from that time period indicate that “the chiefs of Gondoroko and Gulu had almost 1500 weapons in their possession” (Behrend 1999, p.17). Despite this, it was not until 1913 that the Acholi were finally fully pacified by the colonialists. Only the Acholi who agreed to work

for the colonial administration were able to keep their weapons. To compensate for the decimation of their social and political structures, the newly formed Acholi ethnic group began to compete with other ethnic groups in the north. In doing so, Behrend (1999, p.18) suggests they participated in "a complex process… in which ethnicity actualized itself more and more… [T]he Acholi increasingly objectified their way of life, expressed in the invention of ethnicity, traditions of their own, and an ethnic history". In 1944, according to Behrend (1999), this invention of a cultural unit became a reality and the "Acholi Association" was formed. By 1950, the first texts in Acholi were printed.

Despite their conformation to the oppressive colonial classification, the Acholi remained largely a northern labour pool for the colonial administrators, without power or prestige, while the Buganda in the south remained the well-compensated bureaucrats. During the Second World War, the British administration started to recruit soldiers and police from the north and formed the African Rifles Unit (Mazrui 1975). Finnstrom (2008) quoting Hansen (1977, p.76), suggests that, "according to the British, these different Sudanic and Nilotic groups were most suitable for army service, due to their inherited warlike traditions". It is at this juncture that the Acholi became constructed in the scholarly discourse as war-loving "warriors" in relation to the peaceful and more "intelligent" Bantu in the south (Behrend 1999). This stereotypical reductionist discourse continues to impact the current discourse about the conflict in northern Uganda and the southern government's response to it, despite the concept that, as Finnstrom (2008, p.2) notes, "it does not mirror the complexity of the actual political process".

Meanwhile, in 1901, the completion of the Uganda Railway from the coast at Mombassa to the Lake Victoria port of Kisumu caused colonial authorities to encourage the growth of cash crops to help pay the railroad's operating costs. The British introduction of cash crops led to the further marginalization of women in Uganda: women were excluded from paid employment and thus became more subordinate to their male partners (Tamale 1999). Women were still expected to perform unpaid productive labour by engaging in agriculture and becoming the primary producers. While women in pre-colonial Uganda often held powerful positions, they became more marginalized during and after colonialism (Tamale 1999). Slavery had served to entrench the notion of women as property or chattel. This situation became further galvanized during the introduction of "colonial capitalism." It essentially down-graded women's work and enforced a hierarchical gender division between public/private works, with greater value placed upon the public work of men.

Another result of the railroad construction was the 1902 decision to transfer the eastern section of the Uganda Protectorate to the Kenya colony, then called the East Africa Protectorate, to keep the entire railroad line under one local colonial administration (Miller 1977). The railroad experienced cost overruns in Kenya, so the British decided to justify these expenses and pay its operating costs by introducing large-scale European settlements in a vast tract of land that became a center of cash-crop agriculture known as the "White Highlands" (Chrétien 2003, p.246). Miller (1977) suggests that the railway, called, "The Lunatic Line" by its detractors, was in reality a significant logistical achievement that became strategically and economically

vital for Uganda. It was used in the suppression of slavery and in the First World War campaign. The railway also allowed heavy equipment to be transported far inland with relative ease: until that time, the main form of transportation in the interior was ox-drawn wagon. The railway allowed coffee and tea to be exported and encouraged colonial settlement and other types of commerce.

Buganda, with its strategic location adjacent to Lake Victoria, also reaped the benefits of cotton growing. The advantages of this crop were quickly recognized by the Buganda chiefs, who had newly acquired freehold estates (which came to be known as mailo land because they were measured in square miles). By 1915, the value of cotton exports climbed and Britain was able to end its subsidy of colonial administration in Uganda (Lunyiigo 2007).

During this historical period, as the complexity of economic, political, and social changes occurred, there were also significant outbreaks of diseases which created crisis for both humans and animals. Chrétien (2003, p.221) speculates that many of these diseases were the result "of an opening up… begun by traders' caravans" and suggests that catastrophic repercussions and traumas are rarely acknowledged in historical colonial accounts of the area. In 1891, there was a rinderpest epidemic (called "the great sleep") which originated in Ethiopia and decimated thousands of cattle across the Great Lakes area. This disease resulted in a concentration of cattle in the hands of the most powerful. Cattle represented power and could be used to secure significant "bride prices" and thereby ensure politically advantageous unions. In 1892, a small pox epidemic killed thousands and decimated several kingdoms. Between 1893 and 1897, waves of migratory locusts devastated

crops, resulting in famine. Early in the twentieth century, African trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) killed more than 20,000 Ugandans (Chrétien 2003). Venereal diseases later became prevalent along trade routes, a precursor of the massive two-decades-old HIV/AIDS epidemic that would follow and which has killed more than 20 million people in Africa to date (Farmer 2005); this same has left more than 15% of Uganda's children orphaned (Government of Uganda & The Uganda AIDS Commission 2002). Between 1916 and 1917, famines killed thousands of humans and animals. Chrétien (2003, p.222) speculates that "the population did not fully rebound to 1880 levels until 1950".

In 1964, Uganda became independent from British colonial power. The first Prime Minister, Milton Obote, came into power and overthrew the King of Buganda. The ending of the colonial era led Uganda into "four difficult decades of civil unrest and economic turmoil" (Government of Uganda & the Uganda AIDS Commission 2002, p.9).

In summary, the colonial period in Uganda's history was a time of ethnic division, classification, and further marginalization of women. First, the European powers at the Berlin conferences caused more than forty distinct ethnic groups to merge together to form what is now contemporary Uganda. Later, colonial powers imposed tribal names and identities on groups who were not ethnically connected in order to better control the populations. These identities were adopted and later actualized into new tribal units. This period in Uganda's history was also one of great power and economic division. The Buganda in the south, as sub-imperialists, prospered and were given land, resources and political power under colonial rule. For

other groups, particularly in the north, it was a period of political and social decimation and physical destruction. These circumstances set the stage for a post-colonial period of violence and counter violence. Whoever was in power captured the country's wealth and had the ability to take revenge against other ethnic groups (Behrend 1999; Schwab 2001).

Post-colonial Legacies: Political Instability and Increasing War

This section views Uganda from a post-colonial socio-historical perspective and is largely based upon Gurukkal's (2002, p.1) definition of post-colonial:

> Post-colonialism loosely designates a set of theoretical approaches, which focus on the direct effects, and aftermaths of colonization. It also represents an attempt at transcending the historical definition of its primary object of study toward an extension of the historic and political notion of "colonizing" to other forms of human exploitation, normalization, repression and dependency. Post-colonialism forms a composite but powerful intellectual and critical movement, which renews the perception and understanding of modern history, cultural studies, literary criticism, and political economy.

Shortly after Uganda achieved its independence from Britain in 1962, it entered a period of civil war. This period is best described by Dicklitch & Lwanga (2003, p.488) as a time of "political instability, politicized ethnicity, and authoritarian rule". Milton Obote, a Lango from the north, became the first president of Uganda from 1962-1971 and formed a coalition government (Meredith 2005). He recruited the majority of his military forces from the north, thereby perpetuating the warrior stereotype begun by the British.

Despite Obote's alleged "anti-tribal policies," ethnicity continued to polarize the people of the north and south. Southern Buganda, once privileged under colonial rule, now became disadvantaged as the northerner Obote abolished their kingdom (Behrend 1999). Idi Amin Dada, as head of Obote's army, ransacked the Buganda palace and killed several hundred Bugandans (Meredith 2005). In 1966, Obote suspended the 1962 constitution, published a new constitution and installed himself as the executive president of a united state (Meredith 2005).

Waiting for Obote to leave Uganda to attend a Commonwealth conference in 1971, Idi Amin Dada (from henceforth referred to as Amin) seized power from Obote and ran a violent military dictatorship from 1971 to 1979. Amin, originating from western Uganda, was able to take the government by coup d'état with minimal military resistance. Despite initial support, Amin was not secure in his new position. In an effort to seek out those who he perceived might be against him, Amin "organized death squads to hunt down and kill scores of army and police officers he suspected of opposing him" (Meredith 2005, p.234). This resulted in the deaths of approximately half a million Acholi and Langi from the north (Behrend 1999). Many of their bodies were dumped in mass sites at a national park called Kibale. Amin's rule of force made Uganda internationally notorious for killings, disappearances, and torture, which resulted in the dwindling of Amin's international popularity (Tomasevski 1999).

It was not until his mass expulsion of Uganda's 50,000 Asians (mostly Indians of Gujarati origin), allowing them only ninety days to leave the country, that "vehement foreign and international protest was provoked"

(Tomasevski 1999, p.4). Asians who remained were deported from the cities to the countryside; most were granted asylum in the United Kingdom (Meredith 2005).

In 1979, after twelve attempted coup d'états, Amin was ousted from power through a Tanzanian military intervention (Tomasevski 1999). In 1980, Milton Obote came back into power and served until 1985. During these turbulent and violent years, Yoweri Museveni formed the guerrilla force, the National Resistance Army (NRA). After five years of guerrilla fighting, Museveni won government power in 1986, a position he continues to hold (Berkeley 2001). Despite his use of child soldiers and alleged commitment of atrocities during the early 1980's (Keitetsi 2004), Museveni has managed to secure broad international support, in particular from the former President of the United States, Bill Clinton. He has been described by some in the West as "one of the greatest African leaders" (Cook 2007, p.56). Keitetsi (2004), a former child soldier who was involuntarily recruited into Museveni's militia, has documented the atrocities that were committed under Museveni and which led to the civil war which ultimately resulted in the overthrow of Obote. This period in Uganda's history is aptly described by Ugandan historian Phares Mutibwa (1992, p.117) as an "ethno-religious hemorrhaging of civil society". An Amnesty Commission report (2004-2005) indicates that, currently, there are twenty-seven rebel groups operating in Uganda who are on the "forgivers" or "amnesty list" covered under the Amnesty Act (2000).

From the beginning of Museveni's regime, northern Uganda has been involved in rebellion and violent civil war in the north districts of Gulu,

Kitgum, Pader, Lira, Kotido, Arua and Yumbe. According to the situational analysis (2005) and confirmed by Behrend (1999), Human Rights Watch et al. (2002), and the International Crisis Group (2004), the war is in actuality three conflicts woven into one. On the one hand, there is the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), currently led by Joseph Kony and formerly by Alice Lakwena (Behrend 1999). The LRA are allegedly fighting to correct perceived injustices against the Acholi ethnic group by taking on the current Ugandan government, the Ugandan Peoples Defense Force (UPDF) (formerly known as Museveni's guerrilla group) and the National Resistance Army (NRA) in a retaliatory war (Behrend 1999). It is documented that in the late 1980's and early 1990's, "Museveni's troops had committed many crimes against Acholi civilians, and the Ugandan soldiers had stolen with impunity from them" (Cook 2007, p.106). Second, there is the need to settle grievances held by civilians, against the current Ugandan Government for atrocities committed by the current prime minister when he was a rebel leader. Third, the Karamojong, a northeastern, cattle herding, nomadic tribe, continue to create civil unrest and commit atrocities against civilians through their constant raiding (Cook 2007). The Karamojong's reputation for taking cattle and young women, and their tradition of inflicting a knife cut upon their arm to represent every man they kill, often lead others to mistake them for LRA rebels troops (Cook 2007).

To compound a complex situation, the geo-political situation in the Great Lakes region cannot be overlooked. Sudan, whose southern border is situated on Uganda's northern border, has played an influential role in the conflict in northern Uganda. In response to perceived Ugandan government

support for the Southern Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), the Sudanese government in 1994 (allegedly) began to provide weapons, training, and safe haven in Southern Sudan to the Lord's Resistance Army fighters. After an agreement with Khartoum, the Ugandan military (UPDF) went into southern Sudan to destroy LRA bases. The LRA returned to northern Uganda, which further intensified the conflict there (International Crisis Group 2004).

The West, in particular the United States, has appeared to view the situation between northern Uganda and southern Sudan as a battle against the spread of Islamic fundamentalism in Sub-Sahara Africa. The United States has correspondingly given significant aid, over time, to the Sudanese People's Liberation Army through the Ugandan government. Since September 11, 2001, the West has listed the LRA as a terrorist group and has further increased military aid to the Ugandan government to resolve the conflict. Until the current peace talks, this military aid had been seen by some as impeding an end to the conflict (International Crisis Group 2004).

Until the summer of 2006 President Museveni continued to steadfastly pursue a military solution to the war in the north, believing that a show of overwhelming power on the battlefield was the best way to achieve lasting peace (Cook 2007). The International Crisis Group (2004, p.2) speculates that the rationale was to "justify and maintain the status quo in Ugandan politics, denying his opposition a power base and offering numerous opportunities for curtailing freedom of expression and association in the name of "war against terrorism". They suggest that this continued

focus on the insurgencies in the north resulted in the south's unquestioned monopolization of wealth.

In October 2005, the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued its first arrest warrants against five senior members of the LRA: the leader, Joseph Kony, and Commanders Vincent Otti, Okot Odhiambo, Dominic Ongwen and Raska Lukwiya. They charged them with war crimes and crimes against humanity. The indictments as listed on Africafiles (Allio 2007) included: murder, rape, slavery, inducement to rape, inducement to slavery, enlisting children into rebel ranks and targeting civilians during military operations. In one of the very rare interviews ever given by Kony in 2006, he responded to detractors by saying, "I am a human being like you, I have eyes, a brain and wear clothes, but they are saying we don't talk with people, we eat people, and we are killers. That is not true." (Cook 2007, p. 12)

Meanwhile, the civilian population living in the north continues to be most affected by the war and those in the south remained largely unscathed. According to a 2006 report produced by a coalition of more than fifty Ugandan and international non-governmental organizations (CSO 2006), 80% of the people living in the Acholi region of northern Uganda have been displaced, and most live in squalid conditions in Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps. The situation was further exacerbated in 2002 when the Ugandan government gave all northern Ugandans forty-eight hours to move from their villages and into these protected camps (IDP), many of which lack basic facilities such as sanitation, schools and clinics (Regional Support Office for Central & East Africa & Integrated Regional Information Network 2003). While the government insists that the people voluntarily sought

protection from the rebels in IDP camps, others suggest they were told that if they remained in their compounds they would be considered rebels. In a *Human Rights Status Report* (2005, p.vii), The Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI) continues to call for a redress of:

> [t]he torture of suspected rebel collaborators, limitations from freedom of movement, confinement of citizens to camps for the internally displaced as well as the continued exposure to the dire conditions in these camps constituting gross human rights violations.

Regardless of how the IDPs came to be, the result is that thousands of people moved to the IDP camps and then discovered that they now had no food, no way to gather it, and that their children were beginning to die. Those villagers who defied the UPDF orders saw the "military come with rocket launchers attached to the back of trucks, declared them rebels and fired into them" (Cook 2007). The UPDF responded that they only fired on suspected LRA-inhabited villages. Regardless of the truth, the forced resettlement did not protect civilians as was thought: rather, it had the opposite effect. Ugandan troops were often unable to protect the IDPs in camps and the camps became LRA targets (CSO 2006; Dicklitch & Lwanga 2003). In addition, the Local Defense Units (LDU) –often made up of returning child soldiers tasked with protecting the civilians— were often accused of committing atrocities against the civilians themselves (Cook 2007; The Monitor, May 28th, 2006). Other perpetrators suspected of violence against civilians include other militia members and the Chieftaincy of Military Intelligence (FHRI 2005).

Over time, the increasing intensification of the conflict has made the deliverance of humanitarian assistance increasingly problematic and

conditions in the camps have become more desperate. Non-government organizations lost their ability to access large numbers of IDPs, most of whom were totally dependent for food assistance through the World Food Program (WFP). Other camps were only reachable with an armed military escort (CSO 2006). To add to the difficulties, displaced persons who were forced to reside in the camps lost their sense of community, their source of livelihood, and the ability to be self-sustaining. Roughly 1.2 million people became displaced in Uganda and up to 20,000 children were taken to fight, to be used as servants or sex slaves by the LRA and others (CSO 2006).

According to CSO (2006), the International Crisis Group 2004 report and the situational analysis (2005), there exists considerable confusion about the people in the north and who was responsible for the unending civilian attacks. Some civilians report that the rebels used stolen UDPF military uniforms and maimed and killed people to make it appear as if it was a government-backed attack. Still others have reported that UDPF soldiers were, in fact, responsible for some of the attacks (Dicklitch & Lwanga 2003). When rebels committed attacks, it seems that the same confusion arises. Some suggest that it is government soldiers in civilian clothes, who do not want the war to end as they have become reliant on the regular salary.

Throughout this period, Uganda has also been fighting an enduring AIDS pandemic. In 1990, Uganda had the highest AIDS rate in the world with 30% of adults affected. By 2007, Uganda had reduced that number to 8% (Cook 2007). Recent evidence from the CSO report (2002) confirms that sex often becomes a commodity in conflict situations. In the north, government soldiers are the main buyers of sex. Rape is common, especially

when women and girls are taken, which increases the chances of spreading HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. Efforts to communicate the risks of contracting AIDS and ways of reducing such risks are rendered largely ineffective due to low education rates and lasting conflict. In addition, population movement and displacement continues to fuel the spread of the AIDS pandemic in northern Uganda. There has been an increase in the incidence of malaria, dysentery, cholera, and tuberculosis in the IDP camps. In 2000, there was a deadly outbreak of the Ebola virus in the Gulu area, which killed sixty people, including several health care professionals at St Mary's Lacur hospital (Cook 2007; McCarthy 2003). Cook (2007) suggests that the increase in communicable diseases in the north is related to poor sanitation and hygiene, poor nutrition, over-crowding, and compromised immunity.

In 2006, the second significant peace process began in Juba, Sudan between the LRA and the government of Uganda (Regional Support Office for Central & East Africa & Integrated Regional Information Network 2003). On March 26, 2007, despite a guarantee of LRA's safety, the peace talks failed after only a day as the LRA accused the UPDF of attacking their positions. On April 16, 2007, after meeting President Chissano in the remote, secluded and forested village of Ri-Kwangba, the LRA rebels agreed to resume talks in Juba on April 26, 2007. Finally, on May 2, 2007, the Government of Uganda and the LRA signed a pact indicating "comprehensive solutions to the causes of the war" and outlining remedies to the causes of the war (Allio 2007).

On June 13, 2007, the Government and the LRA signed another agreement setting out the principles of accountability, stipulating the framework through which perpetrators of crimes committed during the war would reconcile with their victims. They agreed that both leaders (LRA & UPDF) "have cause to account and to accept to submit to the processes and procedures of accountability." On June 27, 2007, Kony recalled three close relatives, Pastor Obina, Kidega Onen, and Mission Okello from the peace delegation. Finally, on June 29, 2007, an agreement on reconciliation was signed. This agreement provides for alternative traditional justice that could serve to insulate the four accused LRA commanders against the International Criminal Court's (ICC) prosecution. It also obliges the Ugandan Government to strike the LRA off the terrorist list as soon as the rebels renounce rebellion, sign a ceasefire pact, and submit its members to the process (Allio 2007).

In summary, this period in Uganda's history has been punctuated by considerable violence and unrest. During this time, five factions have taken power of the country in one way or another and, in turn, they have been opposed by upwards of twenty-seven identified non-state factions, attempting to oust them and to take power. In turn, the civilian populations have experienced the impact of the violence, especially those in the twenty-two year conflict in the north (Finnstrom 2008). Those currently in the north have a higher mortality rate and experience greater poverty than those living in the south of the country. The political instability creates a situation where distinguishing between combatants (armed) and non-combatants (unarmed) is often blurred. Likewise, the terms "soldier", "freedom fighter", "rebel", and

"non-state actors" are used interchangeably, dependent upon the perspective and side taken.

Two peace talks have been held, with the most recent (at the time of writing) still in a tenuous state. The unrest, as I have understood it, has no apparent single cause and is complex and seemingly without easy resolution. No single group is solely to blame or at times faultless in its actions toward others. Violent acts and atrocities appear to have been perpetuated by all sides. Living in a war zone situated in midst of a regional war complex only compounds the problems politically. Uganda has significant political issues with its relations with Sudan, the Congo and Rwanda and each has corresponding links to local conflicts: all of which has only added to the complexity that is post-colonial Uganda.

Human Rights in Uganda: Fairness and Justice on Paper

Museveni's Movement regime came into power and initially ruled Uganda under a "no party" system in a political climate described by Dicklitch and Lwanga (2003, p.489) as "less inclusionary and broad-based and more authoritarian and Movement party controlled". In 2005, a referendum was held that set the stage for the first multi-party elections in twenty-five years (FHRI 2005). Museveni's Movement regime is currently supported by both the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, as he purports to subscribe to an aggressive liberal democratic recovery program which he began in 1987 (Dicklitch & Lwanga 2003).

However, this is in conflict with the message communicated to any of Museveni's detractors: there is an apparent lack of tolerance for any dissent.

This has been evidenced by the "intimidation game" that he is purported to have played against supporters and relatives of his election opponent, retired Colonel Dr. Kizza Besigye from the Forum for Democratic Change party (Dicklitch & Lwanga 2003). In 2005, Colonel Besigye was charged with rape and terrorism in a move that is seen by the FHRI (2005, p.vii) as "politically motivated and intended to eliminate him from the 2006 presidential race". In addition, in Uganda the right to assemble and associate peacefully had been constrained by *The Penal Code Act (*1950), *The Police Act* (1994) and *The Anti-terrorism Act* (2002) (FHRI 2005). On multiple occasions, Uganda's media have faced court action for standing out in defense of individual liberties and democratic governance (Cook 2007; FHRI 2005).

Uganda has been a member of the United Nations since October 25, 1962 (The United Nations 2002). As indicated previously, human rights violations appear to have been rampant, reaching a peak during the Amin years. As a result of Amin's removal from power in 1979, there has been a growth in human rights organizations (Tomasevski, 1999). By 2000, there were approximately twenty-five human rights organizations or non-government organization with human rights components operating in Uganda (Uganda Child Rights NGO Network 1996; Uganda Human Rights Initiative 2005).

In order to better understand the history of human rights in Uganda, it is useful to clarify what is meant by the term. Therefore, for the purposes of this review, human rights are defined as the "generally accepted principles of fairness and justice," the "universal moral rights that belong equally to all people simply because they are human beings," and "the basic standards

without which people cannot live in dignity" (Banks 2001; Flowers 2000; Koenig. 2002; O'Brien 1996).

Although some authors advocate that Museveni's regime has improved the human rights environment in Uganda by comparison to the times of Obote and Amin, there is continued speculation that his Movement remains "hostile to democracy" (Human Rights Watch 1997). A Human Rights Watch (1997, p.10) article further illustrates this point by suggesting that while "torture is not widespread there are still ongoing reports of safe houses, police brutality and extrajudicial killings. It is also reported that Museveni's regime runs countrywide, somewhat controversial political military training schools, known as "mchaka mchaka". While supposedly voluntary, any person who desires to advance to a position of prominence in the country must attend. The defenders of these schools suggest they are a government effort to "build national unity" and "de-mystify the gun" (Dicklitch & Lwanga 2003). Detractors suggest that they are no more than tools of political indoctrination, citing that as of 2001 all incoming members of parliament, regardless of political affiliation, had to attend such a school.

Despite the well-documented current human rights challenges most evident in the north, particularly the 2005 FHRI, Dicklitch and Lwanga (2003) propose that Uganda does have an institutional framework to promote human rights. Its laws for the protection of human rights are upheld through formal courts —the Supreme Court, the High Court and the Magistrates Court— as well as through informal courts, which are mainly composed of Resistance Council courts (Torou 2001). According to a report on Ugandan treaties, (United Nations General Assembly 2002), these

Resistance courts were first established to organize people and check the human rights abuses that were common prior to 1987. These courts are a blending of traditional-style governments and more modern democratic principles.

Currently, human rights are protected in Uganda's Constitution and are supplemented by *The Penal Code Act, The Magistrates Court Act*, and *The Trial and Indictment Decree* (Torou 2001). Uganda has a Human Rights Commission that can hear cases but does not have the power to try those implicated (United Nations General Assembly 2002). International human rights instruments are not directly enforceable by Uganda's courts or administration, nor are they self-executing.

Uganda has ratified the following: *The International Labour Organization Convention* (ILO) on *The Abolition of Forced Labour; The United Nations Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, The Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery; The United Nations International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Their Families*. Uganda has also signed *The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women* (The Protection Project 2002). Uganda is a signatory to the *African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights* (ACHPR 1986) and the supplement on *The Rights of Women in Africa* (ACHPR 1986. Uganda is also party to *The Children Statute* (1966), which provides legal provisions to address a variety of issues associated with child abuse, fostering, and adoption procedures.

Given that a comprehensive human rights frame exists in Uganda, Dicklitch and Lwanga (2003, p.484) speculate that its slow response to human rights violations and limited power to enforce them are related to three key factors:

1. Historical/structural legacies have created a culture of political apathy and fear amongst the general population that has helped undermine the resolution to fight for human rights and make the regime accountable for human rights transgressions.

2. Regime repression of vocal "political" non-state actors continues to reinforce historical fear and apathy.

3. Foreign donors continue to implicitly accept regime human rights transgressions as long as the government continues to implement neo-liberal economic reforms, thus helping to buttress a rights-repressive regime.

They suggest that one solution may be to have the human rights organizations in Uganda more involved in the development of human rights education curriculum. This would assist in establishing a stronger foundation for the development of a rights-based society in Uganda.

Education in Uganda: Universal and Free for All

The responsibility for formal human rights education in Uganda is within the portfolio of the Universal Primary Education Program (UPE) (Ministry of Education and Sport 1999a). In order to appreciate the scope of the current human rights education program and its capacity to influence, it is important

to first examine the history and then the current status of education in Uganda.

Uganda has had a long history of formal and informal education. According to Tomasevski, the Special Rapporteur on the Rights to Education Mission in Uganda (1999), the history of education in Uganda is much longer than its statehood. Tomasevski and others suggest that Uganda had indigenous education pre-colonially. Behrend (1999) concurs and documents that the Buganda elite performed the formal educational function in the Kabaka's palace, where generations of young pages were trained to become chiefs long before the colonialist arrived. In villages, elders collectively transmitted knowledge to the younger generations through traditional oral methods (Tobin & Dobard 2000). The traditional communal laws and customs for ensuring justice and accountability were mentored and monitored.

Government involvement in formal education did not begin until the colonial period following a report in 1922 by the Phelps-Stokes Fund (Department of Education 1926). Prior to this, formal education had been the domain of the 16,000 European missionaries who were stationed on the continent of Africa by 1910. It was Christian missionaries who introduced literacy and formal primary education into Africa during this period (Gifford 1995, 1998; Isichel 1995; Hastings 1996). As mission stations were left largely responsible for establishing educational material, they also tended to construct and reinforce the ethnic geographic lines created by the colonialist (Behrend 1999). Moreover, they perpetuated gender, class and ethnic divisions (Tamale 1999). In addition, education was used as a vehicle for

transmitting and converting Africans to Christianity (Gifford 1998; Hastings 1996; Isichel 1995). The first annual report published by the colonial administration on education in Uganda (1926) suggested that schools operate in the following manner, “each teacher in charge of a bush school is supposed to visit the area around the village and seek to interest people in the Christian message and call the children to school” (Tomasevski, 1999 p.38). This statement indicates how formal education and Christianity became inextricably linked in Uganda from the onset (Tomasevski, 1999).

The Christian mission schools in Uganda emphasized literacy skills in order to allow access to the bible and education was geared primarily toward the lower ranks of the colonial administration. The mission schools introduced English as the language of instruction regardless of the student’s first language. This practice continues today (Tomasevski 1999). Converts in schools quickly learned to read and write (Gifford 1998; Isichel 1995). New schools, heavily supported by Bugandan funds, began graduating students from Mengo High School, St. Mary's Kisubi, Namilyango, Gayaza, and King's College Budo, all of which were located in Buganda (Behrend 1999). The chief minister of the Buganda kingdom, Sir Apolo Kagga, is said to have personally awarded a bicycle and the promise of a government job to the top male graduate at King's College Budo every year. From a gender, class, and ethnic perspective, the most prestigious girls’ schools were located in the south and favoured Bugandan women living in the south.

Makerere University was established in Kampala during this period (Behrend 1999). The educated elites produced by colonial rule sought to gain a role in administration in order to take over the running and management of

both public and private sectors. The qualifications sought for this were literacy, typing, and English translation, all of which were provided by the school system at the time (Ministry of Education and Sports 1999a).

According to a 1999 Ministry of Education and Sports document (1999a, p.7), which outline the Ugandan experience of UPE from Independence until 1962, Uganda reportedly had a "healthy developing education sector. In 1962, there were about half a million pupils enrolled at primary level and this had increased to 800,000 pupils in 1971 and up to 2,900 schools". However, between 1971 and 1979, significant damage was done to Uganda's education system: this damage was effectuated, primarily, through the political oppression of teachers and students by Amin's violent régime (Tomasevski 1999). According to data collected by Unterhalter et al. (2005b) girls attending UPE in Uganda between 1992 and 2002 had one of the highest attendance rates (87%) for African Commonwealth countries. However, for girls attending secondary school, this number is comparatively one of the lowest (10.1%).

In 1997, the UPE was officially launched in Uganda (Tomasevski 2003; Uganda of Education and Sports 1999a). The Ministry of Education and Sports is the government sector responsible for the overall supervision and regulation of education. It is responsible for setting national policy and for monitoring the standard of education in various institutions (Ministry of Education and Sport 1999b). The Ugandan system is based upon 7-4-2, meaning that children may spend 7 years in primary education, 4 years in secondary education, and 2 years in high school (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development 2003).

Table 2: UPE structure by age and payee

Ugandan grade level	Approximate age of child in that grade	Institution that covers costs.
Primary 1	6-7 years old	UPE
Primary 2	7-8 years old	UPE
Primary 3	8-9 years old	UPE
Primary 4	9-10 years old	UPE
Primary 5	10-11 years	UPE
Primary 6	11-12 years old	UPE
Ugandan grade level	**Approximate age of child in that grade**	**Institution that covers costs.**
Primary 7	12-13 years old	UPE
Secondary 1	13-14 years	User pays system for the remainder.
Secondary 2	14-15 years	User pays system for the remainder.
Secondary 3	15-16 years	User pays system for the remainder.
Secondary 4	17-18 years	User pays system for the remainder.
High school 1		User pays system for the remainder.
High school 2		User pays system for the remainder.

In the past two decades, the prolonged conflict in the north of Uganda has disrupted the provision of basic social services, including education and formal human rights education (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development 2003). In government-produced documents, Museveni's government indicates that basic education is one of its highest priorities (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development 2003). It indicates that "33% of total government discretionary recurrent budget is allocated to the

education sector, with primary education, including the primary teacher-training budget, receiving more than 62% of its allocation" (Ministry of Educations and Sport 1999a, p.3)

This data is undermined by a study conducted by Ablo and Reinikka (1998). They examined Ugandan education allocations and how much of the government's education allocation actually ended up in Ugandan schools for teaching and learning. They found that only 30% actually reached the schools and that the remainder was absorbed by the bureaucracy.

Regardless of the controversy around the education budget, Uganda states that it is committed to education. This is demonstrated by the following statement, from a Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development poster advertising the UPE:

> In today's Uganda, uneducated children face terrible disadvantages. In life they fall behind, are easily cheated and deprived of their rights.

According to The Protection Project (2002, p.4), the literacy rate in Uganda is 61.8% for the general population, 73.7% for males, and 50.2% for females. Christopher Laker, executive director of the northern Uganda Social Action Fund (2006, p.18) concurs, the Acholi region has one of the lowest literacy levels in Uganda: "Literacy rates in the region stand at 54 percent compared to the national average of 68 percent"; "Fourteen percent of people in the Acholi region who are between six and 25 years of age had not been formally educated".

Schools in conflicted countries have typically been vehicles for both oppression and indoctrination. As Tomasevski (2003, p.19) states,

"education has also been used for the militarization of boys…glorification of war by means of history in text books which are dotted with war and war heroes for centuries". There is implied concern surrounding having human rights education programs reliant upon government-backed education programs. Tomasevski (2003, p.15) advises that supporters of government education must always be prepared to "examine the assumption that any education is better than no education". She notes that education often becomes the tool that conditions the population to ethnic and gender discrimination.

Summary

Uganda is a complex country and full of contradictions. It is a country which is disparate and diverse in its people, ethnicity, geography, economics, and socio-political history. The current twenty-two-year conflict is deeply rooted in centuries of tribal clashes, oppressive colonial "divide and conquer" policies, pervasive patriarchy, and debilitating underdevelopment (Finnstom 2008).

The Nile River, naturally dissecting the south of the country from the north, symbolically represents both a geographic divide and a tribal, social, and economic line. Those who live north of the Nile are poorer, have lower life expectancy, fewer economic prospects, and less access to educational opportunities.

Ugandan women, who were less marginalized in the pre-colonial era, are often negated in both the literature and socio-politically. This exclusion has invariably distorted understandings about the roles played by women in

Ugandan society. There exists a clear gendered distinction between women and men. Their participation in education, economics, politics, and the distribution of rights has overlapping effect. Slavery and Christianity have both made dynamic contributions to shaping the character of contemporary Uganda and both have significantly affected women. Slavery has served to entrench the notion of women as property and has represented an "accepted way" for men to communicate their power and wealth over others. Christianity was responsible for introducing formal Westernized education. This has provided women with an opportunity to gain an education. However, in doing so, it has in added somewhat to the loss of women's traditional roles as spiritual advisors. In these cases, traditional forms of worship have been devalued and portrayed as "witchcraft and 'primitive superstition'" (Finnstrom 2008).

Uganda is a member of the United Nations and is also a signatory on several international human rights conventions, protocols, and treaties, as outlined in Chapter Five (FHRI 2005). The country faces multiple human rights challenges and has a historical and structural legacy that has created a culture of political apathy and fear amongst the general population. This has undermined a resolution to fight for human rights and make any regime accountable for human rights transgressions. In the subsequent chapter, I will explore the conceptual basis for the study that I undertook to explore the experience of young girls and human rights education in northern Uganda.

Chapter Three: Gender, Conflict and Transformational Human Rights Learning

Introduction

In this Chapter a review of selected research and literature is presented to provide the theoretical context for the study, offering an overview of feminist and in particular African feminist literature, the gendered nature of war and an understanding of human rights learning. In each instance, particular attention is given to the role of gender and to the imposition of human rights values on human rights learning in a conflict situation. The literature chosen for this review focuses on the experience of women and girls in war zones and how their ability to achieve basic human rights is affected. Discussions on the theoretical models of human rights learning are also reviewed. In this thesis, the terms war and conflict are used interchangeably: the definition used is one suggested by Tomlinson and Benefield (2005, p.4), namely “a violent conflict between representatives or members of groups”. This is similar to a broad, brief definition provided by Goldstein (2001, p.3), “lethal intergroup violence”.

For the purpose of this review, the terms women and girls are also used interchangeably. McKay (2006) acknowledges a limited distinction in the literature to articulate the unique and differing experiences of women and girls, particularly in armed conflicts. Eichstaedt (2009), writing about northern Uganda, notes that women and girls in war are often referred to in the media in sanitized terms, such as “child brides,” which downplays the reality of their lives. Likewise, the experiences of women and girls in war are

not generic and need to be contextualized, although several key gender-based experiences appear to be common and these will be discussed. The term "gender" refers less to the descriptive biological notion of male/female; rather, I am using the term to refer to a unique blend of two theoretical understandings of gender. This merging or "hybrid approach" represents my understanding of the fluidity of the term (Unterhalter 2005a, p.80). In this vein I accept Unterhalter's (2005a, p.77) definition, which she refers to as the structuralist approach, meaning that the term is:

> Understood in terms of constructed social relations when inequalities are shaped by and shape the social formation, such as its social relations, institutions and cultural forms of understanding.

Girl participants were considered from this gendered perspective in order to examine the constraints that their ascribed gendered positions, roles and the structural barriers of context and war had placed upon them.

The literature review was conducted using the University of Victoria and Roehampton University library databases and the World Wide Web (the search words used were: gender, conflict, war, Africa, Uganda, and women in several combinations). Search engines used included: ERIC, EBSCO, ChildData, British Humanities Index, PsycInfo, IBSS and Education Research Complete. Human rights education models were explored in the same way, with the addition of accessing resources from a completed Human Rights Education course (2006) and access to the online Human Rights

Education list serve[2]. The key search words and/or phrases used were: human rights education, models, programs, and human rights learning.

African Feminism and Gender Analysis of a War Zone

In the literature, numerous feminist conceptualizations have been proposed (Brayton 1997; Cook & Fonow 1986; DeVault 1990; Fonow & Cook 1991; Harding 1987; Harding 2004; Letherby 2005; McRobbie 1982; Reinharz 1992; Stanley 1990; Wolf 1996). However, where possible, I sought an African feminist perspective (Maerten 2005; Mohanty 1991). My use of a specific label such as African feminism may indicate or assume that there is a clear theoretical framework available. However, similar to literature on general feminist theory, there is less specificity and rather an overarching belief that the term refers to a movement poised against patriarchal oppression. The term patriarchy from an African perspective refers to "the organization of social life and institutional structures in which men have ultimate control over most aspects of women's lives and actions" (Akatsa-Bukachi 2005, p.6). The differences described in the literature between Western feminism and African feminism rests in some part on the need for Africans to maintain an African position that is reflective of the African women's experience in all its diversity. The focus is on the lives of African women, understanding that African feminism places patriarchal relations,

[2] Global Human Rights Education list serve accessed through the World Wide Web at hr-education@lists.hrea.org.

structures and systems embedded in other oppressive and exploitive structures at the centre of analysis in considering the effect on African women. The use of the term “African feminism” does not assume that all African women are part of a homogenous group: “African feminists have multiple and varied identities” (African Women’s Development Fund 2005, p.2). Rather, many African feminists reject the notion that all women, and especially all African women, share a common experience, even if they reside on the same continent (Akatsa-Bukachi 2005). Some scholars argue that the African continent is merely a geographical space with contestable borders and that Africa is culturally diverse and made up of many different people, cultures and practices (Toure, Barry and Diallo 2003). Others go further and suggest that Africa began as “the product of a European gaze” (Appiah 1992, p.71), invented in the Western imagination and through the colonial enterprise. Instead the term is used in my work to acknowledge that African feminism originates from a diverse range of feminists who are from/work/live in Africa and are committed to a “transformatory agenda for African societies and African women in particular” (African Women’s Development Fund 2005, p.3).

Much discussion found in the literature on African feminism has a strong focus on where the concept originates and whether or not it is indigenous (Dosekun 2007). When considered as a white, Western import it is explained as:

> A recent movement led by well-educated African women… distinguished by the knowledge they acquired through studies abroad financed by international development organizations (Toure, Barry and Diallo 2003, p.2).

In this way, it is seen as an "un-African" movement (Dosekun 2007). Other African feminist authors suggest differently, that African feminism is built on a rich tradition of African women's resistance to patriarchy in Africa and that it is not an import from the West (Maerten 2005). From their perspective, African feminism is not un-African, not a non-indigenous import that threatens to overrun African values (African Women's Development Fund 2005; Dosekun 2007; Maerten 2004). They suggest that African feminism has developed differently than in the West and that it is largely documented through the resistance of African women against Western, colonial rule. It is linked to a past in which the continent has had to struggle against diverse pre-colonial contexts, slavery, colonization, liberation fights, neo-colonialism and globalization. The roles of African women have grown from a long tradition of female integration in collective structures. In the West, by comparison, the modern feminist movement had its roots in England in the second half of the 19th century, where it was advanced by middle class women who sought property rights denied them under British law. Feminism in this regard is seen as growing from middle class individualism and the patriarchal structure in an industrial society (Maerten 2004). The goal of African feminism is to affirm the rights of African women in a way that is fully grounded in and informed by various cultural realities, such as female genital mutilation, child marriage and polygamy, to name just a few.

Accessing African feminism as a guiding concept for my study added an additional layer of complication. Initially, I was not sure if I could adopt an African feminist theoretical perspective given my standpoint as a white,

British/Canadian woman. I spent time considering my own positionality and power in relation to the research. I was cognizant that I was different from my participants and entering their world from my privileged position in the First World. I was mindful that at the core of my research, my aim could be interpreted as being a champion for the experiences of the oppressed, black female child. These are experiences which I accepted that I could not fully understand or really speak about without in some way acknowledging or assuming a cultural imperialist stance. I believed, however, that this was not an “either/or” predicament: I was clear that in conducting feminist research in Uganda, I was not a “Feminist-as-Tourist or a Feminist-as-Explorer” (Mohanty 2003, p.239). Rather, I saw myself conducting research with and for the participants in a manner that accessed the benefits of my power and privilege as a researcher, to provide an opportunity for participants to speak and to be heard. As I worked in Uganda, I held to the notion that together, the research assistant, myself and the participants had a transformatory agenda, and that through joint understanding we could make a difference. This agenda became clearer as the participants talked about my role and my capacity “to get their story out”.

Conceptually, I began by considering and accounting for the African gender nuances inherent in the dynamics between females and war. I reviewed literature exploring how the social construction of gender affects women and girls within the circumstances of armed conflict (Nii-amoo dodo & Frost 2008). As Mazurana et al. (2002) says the social construction of gender can impact every aspect of life, from opportunities to secure an economic livelihood and education to quality of health, mortality, and

morbidity. However, as noted by McKay (2006, p.93), "understanding gender within any culture is complex because gender construction is a process not an end point and few common understandings exist about the meanings of gender within a particular society or how armed conflict affects girls and gender construction". As a result, I sought literature which specifically addressed the Ugandan context and the experiences of both girls and women.

I located extensive literature on political violence and war from both an analytical and operational perspective (Byers 2005; De Waal 2000; De Sas Kropiwnicki 2002; Enloe 2000; Goldstein 2001; Gutman & Reif 1999; Moser & Clark 2001; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998). However, an analysis of war from a gendered standpoint was lacking in the literature (Enloe 2000; Goldstein 2001; McKay 2006; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Moser & Clark 2001; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998; United Nations 1998). It appears that, until the beginning of the twenty-first century, there had been scant evidence in the literature that women were viewed as anything more than casualties of war, as their participation and roles during conflict have been left unexplored (Goldstein 2001; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Moser & Clark 2001; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1980). When analysis of war and conflict were explored in the literature, it was primarily from a male perspective. If women and girls were discussed, it was generally as passive, vulnerable players in need of protection from largely male-dominated military forces (Goldstein 2001). Women and girls in these circumstances were most often depicted as civilian casualties or members of vulnerable groups who were either taken as "war booty" or were seen as sexual assault victims (Allan

1996; 1995; Boothby et al. 2006; Cook 2007; Eichstaedt 2009; Enloe 2000; Mazurana et al. 2002; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Moser & Clark 2001; Honwana 2006; Keitetsi 2004; Refugee Law Project 2007; Singer 2005; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998; Wessells 2006; Yoshiaki 1995). Goldstein (2001, p.38) goes so far as to suggest that there are, "strands of feminist theory… the feminist theory of war does not exist. Rather, a number of feminists argue sometimes contradictory explanations and prescriptions".

Moser and Clark (2001), in their ground-breaking text on the role of women in war, suggest that this historical discourse about women and girls during conflicts has perpetuated a set of universal stereotypes that have created the "positioning" of women as "objects" of men, further stripping them of their agency, capacity and capability to effect change or devise ways to cope with life under traumatic circumstances such as war. This situation is further exacerbated on the African continent, where according to Ugandan feminist researcher, Tamale (1999, p.xiv), "the emancipation of women…appears too daunting; we despair under the pervasive patriarchy and debilitating underdevelopment". She suggests that the imposition of colonial oppression has further compounded the situation. Tamale implies that the lower social value of women has become further entrenched due to the perpetuation of gender disparities which began in the colonial and missionary educational system, the colonial interference on individual agricultural production, and the introduction of a Western political system in which women lost their voices. McKay and Mazurana (2004, p.17) concur: "Girls work far more hours than boys, have lower literacy rates than boys, and suffer preventable deaths because they lack reproductive health care".

Tamale (1999) adds that the role of women as documented in male-dominated colonial texts were generally described as chattels or properties belonging to men, who, during conflicts, were often forcibly captured and enslaved to increase a male's power and perceived wealth. Non-state actors in modern conflicts have adopted this tactic as one way to increase their power base (Massey 2000). Moser & Clark (2001) provided statements from African women who present a stark portrait of systematic violence including sexual torture, rape, and sexual slavery, often sanctioned by both state and opposition forces as a tactic of war and a political act to terrorize communities. For example, Asma Abdel Halim (1998, p.94), in *Attack with a Friendly Weapon*, reports that in the Sudan:

> Women are raped either to show the southerners how they are defeated or because they are thought of as booty and do not have the right to object to the master's whims. Southerners believe this is a genocidal war. Men from the West or North intentionally impregnate women so as to change the demography of the whole area.

Both Tamale (1999) and Behrend (1999) suggest that, historically, this was not the social reality in Uganda, but that it is more of an andocentric misconception. In reality, women were taken for polygamy purposes, which were socially acceptable, and they were not used as slaves but integrated into the tribe.

In addition, several authors refer to constant "moralizing" imposed on Africa by the Western world (Calderisis 2006; Derbyshire 2008; Epstein 2008; Were 2008). According to a published study considering the role of girls in fighting forces in Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Mozambique (McKay

and Mazurana 2004), this moralizing can affect the way that women are viewed by donor countries who fail to recognize the unique role of women in conflicts and see them as casualties, thus negating and removing their agency when providing assistance. Another example of moralizing by Western countries is provided by Epstein (2008), who suggests that access to donated HIV/AIDS medications and services is impeded when donor countries impose morality-based attachments to the provision of medications and supports. These policies effectively prohibit the distribution of services to "prostitutes" and those who are not practicing "abstinence." As Epstein contends, "talking about partner reduction in places where people commonly have concurrent partners is one thing. But talking about fidelity in moral terms and thereby associating HIV with moral failure is a strategy destined to make the problem worse, especially for women" (2008, p.3).

Beatrice Were (2008, p.4), a Ugandan activist, agrees: "The dangers of a fidelity-based approach to HIV prevention often leads women into a false sense of security, failing to emphasize that fidelity only protects you if your partner is faithful too". Women and girls are often not the willing sexual partners of males and are often sexually exploited and forced into survival sex or prostitution during war (Boothby et al. 2006; Cook 2007; Mazurana et al. 2002; McKay 2006; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Moser & Clark 2001; Honwana 2006; Keitetsi 2004; Schwab 2001; Singer 2005; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998; Wessells 2006; Yoshiaki 1995). The parents of girls are often complicit in their exploitation by encouraging them to offer themselves to meet the family's survival needs (Mckay & Mazurana 2004; Refugee Law Project 2007).

This moralizing perspective affects how violence and war on the African continent is viewed; seeing it as endemic, institutionalized, and previously suppressible only by colonial rule (Derbyshire 2008; Berkeley 2001; Calderisis 2006; Harlow & Carter 1999). This creates an environment where violence is expected, accepted, and often minimized as “the way it is” (Berkeley 2001; Calderisis 2006).

Moser and Clark (2001) suggest that in societies that explode into political violence and war, there are sets of predisposing conditions that can be considered “causal.” These conditions are gendered phenomena that negatively affect the role of women and intensify their subordination and sexism during war. Societies with traditional, male-dominated households are most likely to experience economic distress and become destabilized. Acts of oppression, intimate partner violence and abuse against women increases. Males in these societies, who are no longer able to support their families in the traditional manner, may become attracted to crime, substance misuse, and participation in rebel activities (Calderisis 2006). The effect upon women is that HIV-AIDS increases, as does the number of impoverished, female- or child-headed households (De Watteville 2002; Moser & Clark 2001). When political violence becomes entrenched in a society, women must then deal with the fear of rape, shame, the kidnapping of themselves or their families, and death on a daily basis (Tamale 1999).

Civil wars, such as the war in northern Uganda, cause great divisions along tribal, religious or ethnic lines. This dissolution can create situations in which a society will adhere more tightly to cultural identities. Women often become forced into more rigid roles and are punished if they are perceived to

be moving away from these roles. This has recently been evident in Afghanistan, Sudan, and Uganda (Turshen & Twagiramariya 2006).

Moser and Clark (2001) provide a compilation of reports, testimonies, and analyses documenting the human rights abuses targeted at women during the course of recent civil wars in Africa. In their gendered analysis of various wars, they depict the types of wartime human rights violations that are systematically targeted at females of all ages. The most common gender-based violations identified were sexual violence including: torture, rape, mass rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced sterilization, forced termination of pregnancies, and mutilation. These violations are echoed in the texts of other authors (Bales 1999; Boothby et al. 2006; Cook 2007; Mazurana et al. 2002; McKay 2006; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Honwana 2006; Keitetsi 2004; Schwab 2001; Singer 2005; De Temmerman 2001; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998; Wessells 2006; Yoshiaki 1995).

Researchers identify multiple feminist theories of rape; however, all have in common their reliance on the concept of gender inequality or the oppression of women (Morris & Bruell 2006). One powerful feminist theory of rape is summarized by Susan Brownmiller's (1976, p.14) statement: "Rape is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear". This theory asserts that the male domination of females in socio-political and economic domains is the underlying condition for most rapes, and considers male-female rape to be a crime of power that has little or nothing to do with sex itself. Social learning theory of rape is similar to this feminist theory and links cultural traditions such as imitation, sex-violence linkages, rape myths (e.g. "women secretly

desire to be raped"), and desensitization to the core causes of rape. Brownmiller (1976) argues that rape has been hitherto defined by men rather than women; and that men use, and all men benefit from the use of, rape as a means of perpetuating male dominance by keeping all women in a state of fear.

Accusations of rape are documented as increasing in countries experiencing war and northern Ugandan is no exception (McKay & Mazurana 2004; McDonnell & Akallo 2007). These authors suggest that in the three African conflicts they considered (Mozambique, Sierra Leone and Uganda):

> Rape was reported as happening to virtually all abducted girls, although some small girls were spared, as were some who were taken only briefly. Gang rape and sexual torture were prevalent experiences of abducted girls who were used for sex by many men, often during a single day. “Wives” of rebel captor-“husbands” sometimes received protection from broader sexual violence because of these factors (McKay & Mazurana 2004, p.58).

The UFHRI (2005), Refugees International (2006) , and The Refugee Law Project (2007), all concur that reports of gender-based violence is an increasing issue in the overcrowded IDP camps of northern Uganda. Although few statistics are available, rape, domestic violence and sexual exploitation are assumed to be widespread. Several authors suggest that the lack of statistics may be related to the shame experienced by women in societies such as Uganda where to admit to illicit intercourse, regardless of the source, limits one’s commodity value as a marriageable woman and lessens or negates a bride price (Cook 2007; McKay & Mazurana 2004;

Moser & Clark 2001; Turshen & Twagiramariya 2006). *The Law Project* (Faculty of Law 2007, p.3) suggests that:

> Defilement is one of the most common crimes committed in Uganda's refugee settlements... and is closely related to the phenomenon of early marriage. In most cases encamped refugee communities cannot afford the financial or social costs of reporting defilement. Instead they arrange early marriages to conceal or legitimize such relationships.

Multiple motives for committing rape and sexual exploitation during armed conflicts were identified (Goldstein 2001; McKay & Mazura 2004; Moser & Clark 2001; Turshen & Twagiramariya 2006). When acts of sexual violence, rape, mass rape, sexual slavery, and enforced prostitution are perpetrated against female targets of military actions, authors Cook (2007); Keitetsi (2004); McKay & Mazura (2004); Moser & Clark (2001); De Temmerman (2001); and Turshen & Twagiramariya (2006) identify the following reasons:

1. to boost combatants morale;
2. as a reward for doing well in battle;
3. to enhance hatred of the enemy by increasing combatants' sense of superiority;
4. to degrade the enemy by taking their honor as they are unable to protect their women;
5. to spread political terror; and
6. as a torture technique.

Rape is also used as a tool of ethnic cleansing and, in the literature, is referred to as "genocidal rape" (Allen 1996; Moser & Clark 2001). Genocidal rape involves women and girls being treated as reproductive vessels. They are

intentionally impregnated by an enemy faction in order to carry the children of the "superior ethnic race" and thereby "cleanse" the race. The enemy faction identifies women as "social reproducers" (Moser & Clark 2001). Genocidal rape produces a "class of forced mothers" or "child mothers" who has neither economic, community, nor familial support, often becoming complete outcasts in patriarchal societies (McKay 2006; Wessells 2006). The "fatherless" children born of genocidal rape are also stigmatized and marginalized. Given the limited supports in place for their mothers, they are often poorly fed and cared for (McKay 2006). These children may then become the "rebels of tomorrow" (McKay & Mazurana 2004).

In addition to the emotional and social trauma, women and girls who have been sexually assaulted also face the physical risks associated with giving birth in the bush, lack of reproductive and sexual health services, and no treatment for sexually transmitted infections. Upon reintegration into their communities they are often penalized for the loss of chastity and for unmarried motherhood. Reintegration programs frequently fail to recognize these gender specific complexities faced by women (De Watteville 2002; McKay 2006; McKay & Mazurana 2004).

The experiences of women and girls with war-associated trauma are also complex and difficult to treat. There are multiple contributory factors: break down of traditional supports; the loss of culture and negation of ethnic identities; disruption of normal family routines; physical, psychological, and spiritual injuries (Allwood et al. 2004; Briere & Scott 2006; Derluyn et al. 2004; Hyder 2005; Malchiodi 2008). Western individualized treatments, available through humanitarian organizations, may not adequately address

or appreciate the collective sense of shame and responsibility that trauma holds for many women in African societies (Boothby et al. 2006). In fact, individualized, Westernized, trauma treatment methods may contribute to further alienation and isolation of traumatized women in the African context (Boothby et al. 2006; McKay & Mazurana 2004). Local traditional treatments appear to be more effective as they have the capacity to reintegrate women back into their community, to acknowledge their perceived responsibility, to recognize the shame and to offer them forgiveness (Boothby et al. 2006). In these circumstances, researchers have considered the role that resilience plays in the capacity for young women to adapt and integrate their war experiences.

Resilience theory as it applies in this general area is plentiful, but the complex nature of the circumstance has resulted in little conclusive evidence about the process of resilience "in-the moment," or how to foster resilience in others (Wolin et. al. 1999). Research on this topic has been criticized because of the lack of consistent operational definitions. According to Kumpfer (in Wolin et al. 1999, p.10), resilience "has been defined as virtually all internal and external variables or transactional and moderating or mediating variables capable of affecting a youth's life adaptation." Research in this area has generally been retrospective (i.e., only by looking back can we determine what factors contributed to resilience in each particular case) or speculative. The difficulties of establishing consistent findings that can be generalized are more obvious when the inter-dynamic and complex natures of the factors that may affect it are considered. The lack of consistency in the definition of

the construct, combined with the complexity of evaluating, has led to few conclusions regarding the definitive effect of risk and protective factors.

One conclusion that does appear frequently in literature is the notion that risk and protective factors can have a cumulative effect. In other words, the more risk factors present in an individual's situation, the greater likelihood of problem development (Waller 2001). Similarly, protective factors can have a "pile-up" effect. It becomes about the balance between vulnerability (risk factors) and resilience (protective factors). The idea of a cumulative effect of risk and protective factors and the dynamic complexity of resilience is well captured by Leadbeater et al. (2004, p.8) in their discussion on "protective processes." These are described as: experiences, events, and relationships that operate to:

1. interrupt or reverse downward developmental trajectories;
2. diminish the causes or impact of stressful situations;
3. reduce the negative chain reactions that characterize pathogenic family or school situations;
4. promote the development and maintenance of self efficacy;
5. create beliefs or loyalties that are incompatible with deviant behaviors; and
6. provide opportunities for positive education, vocational and personal growth.

Klohnen (1996) summarizes a number of protective factors and suggests that protective factors in all contexts are relevant to the following states within each person:

1. the ability to be happy and contented with a sense of direction and purpose;
2. the capacity for productive work;

3. a sense of competence and environmental mastery, emotional security, self-acceptance, self-knowledge;
4. a realistic and undistorted perception of oneself, others and one's surroundings, and interpersonal adequacy; and
5. the capacity for warm and caring relating to others and for intimacy and respect.

It is noteworthy that a specific factor may be protective in one case, neutral in another, and related to risk in someone else's life. For example, having educational aspirations and good school attendance may foster resilience in one youth, while for another youth who is taken from school and raped, regular school attendance may ultimately be experienced as a risk factor. Such examples illustrate the interdependent and contextual nature of resilience. The ultimate effect of those factors is evident only in the context of their interaction, the larger context in which this interaction occurs, and the meaning of a particular factor to a particular individual (Waller 2001). Unger (2005, p.9) agrees and advocates for a deeper understanding of resilience, which moves it away from "something inside individuals, an innate quality that makes them invulnerable". He suggests that "people most frequently associate resilience with the context in which they live, their culture and the opportunities each brings for individuals and groups of individuals to experience themselves as resilient." This serves to emphasize the importance of the social context of people's lives and shifts the focus away from a discourse of psychopathology toward survival strategies and factors that contribute to thriving.

In the aftermath of armed conflict women and girls are encouraged to resume the traditional roles that they held prior to involvement in the conflict. According to Boothby et al. (2006, p.17), they are not encouraged to "use the strengths they have developed to make new choices and seek broader opportunities". These stereotypical roles are encouraged by organizations that reinforce "traditional structures and patriarchal practices" to return to normalcy and not further disrupt the social stratifications and power base.

Recommendations pertaining to gendered violence and gender related harms during armed conflict were first addressed in the 1994 United Nations General Assembly when it adopted the *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*. Rape was recognized as a human rights violation and as a war crime in the June 1996 International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. McKay & Mazurana (2004) reported that United Nations and non-government personnel are often the ones to report rape and other sexual violence because shame, stigma, and denial often prevent girls from making the disclosure. When girls do escape and disclose; resources are not generally available to them. The 2004 study by McKay and Mazurana indicate that girls do not often end up passing through rehabilitation centres and if they do, the focus is not on support for rape survivors. According to Turshen & Twagiramariya (1998, p.80), the ending of a conflict does not always end the systemic violence. "Peace does not necessarily put an end to the violence as the regime leaves behind a culture of violence, PTSD [Post Traumatic Stress Disorder], substance misuse and increased domestic violence".

Women and adolescent girls in armed conflicts also serve as combatants. This role has been largely negated in the literature (Allan 1996; 1995; Boothby et al. 2006; Cook 2007; Mazurana et al. 2002; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Moser & Clark 2001; Honwana 2006; Keitetsi 2004; Singer 2005; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998; Wessells 2006). Tamale (1999) notes that historically, Ugandan women were often celebrated war heroes. However, when the role of female militia is mentioned in modern texts, their function as female combatants are often shrouded in sexist stereotypical labeling that negates their actual roles as fighters (McKay 2006, p.93). The literature describes them as "vulnerable women and girls acting as support workers" instead of "engineering, logistics, health corps, combat and service support" personnel. In northern Uganda it is estimated that thirty percent of the non-state forces are made up of girls (McKay & Mazurana 2004). The literature suggests that while these combatants do perform traditional gender roles such as cooking, cleaning, and nursing, all of which replicate larger societal expectations, they also fight, kill, maim, participate in recognizance missions, and act as military leaders (Mazurana et al. 2002; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Moser & Clark 2001; Honwana 2006; Keitetsi 2004; Singer 2005; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998; Wessells 2006).

In order to move toward a more gendered sensitive analysis of war and to develop programs promoting gender sensitive demobilization, rehabilitation, and reintegration (DRR), McKay and Mazurana (2004) suggest that the international community needs to recognize the militarization of girls in armed conflicts, the extent to which this is occurring and the gender-specific effects of their involvement. They contend:

> Girls must be viewed holistically or contextually within specific armed groups, geopolitical and cultural contexts, time periods, countries or regions. Very little is known about the distinct physical, emotional and spiritual long term effects of girl's experiences… policies and programs developed to address the needs of these girls are poorly informed or, too often non-existent (p18).

To begin to examine the complex contexts of armed conflict in which girls are located, the limited literature on the topic suggests they should be acknowledged as a phenomenon unto themselves. Once acknowledged, understanding and provision for their unique needs before, during, and after conflict should to be considered (Cook 2007; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Moser & Clark 2001; Turshen & Twagiramariya 2006).

Human Rights Education: A Transformative Vehicle for Human Rights Promotion and Protection

In this section I reviewed literature and research in order to understand how human rights learning has been conceived and developed up to this point. Under the auspices of the United Nations, the world community has expanded a range of internationally binding legal instruments in the field of human rights. Beginning with the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR), human rights education has held an unequivocal position in multiple human rights documents for decades. As the UDHR states, "education shall be directed…to the strengthening of respect for human rights" (p26). The defining and achievement of human rights education at this stage remains in relative infancy as a specific field of study (Flowers

2000). It was not until the 1974 *UNESCO General Conference* where "Recommendations Concerning International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" were drafted and adopted and human rights education was more operationally defined. UNESCO followed up on these recommendations in 1978 by commissioning Leah Levin to write *Human Rights: Questions and Answers* and to launch a journal titled *Human Rights Teaching (1979).* According to Hugh Starkey (personal communication, September 29, 2005) the first direct formulation of the term "human rights education," in relation to schools, appeared in the title of a *Council of Europe Symposium* held in Vienna 1983. Starkey suggests that it was not until 1987 that the first academic paper was published using the actual term "human rights education." This paper was written by Suzanne Shafer and titled *Human Rights Education in Schools.* In 1989, *The Convention on the Rights of the Child* (United Nations General Assembly 1989) was drafted. This instrument contained clearer provisions related to human rights education. In particular, Section 29 promoted, "the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the principles enshrined in the *Charter of the United Nations* (United Nations General Assembly 1948)." In Section 28, "the right of the child to an education" was recognized for the first time.

In addition to these historical documentary events, several significant movements in human rights education have occurred in the past two decades. These events have reaffirmed international recognition of human rights education as a vital transformative vehicle for human rights promotion and protection, with the capacity to move human rights beyond abstract

principles of international standards into practice. For example, *The World Conference on Human Rights* held in Vienna, Austria, 171 countries reiterated their commitment to human rights education through the adoption of the *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (VDPA)*, (1993, section 36,p.89) and states:

> The World Conference on Human Rights reaffirms the important and constructive role played by national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights, in particular in their advisory capacity to the competent authorities, their role in remedying human rights violations, in the dissemination of human rights information, and education in human rights.

An initiative to further promote human rights education was initiated at this conference. Responding to this call for action, the General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed 1995-2004 as the *United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 1994). *The Plan of Action* included a definition for human rights education. This definition was generated from existing international human rights instruments (UDHR; CRC; VDPA; *The International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights*). The definition contained within the document read, "[t]raining, dissemination and information efforts aimed at the building of a universal culture of human rights through the imparting of knowledge and skills and the molding of attitudes."

In 2005 international interest and support for human rights education returned to the forefront, with the publication of the *Draft Plan of Action for the First Phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education*

(2005-2009) (United Nations General Assembly 2005). This revised plan of action was more specific in its support and objectives for human rights education, stating that:

> Human rights education contributes to the long-term prevention of human rights abuses and violent conflicts, the promotion of equality and sustainable development and the enhancement of people's participation in decision-making processes within a democratic system (United Nations General Assembly 2004, p.71).

The Plan of Action for the First Phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (United Nations General Assembly 2005). identified and connected the concept of human rights education with the prevention of human rights violations during conflict. It states:

> By promoting respect for human dignity and equality and participation in democratic decision making, human rights education contributes to the long-term prevention of abuses and violent conflicts.

There exists an endorsement within the various global and legal instruments that an educated public is one of the greatest guarantees of human rights. Human rights literature recognizes the overall concept of education as a long-term key to realizing human rights (Banks 2001; Tarrow 1992). Banks (2001, p.1) offers that "people who do not know their rights are more vulnerable to having them abused and often lack the language and conceptual framework to effectively advocate for them". This opinion is also found in grass roots organizations. The Ugandan government publication

issued by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) (2000), notes:

> There is a lot of ignorance among people about their rights, making them vulnerable to abuse. Human rights organizations at the district level are few and their roles not well understood by the people. This makes it difficult for the people to know where to go for help when their rights are abused. Participants pointed to the need for better dissemination of information to the population concerning human rights and getting the inclusion of human rights education in the school curriculum.

As Gearon (2003a, p.157) proposes, within the United Nations system of human rights, "education is a basic right, human rights education is about the provision and development of awareness about fundamental rights, freedoms and responsibilities". Human rights education is also referred to as peace education, gender education, and environmental learning in the literature (Tibbetts 1997). The Asia Pacific Regional Resource Centre for Human Rights Education (2003, p.6) defines it as:

> A participative process which contains deliberately designed sets of learning activities using human rights knowledge, values, and skills as content aimed at the general public to enable them to understand their experiences and take control of their lives.

While most proponents agree with these basic tenets, ambiguities and theoretical dissonance between human rights activists and researchers exists in several aspects of human rights education. There are concerns raised about the universality of human rights instruments upon which human rights education is based (Gearon 2003b; O'Byrne 2003; Wilson & Mitchell 2003).

O'Byrne (2003, p.27) suggests that, "Human rights belong to each of us regardless of ethnicity, race, gender, sexuality, age, religion, political conviction, or type of government". The properties of universality pose multiple issues for some and these were found to be discussed extensively in the literature (Gearon 2003; Ignatieff 2001; O'Byrne 2003; Pollis & Schwab 2000).

A recurring criticism of universality suggests that it is too reliant on the abstract notion of natural law and is ignorant of cultural differences. In considering natural law as it relates to human rights, O'Byrne (2003, p.37) implies that universal human rights transcends political communities and rather subscribes to the community of humankind governed by "pre-social, universal, state of morality, as opposed to positive law, which is grounded in official, binding, constitutional acts and precedents". The idea that certain rights are grounded in some higher moral authority which existed in humankind before the formation of human societies is often contested. As Gearon (2003a) points out, quoting Forsythe (2000, p.11), "Cynical observers [suggest that this] thinking is high on ideals but thin on processes that led to and underlie such wide ranging anthropological, ethical, philosophical and political thinking". In their collection of chapters from the proceedings of a conference, titled *Rights, Claims and Entitlements* (2001), Wilson and Mitchell (2003, p.1) discuss this debate around "universalism vs. relativism." They suggest that in the latter half of the twentieth century there was significant distain directed at:

> Many basic conceptions of the international human rights framework, such as notions of human nature, universal human dignity and

> conceptions such as "crimes against humanity". These highly abstracted formulations of humanity and morality were seen as the products of an international order dominated by Western institutions and as far removed from the basic cultural conceptions of justice and morality found in non-Western locales.

This review notes a continuation of the discussion of universality versus cultural relativism (Gearon 2003a; Ignatieff 2001; Koenig 2002; O'Byrne 2003; Pollis & Schwab 2000). Tarrow (1992, p22) offers her perception of the universality versus cultural relativism debate:

> Different societies, have defined rights in terms of their own historical experiences, their value systems, and the political and economic realities of the current era. The history of human rights has been ruffled not only by different perspectives of Eastern and Western nations, as well as developing and industrialized societies, but also by the different emphasis on individual as opposed to group rights).

In looking at human rights education, particularly for children, another point of divergent interests revolves around the content of human rights education. In Claude's (1999, p.1) work on human rights methodologies, he speaks to the differing "pedagogical objectives" within the groups offering human rights education. He suggests that educational objectives generally fall into five categories, although he notes that these should not be considered exhaustive:

1. attitude changes (example: teaching tolerance among various groups);
2. value clarification (example: critically exploring negative gendered language);
3. cognitive skills (example: learning about matters of law)

4. the development of solidarity attitudes (example: African American studies which engender concern and sympathy with the people of Africa); and
5. participatory education for empowerment (example: enabling people to define and meet their own needs).

Tarrow (1992, p.22) uses the term "content" in her chapter on human rights education in reference to "everything a child learns about a subject". Her conceptualization of what should be included in a human rights education model is somewhat similar to Claude's (1999, p22) but differs in emphasis as she proposes "knowledge… skill, value, social participations". She elaborates on each component, suggesting that knowledge should incorporate the main categories of human rights, duties and obligations, international declarations on human rights, an understanding of people, and movements and key events in historical and continuing struggles for human rights. The skill component she proposes should be similar to those found in a "good social studies programme" (Tarrow 1992, p.22) and should include communication, critical thinking and social skills. Her third component is values. She argues that children need to develop a positive self image, increase awareness of their environment, develop openness toward others, accept differences, and recognize similarities. Finally, in the fourth component, she emphasizes action through social participation and application of knowledge.

Tibbetts (1997), on the other hand, suggests three primary areas:

1. knowledge- information about political systems and processes, human rights and mechanisms of protection;

2. values, beliefs and attitudes- development of values and attitudes that uphold democratic practices, the rule of law and human rights principles and;
3. action skills- promote a democratic culture for participating in a civil and political society, and for taking action to defend human rights and prevent human rights offenses (p17).

In summary, it appears that authors suggest varying numbers of components to include in an optimum human rights education model. They did, however, agree on key areas of inclusion, such as knowledge, skills, values, and action. The differences amongst the authors were related to where they placed their emphasis rather than the individual components.

The literature identified another area in which authors disagreed: this involves what Tarrow (1992) describes as the "process" of delivering human rights education, meaning the "means and methods" (indirect and direct) by which the learning is accomplished. The literature distinguishes between whether the human rights education is delivered either through formal, non-formal or informal methods.

Formal education, as defined by Claude (2008, p.326), is the "normal 3 tier structure of primary, secondary and tertiary education". This form of education is generally offered by governments. Informal human rights education, as proposed by Claude (2008, p.326), refers to "education that may or may not be organized, and is usually unsystematic education, having its affect on lifelong processes by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure".

Non-formal education, as defined by Marks (2005) and agreed upon by Claude (2008), is human rights education that is an organized, systematic educational activity occurring outside of the school system that is designed to meet six basic goals and generally offered by NGOs. These goals offered by Marks (2005, p.48) are to:

1. enhance knowledge;
2. develop critical understanding;
3. clarify values;
4. change attitudes;
5. promote solidarity;
6. alter behaviour or practice.

Marks (2005, p.49) proposes that when all six of these goals are met, “the most important goal of all, empowerment, can be achieved”. It is around this goal of empowerment that the literature identifies considerable agreement amongst multiple authors (Banks 2001; Freire 1978, 2005; Koenig 2002; Marks 2005; Claude 1999, 2008). O’Byrne (2003, p.xi) agrees emphatically, suggesting that, “Education about human rights is an empowering process”. For Claude (1999, p21), “empowerment is a process through which people and/or communities increase their control or mastery of their lives and the decisions that affect their lives.” He suggests that not all education falls into the empowerment area: “Empowering education differs from most formal education traditionally designed to promote knowledge and skills” (Claude (1999, p21).

Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educationalist, is often quoted as a primary source to understanding the process of empowerment through education in

developing countries. It should be noted that Freire did not claim validity or transferability of his work to other cultures or groups (Freire 1978, 2005). Freire used empowerment effectively in reinforcing political efficacy on the part of participants in Latin American peasant populations. Freire, in his text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire 2005), brought together several concepts about educational practice and liberation which have consequently led to important theoretical innovations affecting the development of educational practice (APAP 1996). Freire's work emphasized the use of emancipatory dialogue or conversation that had the capacity to generate change. Given that non-formal education is primarily dialogical (or conversational) rather than in a curricula form, Freire was able to take discussion further with his insistence that the dialogue involved respect and should not involve one person acting on another, but rather people working with each other. Too much education, Paulo Freire argued, involves "banking" which means that the educator makes a "deposit" of knowledge into the learner (1978, 2005).

Freire was also concerned with praxis: action that is informed (and linked to certain values). Dialogue wasn't just about deepening understanding but was part of making a difference in the world. Dialogue in itself was viewed as a co-operative activity involving respect. The process is important and can be seen as enhancing community, building social capital and leading to action for justice and equity.

Freire also paid attention to naming the world as it was. This has been of significance to those educators who have traditionally worked with those who do not have a voice and are oppressed. The idea of building a "pedagogy of the oppressed" or "pedagogy of hope" and how this may be carried forward

has formed a significant impetus to human rights education work. Freire was also adamant that situating an educational activity in the experience of participants opened up a series of possibilities for the way that informal educators could approach practice.

Empowerment as a primary goal of human rights education has not been openly accepted as a form of human rights education in all countries. This has created some unease and is perhaps the reason that formal human rights education appears favoured. Action-Professionals' Association for the People (APAP 1996, p21), an Ethiopian non-governmental organization (NGO) refers to this concern in the preface to their Bells of Freedom model:

> It should be clear that the objective of effective human rights education is not to sow the seeds of social unrest. Any such suggestion misunderstands human rights and democracy. Non-formal human rights education in Ethiopia is strictly in accordance with the constitution and the law. Indeed, it is our duty to educate people about their rights before the law so that they will be able to be responsible citizens.

Freire's work has formed the foundation for several human rights education advocates. Shula Koenig (2002), a 2003 United Nations recipient of the Human Rights Education award, concurs with Freire and suggests that rather than offering only formalized human rights education, we ought to focus our attention on human rights learning opportunities with participants. Koenig (2002), a founder of the organization The People's Movement for Human Rights Education, builds on the empowerment goal as suggested by others and adds that human rights education should rather be defined as "human rights learning" and be facilitated through more non-formal and informal

models of learning (Koenig, 2002, p.4). In a 2005 presentation to the United Nations, she questioned whether, "we are going to teach about human rights or are we going to facilitate the learning so that our students, energized by their aspirations discover the meaning of human rights to their lives?". Koenig (2002, p.1) summarizes the potential role of human rights education:

> Human rights education is a way of preparing the ground for reclaiming and securing our right to be human. It is learning about justice and empowering people in the process. It is a social and human development strategy that enables women, men and children to become agents of change. It can produce the blend of ethical thinking, action, and participation of people in the decisions, which shape their lives, that is needed to cultivate public policies based on human rights. It opens the possibility of creating a human rights culture for the 21st century.

Pitts (2002, p.22) concurs and suggests that human rights education also needs more of a contextualized base, somewhat akin to the concept suggested by Freire in regards to building on the experiences of learners:

> To be successful in diverse, developing nations, human rights education should ideally be linked to tolerance promotion, conflict resolution and problem solving, and be grounded in the reality of the local environment.

Empowerment is one model of human rights education but there are others. Four authors have developed and named specific human rights education models under which to begin to classify human rights education (Banks 2001; Jacobs 1989; Tibbetts 2002). Tibbetts (2002) offers three primary operating models: the Values and Awareness Model, the Accountability

Model, and the Transformative Model. Banks (2001) offers four specific models: the Contributions Approach, the Ethnic Additive Approach, the Transformation and Social Approach and the Decision-making and Social action Approach. Jacobs (1989), working earlier than the others, offers six models: the Discipline-Based Content Design, the Parallel Discipline Designs, the Discipline Units or Courses, the Interdisciplinary Units or Courses, the Integrated Day Model, and the Complete Program. In a survey conducted by Banks (2001), he offers a brief description of each and their emphasis. These models are described in greater depth in Chapter Five where actual models based on these theories are analyzed.

Few published evaluations were found that examined the performance of any human rights education models in the field. However, the literature maintains that they have an effect. At the 2005 United Nations General

Assembly, a report on human rights education offered that "the international community has increasingly expressed consensus on the fundamental contribution of human rights education to the realization of human rights" (United Nations General Assembly 2005). Ulrich & Wenzel (2005, p45) have taken up the "evaluation challenge" and offer solutions for human rights education through the introduction of an evaluation concept that offers possible orientation and classification options for the practical application of human rights education. It provides suggestions and possibilities for evaluation within human rights education, which they define in the following way:

> Evaluation offers a chance to expand and broaden existing human rights education projects. The systematic inclusion of all participants

> often makes clear for the first time which divergent explicit and implicit assumptions predominates personal actions and experience. Evaluation enables a new level of reflection that can lead to an increase in quality within a project currently in practice. Theoretical conceptions are seen more clearly; other conceptions are classified and limited.

The reason for the lack of evaluation may be as Flowers (2000) indicates, in her handbook on human rights education: evaluation methodologies for human rights education are still at the developmental stage. The provision of education during emergencies points to "a dearth of evidence from evaluations of successful-or-even unsuccessful-programs" (Bensala 2002; p.12). This is further echoed by Miller and Affolter (2002, p.1) who assert that "there is relatively little evaluative and reflective material available about educational interventions in many post-conflict contexts".

Uganda, as a signatory to both the United *Nation's Decade for Human Rights Education* (1995-2004) (United Nations General Assembly 1994) and the subsequent *Plan of Action for the First Phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 2005), in theory supports human rights education for its citizens. Dicklitch & Lwanga (2003) explain Uganda's framework for human rights promotion and protection in their work. They identify that Uganda is a signatory agreeing to uphold multiple national and international laws and conventions (FHRI 2005). Uganda is also a signatory to the *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* (ACHPR 1986, p.25), which provides one of the clearest and simplest statements in international norm-making regarding governmental

responsibility for education and a significant call for effective human rights education. The Charter obliges its fifty-two signatory African states to:

> Promote and ensure thorough teaching, education and publication, the respect for the rights and freedoms contained in the present Charter and to see to it that these freedoms and rights as well as corresponding obligations and duties are understood.

Uganda has also developed *The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child* (ACRWC 1990). It is this document that ensures general education for children and where formal human rights education falls.[3]

---

[3]Education
1. Every child shall have the right to education.
2. The education of the child shall be directed to:
(a) The promotion and development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;
(b) Fostering respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms with particular reference to those set out in the provisions of various African instruments on human and peoples' rights and international human rights declarations and conventions;
(c) The preservation and strengthening of positive African morals, traditional values and cultures;
(d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, tolerance, dialogue, mutual respect and friendship among all peoples ethnic, tribal and religious groups;
(e) The preservation of national independence and territorial integrity;
(f) The promotion and achievements of African Unity and solidarity;
(g) The development of respect for the environment and natural resources;
(h) The promotion of the child understanding of primary health care.
3. States parties to the present Charter shall take all appropriate measures with a view to achieving the full realization of this right and shall in particular:
(a) Provide free and compulsory basic education;
(b) Encourage the development of secondary education in its different forms and to progressively make it free and accessible to all;
(c) Make the higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity and ability by every appropriate means;
(d) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of the drop-out rate;
(e) Take special measures in respect of female, gifted and disadvantaged children, to ensure equal access to education for all sections of the community (Article 11, p.3).

Despite Uganda's human rights environment, Uganda is identified by Dicklitch & Lwanga (2003) as having a pervasive culture of apathy, ignorance, and fear around challenging and fighting for human rights. Burnett et al. (2007, p.6) suggest that this situation is in part compounded by what they term as:

> ...retrogressive cultural practices and traditions, and poverty and armed conflicts. The first two influence, amongst other things, the legislative processes and serve to accentuate the discrimination that is visited upon women. Examples of harmful traditional practices include virginity testing, widow inheritance, sexual slavery and female genital mutilation. Patriarchy has been so well perfected that even where discriminatory laws and policies are removed, women are unable to immediately enjoy the benefits because the pressures of society demand that women remain in an inferior position to men.

Uganda is a signatory to both the *United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education* (1995-2004) (United Nations General Assembly 1994) and *The Plan of Action for the First Phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education* (2005-2007) (United Nations General Assembly 2005), According to Tomasevski (2003, p.15) they are therefore obliged to, "...to ensure that each child has access to education, but it also prohibits them from monopolizing education, let alone transforming it into institutionalized indoctrination". Uganda has developed a specific curriculum within its formal education program to address these human rights education obligations.

This curriculum developed at The National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) (Ministry of Education and Sport 1999b), is embedded within

the UPE curriculum. The NCDC identifies its mission as, “to initiate, develop, monitor and evaluate exciting and new curriculum for primary, secondary, technical, vocational and tertiary levels of education” (Ministry of Education and Sport 1999b). This government produced curriculum represents the only formal human rights education model for children in Uganda and is currently the primary opportunity for children to begin to hear about some of their rights and responsibilities. It does not address the areas outlined in the list of human rights violations produced by the Ugandan Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (2005). This list outlines seven areas of human rights violations requiring immediate attention. With regard to informal and non-informal human rights education there are multiple NGOs who are working in Uganda. Many are united under the umbrella NGO called The Uganda Child Rights NGO Network (UCRNN). The mission of UCRNN (1996, p.2) is:

> To facilitate the observance of the Children’s Rights in Uganda through advocacy, networking and capacity building with member organizations and child-focused actors. This is guided by the principles of the best interest of child participation and non-discrimination.

There is also evidence that Peace Clubs are operating in Uganda and there are several radio programs dedicated to communicating with children who have been taken and are living in the bush. These provide informal human rights education. To date no evaluations were found of either the Ugandan government’s formal, school based curriculum or informal methods that would indicate that either was of benefit. The exception was a 1999 mid-term

review, conducted on the Uganda Human Rights Education and Documentation Centre, funded by the Danish Centre for Human Rights, which looked at the continued viability of the centre and focused primarily on poor management issues and the resulting impact on the cataloguing and distribution of human rights materials. While mention was made of the development of the human rights education syllabi, no specific evaluation was discussed. As mentioned previously, reliance on delivery of human rights education through a school system that during conflict is severely compromised would logically impact accessibility significantly.

Summary

This chapter reviewed several bodies of literature. The first cluster takes into account African gender nuances inherent in the dynamics between females/males during war. The feminist literature supported further understanding the social construction of a gender-based link between warfare, power, and the acquisition and exploitation of women (Unterhalter 2005a). This, authors suggested, would allow improved comprehension of the situation for girls in northern Uganda and the resulting complexities faced when attempting to develop human rights learning with them (Honwana 2006; Keitetsi 2004; Mazurana et al. 2002).

The African feminist literature reviewed further advocates the necessity to understand how the social construction of gender affects both the impact and role of women and girls during and after armed conflicts (Akatsa-Bukachi 2005; Dosekun 2007; Maerten 2004). The literature demonstrates how the social construction of gender can affect every aspect of

African life, from opportunities to secure an economic livelihood and education, to quality of health, mortality, and morbidity (Mazurana & McKay 2001; McKay 2006; Tamale 1999). African women and girls are generally viewed in the literature as passive, causalities of war or victims of systematic violence including sexual torture, rape, and sexual slavery, often sanctioned by both state and opposition forces as a tactic of war and a political act to terrorize communities (Allen 1996; 1995; Boothby et al. 2006; Cook 2007; Mazurana et al. 2002; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Honwana 2006; Keitetsi 2004; Refugee Law Project 2007; Singer 2005; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998; Wessells 2006). The exception was the text by Moser and Clark (2001), which critiques these stereotypical portrayals of women in war. As a result, these authors advocate that every effort be made to view girls holistically and contextually within specific armed groups, geopolitical and cultural contexts, time periods, countries or regions. Further literature examination revealed the dearth of research in the area considering the distinct physical, emotional and spiritual long term effects of girls' experiences in war, and which policies and programs ought to be developed to address their needs.

The second body of literature examined in this chapter considers the history of human rights education on a global level, so as to establish both its prominence and its impact on the human rights field. This focused an understanding of the theory behind the development of human rights education. The literature provided evidence that human rights education can be an appropriate way to affect a culture's understanding, empowerment, and upholding of human rights and responsibilities (Banks 2001; Tarrow 1992). Several authors suggested varying numbers of components to include

in an optimum human rights education model, as well as ways to view method and content (Banks 2001; Claude 1999, 2008; Flowers 2000; Jacobs 1989; Marks 2003; Pitts 2002; Koenig 2002; Tarrow 1992; Tibbetts 1997). They agreed on several key areas of inclusion, such as knowledge, skills, values, and action. The differences amongst the authors were related to where they placed their emphasis rather than the individual components.

In the literature, several prototypes or models were considered as vehicles of human rights learning. These models were summarized by Banks (2001), who looked at points of convergence, congruence and overlap and concluded that the Tibbetts transformational model with its "essential emphasis" on action is similar to his model called *Transformational and Social Action Approach* and to the *Integrated Day Model and Complete Program* offered by Heidi Jacobs. The transformational model is one of empowerment. In this model, the "human rights programming is geared toward empowering the individual to both recognize human rights abuses and to commit to their prevention. In some cases whole communities, not just the individuals, are treated as the target audience" (Tibbetts 2002). Banks (2001, p.6) proposes that this model "changes the basic assumptions and structure of the curriculum to allow students to view concepts, issues, events and themes from the perspective of diverse ethnic and cultural groups". It appeared that there was limited research available in the area of evaluation (Flowers 2000). Finally, this chapter outlined the 1999 Ugandan human rights education syllabi as currently available through the UPE curriculum, noting that availability is not necessarily linked to accessibility.

In the next chapter I will discuss the research methods used in this study. I will describe the feminist research methodology employed and the research methods of documentary research, interviewing, focus groups and art-based inquiry. I will explain why and how the girls from northern Uganda were selected as participants, how the study was conducted, and how the data was then analyzed.

Chapter Four: A Transformative Feminist Research Methodology

Introduction

The preceding chapters presented the background of the study, defined the research questions, described the findings of the socio-historical literature to contextualize the study and, in Chapter Three, presented the theoretical underpinnings that frame the study. In this chapter, Letherby's (2005, p.5) methodology definition is used as a foundation to describe and analyze the research framework of the study:

> A methodology entails a perspective or framework. Thinking methodologically involves describing and analyzing the method used, evaluating their value, detailing the dilemmas their usage causes, and exploring the relationship between the method [technique or tool used] and how we use them, and the production and presentation of our data -our 'findings'.

A brief overview of feminist research methodology is provided, after which the research design is discussed. This is followed by an explanation of how the was generated and recorded and includes explanations of the socio-historical literature review, the descriptive documentary analysis, the situational analysis, the field work interviews and focus group and the art-based inquiry. The chapter is concluded with an explanation of the data, methodological issues, trustworthiness and the limitations of the study.

Brief Description of Feminist Research Methodology

In acknowledging my focus on understanding which perspectives and methods are best suited to human rights education in a situation of armed conflict and in being particularly interested in the experiences of young women, I recognized that I needed a creative methodology that would afford me the opportunity to explore and understand the Ugandan socio-historical context, the participants' experiences and the human rights education theoretical models and practical tools developed to date. I determined that I could not arrive at the kind of information-rich understanding that I sought through statistical procedures or other means of quantification, as are exemplified by the quantitative approach (Creswell 1994). I determined rather that the research design would need to be qualitative (Lincoln 1994). From the onset, the questions that I posed suggested that a holistic view and a naturalistic inquiry would allow me to gain a deeper level of understanding than that which is already known about the issues or can be conveyed quantitatively (Patton 2002). Working from this orientation I focused on accessing a methodology that would allow me to explore the topic in detail, describe the process, meaning and understanding I gained through the words and art of the participants. I anticipated that from what I gathered during the research I would be able to propose a framework for human rights learning and include the experiences of young women in armed conflict situations. In addition, it was vital that my methodology allow me to be an active learner in the process: specifically, one who could tell the participants' stories in a way that was sensitive to their experiences and that provided a localized notion of the role of gender in their context. I sought a research

process that preserved the participants' voices rather than one that showcased me as an "expert," passing judgment. In essence, I wanted the research process, as Freire (2005) suggests, to be an educational activity grounded in the experience of participants that opens up a series of possibilities for ways in which we might approach human rights practice.

Initially, it was challenging to find a methodology that was suitable. I began by considering emancipatory action research, but later set it aside[4]. During this time I came across the work of Jordan (1996), who has done extensive research with women on the African continent. Jordan too described her initial struggle to fit her Afro-feminist research studies into a particular methodological frame. She was eventually drawn to feminist methodology for its accepting, innovative methods in design and recognition of the need for participant inclusion and an emancipatory experience. Jordan described her experience as finding a methodology that, "allows us to be enriched by experiences in a manner that has been rather disturbing…Methodologists too should begin to reconceptualize their

---

[4] I chose this method initially as action research arises from the critical perspective, and has "a fundamental interest in emancipation and empowerment to engage in autonomous action arising out of authentic critical insights into the social construction of human society" (Gundy 1982 p.19). Other forms of action-orientated research, such as traditional and collaborative, were also considered but appeared to be more concerned with the assumptions that underlie the activity conducted or whether the means would justify the end in a particular project. The use of an emancipatory action method supported the asking and exploration of research questions that have as their objective self-determination and justice transformative practice, the generation of theory about the change process and innovation at the same time. I wanted to retain this aspect of the methodology. Despite this, there did not appear to be sufficient focus on the particular standpoints and experiences of women. Given the circumstances found in the field (situational analysis 2005) I soon determined that in the field I would not be able to fully engage in the five stage iterative action research process that I had planned and that the strengths of the method would not be realized.

methods to be inclusive of marginalization" (1996, p.152). Jordan (1996) was seeking the same in a methodology as I was, with similar populations, so I decided to take her lead and explore a feminist methodology. After significant reading I decided that a feminist methodology would allow my marginalized participants to contribute their voices to developing knowledge about human rights learning in a way that encapsulates their unique experiences. In the literature, research of this type has also been referred to as "reality research, emancipatory research and indigenous research" (Jordan 1996, p.151).

The literature that I found on feminist methodology was extensive, diverse, and largely qualitative in nature (Cook & Fonow 1986; Hammersley 1992, 1995; Martin 1994, 1996; Stanley 1990; Weigil 2006). Feminist researchers agreed that all feminist research does not fit succinctly within one unified research methodology, nor can it be summarized into a definitive linear framework. Rather, as Fonow and Cook (1991, p.20) conclude, "The feminist debate about research is dynamic and ongoing". Maguire (1987, p.74) concurs stating, "Feminist research . . . consists of no single set of agreed upon research guidelines or methods. Nor have feminists agreed upon one definition of feminist research". Instead, most feminist methodological authors offer alternate positions or interpretations for consideration that are based upon their experiences when doing feminist research (Brayton 1997; Cook & Fonow 1986; DeVault 1990; Fonow & Cook 1991; Harding 1987; Harding 2004; Letherby 2005; Martin 1994; Martin 1996; Stanley 1990; Wolf 1996). In essence then, the literature suggests that feminist research is generally, as Reinharz (1992, p.249) succinctly proposes, "Guided by feminist

theory". Bowles and Klein (1983) support this opinion and then articulate what feminist research is not in order to define what it is. They suggest that it is different from "patriarchal scholarship" or "male-dominated research" in that it closely relates to feminist theory. Consequently, in order for me to gain an understanding of feminist methodology, it was imperative that I be familiar with what feminist theory incorporates. An overview of feminist theory is covered in Chapter Three.

Literature on feminist methodology offers that at a basic level the research incorporates and seeks to understand the power imbalance between the researcher and the researched: it is politically motivated and has a role in changing social inequalities. It also has a focus on sexuality while generally providing a critique of social relations (Cook & Fonow 1986; DeVault 1990; Fonow & Cook 1991; Harding 1987; Harding 2004; Letherby 2005; Stanley 1990; Reinharz 1992; Wolf 1996).

In summary, the literature on feminist research methodology encompasses a multiplicity of interpretations; it is dynamic, differs from quantitative or male dominated research, and has at its foundation feminist theory. From this body of literature I drew upon four basic feminist methodological principles to guide my study. From Brayton's (1997) methodological text are drawn the first three guiding principles:

1. feminist research actively seeks to remove the power imbalance between research and subject;
2. it is generally politically motivated and plays a major role in changing social inequality; and
3. it begins with the standpoints and experiences of women.

Next, I drew upon the work of Sandra Harding (1987), who concurs with Brayton (1997, p.9) and offers an additional principle: “It shows us how to apply the general structure of scientific theory to research on women and gender".

My Transformative Feminist Methodology

Taking the four principals above, I took as my starting point the need for a way to explore my research questions that would give voice to the experiences of the female participants and retain those voices throughout the study. I wanted to research *with* the participants and find out what they thought about human rights learning. Given my perception that their experiences were likely to involve having had their rights violated or ignored, I wanted to ensure that the research that I conducted was not further exploiting the participants by only expropriating their knowledge, but was, rather, a reciprocal process of learning and change. In the actual process of conducting the research, I wanted to bring about change while supporting and promoting the existence of their human rights through human rights learning. My goal was that the research endeavour alone might potentially create change and improve the conditions for young girls while generating new knowledge in the field. It was at this junction that I began to consider and try to understand the inherent power imbalance that I anticipated my positionality and goals would exacerbate between myself as researcher and the participants, and the potential effects that it may have on the research results.

I realized that my act of conducting research among women in third world countries as a Westerner would create a power imbalance and set up my position in regards to them. This position is recognized by Miraftab (2004), an investigator of transnational feminist research; in particular, Western researchers going to study third world women or Western-trained third world researchers returning to their countries of origin. She considered the concept of the researcher's positionality in the research context. She described positionality as incorporating race, class, life chances and urban/rural background. I acknowledged my positionality as a Caucasian woman from a working class background, who had had significant positive life chances such as an education, health care and security, who would be researching with women who were black, and, I assumed from my understanding of the context, had experienced significant social, emotional and physical obstacles in their lives. To try to counteract this inherent power imbalance, I sought to ensure that I collected rich data through multiple methods that would preserve as much of the participants' voices and experiences as possible. I also maintained a strong desire throughout my research to make sure that the viewpoints of the participants were represented well and shared honestly. Understanding my power in the research process allowed me to apply it to the promotion of the participants' voices to a greater audience. I had the capacity —and was given permission by the participants— to take the findings to various international venues and to write about what was happening in northern Uganda. This is consistent with another of Miraftab's (2004) findings: her research participants trusted her with their stories, as they felt they would be carried far away and not

circulated in their communities. This gave them a different level of confidentiality and safety. The participants in my study requested that I carry their voices away so that "others would know what was happening to them and do something about it".

Using a feminist research methodology constantly kept at the forefront my motives, concerns and Afro-gender-based knowledge, which helped shape the research experience (Brayton 1997). I appreciated that feminist methodologies have the capacity to initiate action: I wanted to assist with initiating some action or change amongst my participants and research assistant. This concept of initiating action through informal education experiences is consistent with the work of Brazilian educationalist, Paulo Freire (1970, 2005) whose work I consulted in addition to feminist methodology. I did this as I was seeking further resources that would allow me to operationalize the action component of the study. Freire's work brings together several views about educational practice, action and liberation, which are echoed in feminist research methodology. Particularly applicable to this study are the aspects of Freire's work which place emphasis on the notion that respectful dialogue and conversation are keys to working with groups, especially in informal educational settings. He suggests that this form of education insists that one person not impose their action on another; rather, it is the idea of people working with each other to generate knowledge. He viewed this as especially vital when working with oppressed populations. Freire placed emphasis on what he termed praxis. Praxis, he formulated, is the understanding that actions are informed and have the capacity to enlighten or motivate action and thereby enhance community and

build social capital. He advocated that informed practice requires the need for theoretical foundations while acknowledging the experiences of the participants, both essential components in a feminist methodology and this study. I therefore assumed that a feminist methodology, incorporating Freire's work, would give rise to enlightenment and action in the form of authentic insights for both the female research participants and me.

As previously noted, the use of multiple research methods is promoted in the design of feminist research (Brayton 1997; Cook & Fonow 1986; DeVault 1990; Fonow & Cook 1991; Harding 1987; Harding 2004; Letherby 2005; Wolf 1996). My research design incorporated a literature review, descriptive documentary analysis, interviews, focus group discussions, field observations and an art-based inquiry. The flexibility to use these multiple methods/techniques provided the ability to compensate for any limitations in each method, contribute to my understanding of concepts and phenomena from different perspectives, and improve trustworthiness. Most importantly, it permitted the participants alternate methods of expressing themselves that were not reliant solely upon translated, transcribed text, or the spoken language. This became apparent early on in the fieldwork when the language differences between participants and I was fully realized. While I had given considerable thought to the differences in our spoken languages, I had not factored in the cognitive effect of trauma on the participants' ability to express themselves verbally in a second language which they had forgotten while in the bush (Steele 2006).

Using a Feminist Research Methodology: Evolving Issues

In the writing phase of the study, my feminist research methodology became both an encumbrance and strength. The constantly evolving research process kept my motivation and momentum high during the often long and difficult writing experience. At the same time, trying to write from a wealth of collected data about experiences that were non-linear and emerging was a tremendous challenge, as I could not know when it was complete. It also often felt as if I was starting again, when in essence I had to recognize that I was merely on another spiral of reflection and deepening understanding. Weagal (2006, p.1) perhaps conceptualized this best when she stated, "a masculine paradigm often entails a more linear narrative with a thrust toward a single climatic point". She explains, using a quilting metaphor, that feminist authors have encouraged narrative expression which recognizes many areas of interest with multiple centres and multiple peaks; therefore, this results in significant circularity rather than a linear chronological narrative. It was this circularity that I became engaged in and that at times contributed to my struggle to finish writing.

While having multiple assets, I also found feminist methodology to be complex and tension-laden. With its strong emphasis on a collaborative, equalizing process, the shift of control in this methodology is moved closer to the research participants and further away from the researcher as opposed to traditional research methods (Fonow & Cook 1991). As indicated earlier, this shift to balance the inherent power, while welcomed, created an obvious tension for me as I was and am required to be the sole creator of the dissertation and to present a product that is an individual demonstration of

my academic competence. Kerr (1998) speaks about this tension as a "double burden," suggesting that it creates conflict or tension for the researcher(s) as they struggle with the need for rigor that meets the academic threshold for trustworthiness and the continued necessity to ensure that the research remains relevant, collaborative, and responsive to the participants. This tension is also evidenced in my work as I struggle to move my data analysis beyond the descriptive to the analytical. At times, I found that my concerns regarding not judging or being perceived as the expert on the participants' experiences caused me to lean toward a desire to describe in detail, rather than to abstract and link theoretical concepts to these experiences. I recognized the need to do this in order to contribute to an understanding of this topic and to communicate my interpretation to others, but it continued to cause friction for me.

How I Proceeded: The Research Design

I took as my starting point an overview of both the methodological and content literature. I did this to "set the stage" (Creswell 1994) and to provide valuable data to begin to explore and develop an initial justification for my research approach. I also reviewed the literature to begin to expand my preliminary understanding of the human rights education methods that were available for use in armed conflict circumstances and to gain a greater understanding of the context.

After completing the initial brief literature review, I experienced my first significant strain in employing a non-linear approach to the research

process. Prior to this study I was most familiar with a traditional thesis format (Halsall unpublished 2004) and found myself wanting to write a comprehensive review of the literature as an initial chapter to this dissertation. After numerous attempts, I stopped trying to forge a complete review. As I wrote up specific aspects of the study, I returned repeatedly to the literature to consult and to expand my understanding in both method and content areas. In the traditional sense, my literature review never seemed to coalesce into one large formative document. Rather, it resulted in two literature examinations: Chapter Two, which is a socio-historical contextual review; and Chapter Three, the theoretical underpinnings of the study. In addition, the literature is used throughout the dissertation to emphasize or support a particular perspective or finding.

Descriptive Documentary Analysis

During the descriptive documentary analysis, I engaged primarily in two activities. Using a human rights list serve[5], human rights conference proceedings and human rights education literature, I collected, documented and analyzed current human rights education/learning models applicable to children and youth in war situations. Secondly, I collected, documented, and developed a concordance or cross-referencing of related human rights conventions and acts relevant to the situation. I conducted both of these activities in order to challenge, corroborate, and augment evidence from

---

[5] Global Human Rights Education list serve accessed through the World Wide Web at hr-education@lists.hrea.org.

other sources, such as the fieldwork conducted with informants and participants to build an explanation of the possibilities. An in-depth description of this data analysis and the findings can be found in Chapter Five.

Situational Analysis

Prior to beginning the formal fieldwork, I met with twenty informants during a 2005 reconnaissance or situational analysis visit to Uganda (Appendix B). These individuals/informants were identified by my contacts in Uganda who indicated that they may have useful input. I met with all twenty and spoke informally in non-directive interviews. The content was open-ended and the purpose was to gather as much information as possible to guide the 2006 field work. From here, I established the study's parameters and began to collect background data that would help me to further expand the research design. These informants were individuals from a variety of contexts, some of whom were responsible for or tasked with providing services to girls in the rehabilitation centres. As English is the language of instruction in Uganda, I was fortunate to be able to conduct these informal interviews in English. The list of informants is included in Appendix B and an analysis of this visit is described in Chapter Six.

Reflection on the information gathered in this process served to highlight the need for further action to make a practical difference with girls in northern Uganda. It was also during this visit that I made the final decision to alter my research methodology from emancipatory action to its

current form as I planned how to realistically conduct creditable, safe research in this context.

I spoke with these informants on multiple occasions to clarify my understanding of the complex circumstances that were unfolding. I still continue to email and otherwise contact some of them to seek further clarification about issues as they arise and to continue to deepen my knowledge base.

Fieldwork

The northern Ugandan fieldwork was conducted over the summer of 2006. It was premised on the assumption, consistent with a feminist paradigm (Fonow & Cook 1991), that accessing "real life knowledge" is vital and informative in understanding the experiences of women and the development of human rights education/learning models (Gorkoff & Runner 2003). The need for the research design to be ethical and mutually beneficial to the research participants always remained an equally important consideration (Holmes 1998; Holmgrunn 2005).

Central to my research study was the core belief that the preferable starting place for understanding the life or experiences of girls taken by non-state militia in northern Uganda and the impact of human rights learning on their lives was through an exploration of their reality as they understood it. I indicated this in my preamble to the participants at the onset of the transcribed focus group conducted in Lira (2006):

> I can go and visit many centres and look at places and read many books...and think I have some ideas about what could help. But I think it is much better that I hear from the people who are living it and get

> their truth, instead of through the many things that are written (Lira: focus group, transcription counter #59).

The data collection tools used during the field work were designed to provide an opportunity for research participants to describe what it was like to live their everyday lives. In addition, I observed and documented how and under what conditions these lives were lived. This method of data collection served several functions. It afforded a depth and richness of understanding not readily available through any other data source, such as research more characteristic of conceptual, abstract statistical analysis (Cannon et al. 1991). Secondly, as suggested by Wolf (1996), the process of asking/listening/hearing the girls' stories had the potential to be emancipatory, empowering, and to give "voice" and validation to experience. The trauma literature concurs that the process of validating stories has the potential to shift or support the participants' perceived perception from those of victims to persons empowered to make change or affect their own lives (Presbury & McKee & Echerling 2001). As Christine Akello (a formerly taken youth) emphasized in her May, 2006 Civicus conference address in Glasgow, "it is important that we speak with children and not for them…they should not just be the result takers, but also seen as the result makers."

Recognizing the importance of facilitating empowerment through the research process is particularly significant both during a prolonged war and in a developing country (Humphries 1994, 1996). In these circumstances, survival often becomes "donor dependant." Consequently, there is a great and necessary emphasis on the construction of "victims of war" in an effort to

attract additional donor support. This can influence donor recipients, causing them to downplay their personal capacity and power in a situation. Participants in this study were also stripped of their power and control through the experience of exploitation, captivity, and oppression.

As a research method, the concept of accessing experiences is far from an innovative idea and is a component in several methodologies, including feminist, action-based, and phenomenological. Van Manen (1997), a phenomenological researcher, suggests using the term “life worlds” rather than “lived experience” to describe a similar idea. In his writings, Van Manen suggests that by gaining an understanding of the world of lived experience, the essence or nature of experiences can be brought to the forefront. In this model, Van Manen constructs lived experience as being that domain of understanding which occurs in our direct contact with things, as opposed to that which occurs secondarily through abstract reflection. Van Manen proposes that, as a research method, the lived experience focus is more concerned with immediacy and the qualities, values, and impressions of experiences rather than with the what, when, and why characteristics.

Using the idea of lived experience and keeping within a feminist frame, I was afforded the opportunity to describe and interpret lived or existential meanings by hearing directly from participants. This is in contrast to relying on generalizations and theories similar to more quantitative research methods. The issue becomes how one operationally applies these concepts to investigate real experiences as they are found in the field. In Van Manen’s (1997, p.32) words:

> Phenomenological research requires of the researcher that he or she stand in the fullness of life, in the midst of the world of living relations and shared situations.

As the above passage demonstrates, understanding the meaning of an experience is complex. Lived experience tends to be defined in terms of what it is not. Lived meanings are not conceptualized meanings; nor, as Van Manen suggests in his work, are they merely abstracted and therefore un-worldly or speculative. Rather, one has to become immersed in the experience. This idea of standing within the research elicited unexpected experiences for both me as the researcher and for my research assistant. We could not ignore our experiences and they became additional aspects to consider within the research study.

At this point, I recognized the reality of the symbiotic relationship between the research and the researchers. This relationship became an integral part of the research analysis and was therefore incorporated into the final art piece. Translators and informants who were part of the research also expressed a need to share their experiences. This resulted in three pieces of art created by the assistants and informants to be included, with their consent, in the final art piece.

This simplistic notion of 'listening to hear' the reality of participants' lives, belied a complexity that I was ill prepared for and did not anticipate in the preparation of my research protocols or readings. In order to capture their experiences, I had to go far beyond accurately documenting the words that they spoke. Hearing their experiences involved accessing all of my senses. It seemed at times that the limitations of verbal language were never

more evident than when participants were attempting to describe their excruciating, traumatic experiences. Their expressive language seemed to fail to express that which perhaps was essentially expressionless. As I watched their slumped shoulders, curved in as if protecting their bodies, their dropped heads, averted and downcast eyes, the constant fluttering of their hands, and the periods of silence, I knew that I was missing some of the fullness and depth of the story they were telling by just accessing words.

Data collected through the use of non-directive art proved extremely beneficial. It afforded participants the scope to be descriptive about their experiences and allowed them to match their communicative abilities with their particular realities. The art aspect of this study also allowed the data to become fuller and to regain some of its robustness. In particular, conversing with girls through art about their traumatic experiences allowed an additional mechanism to express that which was neither textual nor verbal. In addition, it alleviated and bridged some of the cultural gulf in a way that the interviews were not able to.

Interviews and Focus Groups

Participants

Research participants were restricted to those girls who had been taken and held and had escaped or been rescued, and who were now within reasonable travel distance from either Lira or Gulu towns (map in Chapter Two). With the assistance of local key informants who spoke mutually intelligible languages, twenty-four young girls from these areas were recruited to participate in the study.

The girls recruited were previously connected with three rehabilitation centres: Rachele Rehabilitation Centre (Lira), Caritas Reception and Rehabilitation Centre (Teboke) and Gulu Save the Children Organization (Gulu). At the time of the study, all of the participants were either still residing in one of the rehabilitation centres or were living within an IDP.

Table 3: Participant recruitment sites

Name of Centre	**Total number of participants N=24**
Caritas Reception & Rehabilitation Centre	N=13
Rachele Rehabilitation Centre	N=9
Gulu Save the Children Organization	N=2

No specific age groupings were sought for this study. Participants were recruited based solely on the research team's ability to safely access them and their willingness to participate. Girls from both of the major northern tribal groups, the Acholi and the Langi, were invited to participate in this study. Acholi (also known as Acoli) are peoples from the districts of Gulu, Kitgum and Pader. These districts make up Acholiland in northern Uganda and Magwe Country in southern Sudan. The Acholi peoples speak the Acholi language. It is one of the western Nilothic languages, classified as Luo, and is easily understood by peoples who speak either Lango or one of the other Luo languages. The Langi (singular: Lango) peoples live in the Lango sub-region in the central area of Uganda, north of Lake Kyoga. The Lango sub-region comprises of the districts of Lira and Apac. Their language is Leb Lango or

Luo. It is also well understood by those speaking Acholi and Kumam and is related to the other Luo languages of Uganda.

Data with regards to the numbers of girls from each of these specific tribal groups was not collected, because of the tribal nature of the current conflict. Asking of such a question may have been more alarming to participants than the relevance or usefulness of such data to the study. The mean age of the participants was 15.5 years.

Table 4: Demographics and social variables of the 24 girls taken by non-state militias (LRA)

Demographics and social variables	Total	Focus group	Semi-structured interviews
Gender	24 Females	9 Females	15 Females
Mean age at time of study	15.5 years (12-29 years)	15.5 years (12-29 years)	15.5 years (12-29 years)
Mean age in years at time of taking	14 years (11-17 years)	14 years (11-17 years)	14 years (11-17 years)
Length of time in weeks spent in captivity	1 week to 7 years	Not determined	34 weeks (1 week -7 years)
Level of Universal Primary Education received	24 • Lowest: None • Highest: Secondary 2	9 • Lowest: None • Highest: Secondary 2	15 • Lowest: None • Highest: Secondary 2
Total (24 participants)	24	9	15

Measures

A semi-structured, open-ended, 33-item questionnaire (see Appendix F) was used as a guide for a focus group and the fifteen interviews. The purpose was to gather information about three primary areas: demographic information (five questions), information about the girls' experiences of captivity in the bush (twenty questions), and information about human rights learning (eight questions). To achieve an improved understanding of the unique northern Ugandan experience, items were added and deleted based upon information gleaned during the 2005 situational field analysis (see Appendix B), which included significant input from twenty local informants. During the focus groups and interviews, the participants were invited to describe: their experiences of being taken, held, and escaping from captivity in the bush; how they were treated; and what they drew upon that gave them the strength to survive. Participants were also encouraged to talk about the gender-specific roles that they performed while being held. In addition, they were invited to give their thoughts and opinions about their experiences related to human rights learning[6]. The northern Ugandan questionnaire was designed to solicit dialogue about each girl's current knowledge of human rights documents, their opinions with regards to the strengths and weaknesses of current human rights learning models, and what they thought could improve

[6] These latter questions were loosely based on a 2002 United Nations Children's Fund study titled, *"Adult wars, child soldiers: Voices of children involved in armed conflict in the East Asia and Pacific Region"* (used with permission).

the implementation of human rights learning during unending armed conflict.

All of the proposed guiding questions on the tool were further discussed with the Ugandan informant team to ensure cultural appropriateness and relevance of the questions, given the political and social nature of some of the questions. The guiding questionnaire was then translated from English into Acholi/Luo by one of the northern Ugandan research assistants with assistance from a Luo-speaking professor from Makerere University in Kampala.

Procedures

Three Luo-speaking assistants and I interviewed twenty-four young girls in two different scenarios. In the first scenario, I asked representatives of Caritas and the Gulu Save the Children Organization Rehabilitation Centres whether there were any girls who had been taken and held in the bush who wished to participate in the study. Fifteen girls indicated their interest and traveled with centre support staff to a central location for the interviews. Centre staff, in conjunction with the insider team, chose the locations they thought were safest. Of the women who assisted with the interviews, two were social workers with whom the girls were familiar (they were from Caritas and the Rachele Rehabilitation Centre) and the third was the research assistant/insider who was present throughout. Each participant was provided access to one of these social workers if they needed to debrief or seek counseling following the interviews and focus group. While it appeared that

the research process was a positive experience, this study was not designed to facilitate a therapeutic trauma intervention.

At the onset of the questionnaire-guided interviews, each assistant was given the guiding questionnaire and prepped on conducting the interviews to ensure accuracy and consistency before we began. I was present during all interviews and participated and/or observed all. At the start of the interviews, which were primarily conducted in the local language of Luo, the participants had the opportunity to read and have read to them the "Letter of Invitation to Participate in the Study," which was available in both English and Luo (see appendices D & E). Participants signed the translated "Research Participant Consent Form" (see appendices D & E). The consent also included their permission to use the artwork that they completed and photos that were taken.

Potential participants were given the option to withdraw and also offered a self-addressed stamped envelope if they felt they might want to withdraw at a later date or might want further communication with the researcher. One participant requested such an envelope and at the end of the interview this participant handed the envelope back to the researcher with an enclosed note requesting assistance with the payment of her school fees. No participants withdrew. This request, with the consent of the participant, was passed along to an NGO with the capacity to assist. Giving out envelopes, pens, and paper were not part of the original research plan, but the internet proved not to be a viable option for communication, due to the extensive power outages, high costs, and difficult access. Mailing also proved to be challenging, with poor access to stamps, paper, pens, and envelopes. Such

items, when available, were expensive and sold only by the piece. All of the initially identified participants agreed to take part in the study.

Given the high security situation attached to gathering the participants in one location and the travel distances involved, it was not possible to ask for any re-interviews or to ask follow-up questions at a later date in the study. However, one assistant made herself available to both myself and participants to provide follow-up on specific queries post data collection as needed. Each participant's confidentiality and anonymity was protected as much as possible given the cultural and physical limitations of the situation. Each participant was asked to choose their own pseudonyms to protect their identity.

In the second scenario, nine girls from the Rachele Rehabilitation Centre were interviewed as participants in a focus group. The opportunity for the focus group occurred without very much preparation or lead-time. During a visit to the centre I was informed that nine girls would be interested in participating in the study, but that it would need to occur immediately as many of the girls who wanted to participate may be leaving the centre. There was sufficient time to go over the research protocol with an English/Luo-speaking social worker who was known to the girls and available to assist with the translations, along with the research insider who was an integral component throughout the study. I considered carefully whether the time pressures would have a negative effect on the participants or my ability to ensure the quality of the data. After ensuring that the protocol and consents were in place, and that participants had sufficient time to understand the process and to ask questions, I decided that there were no ethical reasons not

to go ahead. In fact, given the context and that the nine participants had requested they be involved and were keen to proceed, it may have been detrimental not to have gone ahead. I followed the same procedure as in the interviews. The focus group was taped, translated, transcribed, and field notes were taken. It should be noted that the guiding questionnaire was not strictly adhered to in the focus groups and, therefore, dialogue was more participant-directed. Due to this difference between the interviews and the focus group, some data only exists for those girls who were individually interviewed.

Throughout the research study two fundamental aspects were at the forefront: safety for participants, assistants and myself and ensuring that the act of conducting research with the girls offered the opportunity for the participants to "be heard' and to "give voice" to their experience. The participants were considered to be subjects rather than objects of research. The purpose was to facilitate a mutual understanding of their world as agents of change, not as victims. Participants were also encouraged to respond only to those questions that they wished to and the interviewers were instructed not to probe overly for additional responses. There was concern that emotionally laden responses related to the trauma may be triggered if the participants were encouraged to go deeper into the story than they felt ready for.

Art-Based Inquiry: An Alternate Method of Inquiry into the Experiences of Girls Living in Northern Uganda

In this study I used art-based inquiry in conjunction with other forms of research. This "joining together" is consistent with the work of several other art-based researchers as documented by Sinner et al. (2006) and creates a richness and depth of data not achievable in another way. In order to describe art-based inquiry as a form and mode of research I used the metaphoric terminology found in quilting, recognizing the methodological importance of practice, process, and product (Sinner et al. 2006). I chose to use an art-based methodology, as described by Sinner et al. (2006), for its capacity to render an alternative "scholartistry" with the capacity to forge an innovative form of academic discourse that is both evocative and provocative. Sinner et al. (2006, p.1254) offers a caution around the potential for "the integration of the arts [to] blur the traditional format of dissertations, performatively, textually, and visually, and can productively disrupt the protocols and procedures of the academy". Such a blurring is evidenced in the process I have used to conduct my research and also in the production of the final art product. A seven by seven foot pictorial quilt, which cannot be adequately displayed within textual bounds, represents a significant addition to my dissertation (a photo of the quilt is provided on page 167). Its development further chronicled later in this section.

Art-based Inquiry Defined

My primary intent for using an art-based inquiry was accessibility and a commitment to finding creative ways of knowing and researching. The

process and action of doing the research was as important as the final product, which, at the start, did not have a defined outcome, but was a participant driven process, consistent with my Freire informed transformative feminist methodology (Chapter Four). I held a desire to reach or disseminate to audiences beyond the academy. I wanted to create a more participant-inclusive approach to the inquiry process. I was especially interested in ensuring opportunities for participants to have some ownership in the process, so that they could share their knowledge by telling their own stories, thereby balancing the inherent power imbalance that existed between me as the Western researcher and the participants. West & Stalker (2007, p.135), in their discussion of fabric art/crafts in New Zealand, expressed a similar position in their work. They chronicled the use of textile materials crafted into creative artifacts with participants becoming the transmitters and producers of culture rather than the "passive consumers." The fabric art/crafts become repositories of cultural democracy. Again the essence of my work was to have the participants construct and share their experiences in a comfortable, transparent research environment that was uplifting and modeled agency and ownership of their knowledge. Given that I conducted my research in a culture that has a history of colonial imposition and political oppression and exploitive structures and systems I wanted the research experience to be in contrast and support an alternative way. Particularly given my African feminist theoretical perspective, I wanted to find a method that was especially interested not only protecting and preserving the unique voices of the participants, but also had the potential to become a communication tool to raise consciousness and become a political impetus

for change, an act described by Clover (2007, p.85) as, "Connecting the emotional, political, practical and strategic is where this fabric medium plays a valuable role".

My original study proposal indicated that in addition to quilting I would also use Photovoice (Wang & Burris 1997; Wang & Redwood-Jones 2001)[7]. Prior to the last five years, few methodology texts were available which could guide researchers in using an arts-based approach, a finding that is consistent with a review of the same topic conducted by McNiff and Whitehall (2006). Since that time, there has been an increase in the number of art-based qualitative methodology texts available (Cahnmann-Taylor & Siegesmond 2008; Clover & Stalker 2007; Cole & Knowles 2008: McNiff & Whitehall 2006; Mcniff 2008; Rose 2002; Sinner et al. 2006). This shift is matched by the documented increase in the numbers of dissertations submitted over the same time period, where the methodological focus is on art-based inquiry practices (Sinner et al. 2006).

To address some of the resulting questions raised about using this method, I considered a series of baseline questions developed by Cole and Knowles (2008, p.16). The answers to these questions are included

---

[7]Photovoice (Wang & Burris 1997; Wang & Redwood-Jones 2001) is an art-based practice located within participatory action research that uses a participants' photography to symbolize their experience. In the field there was considerable difficulty gathering participants in one place to conduct any research. This was further compounded when trying to use Photovoice which required multiple gatherings of the same participants, providing them with disposable cameras and guidelines, having them leave to document their experiences, then return with the cameras, have the film developed, and then engage in a dialogue to discuss their work. This was all to be accomplished in a war zone where travel was perilous and access to development resources limited. Therefore, Photovoice was found to be logistically impractical and was eliminated as a research method.

throughout this chapter. The following is a paraphrase of a selection of their questions:

(a) Has the researcher articulated the personal, theoretical, and social value of the work?

(b) Is the method appropriate to the purpose?

(c) Are the research processes imbued with qualities of the arts?

(d) Is the researcher's presence felt and known throughout the work?

(e) Has the researcher developed appropriate skills congruent with this form?

(f) Does the work authentically represent the participants?

(g) Has the researcher identified audiences for this work, and is the chosen form a suitable way to reach them?

(h) Has the researcher honoured the reader's role?

The plethora of published methodological texts has prompted a vigorous debate about the multiple distinctions drawn between the terminology and definitions that companion methodologies of arts research employ. Upon consideration, these distinctions appear somewhat subtle with overlapping boundaries and interchangeable terminology. Different terms are used to describe similar processes: "art-informed" (Cole and Knowles 2008); "art based" (McNiff 2008); "a/r/tography" and "arts-based" (Sinner et al. 2006); and "arts based educational research" (Sinner et al. 2006). While each proposes a discrete branch of art-based methodology with differing forms and modalities, there appears to be an overall methodological description essential to each as described by Sinner et al. (2006, p.1226):

> Arts-based research draws from the creative arts to inform and shape social science research in interdisciplinary ways, thus redefining methodological vehicles in the field of education.

More specifically Cole and Knowles (2008, p59) define their arts-informed methodology as a:

> Mode and form of qualitative research in the social sciences that is influenced by, but not based, in the art broadly conceived. The central purposes of arts-informed research are to enhance understanding of the human condition through alternative (to conventional) processes and representational forms of inquiry, and to reach multiple audiences by making scholarship more accessible.

McNiff (2008, p.29) provides his working definition for what he refers to as art-based research, suggesting that it can be:

> Defined as the systematic use of the artistic process, the actual making of artistic expressions in all of the different forms of the art, as a primary way of understanding and examining experience by both researchers and the people they involve in their studies.

McNiff (2008, p. 29) then clarifies further that art-based research is distinguishable from other arts-informed practices as they use art as, “data for investigations that take place within academic disciplines that utilize more traditional scientific, verbal, and mathematic descriptions and analysis of phenomena.”

Sinner et al. (2006, p.1224) define their branch as a/r/tography, which they describe as:

> A hybrid, practice–based methodology. To be engaged in the practice of a/r/tography means to inquire in the world through art making in any form and writing not separate or illustrative of each other to create additional and/or enhanced meanings.

They also clarify the distinction which they see as separating their arts-based inquiry from other arts-based inquiries, stating that it acknowledges the practices of artists, researchers and educators as places of inquiry and uses those practices to create, interpret, and portray understandings.

It appears that, regardless of the branch of arts methodology used, all have the capacity to be used with individuals or groups of participants. Studies in which individuals were the only participants were most often found with researchers exploring the self through an aesthetic medium (Hoskins 2000; McNiff & Whitehall 2006). In these cases, art- based inquiry was most often associated with methods such as: hermeneutics, phenomenology, and autobiography including writing, fiction, journaling, self-narratives, and other language-based, discursive activities (Clover & Stalker 2007; Sinner et al. 2006).

In this study, my interest was in using quilting as an art-based method to try to understand the participants' experiences using an alternate perspective to text. The method used fit better under the general descriptors provided by both Sinner et al. (2006) and Mcniff (2008). Therefore, I will refer to my method as art-based research. Although quilting is far from a new art form, I could only find four documented, published articles where quilting had specifically been used and described as an art-based method for

conducting social research (Ball, 2002, 2008; Clover & Stalker 2007; Halsall & Ali 2004).

Given the dearth of literature in this area, my use of quilting as an art-based method appears to be an area of methodological growth, and one that warrants further development and acknowledgment in academic literature. I hope to demonstrate the benefits by clearly documenting my process. The remainder of the chapter uses metaphoric sub-titles to mirror the literal framework found in quilting and to recognize the methodological importance of integrating practice, process, and product in this method.

Review of Quilting Literature

Prior to beginning this component of the study, a non-exhaustive illustrative literature was conducted using both the World Wide Web and several internal library databases (University Of Victoria and Roehampton University) and key search words ("quilting" and "research"). The search engines used included: ERIC, EBSCO, ChildData, British Humanities Index, PsycInfo, IBSS and Education Research Complete. This search initially identified literature pertaining to the history of quilting and specific cultural traditions surrounding it (Cooper & Allen 1989; Zopf 1997). Subsequent searches revealed literature related to the contribution and documentation of quilting in the lives and domestic roles of women (Cerny 1991; Hedges et al. 1996; Langellier 1990; Ringold 2005). Feminist literature was also located in which quilting had been used as a metaphor for capturing and mirroring the work of women as a way to chronicle their lives, but again not specifically as a

method for intentionally collecting and disseminating research data (Lippard 1983; Sommers 1997; Weagel 2002).

Several authors asserted that quilts can exist as material artifacts, which may offer the social researcher significant opportunity to piece together valuable knowledge about culture, politics and economics (Ball 2008; Cooper & Allen 1989; Lavitt 1993; West & Stalker 2007). Quilts as material artifacts are seen to reflect the values and influences of the particular contexts and periods in which they were created. The American slavery quilts are of special interest in this regard. They offered not only a documentation of the slaves' lives, but many at the time served as maps that facilitated escape from slavery (Brackman 2006; Tobin & Dobard 2000). The view that quilts can be repositories of social history resonates with the work of Mary Conroy (1976, p.1), a Canadian quilt historian, who suggests that, "if you look closely, the political and economic history of our country also becomes evident for, as in other art forms, quilts always reflect the environment in which they were created." Lippard (1983, p.32) concurs with Conroy noting, "Since the new wave of feminist art around 1970, the quilt has become the prime visual metaphor for women's lives, for women's culture." This finding is consistent with the work of Yardley (2008) who also links the 1970s emergence of feminist art with the growing significance of fabric art as a political statement.

While quilts have been well documented for their practical and aesthetic qualities, they are often far more than "textile sandwiches". Throughout the ages quilts have often been used as vehicles to express the meaning of an experience (Colby 1978; Conroy 1976). An early example of

quilting can be found in the form of “armorial bearings, cloaks and banners” (Conroy 1976, p.7), which were transported throughout the world during the Crusades in the eleventh century. These armorial banners, rich in symbolic meaning, often formed a rallying point during battle. Appliquéd quilts also contain symbolic representations of an experience and it is this concept that forms the foundation of the method used in this study.

As both a researcher and quilter with an understanding of the unique opportunities afforded by quilting, I delved further into secondary literature sources and discovered pictorial or protest quilts. Foundational and relevant to this study is the recent resurgence of nineteenth century political pictorial quilts, often referred to as “action”, “cause” or “story” quilts (Lavitt, 1993; Ringgold 2005). These quilts no longer depend on function or serve only as beautification in the traditional sense; rather, they depict political movements, heighten awareness to causes, and act as catalysts for change. Several recent examples of these types of quilts exist: *The Scrap of Pride Quilt (1996)*, initiated by Luanne Bole-Beckner (1996) and used as a tool to address and deal with racism; *The Canadian AIDS Memorial Quilt* (1997), coordinated by *The NAMES Project*, to serve as a permanent memorial to those who have died of AIDS and used to raise awareness and money for the cause; and *The Quilt Project: A celebration of survivors*, started by Carol Millar (1998), to raise awareness of breast cancer. It was my interest in pictorial quilts, combined with the conception of art as a form of knowing, which prompted my conceptualization of quilting as a unique form of art-based inquiry.

Assumptions About Art-based Inquiry

In order to begin to consider quilting as an art-based method of inquiry within the qualitative research inquiry paradigm, certain assumptions had to be considered. First, there had to exist the belief that quilting could represent a method for knowing and that reality could be represented in multiple ways. In conducting this research, participants were acknowledged as having numerous ways of considering and representing their realities. The creation of a quilt block is one such way. Accepting quilting as art, which is representational in form and from which insight can be derived, was a vital component of this method. As explained by Young (2001), I had to accept and convince others that quilts can provide interpretive, illustrative representations of a perspective. Young (2001, p.81) offered clarification of this concept by adding:

> Interpretive illustrations are the ones that present perspectives on objects which are not a part of the ordinary experience of the objects. As such, interpretive illustrations can change how things are perceived.

This is particularly pertinent when unconventional pictorial quilts, such as those depicting war, divorce or famine, are considered from this perspective (Lavitt 1993). Understanding that the above concepts can lend meaning to a phenomenon such as "being taken," I was passionate about using quilting as a method to capture the voices of my study's participants.

Subversive Social Texts

The basis for this method is my belief that the creation of a pictorial quilt, when used as a social text or narrative, can offer a unique, practical opportunity to work collectively with participants. It provides an opportunity to gather and interpret meaningful data and display it in a manner, which provides an ease of dissemination to diverse audiences. Art as a medium is more likely to be understood when disseminating research findings, as it is more accessible to the general public than a dense, text-based dissertation. Ball (2008, p.366) speaks to quilts in this role as "subversive social texts." She suggests that "the quilts carry messages and information into places (settings) that would not normally be receptive. In this sense they are subversive." West & Stalker (2007, p.134) refer to this as resistance of the dominant culture of fabric art as a "gentle, persuasive process in which art is made more accessible, more democratized." Similar to an academic dissertation, they suggest that "fine arts are created for a narrow audience which shares a specialized language; crafts are usually accessible to and inclusive of a broader spectrum of society."

Art also provides an opportunity for the beholder to enter into the art and make their own meaning or interpretation, which is a projection of their experience. In this way, art-based inquiry is dynamic and has the potential to stimulate further discussion and raise awareness. Eisner (2008, p.9) refers to this activity as "empathy to action." He suggests that art has the capacity to render images in an artistic, expressive form that generates the kind of connection or empathy with the material that can move beholders to take action.

The process of creating the quilt and the finished quilt product makes equally valuable contributions to understanding the topic. The finished product represents an opportunity to explore not only the individual pieces/narratives but the sum of the parts, which creates a kind of synthesis of the research experience. The creation process is consistent with feminist, praxis-orientated research which recognizes that a reciprocally educative process is at least as important as the product. Empowering methods of inquiry have the capacity to contribute to consciousness raising. This concept is also in keeping with the overall emancipatory, empowerment, feminist orientated focus of the methodology used in this study.

An art-based research process has the capacity to move beyond language and the cognitive interpretation toward capture of the sensory experience. It has the capacity to be transformative and to increase insight into the experience on behalf of participants and the audiences during the dissemination phase (Cole & Knowles 2008). The young girls in this study had continual traumatic experiences: it was, therefore, vital to find alternate ways for them to express themselves. Words alone often seemed inadequate to describe their experiences. This was evidenced by the language barriers, and the fact that verbal interviewing in a war zone context can often be seen as analogous to interrogations and torture, and may increase anxiety. This complex situation is potentially compounded by the documented concept that those who experience trauma have cognitive, concentration, and memory difficulties (Malchiodi 1998, 2008; Perry & Szalavitz 2007). These difficulties affect their capacity to participate in traditional qualitative research methods, such as interviewing or questionnaire completion.

My ability to provide participants with the opportunity to be descriptive about their experiences through quilting allowed for a greater richness of data collection and appeared to ease some of their discomfort. I noticed and documented in my field notes a considerable calming in their affect when they were working on the quilt blocks by comparison to the interview and focus group processes. This is consistent with the findings of others who have used art with war-affected populations (Jander 2005). The act of creating through art also provided the girls with a product that they could individually and culturally identify with, as it was up to them to set their own parameters within the fabric block (Malchiodi 2008; West & Stalker 2007).

These observations were consistent with authors who practice from a trauma-informed philosophy and who use expressive therapy techniques with children who have been traumatized (Bloom 2005). Generally, it is well documented that children who experience trauma appear to benefit more from a drawing interview than from the more traditional oral interview (Hyder 2005; Steele 2006). A report by the British Psychological Association (2004, p.2) notes, "Drawing allows a practical way to bring them [children] into the interview and talk about themselves and their experiences. The drawing itself often generates additional questions". The participants in this study used storied images stitched or painted onto the fabric quilt blocks as a way to voice their narratives. Drawing in this manner allowed the participants to work at their own pace and without the deterrent of an adult questioning them and putting them on the spot. Expression through this form allowed the participants to be actively involved in their own level of

healing. This form of art offers a safe vehicle for the communication of details of an experience which are not readily verbalized, as it has natural boundaries (created by the canvas block) and forms a vessel in which the trauma can be safely held. When a participant created their block, they chose what they shared. There was never any judgment attached when they chose not to include something. Participants appeared more relaxed and seemed to experience a brief period of respite while making their art. This was observed through relaxed body postures, which were documented in the field journal.

Sharing their experiences through the creation of a quilt block created a space in which the participants could have a voice and speak about their situations. Creating space for voice in this way preserves the participants' authorship. This is in contrast to the normal academic structure of a dissertation, where authority is given to the reporter/researcher and, in doing so; the voice of the participant may be removed or cleansed of much of its humanity, uncertainty and visceral breadth and depth of the participants' experience (Smith 1990, 1999).

In the quilt blocks created by the participants are scattered droplets of blood from a pricked finger, red smudges of soil when a quilt block was dropped, images created and erased or covered up and uneven stitches and quilt blocks misaligned in their design. This is part the richness of the process. Unlike the paper and tapes, the quilt retains a smell, which it acquired during its creation. It is a tangible, touchable product of this research inquiry with the capacity to retain, hold and amplify the voices of the participants.

Limitations of Art-based Inquiry

This method has several limitations. The power of this form of art-based inquiry is that it is a psychomotor experience for participants that can activate sensory memories, which have the capacity to break through the cognitive barriers erected by participants to protect the psyche. It can therefore make participants more vulnerable to re-experiencing the emotion of events (Malchiodi 2008, Steele 2006). This method, therefore, should be used by an experienced researcher who can recognize the signs of a participants' emotional re-trigger. Follow-up support was made available and the participants were monitored during the activity. Some limits around content were also necessary in order to dissuade the use of any identifying material in the quilt squares, such as the writing of names.

Since art can be interpreted in a multitude of ways, it was essential to have participants provide a narrative of their understanding of what they have made. Despite the temptation to interpret the meaning of the participants' art expression, caution was exercised. The actual meaning attributed to the art by the participant cannot be known unless the participant chooses to describe it. However, as noted earlier, one of the assets of this method is that beholders can access their own projective experiences when viewing the art.

Participants wanted to keep their creations and/or create multiple pieces. In this situation it was important to allow this to happen and to obtain consent to take photos of the artwork to include in the study. It was also critical to hold as fundamental that the process was about

transformation and empowerment, and that experience is likely more valuable to the participants than the product/data to the researcher.

Ownership of a completed quilt can also present limitations for the researcher. At the outset, participants were encouraged to participate in a discussion about where the final quilt would be housed and what might happen to it in order to determine their opinions and potential concerns. The participants in this study wanted to be able to see the finished quilt. This was attempted on a return trip to Uganda in 2008, although it was not possible to locate all of the participants.

Art-based Inquiry Using Quilting

In deference to the fabric creation of a quilt, I have chosen to describe the story of this art-based inquiry using the metaphoric language of the quilting world as I understand it. A quilt is comprised of three layers. The top usually involves pieces of fabric, cut and stitched together to form a pattern. The middle of the quilt contains batting or filler. It is this layer that provides warmth to the quilt. A wide variety of materials are used for this batting, such as wool, old quilts, blankets or silk. The final layer is called the backing and is usually a solid piece of fabric. This three-layered creation is often referred to as a "textile sandwich."

In order to complete a quilt, five stages are required. The quilting process is similar to conducting feminist research in that it is not necessarily a linear, outcome driven process, but rather is a sequence that involves a series of activities. This creates a flow of interrelated events over time. The

results are a continual spiral with each stage leading through to the next. In quilting the five stages are planning, cutting, sewing, quilting, and binding.

Quilt Planning

The planning for this quilt was both responsive and emergent. It was a process dissimilar to the one I use when designing and calculating a quilt for purely aesthetic and more traditional purposes. Making a traditional quilt requires that you decide how big the quilt needs to be to meet the purpose for which it is being made. In this study, I did not know how big the quilt would end up and could not predict what it would look like, nor did I have very much control over its finished colours or shape. I did know, from previous experiences using this method, that if I trusted the process it would be the size that it needed to be and it would result in the uncovering of experiences that are visually powerful and illuminating. My planning involved cutting canvas into ten by ten centimeter blocks, collecting and purchasing a broad range of fabric notions, fabric paints, and tools for the participants to use. From an ethnocentric perspective I believed that it would be an opportunity for the participants to have access to a myriad of fancy art materials not normally available to them. The reality was that the participants were not comfortable with the unfamiliar materials I provided. They wanted only the basic supplies and used very limited colours. My expectations in this case were not in line with their comfort levels. I had to spend some time reflecting upon my own disappointment for an outcome that I had on some level subconsciously planned for.

Development of the Fabric Blocks

At the start of the art-based portion of the study, explanations of this portion of the study were given in the local language of Luo as translated by the research assistant. It was explained to participants that we were using art to tell stories in whatever way they wished, using the materials provided. The participants, who had also completed the semi-structured interviews, were familiar with the reason for the study. The participants had the opportunity to read and have read to them the "Letter of Invitation to Participate in the Study", which was available in both English and Luo (see appendices D & E). Participants had signed the translated "Research Participant Consent Form" (see appendices D & E) and the consent included their permission to use the artwork they completed and photos collected. Potential participants were given the authority to withdraw and also offered a self-addressed stamped envelope if they felt they might want to withdraw at a later date or might want further communication with the researcher. No participants chose to withdraw.

The quilt blocks were pre-cut and it was up to the participants to create their blocks to form the individual and collective quilt pattern. The participants at this stage were only asked one thing, "to make a picture of something you think I need to know". After being provided with the materials, the fifteen participants spent time working on their blocks, cutting fabric, drawing and sewing. They did this without conversation, although that was not a stipulation. Unexpectedly at this stage, the two social workers and my research assistant who were translating and assisting me with the research process spontaneously began creating quilt blocks. They later gave

their consent to have them included in the final product. Although not part of the original plan, realizing the importance that they placed on having their experiences recorded and recognized, I decided to include their blocks in the finished product: this gave additional meaning and depth to the overall piece.

As each participant finished their block, I asked them if they wished to tell me what their composition meant to them. If they did, I documented their narratives (after translation) and pinned each story to the corresponding completed piece and numbered them.

Sewing of the Quilt Blocks

This phase required continual adjustments. Given the limitations of the location including safety and travel time, I decided that I would be putting together the fabric narratives into some kind of pattern that made sense overall and also communicated a further understanding of the data. This was a critically reflective process that mirrored the writing process I was going through in drafting my dissertation. In actuality, I found that the tactile process of physically moving blocks into categories and laying out different designs facilitated the movement and understanding of my written work. When I became overwhelmed or had writer's block, I would take time away from writing and work on the quilt. This often led to new insight and allowed me to return to the text with fresh enthusiasm.

In preparation for sewing, I laid all twenty-five blocks on the floor and just reflected upon them along with their texts. I had also made a block that reflected my experience in northern Uganda. As I spent time with both the text and art pieces, I realized that an unplanned sequence amongst the blocks

emerged. This was particularly intriguing when I realized that the twenty-five blocks had fallen evenly into the four themes. Similar themes had also emerged in the coding process of the interviews and focus groups. I labeled these themes as: "life before being taken," "during the taking," "life in the bush," and "life after returning from the bush." If I had greater access to the participants at this stage I would have checked in with them to determine the accuracy of the themes which I identified. Unfortunately, given that this was a war zone, this was not logistically possible. Jefferies (1998, p.113), a quilter, refers to this process as "puzzle-picture making. It is the taking of scraps of knowledge, meaning and experience and bringing them together in "the overall texture of a quilt" to create a unified pattern and broader, more inter-woven understanding of an issue."

I lay the blocks out in keeping with the traditional grid like structure of a quilt; which has multiple points of interest and not one single focal point. The quilt was designed to be non-hierarchical, with no ranking of importance in one piece over another. Even though I organized the quilt, my block was not given precedence over others. The blocks were organized based on an incidental pattern that emerged. I used fabric sashing, a border that surrounds each block in the quilt top, to represent one of the four themes. The colours of the sashings chosen in this quilt represent a crucial component of the quilt's compositionality. I chose an orange/ brown fabric with small huts, typical of rural African compounds, to represent those blocks that spoke of "life before being taken". The five blocks that fell naturally into the theme of "during the taking", I bordered with military or camouflage fabric. It represents what I learned about those who had been involved in the

taking of the participants. Another five blocks that the participants described as being about “life in the bush”, I bordered in a green fabric titled “African bush”. The final five blocks which seemed to have a focus on the future or about hope and spoke of returning to normal with depictions of schools and compounds filled with crops, I bordered with a bright red/orange fabric titled “born of the sun”.

Further images were appliquéd on the quilt to represent data drawn from the socio-historical contextual review, situational analysis, and informal interviews. Appliqué involves stitching other designs or fabric of a contrasting colour on to the quilt. Typically, the appliqué chosen by the quilter represents lifestyle, artistic talents and political views (Meeske 1996). Noteworthy, are the nine small babies attached to the quilt to represent the babies that were born and survived while the participants were in the bush. Along the base of the quilt, and tying into the block that I created, are the symbols from the “Nyono Tong Gweno”, a healing ceremony that some of the returning participants had administered to them by elders. These symbols are the egg and the Opopo branch. It was important to include these images of hope, resilience, and post-traumatic growth. In addition, there are some symbols of external factors that affected the participants’ experiences: AK47 guns, machetes, gum boots, malaria, HIV-AIDS, and Ebola viruses. My block also contained a large dark blue velvet block, which is taken from the traditional “log-house” quilting pattern. Quilts traditionally displayed with these dark blue blocks were thought to indicate a safe refuge for escaping African slaves in America (Tobin & Dobard 2000).

The whole quilt has a fuchsia border. I chose this colour as it is comprised of purple (the international colour used to raise awareness about gender based violence) and red (to represent the "red light district"). Fuchsia is also internationally recognized as the colour representing sexual exploitation.

Quilting the Stories Together

In order to hold the quilt together it must be quilted or knotted. I chose to do this by hand as this was more in keeping with my need to be hands-on as a practitioner/researcher, grounded in the context. As the quilt came together, I found it fascinating to observe once again how this method has the ability to provoke aesthetic oppositional messages and counter-messages creatively through its design, colour, and image. In this way, the final product is able to destabilize fixed ideas and highlight complexities and dichotomies that perhaps are not textually possible or accessible. For example, in this quilt are the juxtapositions of disquieting imagery (such as maiming, murder, death and illness) all in the medium of a quilt, which is most often associated with comfort, warmth and safety. The very nature of the pictures and depictions in the quilt has the capacity to focus the beholder's attention in a different way. As stated by Young (2001, p.82), "A work of art can, by judicious use of selection, bring an audience to focus on objects which have been overlooked, or thought unworthy of careful attention". It is perhaps for this reason that Lavitt (1993, p.117) suggests, "Many artists dealing with women's issues speak of the fascination of expressing unorthodox ideas in a conventional framework." The combination of unconventional representations in a

conventional frame such as a quilt creates a powerful juxtaposition tool for presenting patterns and themes around a specific issue or topic.

The quilt is bordered and backed in plain, black, cotton fabric. It is a simple finish that both highlights the complexity of the stories and also safely holds and contains them.

In summary, the creation of this collaborative and tactile piece of art has provided an alternative to textual or oral methods of inquiry. It offered an opportunity for participant co-authorship in the conveying of their stories. The final quilt is a visual, tactile testament representing the cultural, political, and social realities of the participants. It is saturated with their creativity, post-traumatic growth, and strength.

This quilt, assembled from fabric, thread and basic art materials, has, as Susan Long-Behuniak (1994, p.166) suggests, became "touchable art that symbolizes the importance of connection. Quilts do not only cover people, they hold them." The threads holding it together are the stories, experiences and voices of the participants, informants, and social workers. It is all intertwined to provide meaning that challenges ways of understanding outside the borders of a traditional discourse.

Ball believes that "in order to know" (2002, p.19) researchers must be connected but also "committed to the development of different ways of knowing through the development of different methodologies such as arts-based methodologies." In pursuing this art-based inquiry I have purposefully pushed at the edges of a traditional dissertation "in order to know." While I have experienced the accompanying challenges, the process and product have been well worth the journey.

In order to colour outside the conventional lines, I have had to release my vision for the final product and trust in the collective process. This, I have discovered, is more easily done when the project is community-based and not a component of a dissertation with an inherent economic and credibility investment. What I have learned is that quilting is a dynamic, inter-connectedness of process and product, a form of art-based research that lends itself to a culturally inclusive practice of knowledge creation, presentation and dissemination. It is a reciprocally educative process that has the capacity to empower and contribute to consciousness-raising at multiple levels.

Figure 2: Completed quilt

Data Analysis

The data for my analysis was derived from seventy-eight transcribed and translated pages, collected from the one focus group (nine participants) and the fifteen interviews, and twenty-five art pieces with accompanying descriptive text. In addition, observations of participants' non-verbal communications were noted in a research journal and through photos[8] which I took.

A number of texts, United Nations documents and non-government organizations (NGO) information, along with the 2005 situational analysis, were reviewed. This was synthesized into a historical, political, social and economic context of the situation (Chapter Two). My understanding was further enhanced through ongoing discussions with the twenty informants currently involved in the situation.

All transcripts, field notes, and other documents collected during the field study were read numerous times. The raw data was examined and categories and themes were identified using highlighting and coding (an excerpt example is included in Appendix H). Three kinds of data were collected to support data triangulation and to ensure that differing points of view had been captured. The literature consulted identified four basic type of triangulation: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation (Arksey & Knight 1999; Jick

---

[8] See guideline#13 (p.306) for an explanation around my decison not to include graphic photos of paticipant's and their circumstances.

1979, 1983; Patton 2002). This study relied on both data triangulation and methodological triangulation. Firstly, data triangulation was achieved through multiple data collecting, sources, procedures and strategies. This type of triangulation involved comparing and cross-checking the consistency of information derived through different means within qualitative methods. This meant comparing observational data (field notes) with interview and focus group data; and validating information obtained through interviews and focus groups by checking other written evidence, such as the socio-historical literature review, descriptive tool analysis and the situational analysis. Methodological triangulation was achieved through the use of multiple methods: art-based inquiry, interviews and focus groups. In using both of these methods of triangulation I sought to decrease the chances of drawing inappropriate conclusions as might be the case if I had relied on just one data set. However, triangulation is not just about using as many different methods or sources of data collection as possible. Originally, a fourth piece of data collection was planned in the form of Photovoice[9]; however, due to logistics, this was abandoned in the field.

The data collected was also compared constantly across the different groups to look for consistency and difference in categories. The data was then critically reflected upon to determine how it developed into categories different from those expected. These differences were explored. The data was then organized by frequency of report. The frequency with which participants

---

[9] See footnote #7 for explanation

mentioned a particular topic implied its importance. Five primary categories and sub-themes emerged from the first two thirds of data. An additional four categories or themes emerged from the final third of the data that pertained to human rights learning and education models. The data was analyzed to determine what was in contrast to the assumptions or theories of previous research. Any original assumptions and hypotheses contrary to the data collected were discarded.

Trustworthiness and Responsiveness

As noted, I chose a feminist methodology as it allowed me to attend to the contextual experiences of young women and their experience of human rights learning. It offered an opportunity to promote women's rights, interests, and issues. This methodology gave me the flexibility to access multiple sources of data, each with its own centre of interest, leading to the depth and spiral circularity of the research.

> As long as we strive to base our claims and interpretations of social life on data of any kind, we must have a logic for assessing and communicating the interactive process through which the investigator acquired the research experience and information (Altheide & Johnson 1994).

To support what I experienced in the field, I reviewed relevant literature and relied heavily on the convergence of multiple data collection points moving me toward a precise or valid place of defensible understanding. Feminist research has been criticized in the literature as having problems with validity or trustworthiness; it is seen as not being a definitive methodology. This is

due to an inability to grasp the emergent nature of the research. There is an inherent requirement to refine or tighten the research and methods as the participants' experiences unfold. This seems to be exacerbated by some researchers who do not clearly articulate the evolutionary nature of their work, nor justify the unusual register of their documentation. In looking at the trustworthiness of my study and in general the validity of feminist methodologically based studies, it is perhaps preferable to describe the responsiveness of the study rather than its validity. By responsiveness, I mean the ability of my study to respond to the situation being studied and the quality of the data generated that has the capacity to generate new understandings.

Throughout this study, I sought to ensure internal and external responsiveness. Internal responsiveness is best defined as the trustworthiness of inferences drawn from the data (Herr & Anderson 2005). In looking at internal responsiveness, I relied on accessing multiple data sources to provide dialectic. This is similar to what is called triangulation in other research methodologies (Jick 1979). I sought the interpretations of others as part of the data collection. I accessed relevant literature to widen the dialectic and to continually test my assumptions. I kept an ongoing dialogue between myself and participants to enhance the authenticity and utility of the research findings.

External responsiveness refers to how well findings can be referenced or generalized to a larger population or are transferable to other contexts (Herr & Anderson 2005). This is often described as generalizabilty in other methodologies (Dick 2003). Given that feminist research studies are often

practice-based and quite specific to a context it is often not desirable to generalize findings to a broader context. The findings in this study are relevant to the local setting in which they have emerged and are designed to be both responsive and catalytic in that situation. Herr and Anderson (2005) call this democratic validity.

Limitations

The focus of this study is centered on northern Uganda. It must be stated that each war/conflict has its own set of peculiarities, politics, and social culture. While aspects of this study may provide a helpful framework or guidelines to consider in other situations, it would be problematic to attempt to extrapolate findings to other conflicts without consideration of a thorough situational analysis of that particular context. This study is limited by its reliance on self-report and the small number of participants. In addition, there is a risk of trans-cultural errors as I am studying and writing about a culture other than my own. Accessing the knowledge and reference of local informants and assistants is an attempt to minimize those errors wherever possible. While English is the language of instruction in Uganda, many of the participants could not access their English language skills at the time of the study. Much of the study exists in transcriptions, which are translations from speech to text. There is concern noted by Kvale (1996, p.165) that "transcriptions are decontextualized conversations". The living, dynamic conversation is lost: what is not said is as important as what is said, and this does not transfer perfectly to the page. Moreover, the data is essentially collected and there is less co-authorship when translators are involved. In an

effort to counteract some of these limitations, I used the art-based inquiry so that the participants' voices remained unembellished and unaltered in at least one context. They have co-authorship of the study in a way that would not be available using only the written text.

Ethics

Research such as mine fulfills a responsibility to ensure that the voices of countless war-affected people are witnessed, documented, validated and acknowledged, allowing understanding and support of their needs (Evans 2008). However, once the decision is made to conduct this type of research, under such complex and often dangerous conditions a significant amount of pre-planning, in-the-field flexibility, creativity, tenacity and continual ethical balancing is required (Edwards & Mauthner 2002; Barakat & Ellis 1996). To inform my study in this regard I sought literature to determine whether other researchers had comparable experiences in conducting research with children and youth in circumstances of conflict. The search revealed that literature in this area is emergent and is neither comprehensive nor vast. The literature review found a dearth of texts looking specifically at the challenges and considerations of conducting research in a war zone with children and/or youth. Having noted this scarcity, I used the few texts that I found and the findings from my situational analysis to ensure that my vulnerable participants were protected in as comprehensive a manner as possible. Once I completed my field study, I complied all that I found in this regard, and created a set of ethical and methodological findings and these are reported in Chapter Seven.

Summary

In this chapter I have provided a brief overview of the qualitative, transformative feminist research methodology used. I have offered my rationale for using this particular methodology, complemented by the work of Freire, and I have described the specific methods drawn upon and the techniques employed to gather and analyze the data. I have provided the literature I used to ensure that my vulnerable participants were protected ethically.

I presented the literature that I reviewed to frame my transformative feminist research methodology, which indicated that feminist research does not fit inside one unified framework which can be concisely summarized. It encompasses a multiplicity of interpretations, is dynamic, and consistently differs from what is considered quantitative or male dominated research methodologies (Brayton 1997; DeVault 1990; Fonow & Cook 1991; Given 2008; Harding 1987, 2004; Letherby 2005; Stanley 1990; Wolf 1996). To this end the feminist methodology literature I found was extensive, diverse, and largely qualitative in nature (Brayton 1997; Cook & Fonow 1986, 1991; DeVault 1990; Given 2008; Stanley 1990; Weigil 2006).

I explained my rationale for choosing to use a transformative feminist research methodology, given its strong emphasis on starting research from the standpoints and experiences of the participants (Given 2008). I explored the idea of lived experience, as I wanted to find the best way to understand the life or experiences of young girls taken by non-state militia in northern Uganda and the effect of human rights learning on their lives. Feminist methodology also promotes an active acknowledgment and mitigation of the

power imbalance between the research and the research participants, an aspect of great importance to me in relation to this study, given its context and my research role as a Western outsider (Brayton 1997; DeVault 1990; Fonow & Cook 1991; Harding 1987, 2004; Letherby 2005; Stanley 1990; Wolf 1996). In addition, this form of research supports the use of multiple methods (Brayton 1997; Cook & Fonow 1986; DeVault 1990; Fonow & Cook 1991; Harding 1987, 2004; Letherby 2005; Wolf 1996). In my research design I included a literature review, descriptive documentary analysis, interviews, focus group discussions, field observations, and an art-based inquiry. I explained how the data for my ensuing analysis was derived from twenty-five art pieces with accompanying descriptive text, seventy-eight transcribed and translated pages from a focus group and interviews with twenty-four participants. I described how the data was analyzed to determine what was in contrast to the assumptions or theories of previous research.

I gave my considerations of the trustworthiness of my study; I discovered it was preferable to describe the responsiveness of the study rather than its validity. Therefore, I sought to ensure internal and external responsiveness. I kept an ongoing dialogue between participants and myself. To enhance the authenticity and utility of the research findings I kept an open and ongoing dialogue between the girls and myself.

The limitations of this study are the reliance on self-reporting and the small number of participants on the field study. Also, while English is the language of instruction in Uganda, many of the participants could not access their English language skills at the time of the study. Given that feminist

research studies are often practice-based and quite specific to a context it is not desirable to generalize findings to a broader context.

In the next chapter I provide a descriptive analysis of human rights documentation and the tools currently available.

Chapter Five: Descriptive Document and Tool Analysis

Introduction

This chapter describes and discusses a cross-referencing of nine international human rights instruments. It also examines seventeen human rights learning tools. This chapter is included as a standalone chapter to emphasis its significance. While it may be argued that the analysis is primarily descriptive, this cataloguing and organizing of human rights models and tools in this manner is unique in this fledgling field and I found no other such analysis in the literature. The descriptive documentary and tool analysis were completed so that I could gather and systematically consider what had already been developed in the human rights education field to meet the potential human rights learning needs of the study's participants and to enhance awareness of legal provisions currently in place. This analysis formed the foundation upon which data from participants in the field could be considered to examine potential human rights learning frameworks.

Concordance of Related Human Rights Conventions

The first part of the chapter contains a cross-referencing of related international human rights international instruments. The purpose of this component was to determine the extent to which instruments and conventions support human rights learning and the protection of in conflict situations. The criteria for inclusion in this concordance were that the instrument included reference to human rights education, children in

conflict, and/or made reference to the specific needs of girls. Fourteen conventions were reviewed and nine met the criteria as outlined. For the purposes of this component of the study, international legal instruments refer to all treaties/agreements, conventions, or protocols that have the capacity to bind the contracting parties to the negotiated terms (Conde, 2004, Harvey 2002). A signed treaty means that the representatives of the parties have agreed to the text. A party can agree to be bound to a treaty in various ways. The most common is ratification or accession. Those parties that have negotiated the instrument ratify the new treaty. A party that has not participated in the negotiations can, at a later stage, accede to the treaty. The treaty enters into force when a pre-determined number of parties have ratified or acceded to the treaty (Conde, 2004, Harvey 2002).

When a party ratifies or accedes to a treaty they may make reservations to one or more articles of the treaty, unless the treaty prohibits reservations. Reservations may normally be withdrawn at any time. In some countries, international treaties take precedence over national law. In other countries, a specific law may be required to give a ratified international treaty the force of a national law. Practically all parties that have ratified or acceded to an international treaty must issue decrees, change existing laws, or introduce new legislation in order for the treaty to be fully effective in the national territory (Harvey 2002).

The nine legal agreements considered in this concordance are:

1. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)* (United Nations General Assembly 1948)
2. *The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child* (ACRWC 1990)

3. *The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa* (ACHPR 1986)
4. *The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (OCAC)* (United Nations General Assembly 2000)
5. *The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CDAW)* (United Nations General Assembly 1994)
6. *The Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Punishment (CAT)* (United Nations General Assembly 1984)
7. *The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)* (United Nations General Assembly 1989)
8. *The United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (DHRE)* (1995-2004) (United Nations General Assembly 1994)
9. *The Plan of Action for the First Phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (WPHRE)* (2005-2009) (United Nations General Assembly 2005)

The following table contains a cross-reference of the above instruments, based on ten themes: human rights education, right to education, food and shelter, health, right to life, liberty and security, marriage and family, vulnerable groups, women's rights, and child soldiers. These themes were chosen because they were identified as areas that most impact the wellbeing of girls in war zones (Boothby et al. 2006).

Table 5: A cross-referencing of related human rights international instruments

THEMES	UDHR	ACHPR	ACRWC	OCAC	CDAW	CAT	CRC	DHRE	WPHRE
Human rights education	Art. 25	Arts. 4, 25	Art. 4	Art. 7	Art. 2, 10	Art. 10	Art. 17, 19, 29	All Arts.	All Arts.
Right to education	Art. 26	-	-		Art. 5	-	Arts. 28, 29	-	-
Food and shelter	Art. 25	-	-	-	Arts. 2, 3, 15	-	Arts. 19, 27	-	-
Health	Art. 25	-	Art. 21	-	Art. 12	-	Arts. 17, 19, 24, 31, 39	-	-
Right to life	Art. 3	-	Art. 21	-	Art. 6	Arts. 1, 16	Arts. 6, 13	-	-
Liberty and security	Arts. 1, 3, 9, 13	Art. 4	Art. 4	-	-	-	Arts. 11, 19, 33-28, 40	-	-
Marriage and family	Art. 16	-	Art. 21	-	Arts. 12, 16	-	Arts. 5, 9, 10, 16, 20, 21, 22, 24	-	-

THEMES	UDHR	ACHPR	ACRWC	OCAC	CDAW	CAT	CRC	DHRE	WPHRE
Vulnerable groups	Arts. 4, 5	-	Art. 1, 2, 4, 21	Art. 1	Arts. 4, 14	-	Arts. 17, 23, 30, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39	-	Para. 23
Women's rights	Arts.1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 25	-	Art. 4, 21	-	-	Art. 2	-	-	Para. 23
Child soldiers	Art. 5	Art. 4	-	All Arts.	-	Arts. 14, 16, 20	Arts. 11, 19, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40	-	-

Arts. =Articles   Para. =Paragraph

Findings from the Cross-Referenced International Instruments

The table above suggests that the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations General Assembly 1948) sets the stage for the other eight instruments which were reviewed and that it gives importance to education. All nine instruments include specific language pertaining to human rights education. In *The Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations General Assembly 1948) this is stated as, "A common understanding of these rights and freedoms." From this concordance, it is apparent that these international instruments have contributed to a growing international consensus that human rights education is, "essential and can contribute to both the reduction of human rights violations and the building of free, just and peaceful societies" (United Nations General Assembly 1994, p.14). In recognition of these constructive developments, the United Nations General Assembly (Resolution 49/184) announced 1995-2004 as T*he United Nations Decade of Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 1994) and later through Resolution 59/113 announced *The Plan of Action for the First Phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education* (2005-2009) (United Nations General Assembly 2005). These instruments define the concept of human rights education as agreed to by the international community. Through the adoption of *The United Nations Decade of Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 1994) governments were urged to:

a) to promote the development of comprehensive, participatory, and sustainable national strategies for human rights education;

b) to establish and strengthen, as a priority in education policies, knowledge of human rights both in the theoretical dimension and practical application.

The Plan of Action for the First Phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-2009) (United Nations General Assembly 2005) sets out five further objectives:

1. the assessment of needs and formation of strategies;
2. building and strengthening human rights education programmes;
3. developing educational material;
4. strengthening mass media;
5. the global dissemination of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Education in these instruments is viewed not only as a means to promote human rights but also as an end in itself. The framers of the *Universal Declaration* (United Nations General Assembly 1948, art.26) in considering the human right to education relied on the notion that education is not value-neutral. Article 30 states that one of the goals of education should be "the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms..."(Section 2). Understanding human rights, including the right to education and the right of human beings to know their rights, are firmly implanted in these international standards (Syminides & Volodin 2003). Interestingly, though, only three instruments include the right to education (UDHR, CDAW, CRC). All instruments reviewed tend to use similar and consistent language to repeat these same fundamental principles. The

cumulative effect of repeating these expressions assists in underlining the importance of human rights, but also supports the conviction that human beings have a right to know their rights.

Given the context of this study, I particularly reviewed African-specific instruments in order to determine if the growing consensus around the value of human rights education was limited to the Western world. I found that Africa is part of this growing accord and has put forth The *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* (ACHPR 1986). This Charter includes a forthright statement in international norm-making regarding governmental responsibility for education, and, as well, a significant and unique call for effective human rights education. *The Banjul Charter* (ACHPR 1986) states that signatory African parties:

> Shall have the duty to promote and ensure thorough teaching, education and publication, the respect for the rights and freedoms contained in the present Charter and to see to it that these freedoms and rights as well as corresponding obligations and duties are understood (Article 25).

Including the government's responsibility to teach human rights and ensuring the understanding thereof is an innovative standard and an important addition to the international discourse. This standard suggests that those obliged to teach human rights should also ensure that such programs are effective, that people accept and understand their rights and that they are empowered to use them and to benefit by exercising them. The need to measure the efficacy of human rights learning, however, remains a

recurring theme noted throughout the implementation aspect of these instruments (Banks 2001).

The *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child* (ACRWC 1990) goes a long way to establish the rights of the African child: it indicates that the child holds a unique and privileged place in African society and acknowledges that the African child needs protection and special care. The Charter provides protection of children against harmful and potentially exploitive cultural practices, with an emphasis on "customs and practices prejudicial to the health or life of the child and those customs and practices discriminatory to the child on the grounds of sex and others status" (Article 21). While modeled on the provisions contained in *The Convention on the Rights of the Child* (United Nations General Assembly 1986), this instrument calls for the creation of an African expert committee on the rights and wellbeing of the child. This Charter also establishes the age of eighteen as the minimum age for marriage and the registration of marriage as compulsory in an effort to combat forced child marriages.

As the participants in the study were all female, I was interested in determining how the particular rights of females were upheld in the nine instruments. The United Nations General Assembly's *United Nations Decade of Human Rights Education* (1995-2004), *Report of the High Commissioner* (2002), adopted by consensus that:

> Human Rights education constitutes an important vehicle for the elimination of gender-based discrimination and for ensuring equal opportunities through the promotion and protection of the human rights of women.

This consensus suggests that there is need to recognize the unique, gendered role of women. This is particularly evident during times of armed conflict. However, if non-state actors cause atrocities against women and women themselves are participating in atrocities against others, it is a complex situation; one in which it is difficult to determine whom to hold accountable for violations. The reality, as described by Moser and Clark (2001, p.3), is that "non-state actors cannot formally subscribe to existing conventions". Of particular relevance to women in Africa are the various processes currently under the auspices of the African Union, which takes a gendered perspective in recognizing the need of the unique rights for women, particularly in an armed conflict situation. The *African Charter on Human and People's Rights* (ACHPR 1986) provides for non-discrimination in Article 2 and equality in Article 3. In Article 18, the Charter calls on all states to ensure the elimination of discrimination against women and to ensure the protection of the rights of women and children in accordance with international standards. *The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa* (ACHPR 1986) was adopted to supplement the Charter with regard to the rights of women. This initiative was undertaken by African leaders to bring an end to discriminatory and harmful practices against women (Tamale 1999). It addresses issues of non-discrimination as they relate to civil and political rights and economic, social, and cultural rights, as well as the right to development and peace. This progressive protocol has yet to become enacted. Fifteen African countries have ratified it to date (Centre for Reproductive Health 2006).

In considering the specific needs of girls affected by conflict, I examined the instruments to determine how their rights had been entrenched. Girls appear to be dealt with primarily under the umbrella of children's rights. Children affected by armed conflict have been on the United Nations Security Council agenda since 1999. Since that time, there have been six resolutions on children and armed conflict. One such resolution is *The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict* (United Nations General Assembly 2000).

This resolution was ratified by Uganda in 2002 and from it the Government of the Republic of Uganda has declared:

> The minimum age for the recruitment of persons into the armed forces is by law set at eighteen (18) years. Recruitment is entirely and squarely voluntary and is carried out with the full informed consent of the persons being recruited. There is no conscription in Uganda.
> The Government of the Republic of Uganda reserves the right at any time by means of a notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to add, amend or strengthen the present declaration. Such notifications shall take effect from the date of their receipt by the Secretary-General of the United Nations (Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights 2008, p.4).

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly 1989) and other instruments recognizes *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) as foundational. The instrument indicates that the education of a child shall be directed *inter alia* to "the development of

respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms..."(Article 29, Sec. 1 (b). Article 17 also pertains to human rights education in so far as it ensures children have access to “information and material from a diversity of national and international sources, especially those aimed at the promotion of his or her social, spiritual and moral well-being, and physical and mental health...in the spirit of article 29.” In article 19 it states:

> State Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse....

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly 1989) also offers some protection for girls in conflict situations, in upholding their rights:

> No child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation and the child has the right to the protection of the law against such interference and attack (Article 16).

Articles 34, 35, 36, 37 and, in particular, article 38 summarily state that parties to the Convention must respect the international humanitarian laws applicable in armed conflicts and shall take all measures not to include those under fifteen in hostilities and will protect civilian populations, especially girls in armed conflicts. Article 39 is concerned with the reintegration of girls who are affected by armed conflicts.

This brief analysis of international instruments confirms the existence and importance given to human rights education and suggests that much international thought and discussion has revolved around what children and especially African girls living in war zones have a right to expect and that ratifying countries, including Uganda have agreed to take responsibility to protect them.

Human Rights Learning Tool Analysis

Initially, the intention of this component of the research study was to examine the strengths and weaknesses of current human rights education models. In retrospect, this was a simplistic query conceived prior to the realization of how complex or new this topic area would turn out to be. The original question was based on the hypothesis that an exploration of existing tools and relevant literature would lead to the development of meaningful, innovative methodologies for human rights learning that could be applied in the field. From such an exploration, I expected that I would be able to determine which tool/model/method of human rights learning would constitute a successful human rights learning tool for use in the circumstances outlined in this study. I renewed my questioning once I fully appreciated the early stage of development this area of study was in and redeveloped my research question to consider, instead, which human rights education theoretical models and practical tools had been generally developed so far.

This component of the study is premised on the internationally held and supported perspective that human rights learning has the capacity to be a vital transformative vehicle for human rights promotion and protection, with the ability to move human rights beyond abstract principles of international standards into practice and formed my hypothesis:

> There is growing consensus that education in and for human rights is essential and can contribute to both the reduction of human rights violations and the building of free, just and peaceful societies. Human rights education is also increasingly recognized as an effective strategy to prevent human rights abuses (United Nations General Assembly 2005, p.6)

In the human rights learning tools which I examined, a similar reiteration of this perspective was also found (*All Human Beings: A Manual for Human Rights Education* (UNESCO 2000)*; ABC Teaching Human Rights: Practical Activities for Primary and Secondary Schools* (United Nations Children's Fund 2004)).

Similar to others in the field, however, I found no documented evaluations in the literature indicating how the success of human rights learning models to date had been measured (Banks 2001; Claude 2008; Flowers 2000; Tibbetts 2002), which ones had proved beneficial, and specifically which tools one ought to consider using in specific contexts, such as conflict situations (Covell & Howe 2007; Tibbetts 2002; Ulrich & Wenzel 2005). Given this dearth, rather than looking solely at the strengths and weakness of specific tools, I sought studies, lessons-learned documents, human rights learning resources, and new tools from around the world that might have the capacity to affect the situation within the study's context. I

achieved this through an examination of the current thinking and tools, which I accessed through the Global Human Rights Education list serve[10]. This list serve, launched in 1999, has a membership of over 4,800 human rights defenders and educators from 181 countries.

To complete the analysis, I read through an excess of two thousand postings on the list serve from September 2005 until June 2007. I also reviewed human rights conference proceedings and the human rights learning literature. I collected, documented and analyzed applicable and current human rights education/learning models from these three sources. The descriptive criteria I used to decide whether to include or exclude tools were:

1. Had the tools been developed for and used with children (preferably girls).
2. Had the tools been developed for use in conflict situations?
3. Were the tools developed for use on the African continent?

Six of the thirty-one tools I found met all three criteria and seventeen of the thirty-one met at least two criteria. Thirteen tools, which did not meet criteria, were discarded.

The six tools that met all three criteria were:

1. *Education in situations of emergency, conflict and post conflict* (SIDA 2002);

[10] Global Human Rights Education list serve accessed through the World Wide Web at hr-education@lists.hrea.org.

2. *Peace clubs of northern Uganda* (CORD 2006);
3. *Bush mega radio* (DFAID 2002);
4. *SINIKO* (Amnesty International 1998);
5. *Bells of Freedom* (APAP 1996); and
6. *Learning in a war zone in northern* Uganda (Women's Commission 2005).

The literature on human rights learning was used to provide a framework for compiling my descriptive analysis of each tool. The literature review supported how I might proceed to describe and briefly analyze each tool, with respect to the following eight key criteria:

1. the tool name;
2. the name of originating organization or author;
3. the date of the tools development;
4. the method of program delivery (Claude 2008);
5. the classification category in which the tool fit (Tibbetts 2002);
6. the population the tools were designed for;
7. the context for which the tool had been developed; and
8. whether an evaluation has been completed.

The following chart shows a breakdown of the seventeen tools examined under these eight criteria.

Table 6: An analysis of relevant human rights education/learning tools

Model name	Organization	Date	Delivery	Type of model	Population	Context	Eval.
All Human Beings: A Manual for Human Rights Education	United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization	2000	Formal / Non-formal	Values & Awareness Model	Primary and Secondary (7-16 year olds) and educators	Universal Available in Albanian, Arabic, English, French	No
Siniko: Toward a Human Rights Culture in Africa	Amnesty International	1998	Formal / Non-formal	Values & Awareness Model	Primary, Intermediate, Secondary (7-16 year olds)	Africa Available in English, French and Swahili	No
ABC Teaching Human Rights: Practical Activities for Primary and Secondary Schools	United Nations	2004	Formal	Values & Awareness Model	Primary and Secondary (7-16 year olds)	Universal Available in Arabic, English, French	No
Primary School Kit on the United Nations	Barrs & Juffkins (eds.)	1995	Formal	Values & Awareness Model	Primary (7-11 year olds)	Universal Available in English, French, Thai	No

Model name	Organization	Date	Delivery	Type of model	Population	Context	Eval.
UN Cyberschoolbus (website)	http://www.un.org/ Cyberschoolbus	1996	Non-formal	Values & Awareness Model	Primary, Intermediate, Secondary (7-16 year olds)	Universal Available in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish	No
That's Not Fair: A Teacher's Guide to Activism with Young Children	Pelo & Davidson	2000	Formal	Transforma-tional Model	Early Childhood (under 6 year olds)	North American	No
Human Rights Education Pack	Asia-Pacific Regional Resource Centre for Human Rights Education (ARRC)	2005	Non-formal	Transforma-tional Model	Primary, Intermediate, Secondary (7-16 year olds)	Asia-Pacific	No

Model name	Organization	Date	Delivery	Type of model	Population	Context	Eval.
The Bells of Freedom	Action Professionals' Association for the People (APAP)	1996	Formal / Non-formal	Transforma-tional Model	Participants with minimal literacy skills, women and children on the margins	Africa, Ethiopia Available in Amharic, English, French	Not found
Education in Situations of Emergency, Conflict and Post-Conflict	Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (SIDA) www.sida.se	2002	Non-formal	Values & Awareness Model	Primary, Intermediate, Secondary (7-16 year olds)	Africa	No
Popular Education for Human Rights	R.P. Claude with Human Rights Education Associates	2002	Formal / Non-formal	Values & Awareness Model	Participants with minimal literacy skills, women and children	Not copyrighted, Adaptable to multiple settings	No

Model name	Organization	Date	Delivery	Type of model	Population	Context	Eval.
Human Rights Here and Now: Celebrating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights	M. Brown (ed.) Amnesty International (UK)	1996	Formal	Values & Awareness Model	Primary (7-11 year olds)	Universal Available in English, Mongolian	No
Peace Clubs in Northern Uganda	CORD –Life after conflict & IYEP-Information for Youth Empowerment Programme (Transformation after conflict)	2006	Informal	Transforma-tional Model	All ages	Northern Uganda	No
Education for Global Citizenship	Oxfam	2006	Formal	Values & Awareness Model	Early to 19 year olds.	Universal	No
Ugandan Universal Primary Education Curriculum	The National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC)	1999	Formal	Values & Awareness Model	Primary (7-11 year olds)	Uganda Available in English	No

Model name	Organization	Date	Delivery	Type of model	Population	Context	Eval.
Radio MEGA FM	Department of Foreign Affairs & International Development & Ugandan Government	2002	Informal	Transforma-tional Model	All	Uganda	No
Human Rights Education Or Social Transformation	Koenig, S.	2002	Informal	Transforma-tional Model	All	Universal	No
Learning in a War Zone in Northern Uganda	Women's Commission	2005	Non-formal	Values & Awareness Model	Primary, Intermediate, Secondary (7-16 year olds)	Northern Uganda	No

Tool Name, Organization, and Date of Production

The first three criteria —tool name, author or organization and date— are as they are reported in the actual tools and the full bibliographic data is listed in the reference section. This satisfies the first rule of documentary analysis to ensure the authenticity of documents reviewed (Northey & Tepperman 2005). All tools reviewed were developed over a decade, between 1995 and 2005 and were in use at the time of writing. The proliferation of tools during this period corresponds to the United Nations Assembly's declaration of T*he Decade for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 1994). During this period, considerable focus and funds were devoted to the need to develop human education resources.

> The Plan focuses on stimulating and supporting national and local activities and initiatives and is built upon the idea of a partnership between Governments, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, professional associations, individuals and large segments of civil society (E/CN.4/1997/46, 4 February 1997, p.1).

A voluntary fund (Voluntary Fund for Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights) was made available to assist in carrying out the activities foreseen in the *Plan of Action* (United Nations General Assembly 1994)[11].

---

[11] The main objectives derived for this fund were:
The enhancement of national capacities for human rights education is expected to be reached through:

(a) the collection and dissemination of information on existing programmes and materials for human rights education at the international, regional, and national levels;
(b) the development and dissemination of materials for human rights education;
(c) the development and dissemination of methodologies for human

Footnotes continued on next page.

> In addition, the plan specifically offered support to:
>
> Primary and secondary schools. Governments' endeavours in this area are of two main types: (a) incorporation of human rights as a key element in national legislation regulating education in schools; and (b) production of materials, revision of curricula and textbooks and training of teachers (Commission on Human Rights, E/CN.4/1996/51, p.3).

It is not surprising that, in Uganda, I found multiple tools developed by non-government organizations and the United Nations, all funded by this plan. This leads to potential limitations around the potential sourcing and bias of the tools described here.

Method of Program Delivery

The fourth criterion selected was concerned with the method of delivery used to deliver the human rights learning tool. Definitions used to guide these delivery distinctions were based upon those established by Claude (2008, p.326). Claude suggests three primary classifications: “formal,” “non-formal,” and “informal.” These definitions were previously covered in greater detail (see Chapter Three), but are described briefly for clarity here.

---

rights education;
(d) the increase in the awareness of human rights standards and Mechanisms among the population at large through the media.

Formal Human Rights Learning

Formal education, as described by Claude, refers to the "normal 3 tier structure of primary, secondary, and tertiary education." Examples of human rights learning tools delivered in this way would be those tools specifically designed for delivery by a teacher within a classroom setting, usually as part of an official school curriculum. A typical formal model is the human rights education component developed as part of the *Uganda Universal Primary Education Curriculum* (The National Curriculum Development Centre 1999)[12].

This formal model is delivered as part of the Ugandan school curriculum as "topic number nine" and is taught in term three (when children are in Primary Three and approximately nine years old)[13].

From the seventeen models reviewed, six were primarily designed to be delivered in a formal or didactic manner. These seven were developed for the classroom setting, using materials that constitute an already defined body of knowledge about human rights, such as the *Universal Declaration of*

---

[12] See footnote #1

[13] The general objective of this curriculum is to "enable the learner to be aware of children's rights" (p.308). The actual curriculum suggests that:

> By the end of this topic the learner should be able to:
> 1. identify and mention children's rights and to explain their relevance to children's lives;
> 2. identify and mention causes of child abuse and to describe ways of avoiding them.
>
> The content is expected to include:
> 1. children's rights: physical, social, emotional and educational;
> 2. child abuse: physical, social, and emotional (p.309).

Human Rights (United Nations General Assembly 1948) and *The Convention on the Rights of the Child* (United Nations General Assembly 1989).

The strengths associated with offering human rights learning in a formal manner are that it has the potential capacity to reach large numbers of the population. Formal models also provide a standardized and consistent message. They are generally widely available and supported by tangible resources, often provided by governments and humanitarian organizations.

This standardization can also prove to be one of the challenges associated with a government-led, school-endorsed program. As explained by Tomasevski (2003), those who advocate government education must always be prepared to, "examine the assumption that any education is better than no education" (p15). She notes that education, when provided by some governments, becomes a tool for conditioning the population to ethnic and gender discrimination.

Dissemination is another challenge associated with formal methods of delivery. As Tibbetts (2002) references, mass public education programs are concerned with the dissemination of programs to meet specific needs. For example, tools developed to satisfy a government's compliance with *The United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 1994) may neglect Tarrow's (1992, p.28) contention that successful human rights education needs to be an integral component of education, not just packed in to satisfy or comply. She suggests that:

> In most elementary and secondary schools, human rights is not treated as a separate subject, but rather infiltrates such courses and programs as social studies, art, literature, language, philosophy, ethics, history, geography and political science.

The Principles of the International Congress on the Teaching Human Rights (UNESCO 1978) concurs, suggesting:

> It is not enough to dispense teaching and education in the spirit of a respect for human rights; human rights should also be taught as a subject integrated in the appropriate disciplines and in the appropriate fields (9).

Learners in formal settings also tend to be treated, as Freire (2005) describes, as "vessels" or passive recipients of knowledge that is given to them, rather than active, critical and engaged participants. When human rights learning occurs only in a school setting, the capacity to deliver becomes compromised during periods of civil and international conflict. In these situations, schools close as they often become targeted sites of violence and there is a fear of gathering groups of children, in non-secure circumstances (De Temmerman 2001).

Informal Human Rights Learning

Three of the tools examined fit within the informal human rights learning category. Defined by Claude (2008, p.326) as, "education that may or may not be organized, and is usually unsystematic education, having its effect on lifelong processes by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure". Examples of informal delivery models reviewed in this section included the *Peace Clubs* (CORD 2006), and *Bush Mega Radio* (DFAID-UK 2002).

Currently, there are six peace clubs operating in northern Uganda. Individuals who have been formerly taken and the local community co-facilitate and co-develop these clubs as opportunities to meet together, to find healing and to discuss a shared future. Staff co-facilitators deliver the program wherever participants are located, often on motorbikes so that they can move easily between the internally displaced camps (IDP).

Bush Radio MEGA FM (DFID-UK) went on air in August 2002 and has established a significant listener base across parts of northern Uganda. The station carries a wide range of programs including news, drama, cultural events and features, and other specific programs covering themes in development, human rights, and conflict reduction. *Radio Mega FM* is a joint initiative funded by the Department for International Development (DFID-UK 2002) and the Government of Uganda (GU). One focus of this model is to reach out to the northern Uganda bush, where it is known that the non-state militias are located. Its objective has been to provide the population of Gulu, Kitgum, and Pader districts with relevant and accurate information aimed at increasing opportunities for engagement with peace and development issues. The LRA listen to the radio station and have on a number of occasions joined radio phone-in talk shows and held discussions with government and civil society representatives (situational analysis 2005).

Strengths associated with an informal method of delivery are that the models tend to be more culturally relevant, responsive, and accessible even during times of conflict. Given the investment made by those at the grass roots level, there is a greater likelihood that participants will become involved.

However, there are challenges with this method of delivery. The human rights learning is subtler and therefore tools in this category are often not viewed as human rights education tools. In addition, the learning, when delivered in this way, tends to be the result of lifelong exposure and so presents some difficulty around evaluation.

Non-formal Human Rights Learning

Four tools fit within the non-formal learning category, as defined by Marks (2005) and agreed to by Claude (2008). This method recognizes that human rights learning involves an organized, systematic educational activity that occurs outside of the school system and is generally offered by Non-Government Organizations (NGO).

An example of this delivery method would be the *Cyberschoolbus* (United Nations 1996). This is an interactive website which can be accessed by anyone and which contains child-friendly access to a diverse array of human rights materials and texts. The site offers twenty curriculum pages, arranged into the following links: an overview, progress already made, focus examples, what needs work, student activities, and resources.

The strengths and challenges with this mode of delivery are issues of access. On the one hand, non-formal methods allow access in places where formal schools may not be in operation; however, many children and youth do not have access to alternate methods of communication, such as websites and radios.

Non-formal/Formal Human Rights Learning

Another four tools were classified as both non-formal and formal, indicating that they had the capacity to be delivered via either method. An example of a tool fitting this description is the *Human Beings: A Manual for Human Rights Education* (UNESCO 2000). This tool was developed for educators to use to teach secondary school students about the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (United Nations General Assembly 1989, p.46) using a "teachers aid" approach. While upon initial review it appears to be geared toward delivery in a formal classroom setting, it acknowledges that "learning what the rights of all human beings are cannot be a passive process in which the pupil is forced to follow a authoritarian teaching model" and suggests that it "can be used directly, without any teacher, by young people from the age of 14 upwards" (United Nations General Assembly 1989, p.11).

Tools in this category with multiple delivery mechanisms had the capacity to be more flexible depending on the situation and the needs of the participants. A challenge identified in this category was that not all of the tools clearly fit into defined, neatly prescribed categories, which makes comparisons and evaluation of tools more complicated.

Classifying Human Rights Tools

The fifth criteria used in this analysis looked at how human rights learning models might best be classified. Human rights learning literature suggests that human rights education models generally work toward three key objectives (Claude 1999; Flowers 2000; Tarrow 1992; Tibbetts 1997, 2002), referred to in the literature as the "building blocks for human rights

education (Tolman 2005) or conversely the "pedagogical triptych" (UNESCO 2000, p.46). The three objectives encompass:

- knowledge: knowing about human rights through the provision of information about political systems and processes, human rights and mechanisms of protection;
- values, beliefs and attitudes: in developing values and attitudes that uphold democratic practices, the rule of law and human rights principles;
- action: skills for promoting a democratic culture, for participating in civil and political society, and for taking action to defend human rights and prevent human rights offenses (Tibbetts 1997, p.17).

According to Tibbetts (2002), models/tools/methods of human rights learning are classified depending on which objective is emphasized. She explains that if human rights learning were viewed as a "learning pyramid," the widest part of the base would be those models she refers to as the "Values and Awareness models;" in the middle would be the "Accountability models;" and, at the narrow top, we would find "Transformational models."

Where a model fits in the pyramid reflects not only the size of the target populations with which each model is concerned (from large school curriculum models providing basic information all the way to creating new advocates moved to take action) but also the complexity and depth of material from the pedagogical triptych which the model covers.

Values & Awareness Models

Values & Awareness Models are primarily focused on transmitting a basic knowledge of human rights issues and fostering integration of these into public values. They are the most widely offered models and represent the base of the learning pyramid. These models are usually curriculum based (Tibbetts 2002). Models under this classification generally reference human rights conventions and/or specific articles. Public education awareness campaigns and school-based curricula typically fall within this classification and integration is supported by outlined activities. Teachers are encouraged to obtain local, culturally appropriate materials and to work in conjunction with local organizations and NGOs.

Human rights topics that would be covered by these models include: history of human rights, information about key human rights instruments, mechanisms of protection, and international human rights concerns (e.g., human trafficking, slavery and genocide). These tools can be creative in nature or can narrow to a lecture-oriented approach. There is limited skill development contained in these models, such as those related to communication, conflict resolution and activism.

In this analysis eleven fit within the Values and Awareness model. The tools found in this category were primarily curriculum-based and designed for large groups of school-aged children, to be led by a trained teacher or facilitator. The curriculum is generally based on the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (United Nations General Assembly 1989), *The United Nations Universal Declaration of Rights* (United Nations General Assembly 1948). Examples of Value and Awareness

models are: *ABC. Teaching Human Rights: Practical Activities for Primary and Secondary Schools* (United Nations Children's Fund 2004), *Human Rights Here and Now: Celebrating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (Amnesty 1996), *The Primary School Kit on The United Nations* (United Nations 1995) and *SINIKO* (Amnesty 1998).

The *SINIKO* (Amnesty 1998) human rights education model analyzed in this study is a prime example. This model is based on a manual designed for teachers and educators to be used in Africa, to work with young people both in formal and non-formal education situations. The resource is divided into multiple sections: the background for human rights education; tools for teaching human rights; sample lessons; key human rights documents; and other resources for promoting human rights education. The model lessons contained in the manual are taken from a variety of sources, including Amnesty International specialists and other publications, and are used to illustrate various methodologies and topics for human rights education. *SINIKO* (Amnesty 1998) was conceived as a learning tool for the teacher as well as a resource for organizing activities in educational settings. The main purpose of the text is to familiarize teachers with the basic principles of and approaches to human rights education and to give them tools for the development of their own lessons and teaching skills. The tool includes versions of the *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* (ACHPR 1986), the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (United Nations General Assembly 1989) and the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations General Assembly 1948).

The Transformative Model

The Transformative model is described by Tibbetts (2002) as more of an empowerment model. Empowerment in these models refers to a process whereby participants, in the Freiren sense, increase mastery and control over their lives and are seen as having the capacity for critical reflection and action. In these models, "human rights programming is geared toward empowering the individual to both recognize human rights abuses and to commit to their prevention"(Tibbetts 2002, p. 8). Banks (2001, p.6) proposes that these models "change the basic assumptions and structure of the curriculum to allow students to view concepts, issues, events and themes from the perspective of diverse ethnic and cultural groups." As these models treat individuals more holistically, these models in this classification are seen as representing the tip of the human rights learning pyramid and are more challenging in their design and application. As the Transformational models assume that students have had personal experiences with human rights violations and that they are therefore predisposed to become promoters of human rights, these models are those most often found in programs operating in refugee camps, and in post-conflict societies.

Six of the models analyzed fit within the parameters of the Transformative model. Examples of this model are the human rights education pack (2005), *That's not fair: A teacher's guide to activism with young children* (Pelo & Davidson 2000) and *The Bells of Freedom* (APAP 1996) program. *The Bells of Freedom* (APAP 1996) is a teaching resource for human rights educators and facilitators of learning groups involved in non-formal education to ensure effective human rights education specifically

called for by the *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* (ACHPR 1986).

Transformative models tend to be more creative and culturally responsive. Examples are the *Peace clubs* in northern Uganda (CORD 2006). These are delivered informally through the Christian Outreach Relief and Development fund (CORD), in partnership with northern Uganda's *Information for Youth Empowerment Project* (IYEP). *Peace clubs* incorporate youth activities, including literacy classes for boys and girls who previously missed out on their education due to the conflict, a drop-in centre in Gulu town centre where IYEP has employed qualified social workers to provide counseling and support to those formerly taken. In addition, the clubs have begun pursuing projects with local women's economic co-operatives, in order to provide vocational training and income-generating opportunities for more than 5,000 women. Together with youth work, these activities are designed to assist the Acholi people break out from the poverty that has resulted from the 22-year long conflict in northern Uganda.

The Accountability Model

The Accountability Model represents the middle of the learning pyramid. Models fitting this classification are usually delivered to participants already directly or indirectly associated with the guarantee of human rights through their professional roles. These models are developed to focus on the professional responsibilities involved with either directly monitoring human rights violations and/or advocating with the necessary authorities or protecting the rights of people (especially vulnerable populations) for whom

they have some responsibility. Within this model, the assumption of all educational programming is that participants will be directly involved in the protection of individual and group rights.

Examples of programs falling under the accountability model are the training of human rights and community activists on techniques for monitoring and documenting human rights abuses and procedures for registering grievances with appropriate national and international bodies. Also falling within this classification are pre-service and in-service programs for lawyers, prosecutors, judges, police officers and the military, which may include information about relevant constitutional and international law, professional codes of conduct, supervisory and grievance mechanisms, and consequences of violations. Professional groups, such as health and social service workers, journalists and other members of the media may be the recipients.

Given the focus on training professional personnel in this third classification, no tools fitting this classification were considered. Despite this, in the course of my research I spent time with personnel from the Ugandan People's Defence Force (UPDF) who worked principally in the Child Protection Units (CPU). They shared a human rights learning tool that had been developed in conjunction with Gulu Save the Children to build the capacity of the UPDF around child rights protection and promotion. Named *The principles and minimum standards: A guideline for procedure and practice for child protection units* (UDPF 2005) this training tool was directed specifically to those CPU involved in rescuing children taken by the non-state militia in northern Uganda.

Population

Criterion six of this analysis was concerned with the population for whom the tools were developed. Seventeen of the tools examined were developed for usage with children from early childhood to young adulthood. Many of the tools indicated that they may also have the capacity to be used with adults, for example: *Human beings: A manual for human rights education* (UNESCO 2000); *Learning in a war zone in northern Uganda* (Women's Commission 2005) and *Education in situations of emergency conflict and post-conflict* (SIDA 2002).

Two of the tools were designed specifically with females in mind: *The Bells of Freedom* (APAP 1996) and popular *Education for Human Rights* (Claude 2002). More specifically, these two tools indicated that there were suitable in application for "Vulnerable participants, with minimal literacy skills and women and children on the margins."

Context

The seventh criterion considered whether any of the seventeen tools had been developed predominantly for use in either a conflict situation or on the continent of Africa. Six tools were developed to be used in a conflict situation: Education *in situations of emergency conflict and post-conflict* (SIDA 2002), *Peace clubs in northern Uganda* (CORD 2006), *Radio MEGA* (DFAID 2002), *Human rights education or social transformation?* (Koenig

2002) *and Learning in a war zone in northern Uganda* (Women's Commission 2005).

In addition, six tools were developed for use in the African context. These tools were: *SINIKO* (Amnesty 1998), *Bells of Freedom* (APAP 1996), *Learning in a war zone in northern Uganda* (Women's Commission 2005), Radio MEGA (DFAID 2002) and *Peace clubs in northern Uganda* (CORD 2006). Nine tools had universal application, suggesting that they could be used in multiple and diverse settings. These tools were generally available in multiple translations. The tools in this category included language similar to that found in the *Human beings: A manual for human rights education* (UNESCO 2000, p.11) tool which suggests that "all teachers are free, in light of their own cultures and individual pedagogical choices, to invent and create approaches and situations different from those suggested here."

Evaluation

The eighth criterion considered whether any of the human rights learning tools had been formally evaluated. I did not find a formal evaluation for any of the tools. Most indicated that they were created "as a result of team work, with participation by numerous educators.... and tested in several schools throughout the world" (*Human beings: A manual for human rights education,* UNESCO 2000, p.11) or were, "A starting point for further research and study on the subject" (*ABC. Teaching human rights: Practical activities for primary and secondary schools, United Nations,* 2004, p.7).

Summary

All nine instruments considered suggest that there are a number of provisions in force to support and promote education, in particular human rights education. While human rights education instruments are seen by many researchers and activists as able to offer some protection and promotion of rights in conflict circumstances, there is also recognition that, "Human rights in the United Nations system imply universality. Yet human values are by their nature contested and history reveals a tragically imperfect world where inequalities abound and justice is often absent" (Gearon 2003a, p.8). Furthermore, a majority of parties who have ratified agreements to promote and protect the rights of civilians, particularly girls affected by armed conflict, appear to rarely have the capacity to enforce, implement or monitor the instruments. This is especially true if non-state militias are involved in the violation of rights.

It is apparent from the instrument concordance that a considerable distance exists between the nine international instruments designed to protect rights and the actual situation for girls, especially girls in conflict zones. To close this gap these international instruments need to be applied and enforced on the ground (Evans 2008). One way that has been promoted to make these instruments more applicable is through the practice of human rights learning using appropriate tools and models.

The seventeen models specifically selected and reviewed in this analysis represent a collection of separate human rights learning tools developed by a variety of authors, from individuals, to humanitarian organizations, NGOs to governments to be delivered in a variety of methods.

The eight criteria chosen based on a review of literature, suggest that each model had a deliberate design in order to offer a set of distinct activities and strategies to assist with the realization of human rights learning. Simplistically, the method of delivery and the focus of the content of each tool appeared to affect how, who, what and where human rights learning occurred. Similar to the findings of Banks (2001) in his 2000 United States national survey of human rights education, this analysis found that most tools considered were those which were offered through a formal delivery means and fell within the basic knowledge and awareness raising classification. Tools designed in this manner are most likely to reach a broad audience through a structured curriculum and focused on increasing a recipient's knowledge about human rights through the provision of information about political systems and processes, human rights conventions and mechanisms of protection. However, this section of the study concludes that those tools designed to be offered through an informal or non formal methods with content construed as more responsive to the participants, holistic in approach, and with a goal to "awaken people from passivity and apathy" (Flowers 2000, p.7) would likely be more empowering and transformative. The content in these tools was designed to integrate the experiences of participants exploring their values and attitudes and thus promote a democratic culture, while brainstorming ways for participants to be involved in civil and political society; and to take action to defend human rights and prevent future human rights violations. Tools in these categories were, however, found to be in the minority in this study.

Most human rights education authors, whose works were considered, indicated that one of the keys to successful human rights learning was the capacity to be able to relate to and be responsive to local cultures and how they can help support greater tolerance, equality and integrity among people of different backgrounds with different interests. In the case of this study a tool needed to be designed to be used in unstable, insecure protracted African conflict situation with young female participants who have been taken and have experienced multiple human rights violations and have often participated in violating the rights of others.

After completing this descriptive tool analysis and review of the literature, it still remains unclear, other than anecdotally, what role human rights learning actually plays in improving access to and responsibility for human rights in a culture. This is primarily due to the lack of evaluation of tools and methods in the field. Banks (2001), Claude (2008), Flowers (2000), and Tibbetts (2002) support the need for an evaluation of human rights learning tools. They suggest, in essence, that such evaluations would not only enhance the quality of human rights learning tools and models, but would substantiate that which is endorsed and touted in many human rights documents, but is really primarily based on intuition, that human rights learning can enhance knowledge about human rights and be a mechanism for protection. It can also promote values, beliefs and attitudes that empower individuals to uphold their own rights and those of others (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR] 2003).

In the next chapter, I discuss and present the findings from the field study conducted in northern Uganda in 2006 in order to examine the

relationships between human rights learning policy and the experiences of girls taken by non-state actors. I also explored some of the issues in implementing a human rights education model in such circumstances.

Chapter Six: From Passivity to Action, a Northern Ugandan Field Study

Introduction

In this chapter I begin by presenting the fifteen profiles of the girls who were interviewed during the field study conducted in northern Uganda in 2006. This is followed by the data and the findings. Since there is limited research with regards to the experience of girls who have been formerly taken and held in captivity in this manner, the study aimed to investigate the relationships between human rights education policy and the experiences of young girls who were taken; moreover, this study aimed to explore their understandings and ideas about the role of human rights learning in armed conflict situations. Safe travel was limited during the data collection time frame (June/July 2006) due to the precarious security situation in northern Uganda with unending non-state militia attacks on both locals and foreigners.

Interviewee Profile Summaries

Below are fifteen syntheses of the semi-structured interviews conducted in northern Uganda during the summer of 2006. Each Interviewee profile is a brief descriptive synopsis of the interviews that were primarily conducted in Luo (with the exception of one) and translated and transcribed into English.

Interviewee profile # 1 Sue

The interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. The interview was conducted in Luo and translated by Beatrice (research assistant).

A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity.

Sue is a fifteen year old girl from Otwal, trading centre B in the Lira area of northern Uganda. Sue was taken by "the rebels" on March 1st, 2003 from an Internally Displaced Person's (IDP) camp on her way to school. At the time she was thirteen years old. Sue has three sisters and four brothers. She has now "returned back" to living in the IDP camp after being held in the bush by the "rebels" for three months. Prior to this she was at the Caritas Rehabilitation Centre in Teboke for several months.

While being held, Sue told me she was:

> Given a husband, I refused; they hit my neck with a gumboot and threatened to kill me. So, I made a sign of the cross and told them to kill me. But later the boss came and asked them to leave me that I was not going to escape. Then I started babysitting for Hilda Lukwiya (female LRA Commander).

Sue said in her time in the bush she was never shown any kindness and described how the "rebels" treated her, "very badly, even the food we ate was very bad-we would grind beans on rocks and boil, and then eat with greens

and wild yams. We were also asked to kill other people with pangas.” She portrayed her experience by describing one incident:

> They asked me to kill a girl who was thought to have tried to escape with a panga. I first refused, and then later hit her once, but she did not die.

Sue herself was also threatened; they said they were going to be “killing me with a knife/panga”. She believes this did not happen because “one of the captured teachers, who had rank, kept telling them not to kill me”. In order to survive she says she drew upon her strengths of being “tough and outspoken”. When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Sue told how:

> Girls would be stripped naked to see their breasts and asked if they know gonorrhea, if they said yes they are killed. If a boy sleeps with a girl he is killed.

Sue was able to escape when “a plane was passing they told us to keep down, then the government army came they started shooting, we rolled toward them and they captured us”. Sue had completed a primary 4 level of education prior to her being taken and has plans to become a nurse some day.

To date Sue indicated that she has heard about human rights from the NGO Caritas, “I heard that parents should send children to school”. Sue had not heard about the Geneva Convention. She had heard about the Convention on the Rights of the Child, again from Caritas. Primarily her

knowledge revolved around “sending children to school by parents”. However, when asked she said that “talking about human rights can make a difference because it can add knowledge” and “children can ask to be treated rightly”.

Interviewee profile # 2 Stella

The interview occurred in Lira, outside in the compound of Caritas. The interview was conducted in English by this researcher as this participant requested the interview in English. A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity. Stella is a seventeen year old girl from Otwal, trading centre B in the Lira area of northern Uganda. Stella says she was taken by the “LRA” from an Internally Displaced Person’s (IDP) camp on her way to school, when she was an unknown age. Stella has four sisters and one brother. Her mother is alive, but her father is not. Stella is now at the Caritas Rehabilitation Centre in Teboke, where she has been for one month. Throughout the interview Stella appeared nervous and was looking around constantly. It was as if she wanted to speak but was aware that the other girls were around and may over hear her. It is possible in retrospect that Stella was preoccupied with asking this researcher for assistance with her schooling as was later indicated by a note passed, requesting the same.

When asked about her time in captivity, Stella said very little and then added:

> There is more I want to say but I do not want say now.

Stella did say in her time in captivity she was never shown any kindness and described how she had only “dirty water to drink, no food, no medical

care…there were many hurdles". She spoke about "having no bed" and "problems walking the great distances".

While Stella did not speak about being threatened; she said the "captives made her carry beans and maize for many miles with no rest". The result was that she ended up with a "chest infection" and "swollen legs and feet from too much walking". In order to survive she says she drew upon her ability to "pray" and "dig" as there was "nothing I can do, just only stay like that".
When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Stella told how "both girls and boys carried luggage and were fighting".
Stella was able to escape by "running away and then the soldiers brought her back".

Stella had completed Secondary 2 level of education prior to her abduction and has plans to "study, want to go to secondary next year and then become a nurse so I can help my brothers and sisters at home". At the end of the interview Stella was the only participant who asked for the stamped addressed envelope that was offered at the beginning of the session, so that participants could send other information they may want the researcher to have or to withdraw their consent. Before the end of our time together, Stella returned the envelope to the researcher with a note in it, requesting school fees. To date Stella indicated that she has heard about human rights, but has forgotten "But is going to try and remember". Stella had not heard about the Geneva Convention. She had heard about the Convention on the Rights of the Child, during her primary education. Stella

did not give any reasons why talking about human rights might make a difference.

Interviewee profile # 3 Susan

Interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. Interview conducted in Acholi and translated by Beatrice (research assistant). A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity.

Susan is a fourteen year old girl from Otwal, trading centre B in the Lira area of northern Uganda. Susan was taken by “the rebels” from her grandmother’s house in January 2005, when she was fourteen years old. Susan believes they took her because “they wanted to add to their number”. Susan reported that the:

> Rebels surrounded the home at 7:00pm and rounded us. I was picked to follow them and the rest of the family members were beaten.

Susan has two sisters and four brothers and both her parents are living. She has now returned to the Caritas Rehabilitation Centre in Teboke after being held captive for two weeks. While in captivity, Susan says she was, “made to carry heavy loads”. Susan said during her time in captivity she was “never threatened with violence and they did not ask her to do anything else”. In fact Susan reports that the captors showed her kindness by “promising to help”. Susan said what kept her alive was “God” and she drew on “prayer” for strength. When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Susan said they were “both treated the same”. Susan was able to escape when she was “rescued by the army”. Susan believes that the way to stop the

abductions is to “have more people should be recruited in the army, amnesty should continue”.

Susan had completed a primary 5 level of education prior to her abduction and has plans to continue with her education. To date Susan indicated that she has heard about human rights from the radio, and believes “rights should be protected”. Susan had not heard about the Geneva Convention. She had heard about the Convention on the Rights of the Child, again from Caritas. Primarily, her beliefs around the CRC are that “the rights of children should not be there. They no longer respect people.” However, when asked whether talking about human rights can make a difference she said, “Yes, it shapes people’s behavior”.

Interviewee profile # 4 Joyce

The interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. The interview conducted in Acholi and translated by Beatrice (research assistant).
A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity. Joyce is a sixteen year old girl from Otwal, in the Apac district, near Lira area of northern Uganda. Joyce was taken by “the rebels” on December 25th, 2005 from her home in an Internally Displaced Person’s (IDP) camp, when she was sixteen years old. Joyce has six sisters and three brothers. She has now returned back to living in the IDP camp after being held in the bush by the “rebels” for one month. Prior to this she was at the Caritas Rehabilitation Centre in Teboke for several months. While in being held, Joyce told me she was:

Made to kill…given a big log which I used to hit two people until death.

Joyce said in her time in the bush she was not shown any kindness and described that the "rebels" threatened her, "with violence" and she was "beaten" and "asked to kill". She believes that the "rebels" took her away to be "a soldier". When asked about gender differences in the way girls and boys were treated, Joyce explained that "girls were not treated any differently" and she also "did not receive any education while in captivity". When asked what helped her survive Joyce indicated that she relied upon "prayers" and "God". Joyce was able to escape "during exchange of fire with the army".

Joyce had completed a primary 6 level of education prior to her abduction and has plans to go back to school. She indicated that "no" she has not had any formal or informal education about human rights and could not describe the strengths or problems with a human rights program. However, Joyce then indicated that she has heard about human rights from the NGO Caritas. Joyce had not heard about the Geneva Convention. She had heard about the Convention on the Rights of the Child, from the radio and at the Caritas rehabilitation centre. Primarily, her knowledge revolved around "parents will be able to protect their children". Joyce did ask at the beginning of the interview, "Why are we brought here?" The purpose of the study was explained and the importance of having the girl's voices heard was reiterated.

Interviewee profile # 5 Jenny

The interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. The interview was conducted in Acholi and translated by Beatrice (research assistant).

A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity. Jenny is a fifteen year old girl from Otwal, in the Lira district of northern Uganda. Jenny was taken by “the rebels” from her “home village in Otwal” and did not give a time when. She was fourteen years old. Jenny indicated that she “don’t know why they took her away”. Jenny reported that “she was tortured and had to carrying heavy loads”. Jenny has four sisters and two brothers and both her parents are living. She has now returned to the Caritas Rehabilitation Centre in Teboke after being held captive for three months. While in captivity, Jenny says she was made to “walking long distances and eating raw food”. She was not shown any kindness, “no one had a kind heart for me at all” and “all the time threats with unkind words”. Jenny said during her time in captivity she was “made me a baby sitter, cooks and collecting fire wood plus water”. She was threatened with violence, “by beating”.

When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Jenny said they were both treated the same, “but more beatings for girls”. Jenny was able to escape when she was “rescued by the army.” Jenny believes that the way to stop the abductions is for “Government should kill Kony and burn him”. Jenny had completed a primary 5 level of education prior to her abduction and when asked about her plans she said, “help us with sustainable programme for our life”. To date Jenny indicated that she has not heard about human rights, saying “no, I don’t know”. Jenny had not heard about the Geneva Convention. She had heard about the Convention on the Rights of the Child, from Local Council officials and parents. Primarily, her beliefs around the CRC are that “we have rights to live in a good community”. Jenny sees the strengths of a human rights program as “protects from

inhuman people like Kony". Asked whether talking about human rights makes any difference she said "nothing new-human rights not good". When asked if there is anything else I should know she replied "the outside community should come in and assist our Government to fight Kony and his group out of our area".

Interviewee profile # 6 Winnie

The interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. The interview was conducted in Acholi and translated by Beatrice (research assistant). A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity. Winnie is a fifteen year old girl from Otwal, in the Lira district of northern Uganda. Winnie was taken by "the rebels" from her "home" and did not give a time when. She was fourteen years old at the time she thinks. Winnie indicated that she was taken:

> To participate in fighting the government and to be the wife to them, instead was beaten.

Winnie reported that, "She was treated with "brutality" and "beating". Winnie has two sisters and six brothers and no children. She has now returned to the Caritas Rehabilitation Centre in Teboke after being held captive for two weeks. While in captivity, Winnie says she was made to "to be a standby". She was shown kindness by the "Commander". When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Winnie said, "they were treated differently". She did not elaborate. Winnie was able to escape

when she was “sent to fetch water”. Winnie believes that the way to stop the abductions is with “peace talks”. Winnie had completed a primary 6 level of education prior to her abduction and when asked about her plans she said she “plans to go back to school”. To date Winnie indicated that she has heard about human rights, “On the radio and they talk about rights of human beings”. Winnie had not heard about the Geneva Convention, or the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Winnie did not indicate any strengths of a human rights program. Asked whether talking about human rights makes any difference she said “it brings peace and development”. When asked if there is anything else I should know she replied “wants to be given some resources”.

Interviewee profile # 7 Stellina

The interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. The interview was conducted in Acholi and translated by Beatrice (research assistant). A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity. Stellina is a fifteen year old girl from Otwal, in the Lira district of northern Uganda. Stellina was taken by “the rebels, LRA” from her “home” when she was fourteen years old. Stellina indicated that those who took her “didn’t tell us what we were going to do”. When asked what happened to her Stellina reported, “beating and carrying heavy loads”. Stellina has two sisters and one brother and no children. She has now returned to the Caritas Rehabilitation Centre in Teboke after being held captive for one week.

While in captivity, Stellina says she was made to “to be the babysitter”. She was “shown no kindness and threatened with a panga”. When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Stellina said “They were treated differently”, but did not elaborate. Stellina was able to escape “during fire exchange with the UPDF”. Stellina indicated that what helped her stay alive was “God” and she drew upon “prayer” for strength.

Stellina believes that the way to stop the abductions is with “peace talks and human rights education”. Stellina had completed a primary 7 level of education prior to her being taken and when asked about her plans she said she “plans to go back to school”. To date Stellina indicated that she has heard about human rights, “from school”. She did not indicate whether or not she had heard about the Geneva Convention, or the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Neither did Stellina give any strengths of a human rights program. Asked whether talking about human rights makes any difference she did not respond. When asked if there is anything else I should know she replied, “wants to be given some resources”.

Interviewee profile # 8 Milly

The interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. The interview was conducted in Acholi and translated by Beatrice (research assistant). A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity. Milly is a fifteen year old girl from Otwal, in the Lira district of northern Uganda. Milly was taken by “Oehaya, the rebel leader” from her “Awe Kwo village” when she was fourteen years old. Milly indicated that those who took

her did so, “I could go to work”. When asked what happened to her Milly reported she was “beaten, slaps, kicks”. Milly has six sisters and three brothers, one who is still in the bush and has no children. She has now returned to the Caritas Rehabilitation Centre in Teboke after being held captive in the bush for three months. While in captivity, Milly says she was made to do “fetching water, cooking and escorting during abducting”. She was shown some kindness in the bush by a “stranger”, but was also experienced being “very badly beating most of the time” and “serious beating”. When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Milly said they were treated differently, “boys were always take to fight”. Milly was able to escape:

> During a fight, I lay down and got up in the morning. Both sides of soldiers had gone so I came slowly and Caritas picked us up.

Milly believes that the way to stop the abductions is with “peace talks”. Milly had completed a primary 6 level of education prior to her abduction and when asked about her plans she said she “plans to be a nurse, but am not studying now”. To date Milly indicated that she has heard about human rights, “from Caritas”. She had not heard about the Geneva Convention. She had heard about the Convention on the Rights of the Child from Caritas and “her rights to an education”. Milly gave “rights to an education” as the strengths of a human rights program. Asked whether talking about human rights makes any difference she said “yes, parents will take children to school”. When asked if there is anything else I should know she did not respond.

Interviewee profile # 9 Sarah

The interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. The interview was conducted in Acholi and translated by Beatrice (research assistant). A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity. Sarah is a seventeen year old girl from Otwal, Okiii village, in the Lira district of northern Uganda. Sarah was taken by the "rebels" from her "home village Ogwangokwee" when she was twelve years old on April 25th, 2004. Sarah indicated that "she does not know why?" She said:

> Many rebels came and took me with all our belongings.

When asked what happened to her in the bush Sarah reported she was "beaten and tied with friends". Sarah has three sisters and two brothers, and her father is dead and she has no children. She has now returned to her village after being held captive in the bush for one month. While in captivity, Sarah says she was "made us to kill others whom we got on our way to the bush" and also forced to "collect water and firewood". She was "shown some kind words by some while others not". She was also experienced being "beaten that I was not cooperating with them". Sarah indicated that what helped her stay alive was "God alone" and she drew upon the fact that she believes "god has a future for me" for strength. When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Sarah said they were treated differently:

> While boys had much training in war activities, we young girls were not trained.

Sarah was able to escape “through the army”. Sarah does “not know how to stop this from happening”. Sarah had completed a primary 5 level of education prior to her being taken and when asked about her plans she said she wants “some basic skills only”. To date Sarah indicated that she has not heard about human rights. She had also not heard about the Geneva Convention. She had heard about the Convention on the Rights of the Child “when people talk casually”. She has had no formal or informal human rights education. Sarah did not give any strengths of a human rights program. Asked whether talking about human rights makes any difference she said “I don’t know completely”. When asked if there is anything else I should know she said, “Caritas should help our parents because there is no food in the camp”.

Interviewee profile # 10 Joy

The interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. The interview was conducted in Acholi and translated by Beatrice (research assistant). A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity. Joy is a fourteen year old girl from Otwal, in the Lira area of northern Uganda. Joy was taken by “the rebel LRA” from her home in May, when she was thirteen years old. Joy does not know why they took her. Joy has seven sisters and one brother and her father is living. She now stays at the Caritas Rehabilitation Centre in Teboke after being held captive for two weeks. While in captivity, Joy says she was “shown no kindness”, “beaten” and “threatened with a panga” and made to “carry heavy loads”.

When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Joy said that girl were treated differently than boys but did not elaborate. Joy was able to escape when she was "there was fire exchange with the UPDF".

When asked what helped her survive in the bush she replied "God and prayers". Joy did not answer the questions about human rights learning. Her plans for the future are, "to go back to school".

Interviewee profile # 11 Sharon

The interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. The interview was conducted in Acholi and translated by Beatrice (research assistant). A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity.

Sharon is an eighteen year old girl from Otwal village, in the Lira district of northern Uganda. Sharon was taken by "rebel (LRA)" from "from home" when she was seventeen years old. Sharon did not indicate why she was taken. When asked what happened to her in the bush Sharon reported:

> She was beaten without food after being taken.

Sharon has six brothers and three sisters, and one child. She has now returned to her village after being held captive in the bush for three weeks. While in captivity, Sharon says while in the bush she was expected to "fetch water". She was "shown no kindness" and was threatened with "beating and a gun". Sharon indicated that what helped her stay alive was "God" and she drew upon her "prayers" for strength. When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Sharon said they were treated differently, but

did not elaborate. Sharon was able to escape when “people were sleeping at night”. Sharon believes that “peace talk” could stop this from happening. Sharon had completed a primary 6 level of education prior to being taken and when asked about her plans she said she wants “some resources to start up business”. To date Sharon indicated that she has heard about human rights, “from school”. She had not heard about the Geneva Convention or about the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Sharon did not answer whether she had received any formal and informal human rights education. When she was asked whether talking about human rights makes any difference she said, “Yes, through education”. When asked if there is anything else I should know she said, “Some resources to keep my child”.

Interviewee profile #12 Harriet

The interview occurred in Lira in the compound of Caritas. The interview was conducted in Acholi and translated by Beatrice. A pseudonym chosen by the participant is being used to protect her identity. Harriet is a seventeen year old girl from Alito village, in the Lira district of northern Uganda. Harriet was taken by “Commander Okello-rebel leader” from “Alito village” when she was eleven years old in 2003. Harriet indicated that “I don’t know why”. When asked what happened to her in the bush Harriet reported “after being captured I carried a basin full of soil” and we “carried a lot of luggage” and “we were made to move from place to place”. Harriet has six sisters and six brothers, and no children. She has now returned to her village after being held captive in the bush for five months. While in captivity, Harriet says

while in the bush she was expected to “fetch water and keep moving to collect food”. She experienced “kaining if I was not moving, even when I was sick”. She was “shown no kindness” and was threatened with “if I try to escape, I’ll be killed”. Harriet indicated that what helped her stay alive was “obeying orders” and she drew upon her “obedience” for strength. When asked about gender differences in the way girls were treated, Harriet said they were not treated differently, “everyone went for standby”. Harriet was able to escape “during war I lay down then after we got up and went to government soldiers”. Harriet does “not know how to stop this from happening”. Harriet had completed a primary 5 level of education prior to her abduction and when asked about her plans she said she wants “to study and become a nurse”. To date Harriet indicated that she has heard about human rights. She had not heard about the Geneva Convention, but she has heard about the Convention on the Rights of the Child “through Caritas”. Harriet has received some formal and informal human rights education and she sees the strengths of a human rights program as “encouraging parents to send children to school”. Asked whether talking about human rights makes any difference she said “yes, children will be sent to school and live a better live”. When asked if there is anything else I should know she said, “yes, I need school fees”.

Interviewee profile #13 Rose

Rose is now a sixteen year old school girl from the Lira area in northern Uganda, who was taken by the Lord’s Resistance Army (specifically Commander Odomi’s section) in 2004, when she was fourteen years old.

When she was taken she left behind two brothers and two sisters and she was taken from her village (Akiral). She does not know what reason they had for taking her. Rose was held in captivity in the bush for two months. During her captivity she said she was "forced to carry sacks of beans and we were beaten severely with a wire lock if we slowed down or when we came back with nothing looted. We were given bad food that was very bitter". Rose also indicated that she was threatened with being killed upon abduction:

> In the bush we were told to lie down and that they would kill us using pangas (machetes). They brought the pangas and an axe to kill us. But the person who has taken us refused to let them kill us.

After two months in captivity Rose escaped. She did not get pregnant in the bush or refer to any sexual abuse during the interview. Rose and her group of abductees were told to beat and kill others and loot, but did not elaborate further. She indicated that in the bush "the boys had to do more of the fighting and the girls do the household chores". While being held, Rose indicated that "God helped her survive and stay alive and this was what she drew upon for strength". She was shown some kindness by the rebels in the form of "receiving some good things to eat". Rose arrived at the Teboke Rehabilitation Centre on July 7th, 2004 after a helicopter hit the rebel group she was with and during the confusion of the gun fire she was able to escape to the UPDF. Rose has had limited formal education having completed Primary 6. She indicated that she has heard a little about human rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child while at the CARITAS School since the abduction. During her time in the bush she heard nothing about human rights, nor received any other education. From Rose's limited human rights

education she remembers that “parents should send children to school, no corporal punishment for children and no forcing children to marry”. She sees the strength of human rights education as “adding knowledge” and she believes that talking about human rights does make difference because “parents will know that they should send children to school and that they should not punish children unjustly”. Rose believes that the only thing that can prevent more abduction is to “bring a plane with a spark to take away guns from rebels”. Rose plans to become a “sister”.

Interviewee profile # 14 Alia

The interview occurred in Gulu in the compound of Solace Uganda (northern branch) outside on steps. The interview was conducted in Luo and translated by Beatrice (research assistant). Alia is a fifteen year old girl from Pece, in the Gulu area of northern Uganda. During the interview she appeared shy and reserved and was nursing her baby throughout the interview. Alia was taken from her village when she was fourteen years old by “Lakwena rebels” (the former name given to the LRA when under the command of Alice Lakwena and then known as the Holy Spirit Movement). Alia has two sisters. She was held in captivity by the “rebels” for one year, after being taken from her village. She returned from the bush in 2005, pregnant. Now in addition to the associated trauma of the abduction and complexities of returning to her village, she also has a young baby to care for. Alia had completed a primary 5 level of education prior to her abduction and has plans to become a teacher some day. While in captivity, Alia was “treated very badly and threatened

with killing me”. She says, “Many things happened to her”. Upon being asked to elaborate she explains that:

> When we reached there we were asked to kill people, if you don’t they beat you with a panga, that is what happened to me.

In addition, the rebels told them to, “keep each other not to escape, fetching water, killing people and digging”. Alia observed that girls and boys performed different roles, in so far as boys “did mostly looting”. While in the bush, Alia received no form of schooling. She was able to stay alive because “my captor was a captain whose home was near ours and asked them not to kill me”. He showed her kindness. During her time in the bush she “obeyed orders” which also helped her stay alive. Alia was able to escape when:

> We had come to loot foodstuff, the gun fire started; I ran and hid in the middle of big trees. Then later came back.

To date Alia indicated that she has not ever received any formal or informal education in human rights and has not heard of human rights, the Geneva Convention or the Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, when asked she said that talking about human rights can make a difference because “parents will send children to school” and a human rights program can “add knowledge”.

Interviewee profile # 15 Alice

The interview occurred in Gulu in a compound. The interview was conducted in Luo and translated by Beatrice (research assistant). Alice indicates she is a

twenty-nine year old woman who was taken by the Lord's Resistance Army when she was sixteen years old, from her home in Opit. She was held in captivity in the bush, for seven years. The reason she gave for her capture, was that the "rebels" who took her were "bad hearted". Prior to her being taken she had attended primary school up until primary six.
During Alice's captivity she said she was:

> Always moving in the bush up and down.

She saw "people being killed" and the "killing of a woman" and "was bitten and shot on the finger by a gun". Alice was forced to do "digging using a hoe, cooking, carrying luggage from place to place". When asked how she was treated, she responded her:

> Free movement was limited and when we reached Sudan they were training people to use a gun.

Alice was asked "to demonstrate using gun" by the "rebels". When Alice was asked whether boys were treated differently from girls she responded:

> Girls are given to men to be wives and boys are showed to train to guard camps and barracks.

Alice indicated that she did not receive any schooling during her seven years of captivity. She indicated that she was shown some kindness by the captors, saying, and "They even conversed with me". Alice believes she was able to stay alive through "obeying orders". When asked what could be done to stop

the abductions she replied simply, “forgiveness”. Alice indicated that she had heard about human rights in the bush, but did not elaborate in what way. Alice escaped from “the bush with her “husband”, who had a broken leg.” Since he escaped things have been difficult, as Alice pointed out “we can’t afford the rent”. She has three children all were born in the bush.

Data

The data for this analysis, as indicated in Chapter Four, was derived from transcribed, translated tapes from the focus group and the interviews, and quilt art blocks with accompanying descriptive text (the quilt blocks are included in Appendix G). In addition, numerous observations of participants’ non-verbal communications were also documented in a research journal and in photos. United Nations documents and non-government organization information were also synthesized, along with a situational analysis (conducted in 2005) to obtain background information about the historical, political, social and economic context of the situation. This was enhanced by discussions with key informants who were currently involved in the situation.

Transcripts were read and re-read in order to explore and identify themes. The thematic framework developed drew upon emergent themes from the data and a prior conceptualization of participants’ potential experiences with human rights, which was based upon the literature review and which had framed the development of the semi-structured questionnaire.

Textual data from both the interviews and focus group were coded using a simple method: highlighting (Crabtree & Miller 1999; Patton 2002). I used different coloured markers; each colour represented a different category. The data analysis compared participants' knowledge about and attitudes toward human rights, evaluation of the rights education programming they had participated in, and the application of human rights learning principles.

The data was constantly compared across the different groups to look for consistency and difference in the categories. The data was then critically reflected upon to determine how it developed into categories which differed from those expected. These differences were explored. The data findings were organized by importance and frequency; the number of participants who spoke about a particular topic implied its importance. The data was considered with regard to what did not fit the assumptions or theories of other researchers. Different theories about what the data meant was considered. Based on this analysis, the data was sorted into five primary data categories and sub-themes. The data categories that emerged from the first two thirds of the data collected were:

Being taken

- Reasons for being taken
- The takers
- Location from which taken
- Period for which taken

Roles and responsibilities in the bush

- Gendered and militarized

- Girl mothers

Life in the bush/hardships endured in the bush

- Sexual exploitation
- Traumatic experiences
- Physical abuse
- Lack of medical care

Escape/capture/rescue and return from the bush

- Shame/shunning
- Reintegration ceremonies

Resilience

- Factors that affect resilience
- God
- Roles performed
- Standing up for self/strength of character
- Obedience
- Relationships

The four categories that emerged from the final third of the data that pertained to human rights learning and education models were:

School as the source of human rights education

A child's right to attend school

Leader's responsibility to uphold human rights

Girls can ask to be treated "rightly"

Reflections on the Data Collected

This section of the chapter includes the data and reflections upon each of the categories and sub-themes.

Being Taken

Under the category labeled "being taken," the data revealed that all twenty-four of the participants believed that they had been taken by those described as either "non-state militias," "LRA," "rebels," or specific individual commanders. Participants illustrated through their quilt blocks what had occurred during the act of being taken and what transpired while they were held in the "bush". One said, "Many rebels came and took me with all our belongings" (Sarah, Interviewee profile #9). One gave a verbal account during the Lira focus group. She indicated that they "were tied by the waist and taken to the bush".

Figure 3: Quilt block depicting girl taken from her home by LRA (Joy, Interviewee profile #10).

Figure 4: Quilt block depicting LRA taking girls. "Those who cannot carry luggages I will cut their necks and they rest once and for all" (Sarah, Interviewee profile # 9).

Reasons for being Taken

The informants involved in the study identified the bush as the areas of non-state militia strongholds and covered great distances around Acholiland, extending into the Congo and southern Sudan. The majority of the girls indicated that they had formulated unclear ideas about why they were taken; even if they believed those who took them had "no reason". The following table reveals the results from the fifteen girls interviewed. No data was collected from the focus group on this question.

Table 7: Reasons participants gave for being taken

Reasons the girls believed they were taken:	**N=15**
"Don't know'	3
"They had no reason"	2
"No response given"	3
"They were bad hearted"	1
"Because they went to the bush and went mad"	1
"To add to their numbers"	1
"To be a soldier"	1
"To participate in fighting the government"	1
"So I could go and work"	1
"Didn't tell us what we were going to do"	1

The Takers

When the fifteen girls were interviewed and asked whom they believed had taken them, they identified the following:

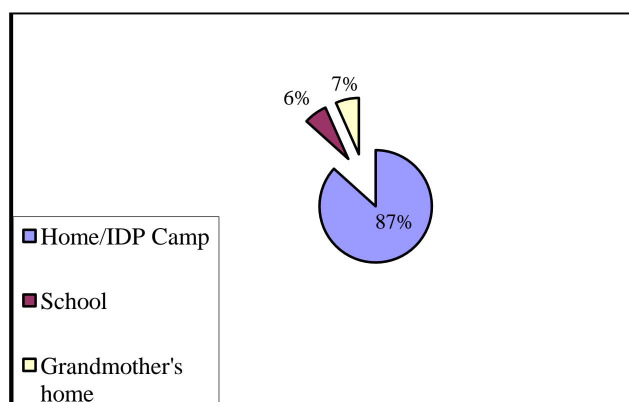
Table 8: Who had taken them into the bush?

Who had taken them into the bush?	**N=15**
Non-state militia (Rebels)	10
Lakwena (name of former leader Alice Lakwena of the Holy Spirit Movement)	1
LRA (Lord's Resistance Army)	1
Oehaya (LRA Commander)	1
Okello (LRA Commander)	1
Odoni (LRA Commander)	1

Location from which Taken

When asked from where they had been taken, the majority of the girls who responded indicated that they were taken from places they frequented most often while going about their normal daily business.

Figure 5: Chart indicating the location from which participants were taken



Period for which Taken

The girls in this study indicated that they were taken into the bush for periods ranging from one week to seven years. The length of time spent in the "bush" and the ages of the participants reflect what was reported to the researcher. Not all of the participants were completely sure of their actual ages and some seemed unclear about the passage of time. This may be in part because their time in the bush had distorted their time frames and the natural rhythm of their lives. Relatives who may have known their actual birth dates or could provide accurate information were not always available, because they were deceased, displaced or missing or were ill. I did attempt to seek confirmation from the rehabilitation centre's staff where possible.

The celebration of birthdays as a way to mark the passing of years does not seem to be as prevalent in northern Uganda as elsewhere. This is consistent with research findings of others who interviewed children in vulnerable situations in developing countries (Mcadam-Crisp et al. 2003, Honwana, 2006). In checking with local informants, it seems that if a child is not registered at birth with the local district office, there is limited formal documentation with regards to their actual age. A child calculates their age based upon a specific contextualized event. For example a child may say, "I was born during the second bad harvest of the famine" and that may have been in the early nineties, which gives a foundation upon which to calculate an approximate age. A study produced by the Kampala-based Refugee Law Project (2007, p.3) refers to this as the "social age" of the child.

The grade that a child has attained in school or the age a child begins to attend school (if they do at all) is also not a reliable aid to calculate age. In

Uganda, UPE generally begins at around age six for Primary One. However, it is more likely that a parent will indicate that the child should start school when they reach the approximate height expected for a primary one child rather than their chronological age. Given the stunted growth patterns often seen in the north due to malnutrition and trauma, many girls may not reach the expected height of a normal Primary One child until they are chronologically aged eight or nine years old.

In summary, being taken and held by largely unknown male non-state actors and largely not understanding the reasons may speak to the social construction of women in northern Uganda as passive, vulnerable players in need of protection from largely male-dominated military forces (Goldstein 2001). This "positioning" of women as "objects" of men", "tied at the waists by ropes", taken when needed, further strips them of their agency, capacity and capability to effect change or devise ways to cope with life under traumatic circumstances such as war (Moser & Clark 2002). For some participants, it was as if they had internalized this position and were resigned to the fact that being taken and what had occurred was perhaps even expected. The female participants so defined as casualties of war, their participation and roles during conflict have been left principally unexplored and their voices unrepresented in the literature with a few exceptions (Goldstein 2001; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Moser & Clark 2001; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1980). The situation is further exaggerated systemically, by underlining pervasive patriarchy and the debilitating underdevelopment as well as the historical imposition of colonial oppression (Tamale 1999). Tamale contends that the lower social value of women on the African

continent in general is still further entrenched due to the perpetuation of gender disparities which began in the colonial and missionary educational system, the colonial interference on individual agricultural production, and the introduction of a Western political system in which women lost their voices.

Finding a way for young women to speak up about being taken and why they were taken begins the process of creating awareness and consciousness shifting. Asking questions in this regard creates a dialogue that shifts their position from passivity to aspiration or hope.

Roles and Responsibilities in the Bush

Gendered and Militarized

The majority of the participants (87%) were taken from their home compounds, where African women spend much of their day as part of a tradition of female integration in community and familial structures (Maerten 2009; Tamale 1999). Many of the interviewed girls spoke of the extreme hardships that they endured while held in the bush. They told and created through art, horrendous stories of suffering and extreme physical, emotional, and sexual cruelty at the hands of their captives. Some of my participants' reports are consistent with the statements from women provided by Moser & Clark (2001) who too present a stark portrait of systematic violence including sexual torture, rape and sexual slavery, often sanctioned by both state and opposition forces as a tactic of war and a political act to terrorize communities. Consistent with their theory is the assertion that the male domination of females in socio-political and

economic domains remains the underlying condition for most rapes, and male-female rape in war is most often a crime of power and assertion of domination over women and tribe, that has little or nothing to do with sex itself.

Participants also reported that they were expected to carry and transport “heavy luggage”, tons of supplies, forced to dig for food and gather food, fetch water, and cook. Young girls, around nine years old, were also reportedly made servants or “ting tings”, usually to Commanders or older girls with children, who were connected to higher ranking Commanders (De Temmerman 2001). Girls indicated that they were expected to kill, loot, mutilate, beat and use weapons against other children who had been taken and against other community members. This is again consistent with the studies of Moser and Clark (2001) who documented the human rights abuses targeted at women during the course of recent civil wars in Africa. In their gendered analysis of various wars, they depict the types of wartime human rights violations that are systematically targeted at females of all ages. The most common gender-based violations identified were sexual violence including: torture, rape, mass rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced sterilization, forced termination of pregnancies, and mutilation. These violations are echoed in the texts of other authors (Bales 1999; Boothby et al. 2006; Cook 2007; Mazurana et al. 2002; McKay 2006; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Honwana 2006; Keitetsi 2004; Schwab 2001; Singer 2005; De Temmerman 2001; Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998; Wessells 2006; Yoshiaki 1995).

Table 9: Roles and responsibilities as reported by the girls

Bush roles and responsibilities as reported by girls	**Current study**	**Comparison study Mazurana et al. 2002 study of former girl and young women captives in Northern Uganda**
Number of participants	*N=24*	*N=68*
Digging/planting	60%	22% food producers
Carrying luggage/soil/beans	53%	41% porters
"Wives to Commanders" or "Given a husband"	20% (interviews) 33% (focus group)	51% reported serving as a wife as a primary or secondary role
Standby/lookout	20%	-
Mutilations	13%	-
Beatings	13%	-
Trained to use a gun	6%	-
Taking and escorting	6%	-

(Data is given in % in this instance for ease of comparison).

Figure 6: Quilt block depicting girls "carrying heavy luggage" (Sue, Interviewee profile #1).

While some of what I found has been reported in other studies I uncovered some different or formerly unreported depictions which are atypical of females taken in war zones. According to the disclosure of the participants in my study, many girls performed a variety of roles while living with the non-state militia that were fluid, diverse, overlapping and very dependent upon the context and what was most needed at the time. At any point, the girls might be expected to perform traditional gender-based roles such as "baby sitting" and "cooking". Later, they could be expected to perform militaristic roles such as "fighting", "killing" and "using weapons" and "training to use a gun". It is not unexpected that the women would fill multiple roles, "as African women traditionally fulfill a greater multitude of roles than women in

other continents do. Apart from care for their children, women are also responsible for the care of the community" (Maeten 2009, p.4). What was unusual was the depiction of their roles as fluid and not static. The participants could not be easily categorized into one role or another.

The participants also indicated that when in positions of armed power they faced a unique opportunity and often appreciated being seen as capable of taking on typically powerful male dominated roles. Many of the participants spoke of this in terms of empowerment. At this point in the findings I was left questioning the concept of empowerment which I had seen as one-dimensional and positive to this point. Now I came to realize that it could be problematic, dependent upon the circumstances, if empowerment meant to give power or to do something to ensure that power is received. In the cases that the participants were describing, being given power so that they could take power from someone else and use it to violate others' rights was problematic. Either way, the ultimate result was that someone's life was negatively affected as a result and yet it lent a way for participants to gain some sense of agency.

This particular piece of data is important. It informs us about how we might intervene or design human rights education models for girls whom we now know, post-taking, may no longer fit into the stereotypical cultural roles of their society from which they left. It begs the need to unpack empowerment with participants as part of human rights learning. Yet, if we do not acknowledge the power they may have held in the bush in performing as commanders with military responsibilities, we face a potential pitfall of pre-constructing their role in war without fully understanding it. We then

risk building frameworks and programs that fit gender stereotypes. This is further evidenced in the literature where the roles of girls in war zones are seen as merely a sub-section or category in a larger dialogue about “male child soldiers”. The girls are often described using gendered adjectives that belie a gendered bias and relegation of our understanding of their roles. They are seen as fulfilling the role of “sex slaves”, “bush brides”, “child brides” or “babysitters”.

The girls in this study demonstrated that they are worthy of consideration as a “stand-alone” group who have specific needs. They are subjects who deserve an exploration of their particular circumstances and have their circumstances considered when human rights learning models are being developed or when other services for female returnees are being developed.

Girl Mothers

Seven of the girls indicated that they had given birth to at least one baby while in the bush. Two girls had given birth to two children. Two of the participants in the study indicated that they were currently pregnant. Children born to mothers in the bush are susceptible to numerous risks. These risks include: prenatal and postnatal trauma, poor nutrition, attachment issues, untreated medical concerns, physical violence from battles and from within the group, and inherited trauma. Births in the bush are an issue outside of the scope of this study, but have been identified as an area for future research. Reports estimate that as many as two thousand children have been born in the bush (World Vision 1995). Joseph Kony, the

LRA Commander in Chief, has himself reportedly fathered many of these children, which only adds to his image of being a supernatural force (as disclosed by focus group participants).

The young mothers also face many medical complications as a result of being pregnant and birthing in difficult conditions. The mothers in this study indicated that upon their escape/capture/rescue from the bush, (how they termed it depended upon how they viewed their particular situation) the issues they face are far more complex.

> Reproductive tasks are very important to African women and they are never inferior to any other role. To African women motherhood is an inherent aspect of womanhood and should not be questioned. Being a woman implies being a mother (Maeten 2005, p.3).

However, girls who become mothers under these circumstances are faced with significant social stigmas. The stigmas conflict with the gendered role they are performing as mothers. On the one hand, motherhood defines them and appears to continue to do so in the bush; and yet, when they return, they are shamed and face social stigmas that they likely will carry with them for life, making most of them unmarriageable in a society that expects women to marry and raise children. The interviewed girls and their social workers indicated that staying with the father of their child was seen as the most viable option for many to reduce the stigma of birthing a child of a non-state actor. Three participants (who had children) indicated a continued attachment to their “non-state militia husbands” after their escape from the

bush. One participant indicated that she had continued the relationship post-escape and was living with her "husband" in the IDP camp.

Life in the Bush/Hardships Endured in the Bush

Sexual Exploitation

The term "formerly taken girls" is used in this study to describe the circumstances of the study participants. This term is used as it more accurately describes the experience of those who I interviewed. It is based upon their descriptions of their experiences. At no point in the research process did the girls describe themselves as either "sex slaves" or "bush brides" as other researchers, the media and I initially had. The participants acknowledged that they were "taken", forced to perform certain acts, and had "escaped" or were "rescued". Some participants did acknowledge that they were "given a husband" or became "wives to commanders". Some described being protected from assault and death through these complex relationships. Therefore, the term "abduction", which has Western derivatives and is not a term used in the local language, is not being used. It is more accurate to speak of the girls as being "taken" rather than abducted.

Of particular interest was the role girls were expected to perform as "wives" in the bush. From the literature read prior to this study and given that "abducted girls" are often depicted as "bush brides" or "sexual slaves", it was not surprising to find that in my study girls reported they too performed the roles of "wives". In the interviews, 3/15 (20%) of the girls indicated that this was a role that they were expected to perform. In the focus group, 3/9 (33%) indicated that they had been given as "wives". However, these

numbers are less than reported in other studies looking at the sexual abuse of girls taken in northern Uganda (51% in the 2002 Mazurana et al. study and 35% in the 2004 Derluyn et al. study).

It is likely that the actual numbers may be even higher than previous studies and mine have reported, as girls living within this context rarely report sexual violence, because of the cultural stigma attached and the resulting sense of shame (McKay & Mazurana 2004). Several studies speculated that 35% of girls taken have likely been raped and 85% have sexually transmitted diseases (World Vision 1995). In this study, the girls were less explicit about their sexual abuse. Those that did speak about the issue told disturbing stories. A sample follows:

> Girls would be stripped naked to see their breasts and asked if they knew gonorrhea, if they say yes, they are killed (Sue, Interviewee profile #1).

The girls spoke more freely about the physical abuse they endured. This is probably due to the continued taboo around sexual relations (even if forced) when one is not married. In the Ugandan culture, a girl who is sexually abused is considered "defiled" and not able to demand a "good bride price" and so becomes both a familial and social burden. Participants did refer to being given as "wives". They said, "Girls are given to men to be wives" (Alice, Interviewee profile # 15) and another said, "I was given husband" (Sue, Interviewee profile # 1). This use of language appears to "legitimize" the sexual relationship and therefore reduces the shame felt by the participant.

Traumatic Experiences

Trauma is generally defined as the threat to life, limb, and dignity of the participant or to someone they love. The girls I met were specifically asked during the one-to-one interviews about their traumatic experiences. During the focus group the questions were posed more generally and the topic was addressed as more of an open discussion. The girls reported that both during and after being taken and as part of initiation into the non-state militia movement, they were forced to commit "inhuman acts", including ritual killings, and mutilations, and eating of "uneatable things". They spoke of how they were forced to club to death other children who were not "properly cooperating" with the orders of non-state militia Commanders. Sample answers included:

> They asked me to kill a girl who was thought to have escaped, with a panga. I first refused then later hit once, but she did not die (Sue, Interviewee profile #1).

> I used a big log, which I used to hit two people until dead (Joyce, Interviewee profile # 4).

> They made us kill others whom we got on our way to the bush (Sarah, Interviewee profile #9).

The amount of time spent in captivity in the bush did not seem to affect the kinds of roles expected of the girls or correlate in any way to the level of violence, threat, and resulting trauma they reported. This is consistent with other studies, which focused on levels of trauma found in former child soldiers in northern Uganda (Derluyn et al. 2004).

Table 10: Type and reported frequencies of traumatic experiences during captivity

Type of Trauma Experienced	Number of participants =15 (data available only for interview participants)
Beaten and tortured	12
Forced to carry heavy loads	12
Threatened with serious violence	11
Forced to beat and/or take others	6
Threatened with death	4
Given as "wives" or "given a husband"	3
Gave birth to one or more children while in the bush	3
Was seriously injured	2
Forced to eat "uneatable things"	1

Figure 7: Quilt block depicting girls being beaten by non-state militia and beating others (Joy, Interviewee profile #10).

Physical Abuse

The majority of the participants experienced physical violence while held in captivity. The girls described the many forms the physical violence had taken. They were beaten by their captors who primarily used “Kains” (canes), “wire locks”, “pangas” (machetes), “gumboots”, “axes” and “knives” as assault weapons. This physical violence seemed to occur most when the girls refused to comply with orders. In its most extreme, girls were physically beaten and severely injured. Sample responses included:

> I was given a husband and I refused; they hit my neck with a gumboot and threatened to kill me (Sue, Interviewee profile #1).
>
> One day I refused to fetch water, they beat me thoroughly, then I went and I fetched (Milly, Interviewee profile # 8).

Many of the participants had evidence of physical injuries and assault they has sustained. I made a decision not to include graphic descriptions or photographic evidence of these. In Chapter Seven, under guideline # 13 (p.308), I explain in greater detail my rationale for this decision.

Lack of Medical Care

Participants had suffered from a multitude of medical problems, both in the bush and upon attempted escape/capture, and rescue. The most common complaints identified were:

> “Swollen feet” (Ali, Interviewee profile #14);
> “Chest infections” (Stella, Interviewee profile #2);
> “Bad food” (Sue, Interviewee profile #1);
> “No food, no medical care, many hurdles, no bed, problems walking” (Stella, Interviewee profile #2);

> "Walking long distances and eating raw food" (Jenny, Interviewee profile #5);
> "Beaten without food" (Sharon, Interviewee profile #11);
> "Kept moving even when sick" (Harriet, Interviewee profile #12);
> "Given bad food-very bitter" (Rose, Interviewee profile #13) and
> "[Given] only dirty water to drink" (Stella, Interviewee profile #2).

When the girls were taken, they were essentially treated as slaves, insofar as their labour, bodies, and lives all were at the disposal of their captors; they were treated as disposable.

The Escape, Rescue and Return from the Bush

When participants were able to escape, or were captured or rescued, it seems their difficulties were not yet over. Of the twenty-four interviewed, the table below depicts their status at the time of the interviews.

Table 11: Current status of formerly taken children (FTC) in this study

Current status of FTC	N=24
Remain in rehabilitation centres	17
Bore babies, conceived while in the bush (a total of 9 babies born)	7
Have returned home and been reintegrated into their villages	7
Currently pregnant	2
Had returned from the bush with a FTC/non-state militia and remains in relationship with him	1

When asked how they had escaped from the bush, the participants indicated that they had usually done so during the confusion of battle:

> A plane was passing. They told us to stay down, then the government army came, they started shouting, we rolled toward them and they captured us (Sue, Interviewee profile #1).
>
> We had come to loot foodstuff, then the gunfire started; I ran and hid in the middle of big trees. Then later came back (Alia, Interviewee profile #14)
>
> During an exchange of fire with the army (Joyce, Interviewee profile #4).
>
> I ran away and the soldiers brought me back (Stella, Interviewee profile #2).
>
> During the fire exchange with UPDF (Stellina, Interviewee profile #7).

Shame/Shunning

It has been well documented that in Uganda, particularly in the rural areas, girls who have been taken often experienced feeling shamed or are shunned when they return to their villages and compounds (Tamale 1999) and this may account for why so few reported having returned home.

> For girls, in a culture which regards non-marital sex as "defilement," the difficulties are even greater: reviled for being "rebels," the girls may also find themselves ostracized for having been "wives." They fear "shame, humiliation and rejection by their relatives and possible future husbands." They may suffer "continual taunts from boys and

> men [who say they are] used products that have lost their taste (Human Rights Watch 1997).

Some of the participants in this study indicated that they would prefer to stay with their captors than return home:

> There is nothing good here; I just want to go back (Lira focus group). I am a fish out of water here (Lira focus group). This participants' baby and "bush husband" were both killed in an ambush.

Unfortunately for many in this study, going home is not even possible as their families and compounds have been destroyed in the fighting. Only 7 of the participants were able to return to their families and this may mean returning to an IDP camp, not their home. The remaining 17 were still living in rehabilitation centres. For the 7 who had babies born in the bush and the 2 who were pregnant, their futures were even more precarious as they worried how they would care for their children without support. Even with a partner, especially one gained during time in the bush, the situation is not much better.

> We are renting. I came back from the bush with my husband who has a broken leg. We can't afford rent (Alice, Interviewee profile #15).

Reintegration Ceremonies

As the participants told their stories, it became apparent that a cross-cultural understanding of healing would be central in designing programs to meet the needs of participants. In the northern Ugandan culture, a public and holistic view of healing is preferred (Teuton et al. 2007). Healing in this context has as its primary focus the emotional, spiritual, psychological, and cultural

needs of the tribal group. The role of the healing ceremony reaffirms the cultural values, integrates all the pieces into a cultural context, and then considers all those involved in the community.

Healing ceremonies in Africa are unique and different from more Westernized healing modalities. In North American or Western concepts of healing, the healer places primary significance on an individual's ability to gain personal insight, individual awareness, and self-actualization. In a community-based healing ceremony, the elders focus more on the unity of the community and do not appear to separate the culture from the context. They view the connection and dynamic interaction between them as necessary for the healing process. The healing and the healer support the cultural context through the ceremonies and this helps to treat the individual and also reaffirm the norms of the entire group. The actual process of community healing is very complex and appears to have received little mention in the literature. However, "something therapeutic" appears to happen at the intersection between elders, the affected person, family, tribal, and community members who also benefit from the exchange between the individual, the group, and the socio-cultural environment. The awareness on the part of the individual that they are an element of an entire traditional healing process that has an established history, practice, credibility, and acceptance appears to be a crucial element to the healing itself. In the course of the interviews, participants referred to two reintegration or healing processes: Nyono Tong Gweno and Amnesty Act (Amnesty International 2003).

Nyono Tong Gweno

Called a healing ceremony, traditionally known as Nyono Tong Gweno, this is a cleansing ceremony used by the Acholi people. It is also called the "Egg Ceremony" by outsiders as the translation literally means "stepping on the egg". Participants made reference to these ceremonies on numerous occasions and one quilt block depicts such a ceremony. It was not possible to witness one during my time in northern Uganda. Information about this ceremony was given to me by Beatrice, who assisted me in conducting the research. She met with local elders who were responsible for conducting the ceremonies. This traditional ceremony is performed for the purposes of both reconciliation and to celebrate a girl's return from captivity in the bush. The ceremony offers an opportunity for the community to welcome the girl back and to extend forgiveness to her for the damage to her community, which she may have been part of. This often requires the girl to acknowledge the acts that she has committed in the bush, such as killing, beating, serious injury and theft.

The ceremony can be performed with an individual girl or with a group of girls. It may also be performed with males and adults; the process in both cases is generally the same. As the girl enters her home compound (the area surrounding her hut), an egg is placed on the ground and she has to step on it until she breaks the shell. The egg is seen by the Acholi as a symbol of innocence. By stepping on the egg these young women are symbolically reclaiming the innocence that was stolen from them when they were taken by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). After breaking the egg, the girl has to jump over the branch of the Opobo shrub (this shrub is particularly valued as

it is also used to make winnowers, used to locate water). After jumping over the branch she is able to enter her home again. Village elders are then called together and a goat is slaughtered, cooked and shared among those present. After eating, the elders wash their hands with water and then sprinkle the same water on the girl. The girls are welcomed back into their community as a re-integrated member. This is one of many ceremonies performed in east Africa and particularly in northern Uganda.

Figure 8: Quilt block depicting Nyono Tong Gweno

The Amnesty Process

The Amnesty reintegration process is a government-initiated and endorsed program under the Amnesty Act (2000). Under article 1 and 2 of this Act:

> (1) An Amnesty is declared in respect of any Ugandan who has at any time since the 26th day of January 1986 engaged in or is engaging in war or armed rebellion against the government of the Republic of Uganda by –
>
> 1.actual participation in combat;
> 2.collaborating with the perpetrators of the war or armed rebellion;
> 3.committing any other crime in the furtherance of the war or armed rebellion; or
> 4.assisting or aiding the conduct or prosecution of the war or armed rebellion.
>
> (2) A person referred to under subsection (1) shall not be prosecuted or subjected to any form of punishment for the participation in the war or rebellion for any crime committed in the cause of the war or armed rebellion.

Participants who "report" under this Act are entitled to amnesty from any crimes they may have committed while with the militia. They are also given a bundle of household goods and money to begin the reintegration process[14].

According to a report released by the Ugandan Ministry of Internal Affairs (2007), for the period from January 1, 2000 until December 2006

---

[14] Participants reported that they were generally given:

- 2 hoes
- 1 blanket
- 1 sleeping mat
- 1 jerry can
- 1 bowl
- 1 cup
- 1 bag of millet
- 243 shillings for shelter
- 40 shillings for transportation

those “reporting” from the LRA made up the greatest number of reporters seeking amnesty. The Lord’s Resistance Army made up 55.64% of the total number of reporters, making a total of 12,119 LRA reporters.

Resilience

Factors that Affect Resilience

In this study, participants were asked to identify their protective or resilience factors through the asking of “what they drew upon for strength?” and “what helped them to survive?” The risk factors having been clearly established by the circumstances described throughout this chapter. Resilience factors that were identified by the participants in this study included:

- God;
- roles performed;
- standing up for self/strength of character;
- obedience; and
- relationships.

The protective factors described above appear consistent with the work of others who have looked at resilience in a variety of situations (Artz et. al. 2001: Leadbeater et. al. 2004; Williams & Obonyo & Annan 2001). As stated by Leadbeater and colleagues (2004, p.9) resilience is, “A process-oriented definition not only emphasizes the capacities of individuals to rise above or resist adversity at a given point in time, but also brings attention to the inter-relations among individuals, families and communities across time”.

These protective processes are a point of interest in this study, as they may further inform a framework for human rights educators to use in

assessing need and making plans to maximize protective potential of participants (Brown et. al. 2000).

Post-traumatic Growth

Post-traumatic growth in children develops as a result of lessons learned from exposure to trauma or crisis (Steele 2006). Post-traumatic growth is most often manifested in several clearly defined behaviours and thought patterns not necessarily present prior to exposure. Experiences that children and adolescents may have that are associated with post-traumatic growth include (Steele 2006, p.7). :

- feeling more compassion and empathy for others after personal trauma or loss;
- increased psychological and emotional maturity when compared to age-related peers;
- increased resiliency, the ability to "bounce back";
- a more complex appreciation of life when compared to age-related peers;
- a deeper understanding of one's personal values, purpose, and meaning in life; and
- a greater value of interpersonal relationships.

In this study, the participants divulged survival stories related to their resilience and the resilience of their communities. They talked and designed quilt blocks related to their life's purpose, reflecting a shift toward post-traumatic growth or an aspiration that life could be different. This shift was limited to, "a purpose for living", as for most of the participants the trauma had yet to end and the threat of more to come was still apparent.

The five quilt blocks bordered in bright red/orange fabric titled "born of the sun," focus on the participants hope for the future and a return to normal with depictions of schools and compounds filled with crops. All of the participants indicated a role they wished to pursue. These varied from "a sister" (Rose, Interviewee profile #13) to "I want some basic skills only" (Sarah, Interviewee profile #9).

Figure 9: Quilt block depicting Caritas (Rose, Interviewee profile #13).

God

One of the frequently referred factors that participants drew upon for strength was what they referred to as "God". This could be interpreted as religion, faith or spirituality. This is a difficult area to clearly define: as Hart (2003, p.7) offers, "it is a bit like trying to hold water in our hands". Throughout the study I am using the term spirituality, rather than religion,

making the distinction that religion pertains to or better describes “a systematized approach to spiritual growth (Hart 2003, p.8); whereas spirituality, in the manner in which I am using it, refers to, “spirit, that unquantifiable force, the mystery that animates all things and of which all things are composed” (Hart 2003, p.8). I am not completely sure what the participants were describing when they used the term “God” other than a higher power. They may have been describing a personal, subjective dimension of religion, which pertains to a sense of liberation or salvation (Eichstaedt 2009; Otiso 2007; Teuton et al. 2007). Given what I learned in the socio-historical review and the situational analysis I expect they are either referring to a broader set of spiritual beliefs and practices that are an African blend of faith and culture with a long history of martyrdom and a blend of African traditional religion including animism, Christianity and Islam (Gifford 1998; Isichel 1997; Otiso 2007). Spirituality has been the term used in the literature to describe a protective resilience factor (Leadbeater et. al. 2004; Williams et al. 2001). For example, Solanto (2005) has suggested that a strong spiritual base can assist in helping to make sense out of a traumatic or otherwise unexplainable situation and be a protective factor. Spiritual practices can also offer a source of peace (Solanto 2005). Goldstein (2001, p.257) points to survey completed with combat troops in which he uses the term religion that suggests, “Religion is an important force keeping many soldiers going in the trauma of combat”. In this sense study “God” was a protective factor, a point of solace and a “combat motivator” that does not appear to be inherently gendered and does not preclude the roles women play in war (Goldstein (2001).

Identifying “God” in the data is not a surprising finding, as in Uganda, a country that ranks among the top ten religious countries in Africa, where 75% of the population openly professes to be of the Christian faith (Gifford 1998; Nzita & Miwampa 1998; Otiso 2007). To access this aspect of the data I asked the questions, “what helped you to survive?” and “what did you draw upon for strength?” 7 participants indicated “prayer” and 10 indicated “God”.

Sample answers indicative of these responses were:

> “Pray and pray” (Joy, Interviewee profile #10);
> “God has a future for me” (Sarah, Interviewee profile #9);
> “God helped me survive and stay alive and this is what I drew upon for strength” (Rose, Interviewee profile #13).

“God” as I have defined here in the north does not exist in a vacuum, but is part of a complex social mosaic that encompasses diverse actors, political agendas, and power brokers (Wessells & Strang 2006). While spirituality can be a coping mechanism as described, which an expanding body of literature attests to as a protective factor (Wessells 2006, Wessells & Strang 2006, Barber 2001, Boyden 2003), it can also be an underlying reason for the conflict in the first place. In northern Uganda the two most prevalent rebel groups, The HSM and later the LRA both base their ideologies on strong religious bases.

> The children are told that those who obey the Holy Spirit will not be killed in battle: those who obey will be protected, while only those who have offended the Holy Spirit will die. Unknown numbers of captive children do die in the fighting, often killed by the bullets of government soldiers. Some of the children forced to the front are not

> even armed; caught in the crossfire; most of them die quickly (Human Rights Watch 1997).

Further research is required in understanding how participants were able to reconcile the discrepancies between their faith based beliefs and the ideology of their captors. Regardless, the role of religious ideology and faith is so pivotal in the lives of participants it needs to be acknowledged and considered when developing a human rights learning framework. This is an aspect in the literature that has been largely overlooked.

> Being taken, my marriage to him [Kony], was the Almighty's will. I believe he is a great prophet. What he predicts becomes reality. I only wish him to be alive (Lira focus group).

Roles Performed

The roles performed by both males and females as described by the participants are indicated in the table below. When asked about the differences between the roles performed by boys and those performed by girls, the girls indicated some gendered differences. Typically, the participants indicated that they worked harder than the boys; this is consistent with the culture. McKay and Mazurana (2004, p.17) concur: "Girls work far more hours than boys, have lower literacy rates than boys, and suffer preventable deaths because they lack reproductive health care". Some also said that they were "fighters," and "became officers." This, for most, was their first opportunity to name these roles and to confirm that they performed in a leadership role in a culture that is primarily paternalistic and oppressive of women and the roles which they are able/allowed to perform

(Maerten 2005). It is an interesting finding in a culture where "letting women become warriors could threaten men's dominance over women" particularly in a patriarchal culture such as Uganda (Goldstein 2001, p.332).

> She was an officer and very rude. She was always suspicious and jealous and would often beat us (Lira focus group).

Table 12: Roles and responsibilities as reported by the girls

Bush roles and responsibilities by gender as reported by the girls in this study	**Boys' roles**	**Girls' roles**
Looting	√	√
Killing	√	√
Fighting	√	√
Raping	√	-
Mutilations	√	√
Beatings	√	√
Ambushing vehicles	√	-
Guarding camps and barracks	√	-
"Wives to Commanders" or "Given a husband"	-	√
Carrying luggage/soil/beans	-	√
Digging/planting	-	√
On Standby/lookout	√	√
Trained to use a gun	√	√
Babysitting	-	√
Taking and escorting	-	√

The power gained from being in a typical male role was described in terms that appeared protective for some. For others being forced to perform a more typical gendered role, even when abusive, they expressed kept them safe.

> He called me to his hut one night. There was no way I could refuse...my only worry was that I was too young and unfit for a man...we were better

> treated than the others, at least at the beginning. We received better food and medical care and were better housed (Lira focus group).

Standing up for Self/Strength of Character

Some participants demonstrated strength of character and made a point of standing up for themselves, even if this meant they were beaten more often. This allowed them to feel as if they retained some agency in the situation and had a sense of some control. This finding is interesting as it implies that some of the participants displayed a comfort in expressing themselves and had developed a strong voice and that they were not constrained by the view of women in war as victims. This is similar to the finding of Turshen and Twagiramariya (1998, p.66): "some women display amazing strength and fought back with intensity and courage that belied the stereotype of women as cowering, passive victims".

> Sample answers:
>
> I was tough and outspoken (Sue, Interviewee profile #1).
>
> I was given a husband, I refused, they hit my neck with a gumboot and threatened to kill me, and so, I made the sign of the cross and told them to kill me. But later the boss came and asked them to leave me that I was not going to escape. Then I started babysitting (Sue, Interviewee profile #1).
>
> I was beaten 150 times because my head was swollen and I refused to carry ammunition received from the Sudan government (Lira focus group).

Obedience

Following a stereotypical gendered role, others found that being as obedient or submissive as possible kept them the most protected (Maerten 2005; Tamale 1999), "I used to obey orders and do all the work they give to me" (Milly, Interviewee profile #8).

Relationships

Others indicated that they survived because they found a way to create protective relationships. These relationships provided both physical and emotional protection.

> One of the captured teachers who had rank kept telling them not to kill us (Sue, Interviewee profile #1).
>
> My captor was a captain whose home was near ours and asked them not to kill me (Alia, Interviewee profile #14).
>
> I miss him. I think of him regularly. If he came out, I would marry him (Lira focus group).

In Uganda, the community has determined traditional cultures. As in the rest of the African continent, "A network of relationships mutually connect people" (Maerten 2005). Relationships described in this study were often related to pre-taking kith and kin or community related ties. For other participants the relationships were based on male/female unions. Some researchers have suspected that these relationships are more likely related to the "Stockholm syndrome" (Brusca 1993). Brusca (1993) describes how captives with Stockholm syndrome begin to identify with their captors, initially as a survival mechanism, based on the idea that the captor will not

hurt them if they are cooperative. According to Graham & Rawlings & Rimini (1988) this response happens when four specific conditions are in effect:

a) perceived threat to survival and the belief that one's captor is willing to act on that threat;
b) the captive's perception of small kindnesses from the captor within a context of terror;
c) isolation from perspectives other than those of the captor;
d) perceived inability to escape.

In considering the participants' conditions in this study, all these conditions were present and it is conceivable that they may have experienced this syndrome. Of the participants, 4 had been threatened with death and 17 had been threatened with serious violence. When asked whether they had been shown any kindness by their captors and what that looked like, 2 responded positively. Sample responses included:

> Yes, they promised help (Susan, Interviewee profile #3).
> Yes, they even conversed with me (Alice, Interviewee profile # 15).

All of the participants were isolated and their capacity for escape very limited. The staff at the Rachele Rehabilitation Centre (Lira interviews 2006) estimated that 2% of the girls who come through their centre indicated a desire to return to their captors if they could. Therefore it is possible that the paradoxical expressions of caring and compassion articulated by the participants toward their male captors may have been related to this syndrome. However, this is an area requiring further research and for the purposes of this study I chose to accept positive relationships with captors, as

perceived by the participants, as protective factors in a complex cultural matrix.

These five sub-categories indicated by the participants appear to have mitigated or balanced the risks faced by the participants and allowed them to survive very difficult situations. Whether they fed off their spirituality in order to make sense of the situation and create some sense of normalcy, or survived because they had character traits that made them defiant, tough, outspoken or obedient. It is difficult to determine any one set of protective factors that would work in a war situation. These factors, combined with having babies and constantly looking for ways to escape, do appear to affect resilience and their capacity to survive and thrive.

Human Rights Learning in the Field

Aside from seeking to understand the girls' experience of being taken, the field component of this study sought to facilitate a dialogue with the girls about their understanding of human rights documents, learning and the development of human rights delivery models. Four themes were identified and are discussed here.

School as the Source of Human Rights Education

Participants were asked, if they had any knowledge about human rights learning and, if they did, where they had gained it from.

Table 13: Participants' knowledge of human rights

Participants were asked:	*No*	*No answer*	*Yes*
Have you heard about Human Rights?	3	1	11
[15]Did you ever learn about the Geneva Convention?	10	5	0
Participants were asked:	*No*	*No answer*	*Yes*
Have you ever heard about the Convention on The Rights of the Child?	2	3	10
Have you ever received any formal or informal education about Human Rights?	1	5	9
Do you think talking about Human Rights makes any difference?	1	4	10

[15] The question referring to the Geneva Convention was included as this is the only international instrument that currently pertains to non-state military groups. In 1977 two protocols were added to the Geneva Convention of 1949. Protocol I extends the law relating to protections of victims of armed conflicts to situations where people are fighting in the exercise of their right of self-determination against colonial domination, foreign occupation, or racist regimes. Protocol II extends protection to victims of internal conflicts in which an armed opposition controls enough territory to enable it to carry out sustained military operations. Other studies found that child soldiers indicated they had learnt about their human rights through their non-state captors in relation to prisoner of war and surrender procedures covered in this Convention (Asia-Pacific Centre for Human Rights Education 2003). This was not the case in this study, as none of the participants indicated they had heard of the Geneva Convention.

Table 14: Where they had heard about human rights

Participants' responses to where they had heard about human rights:	**N=15**
School (formal)	5
Caritas (informal)	3
Bush (informal)	1
Radio (informal)	2

In this study, 11 of the participants indicated they had heard about human rights and 9 acknowledged having received education about human rights. Of the participants, 23 had attended some level of primary school, 8 indicated that they remembered receiving human rights education at school. From these figures one might speculate that despite limited access to formal education, girls had still heard about their some of their rights through this method. Given what is known about the content of the formal delivery of human rights education in Uganda, it is not surprising to see that 16 of participants know about children's rights through teaching about the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which is the primary focus of the human rights Ugandan school curriculum.

> Children's rights were taught at school, e.g. the rights to play, children's basic needs should be met when parents cannot afford (Lira focus group)

A Child's Right to Attend School

Several participants responded when asked what they knew about human rights. Most indicated that "children had a right to school" (article 28, 29,

C.R.C. 1989) and that parents had a responsibility to send them. Sample answers included:

> Sending children to school by parents (Sue, Interviewee profile #1).
>
> Rights to education (Milly, Interviewee profile #8).
>
> Encouraging parents to send their children to school" (Harriet, Interviewee profile #12).
>
> Parents should send their kids to school, no corporal punishment for children. Not forcing kids to marry (Rose, Interviewee profile # 13).

This indicates there is value in having a broader curriculum with increased depth. If a school-based curriculum is to be the primary method for human rights education delivery, it needs to be more inclusive of other international instruments and cover a greater breadth of knowledge and skills.

The Responsibility of Leaders to Uphold Human Rights

Given the participants' limited knowledge, they appeared to be left expecting their rights to only be upheld by those in positions of power over them and they had not been encouraged to look at their responsibilities upholding the rights of others. They referred to parent and local officials as being the ones responsible for ensuring their rights were met and not once spoke to the role they played in violating the rights of others. This is reflective of the participants' knowledge of children's rights only, likely through teaching about the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989). Sample answers included:

> Parents will be able to protect their children (Joyce, Interviewee profile # 4)
>
> Our parents and local council ensure that we have rights to live in a good environment (Jenny, Interviewee profile #5).

Girls can ask to be Treated "Rightly"

The participants clearly indicated that "knowing about human rights" meant little to them in a situation where their rights are being "trampled" upon and they had no power in the situation.

> For herself she felt so bad…and yet at the same time she felt so helpless, what would she do. You know the Commanders they were staying with, they were much older than them and they had authority over them in all ways. So you know your rights are being trampled on but there is nothing you can do about that so you accept that (focus group participant).
>
> We used to think about these rights while in the bush (focus group participant).
>
> While in the bush we thought no one was helping us to ensure that our rights were not being trampled at home. The leaders should have ensured our rights were not have been trampled upon (focus group participant).

Knowing about human rights and thinking about them is no guarantee that they will be met or recognized. Out of the participants, 10 indicated that they were optimistic about the strengths they saw as associated with human rights education:

> Yes, it brings peace and development (Winnie, Interviewee profile # 6).
>
> Yes, parents will take children to school (Milly, Interviewee profile #8).
>
> Yes, through education (Alia, Interviewee profile #14).
>
> Adds knowledge (Rose, Interviewee profile #13).
>
> Yes, children will be sent to school to live a better life (Harriet, Interviewee profile #12).
>
> Yes, adding knowledge (Sue, Interviewee profile #1).
>
> Protect us from inhuman people like Kony (Jenny, Interviewee profile #5).
>
> Yes, children can ask to be treated rightly (Sue, Interviewee profile #3).

Out of these participants, 2 expressed their concern about human rights education, with one stating:

> Rights of children should not be here. They no longer respect people (Susan, Interviewee profile #3).

This study was premised on the concept that knowing your rights helps you assert them. The data collected in this study indicates a less convincing result. Participants suggested that just having school acquired knowledge about specific rights does not prevent having rights violated or "trampled" on or guarantees you will be treated "rightly". Findings suggest an alternate, innovative, empowering human rights learning framework be explored. One

that has the capacity to draw upon what participants expressed and the strengths of the models available, and the research done to date.

Summary

In this chapter twenty-four girls expressed their views in a variety of ways: interviews, focus groups, and through the creation of quilt blocks. Their voices and art have created a vivid picture of the complex, violent, and destructive circumstances in which they find themselves in northern Uganda's war zone. Each interview and piece of art present a complex account of the multiple aspects of the positioning of women in war circumstances and provides an understanding of the gendered dimensions of armed conflict. Their lives and relationships, as they describe them, are a complex web of seemingly paradoxical relationships between captor/teacher/husband, enemy/neighbour, and spiritual beliefs/evil practices, all woven through with the trauma experienced when forcibly taken away from their communities, forced to participate in horrific acts, and being treated as slaves. Yet, despite these circumstances, participants articulated their thoughts about human rights education and demonstrated their capacity for resilience through their spirituality, the roles they performed, how they stood up for themselves and in their exhibition of strength of character.

Participants' experiences with regard to human rights education reflect conventional, didactic teaching about human rights. This is appropriate, given that this is the primary method available throughout the Ugandan school curriculum. Given my observations in Ugandan schools

during the situational analysis (2005), human rights education is most often taught with a rote method of teaching, as students are passive recipients. Literature suggests that passive pedagogies do not tend to connect skills and information to a student's society and context. Education becomes, as in this study, "an authoritarian transfer of official words, a process that severely limits student development as democratic citizens" (Shor 2001, p.18). Shor argues that this is fairly typical of public schooling involving low-cost mass education, similar to what is found in Uganda. It has been documented that a didactic method of learning does not promote autonomy in the learner (Freire 2005).

A participant's understanding of human rights learned in this manner appears to have limitations. The majority of the girls indicated they had gleaned a minimal awareness of human rights and primarily only in regard to children's rights as taught from the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). This limited understanding was subsequently reflected in the study through the dependency referenced by the participants. They viewed their rights as the responsibility of parents and council leaders to uphold. Participants did not comment on their individual responsibilities in recognizing the rights of others. This finding is reported not to suggest that human rights learning ought not to take place in schools, but to recognize its limited capacity when taught in this manner. Schools do have the capacity to be empowering places where students can critically reflect upon knowledge and thus broaden their understandings outside of their immediate experiences (Shor 1992). When this occurs the curriculum can be described as transformative and support participants to develop knowledge, skills and

values to become "social critics who can make reflective decisions and implement their decisions in effective personal, social, political and economic action" (McLaren 1989, p.131). This finding strengthens the need for transformative models to be used in formal and informal situations, as discussed in Chapter Five.

Another critical analysis of this study would suggest that through both delivery method and the human rights learning content, participants were exposed to a post-colonial imposition of an alien moral system of norms. It is a system that has been theorized as purporting universality, and in turn decontextualizing and disconnecting the human rights content from the cultural relevancy of the participants' context. This is the same system that celebrates mass education, regardless of method, as a sign of the successful achievement of a child's rights (Pollis & Schwab 2000, Tomasevski 2003; Unterhalter & Walker 2007). Uganda is often held aloft as an example of mass education success in that it is the first African country to provide "free universal education", through its Universal Primary Education system.

Since the end of World War II, the United Nations Declaration has placed human rights on the international political agenda as a goal for countries to strive toward. Yet, in the striving for human rights through education, rights have become legal abstractions, devoid of consideration of accessibility, applicability and connection to a context. There are preconditions that need to be in place before rights can be achieved, and power and socioeconomic preconditions are cited as essential ingredients (Pollis & Schwab 2000). Without an understanding of connectedness, human rights exist in a vacuum and responsibility is seen as outside of the

individual's sphere. In areas such as northern Uganda, where the government has limited capacity to uphold rights, one questions whether human rights are even possible in a void filed by those who have not agreed to uphold the ratified treaties and conventions.

Even if rights in this situation were acknowledged, understood, and critiqued by participants, would the dichotomy between universality and cultural relativity encompass both the social reality of their culture and context and the individual's autonomy to act in a way that makes sense and a difference? Arguably, the participants in this study were also in powerless positions in the bush, and it is therefore difficult to predict that any one particular method of human rights learning may have necessarily changed the outcomes for them. However, the literature does suggest that an alternate method may be more liberating if the participants had an opportunity to critically examine both their rights and responsibilities. If participants were afforded the opportunity to create, direct, and re-create human rights learning, they may have recognized and developed their own capabilities and not seen the school as the sole source of a pre-defined body of human rights knowledge that existed outside of them. They may have, instead, taken ownership of human rights learning and this may have further facilitated their post-traumatic growth. In this way, human rights learning could become a tool of empowerment regardless of the post-colonial concerns expressed earlier.

> The acquisition of human rights knowledge needs to be seen as everyone's right and concern, a respect for their dignity, which is the essence of human rights.... The study of human rights is the study of human societies and how individuals struggle for relevant and

> meaningful existence. Human rights are born out of people's quest for peace, justice and freedom. People's contexts and histories give shape to their human rights (Asia Pacific Regional Resource Centre for Human Rights 2003, p.1).

The next chapter explores the ethical and methodological considerations of completing research in this volatile and complex environment.

Chapter Seven: Ethical and Methodological Issues when Researching with Girls in a War Zone

This chapter explores the unique ethical and methodological considerations involved when conducting research in a war zone with vulnerable participants. Understanding the experience of war from a girl's perspective provides a unique opportunity. Along with such unique and challenging opportunities comes a complex reality. In order to assist in ensuring ethical compliance I consulted several ethics texts (Black 2003; British Educational Research Association (BERA) 2004; Coyne 1997; Eder & Corsaro 1999; Edwards & Mauthner 2002; Keddie 2000; Morrow & Bruell 2006; United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989; Society for Children and Youth 1998, 2001).

It was crucial for me as a researcher that I was willing to step into the participants' world, to hear their perspectives from multiple angles and not negate the ethical considerations that would normally be afforded to an adult in the same circumstances. Collecting data from young women, who are in vulnerable positions, such as in war zones, poses formidable ethical issues: specifically, the preservation of dignity, informed consent, privacy, confidentiality and freedom from being further exploited. The circumstances of war also add an additional component in that the young women likely have pre-existing trauma and as such are even more vulnerable research participants. In these situations, participant autonomy may be constrained. Participants may be hyper-vigilant and distrustful of adult's agendas. They may also be unaccompanied or have no access to their legal guardians. War

disrupts normal routines and support systems, such as schools and health care. Girls in these circumstances often face multiple social, emotional, physical and spiritual losses in their communities. As a researcher I had to be cognizant of strategies that would enhance the quality of responses from young women and still protect them from further harm and exploitation.

I could find no specific ethical or methodological guides in the research literature. So from my endeavors in this area, I developed fifteen unique guidelines to steer my research in this complex arena. The first five guidelines cover primarily methodological considerations, and are followed by ten additional guidelines focused on ethical complexities. I developed these guidelines with the proviso that their development would be a continual process, a living work to be updated and added to as experience evolves. What follows are my findings and the implications for researching with girls in complex war situations.

Guideline #1: Conduct a Thorough Contextual and Situational Analysis

The feasibility of my study was enhanced as I went to Uganda and conducted a thorough quality, contextual, and situational analysis before beginning my actual study (2005). This meant that I was able to enter the field in 2006 with fewer preconceived notions and was open to other possibilities as they were presented to me. The physical and emotional circumstances of war have the potential to place both researchers and participants at risk; therefore, safety was always at the forefront of my research undertaking. Through an appreciation of the local context, in particular the political

situation and social nuances, I was able to mitigate or at least offer some management of the potential risks as I understood them before beginning.

My experience demonstrated that, prior to beginning to develop the research design, it was preferable to arrange this type of exploratory field visit and consider what I found. My situational analysis objectives ensured that I had a full appreciation of the established scientific and clinical knowledge in both the theoretical and practical areas that were applicable to my study. In addition to this knowledge, my understanding of the local context assisted with determining the appropriateness and feasibility of the method and research design chosen. In my work it was vital that I had an understanding of the effect of trauma and violence on potential research participants, informants, and myself. It was imperative that I grasp thoroughly the circumstances underlying the civil war and the education system. I gained my understanding of the environment by consulting and involving a variety of on the ground players or informants. I found it especially important to know who the gatekeepers were for both accessibility and knowledge purposes. It was important to respect and acknowledge the potential risk that participating in research may have placed upon participants and informants and to have respected their choice not to be involved if they had so chosen.

I tried to ensure that the informants whom I consulted were representatives of as many aspects of the political picture as possible and that their biases toward one faction or another were taken into consideration. I tried to speak to as many of the affected groups in the conflict as I could. For example, in my situational analysis (2005), I met with elected political

officials, tribal leaders, university professors, doctors, teachers, students, heads of small regional non-government organizations, civil society organizations, directors of international humanitarian organizations, parents, local volunteer groups, bus drivers, those who were formerly child soldiers, and those who were supportive of the non-state militia. I spoke with anyone who would talk to me about their experiences living both in northern Uganda and in other Ugandan districts. The importance of the latter did not seem relevant until I heard how those outside of northern Uganda viewed the neighbouring war situation and the resulting tribal stereotyping which added complexity to the situation. This became a valuable piece of information that provided a lens of analysis that I had not anticipated.

I achieved a balance of perspectives by meeting with both those who were supportive of the non-state militia as well as government supporters. From this I realized that I too held a biased perspective that I suspect was the result of Western media sources, which up to this point had been my primary knowledge source. I initially believed that the war in northern Uganda simply involved a rebel militia who were abducting children in order to fight government troops to secure power. These rebels, (LRA) were understood to be terrorizing their own people (Acholi) through a succession of abductions and the commitment of violent atrocities including rapes, maimings and killings. However, during my contextual analysis, I discovered that while some of these allegations appeared to be supported, other Acholi people informed me that there was often significant confusion around who was responsible for the on-going civilian attacks. Some reported that the LRA rebels used stolen UDPF military uniforms and committed atrocities to make

it appear as if it was a government-backed attack. Still others reported that known government soldiers were responsible for some of the attacks. There were other suggestions that the Local Defense Units (LDU) committed some of the atrocities: the LDU are personnel hired to provide security for civilians living in the IDP camps.

When attacks were reportedly committed by non-state actors, it seems that the same confusion arose: some said that it was government soldiers in civilian clothes who did not want the war to end as they had become reliant on the regular employment and salary. Others indicated that they believed the nomadic ethnic group called the Karamojong were responsible for some of the civil unrest and were also responsible for some atrocities and abductions of civilians. Further illustration of the complexity and resulting tensions currently affecting Uganda were found when I met with those responsible for completing *The Ugandan Amnesty Commission Report*, which reported that between 2000 and 2005 there were twenty-seven known rebel groups operating in Uganda from which members had sought amnesty. This further demonstrated the importance of my having an understanding of the context through a complete contextual and situational analysis. Northern Uganda is so complex that without a fundamental understanding of its multiple layers my research would have been compromised.

Guideline #2: Embrace Opportunities to be an Active, Safe Participant within the Environment

At the forefront any of my research interactions, I ensured that I was always:

- humble and attentive to the realities encountered;
- respectful in often very unique and challenging situations;

- mindful to approach any situation from a place of dignity, decency, and integrity
- sure to adhere to ethical practices;
- open to new and unexpected experiences; and
- willing to confront and eliminate biases (ethnocentricity).

When entering the war zone it was imperative and often a natural instinct to become hyper- vigilant to my surroundings. This meant that I attuned my body to the environment, listening and being observant while relying on my natural instincts and social cues to remain safe.

It was vital that I access every possible safe opportunity to communicate with the locals. Often the most seemingly mundane chance encounters were the most fruitful. An example of this occurred during the multiple trips and countless hours that I spent traveling across Uganda by local buses or on mini buses called "matatus." As in most African countries, buses wait for several hours until they are filled beyond capacity before they depart. During this waiting time, newspaper sellers enter the buses and bus riders in Uganda can choose to scan the five local newspapers before deciding whether or not to purchase them. The papers most often available for consideration are: *New Vision* (government owned), *The Monitor* (an independent), *Red Pepper* (a tabloid), *The Weekly Messenger* (a Muslim publication), and the *Weekly Observer* (an independent) (Acayo & Mnjama 2004). The papers, once purchased, are often shared freely amongst the riders during the long trips. Debates and discussions about significant issues in the papers often follow.

In addition, being, more often than not, the only Westerner on the buses traveling to the north, I was cause for curiosity to locals. It was this curiosity which led them to ask what I was doing and why I was traveling by local bus. This inquisitiveness and line of questioning often arose because humanitarian workers are known to travel primarily by non-governmental organization owned Land Cruisers, generally with drivers and often with armed escorts. While travelling as a humanitarian worker would have provided safer travel, the bus trip provided endless hours of contextualized local contact. Once the bus rider's curiosity had been satisfied, I was usually given unsolicited, unique advice and local knowledge about the affected areas. This opportunity created relationships and produced a situation where the potential power differential was lessened (I was on the unsafe, uncomfortable buses and searched at impromptu road blocks at gun-point, just as they were). Consequently, the simple experience of sitting on the cramped bus, covered in spat maize kernels, and having my ankles pecked by string-bound chickens became a significant research advantage.

Guideline #3: Be Willing to Adapt the Research Method

In an active war zone the situation is constantly changing and I had to be willing to adapt my research method and be innovative. I considered the following before I entered and while I was in the field:

- the physical limitations of research equipment (in northern Uganda power was not always available and so extra batteries for recording devices were essential);
- being prepared to conduct interviews and focus groups in unexpected environments; and

- being prepared to be flexible with the participants' availability.

Much of the research that I conducted was outside under trees and in the heat. Often curious bystanders stood watching and many other common village distractions were present. In these situations, it was important to recognize that I did not have control of the research environment to best meet my optimum research needs and I had to make a conscious ethical decision in each situation as to whether to adapt and carry on. In these situations I was often reliant on what is described by Edwards and Mauthner (2002) as situational ethics, a process whereby the feminist researcher considers the context and the range of appropriate choices that can be employed to resolve the dilemma. For me it was vital that I understood the cultural context before drawing an ethical conclusion. In northern Uganda it is common for groups to gather and talk in a compound. It is less common and more alarming to participants to be taken to a private place by an individual to talk and have your conversation recorded.

Many of my participants travelled long and difficult distances to participate. Because buses and travel were unpredictable, participants often arrived at unusual times and on different days than I expected. I was never totally sure who would be available and those same participants were not available the following day for follow-up as I had initially planned. I had also

originally planned to use “Photovoice” as an additional source of data collection[16].

War, especially guerrilla fighting, is always unpredictable and therefore it is imperative to seek out local understanding about the safest places, times, and methods of conducting research. Gathering groups of children together in an environment where they may be prone to abductions or harm was never an option. I always, therefore, left the logistics of deciding on location up to the locals who knew best.

I also had to alter my expectations to be consistent with the context. An example of this was my expectation of how participants could contact my supervisor or me if they wished to withdraw from the study or wanted further information. I soon realized that email was not going to be an option and had to substitute self-addressed stamped envelopes. I had also designed a component of my research data collection to include art. I thought that it would be a unique opportunity for the participants to have access to a myriad of decorative art materials not normally available to them. The reality was that the girls were not comfortable with the unfamiliar materials and wanted only the basic supplies and used only a few colours. My expectations were

---

[16] Photovoice (Wang & Burris 1997) is an art-based practice located within participatory action research that uses a participants’ photography to symbolize their experience. In the field there was considerable difficulty gathering participants in one place to conduct any research. This was further compounded when trying to use Photovoice which required multiple gatherings of the same participants, providing them with disposable cameras and guidelines, having them leave to document their experiences, then return with the cameras, have the film developed, and then engage in a dialogue to discuss their work. This was all to be accomplished in a war zone where travel was perilous and access to development resources limited. Therefore, Photovoice was found to be logistically impractical and was eliminated as a research method.

not synchronized with their comfort levels. I spent time reflecting upon my own disappointment for an outcome which I had conceived, but one that was born of my positionality and not theirs.

Guideline #4: Sensitivity to Language and its Use

Recognizing and being sensitive to language and labeling became pivotal in my war zone research when establishing and building initial relationships, the research design, and the data collection. This was particularly true with terms used, which refer to concepts and people. Taking the time to examine language biases actually altered the questions that I asked participants and the language I used. In particular, I became very aware of how I referred to government troops, non-state militia, and the participants. Rather than calling non-state militia rebels or referring to the activity of young women being taken away as “abductions,” I mirrored the participants language and asked them to tell me who had “taken” them and why. The result was that several of the girls indicated their support of the non-government cause and indicated they would return to the bush given the first opportunity. For others, the commonly referred-to ‘rebels’ were seen by them as children, family members, and neighbours who, just like themselves, had been taken by force and intimidation. They did not see their bush companions as rebels or necessarily “bad people”. Still other young women had chosen to remain in intimate relationships with those whom they met in the bush. Seven of the girls interviewed had given birth to children conceived in the bush and calling their intimate partners by disparaging terms would not have been respectful or elicited meaningful responses to my interview questions. It

would have also exacerbated the power imbalance and caused me to misrepresent, simplify or negate their experiences.

The young girls interviewed did not refer to themselves as "sex slaves," or "bush brides" as they are often referred to by other researchers, the media, and initially by this writer in her research proposal. Rather, they acknowledged their taking, forcible confinement, and escape/capture/rescue and the reality that some were "given a husband" or became "wives to commanders", or that they had been protected from assault and death through their intimate relationships with males. In Uganda, becoming a "wife" is a socially acceptable status and safe to discuss with others, unlike the taboo of speaking about being forced to have sex. A girl who has sex outside of marriage, regardless of the circumstances, is considered defiled: she will not fetch a "bride price" and is shamed. Similarly, the term "abduction" is largely a Western, legal term and it is not commonly used in the local language. It was more accurate to speak of the children as being "taken" rather than abducted. Therefore, the term Formerly Taken Children (FTC) was adopted, as it appeared to better describe the circumstances and reality of the participants.

Guideline #5: Develop Relationships with Locals

It was vital to develop relationships with local people who were supportive of the research and who were willing to act as informants as these were the keys to a safe research environment.

Guideline #6: Consider the Role Children Play in a War Zones

It was important for me to examine whether I was viewing the young girls as "social actors" or "passive victims" (McAdams 2003) as this would have affected my research. Wessell's (2006) work looking at child soldiers refers to this as the difference between considering participants as "passive innocents" or "influential actors". Regardless of the terminology used, the stance that I adopted coloured the kind of research that I procured and produced. My experience in northern Uganda taught me that it is imperative not to undermine the efforts of girls to cope and survive in what are very complex, difficult, and dangerous situations. I recognized that the girls were influential actors and not just passive victims. They were "thrivers" and survivors who had often turned their trauma into a resource of hope. This was evidenced by several participants' expression of future orientation.

I learned that their narratives were diverse, complex and, without exception, they had things that they wanted me to know and ideas about how the situation could be rectified. The girls I met often demonstrated a strong sense of agency and had exercised choices all along the way, whenever they had the opportunity. These choices were often limited but they made decisions to work on escape plans, to be obedient, or to stand up and refuse to kill. The term capture is included as several girls indicated they felt they had been captured by government troops, rather than rescued. The girls I interviewed had also used sexual acts to garner protection from specific commanders and these acts had allowed them to survive. In addition, many of the girls had taken on adult roles at home and in the bush. As a researcher

it would have been disrespectful to their wisdom, resilience, and the important roles they performed to consider them to have been or to be dependant victims.

I ensured that my methods acknowledged the strengths of participants and were empowering insofar as they were provided an opportunity to speak. The simple act of choosing to participate in my study or not, may be one of the first non-life threatening decisions some of these girls had to make where they could exert some control. In an effort to apply this within the northern Ugandan context, the girls in the study were encouraged to:

- choose their own pseudonyms;
- discuss their hopes and dreams for the future;
- talk freely about the ideas they had to alter/address the conflict situation;
- choose to what extent they told their story;
- talk about the strengths that had assisted them;
- discuss their understanding of human rights;
- critique the usefulness of the human rights learning that they had received;
- brainstorm what human rights learning would be helpful;
- choose to not answer any questions or to end the interview at any point;
- choose to not speak in the focus group; and
- Teach the researcher about cultural/developmental expectations.

Guideline #7: Provide an Additional Research Mechanism that is Non-textual or Non-verbal for Girls to Express their Experiences

It was vital that I find alternate ways for the participants to express themselves, given the traumatic experiences they had lived through (Banks

2001; Coyne 1997). I found that words often fell short and alone were inadequate to describe their experiences. This was especially true with the language barrier and the potential for my interviewing to be a culturally uncomfortable experience with uneasy connotations: for example, in a war zone, interviews can be seen as analogous to interrogations and torture. Providing participants with the opportunity to use art to be descriptive about their experiences allows for a greater richness of data collection and eases some discomfort. A report by the British Psychological Association (2004, p.2) notes, "Drawing allows a practical way to bring them [children] into the interview and talk about themselves and their experiences. The drawing itself often generates additional questions".

On a therapeutic note, children who experience trauma appear to benefit more from a drawing interview than the more traditional talking one (Jander 2005). Drawing allows young girls to work at their own pace and without the hindrance of an adult questioning them and putting them on the spot. Art and drawing also allows participants to be actively involved in their own level of healing. Art offers a safe vehicle to communicate details as it has natural boundaries (created by the canvas square) and forms a container in which the trauma can be safely held. When a participants draw, they choose what they share and there is no judgment attached when they choose not to include something. Participants are more likely to relax and experience a brief period of escape in their art.

I was experienced in using art as a research method and was aware that the very power of art could also make it problematic. As art is a psychomotor experience it can activate sensory memories and so has the

capacity to break through the cognitive barriers erected to protect the psyche. It can also make participants more vulnerable, triggering them to re-experience the emotion of the traumatic events. I was also aware that the art created by the participants was not to be used to evaluate or assess them. I recognized that it meant nothing except when its creator shared with me its meaning. I was prepared for the participants to want to keep their creations or to create multiple pieces. In these cases it was important to allow this to happen, as the process is more valuable to the participant than the product/data is to me. Again this aspect is in keeping with a feminist methodology, which encourages control over the research outcome to be moved closer to the participant. While art can be interpreted by many in a multitude of ways, it was essential that participants gave me a narrative to attach to their art piece that tells their understanding of what they have made.

Guideline #8: Communicate at the Individual's Level/Ability

Even when English is the language of education in a country, it is important to not assume that participants understand what is being said to them. I ensured the language I used was child-friendly and clear but was not patronizing and did not involve talking down to the girls. Similarly, girls who have had traumatic experiences may not remember their second language as the memory may be affected by trauma (Hyder 2005). When it comes to a war zone, the limitations of language are never more evident than when participants are attempting to describe excruciating traumatic experiences. In these cases, language fails to express that which perhaps is essentially

expressionless. Language barriers can be overcome to a certain extent with well advised informants who speak the local language and understand the culture and social nuances. The language of trauma is rarely only verbal. Trauma is experienced on many levels: on the corporeal level, relationally, it is enactive (the mind/body/world is inseparable from the experience), and situational.

I was prepared to record and include the multiple manifestations of trauma. With signed permission from the participants, I took photos of the girls when they were being interviewed by the local social workers and made field notes about their non-verbal communication, demeanor, positioning, and apparent social interactions with others and the interviewer. This proved to be very valuable data that has assisted in my understanding of the girl's experiences.

Guideline #9: Monitor and Mitigate for "Research Fatigue"

Several researchers have noted that children in war zones who are interviewed in the traditional manner often exhibit one of several responses. They may either recount their story in a detached, robotic manner to disconnect themselves from the emotion of the event or they might "provide sensationalist answers as if the process is a game" (Aptekar, 1988, p.98). Other participants have been known to change their stories hoping that the "right" story may get them much needed resources (Honwana, 2006, McAdams, 2003). This is especially true for girls who have been "over researched" and have "research fatigue." It is a form of exploitation that researchers need to be mindful of. When conducting the initial situational

analysis it was imperative for me to find out how many times a particular group of girls had already been accessed by other researchers (McAdams 2003). The use of art can be a way to validate or triangulate information given verbally or get at the topic in another way that is not rehearsed or preconceived.

Guideline #10: Use a Safe and Neutral Territory for the Interview

When designing a research study to be carried out in a war zone, it was important to consider the danger of assembling large groups of girls for focus groups. This may make them more vulnerable to being taken or attract harmful attention to them as spies. Also, identifying the kinds of girls you wish to interview by using certain terms such as "child soldier" or "sex slaves" may place them at risk as former commanders may re-recruit the child or local people may retaliate against them (Wessells 2006). Girls who have performed these roles may also find that "labels awaken painful memories, creates stigmatization and reflects only one small dimension of their life experience" (Wessells 2006, p.8).

Regardless of where the research is conducted, my primary concern was to ensure that it was comfortable and safe for the girls. Article 3 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child supports this. It requires that all actions concerning children should have as its primary consideration the best interests of the child.

Guideline #11: Fully Informed Consent

Obtaining fully informed consent for research with children is always a contentious issue. The situation was further compounded for me as the participants were potentially both traumatized and vulnerable. In general terms, a child's ability to consent to the research is based upon their chronological age and maturity level (BERA 2004; British Columbia 1996). Many researchers traditionally use a child's chronological age as a developmental indicator to determine whether the child is capable to give consent to be involved in a research project. Children who are young (generally under twelve years old) and incapacitated by trauma would not be considered capable of giving informed consent. In these cases I involved, where possible, a parent or guardian to provide consent.

I discovered that not all of the participants were completely sure of their actual ages. This is consistent with the findings of others who interviewed children in vulnerable situations (Mcadam-Crisp et al. 2003, Honwana, 2006). Where possible, I attempted to seek substantiation of approximate ages from the rehabilitation centre's staff who knew them; I also encouraged these staff to be present during interviews.

Regardless of the complications, my goal was to try and meet the ethical standards and document the provisions taken. In northern Uganda the youngest girls whom I interviewed said that they were twelve years old. In order to meet my ethical obligations I ensured that there was a responsible adult present who could explain to the girl what was happening in their primary language. This was usually a social worker, rehabilitation worker, or priest. I ensured that I followed both my *British Columbia Social Work Code*

of Ethics (British Columbia College of Social Workers 2009) under which I am registered and the BERA (2004). I received written consent and provided translated, child sensitive, verbal explanations of the study. I accepted and held at the forefront that the responsibility to prevent further exploitation of my participants, despite the complex and challenging circumstances, is always the responsibility of the researcher.

Guideline #12: Ensure the Emotional Safety of the Participants

Researchers who ask girls to recount their story in any manner have an ethical responsibility to ensure that the girls have an opportunity to debrief the experience. Research has the potential to trigger participants to re-experience their trauma or may bring up aspects of the situation that have been suppressed. I relied on the trauma literature I had consulted and my experience as a social worker with a trauma counseling background to monitor girls who became distressed and offered myself as a resource for those who needed it (Bloom 2005; Briere & Scott 2006; Derluyn et al. 2004; Malchiodi 1998; Malchiodi 2008; Perry & Szalavitz 2007). It ultimately made more practical sense to ensure that each of the participants had access to a local social worker or worker who was known to them and with whom they could debrief after I had left the area. Arrangements for such a social worker were made for interview participants.

Guideline #13: Voyeuristic Intrusion

The temptation to take photos, videos, and gather verbal accounts of sensational and shocking situations is often present during war zone

research. My experience was that these activities were even being encouraged by locals who believed that if the world could just see the horror they may be more likely to respond (situational analysis 2005). In addition, the dissemination of sensational depictions may also be supported in an effort to discredit or lay blame by one faction or another. Honwana (2006) refers to any need to view or capture depictions of war trauma as "voyeuristic intrusion" and cautions against it. In northern Uganda voyeuristic intrusion had the potential to lead me to visually depict and focus my writing on the atrocities and sexual violence that many of the girls experienced. I resisted this temptation because it would have obscured the complexity and multiplicity of the girls' experiences. The girls were so much more than the horror that they had experienced and there were so many other aspects to their lives that were important to record. Researchers often get caught up in what Goodhand (2006, p.23) refers to as the phenomena of automatically assuming that war zone violence is the primary problem and the only lens through which to view the issue, and he refers to this as "conflict fetish".

To guard against both voyeuristic intrusion and conflict fetish it was vital for me to develop a code of practice that holds central the words of Gourevitch (1998). Gourevitch suggests that before capturing any images researchers should consider the following, "the aesthetic assault of the macabre creates excitement and emotion, but does the spectacle really serve our understanding of the wrong?" (1998, p.38). Even more crucial was for me to ask for permission from participants and to principally stay focused on holding the dignity and right to decency of every individual which whom I

was in contact. By doing this, I did not further exploit any person for purely sensational effect.

Guideline #14: Concept of Reciprocity

It is not uncommon for researchers to give monetary or similar reciprocal gifts to research participants to thank them for their participation. This practice in a war zone may be problematic because, in these particular situations, the children are often living in impoverished conditions and are functioning in survival mode. Offering money or gifts as an inducement to participate in a research study may have some negative repercussions. For example, some children, in desperation, may forgo their instinct to not tell their story in exchange for survival resources and this may ultimately be damaging to the child. In addition, children who agree to be interviewed just for the reward may not provide rich or reliable data. In northern Uganda I decided that rather than give individual gifts as an incentive to participate or as thanks for participation, I would find out from the social workers and centre staff what was needed and provide them with the resources. They could then give it to the participants, including those who chose not to participate. This acknowledged everyone and also recognized the self-determination of those who chose not to participate. In addition, giving resources to the local social workers to distribute further removed the perception of power that I, as a Westerner, carried.

Guideline #15: Awareness of Vicarious Traumatization and Researcher Burnout

Conducting research in northern Uganda exposed me to a world that was unfamiliar, stressful, and complex. The very nature of field work requires that I fully understand the context in which I found myself. Conducting numerous interviews and focus groups and spending significant amounts of time in a war zone has the potential to create secondary traumatic stress or compassion fatigue in researchers (Figley 1995). It was important that I understood that secondary trauma in these circumstances was an occupational hazard that could be mitigated if precautions were taken:

- remember that no one is immune to vicarious or secondary trauma;
- learn about the affects of secondary trauma before entering the war zone; and
- learn to recognize the signs of vicarious or secondary trauma and educate those around you.

It was also important that I ensured that I had realistic expectations of both myself and the participants. This meant that I had to not expect to adhere strictly to my research design, schedule, or the means of gathering the exact data I proposed. It also meant clearly explaining to the participants the purpose, extent, and potential outcomes for the research, so as not to give false hope or build unrealistic expectations. I had to ensure that I was physically and mentally healthy before entering the field. I was cognizant that traumatic stress is cumulative and that it may be the tenth interview that overwhelms one's coping ability. The following are strategies that I used to minimize or avoid vicarious trauma and/or burnout:

- take some down time away from formal researching to recharge your coping batteries;
- attempt to find some balance through participation in some cultural events and to experience the multidimensional nature of the context (I spent time in schools to create some normalcy for myself and to appreciate other aspects of the situation, not just the trauma);
- try and debrief at the end of every day with a trusted colleague (expect and understand the ramifications of culture shock);
- plan to experience difficulty upon re-entering a Westernized, privileged culture where one's tolerance for the everyday will be challenged; and
- arrange to connect with someone to debrief the research experience once you have returned home.

In the next chapter, the understandings gathered in this chapter are amalgamated with the knowledge gained from the work in chapters Five and Six: together they create and propose the components for an alternate, transformative human rights learning framework which could be of use in northern Uganda. Chapter Eight explores the potential of such a framework.

Chapter Eight: From Paper to Practice: A Transformative Human Rights Framework.

Introduction

This chapter consists of a synthesis of the findings from the human rights learning tool analysis and the field study. The result is a human rights learning framework. During the situational analysis (2005) component of this study, a local informant aptly suggested that whatever was proposed in order for human rights learning to happen in northern Uganda it, “needed to be as simple as stripping down an AK47”. He was referring to the ease with which all parties, of all ages, on all sides of the conflict, quickly learn to field strip a Kalashnikov rifle (AK47) in order to survive in a war zone. While this is a disheartening symbol of the situation, in conducting this research and hearing the participants’ responses, I agree with the informant on some level. Whatever model or frameworks are developed for use in this context, they need to be practical, accessible, meaningful, and applicable in the situation.

This chapter has been divided into two sections. The first section proposes eleven core policy strategies to consider when developing a human rights learning model during an armed conflict. It is aimed at those in positions of power, perhaps best described as “duty-bearers” (Kent 2005). The second section proposes a human rights learning framework and is proposed based on the experiences of the participants or “rights holders”.

There is a third level that ought to be addressed in a fully developed human rights education program. This is the level referred to by Kent (2005) as the “agents of accountability”. Accountability agencies, such as the United Nations Treaty bodies, have a responsibility to monitor or detect whether there is deviation from an international convention or standard and to what degree. They have the responsibility to correct a situation and to restore the parties’ behaviour to within a zone of acceptability. As previously noted, in the current international human rights system there is little capacity to actually pursue and punish human rights violators. There does, however, exist in Uganda a satisfactory system of detection, through which both governmental and civil society agencies can monitor and record human rights violations. These agencies include: The Foundation for Human Rights Initiatives, Civil Society Organizations for Peace in Northern Uganda, The Uganda Child Rights NGO Network, and The Human Rights and Peace Centre. Without any authoritative capacity to hold violators to account, these alerting mechanisms have limited effect. While I acknowledged this third level as a vital component, I considered it beyond the capacity of this study to address in any depth outside of noting and making reference to their existence and role.

Core Strategies for Human Rights Learning during an Armed Conflict

Education in any form is generally not considered a priority in conflict and humanitarian crises, but children who have been traumatized and displaced during conflicts often need the structure, stability, and normalcy provided by

schooling. In addition, schools are documented as places which can offer life-saving information such as land mine awareness, HIV and malaria prevention, and human rights learning during conflicts. Given the protracted conflict in northern Uganda, the provision of any education including human rights learning, either through formal, informal or non-formal means, has by its very nature been unpredictable, and continuously evolving with a series of interlocking challenges. This study found that, despite the current schooling turmoil in the north, school-based learning has remained a vehicle for providing some limited knowledge about human rights. While school-based human rights education is a piece of the human rights education puzzle, additional pieces as indicated by this study's participants are needed if they are to gain more than a rudimentary, rote learned appreciation of their rights. This study highlighted the need for an alternate human rights learning framework that could embrace gender, experience, context, empowerment and post-traumatic growth. However, this study did not produce a definitive, packaged model suitable for providing human rights learning in northern Uganda. More accurately, eleven core principles were developed to provide a foundation for a human rights learning framework. These principles are based on the findings in this study and are aimed at duty bearers before they attempt to implement human rights learning during a conflict situation. These suggestions are not intended to represent a definitive, sequential, linear series of steps to be followed. They are an integration of considerations gleaned from the findings to be mindful of in relation to a conflict situation.

The Preoccupations of those in Power

During a war, those in positions of power (governments, international and national non-government organizations) become preoccupied with a myriad of issues. These are issues to be considered in order to fully comprehend the macro constraints, resistance, and barriers that may influence the provision of human rights learning. Understanding these issues will assist human rights educators in working with, rather than against, authorities and helps with "buy in" from the onset. The most common preoccupations of the government identified during the situational analysis (2005) and the field study (2006) were:

- economic concerns related to military and defensive measures;
- physical concerns for basic needs (food, shelter and security);
- technocratic concern for system rehabilitation;
- humanitarian concern for healing the wounds of violence;
- political concern and pressure to establish effective civil institutions;
- social concerns for re-establishing trust; and
- the capacity or the ability to meet expectations.

Circumstances of the Situation

Understanding the circumstances and specific phase of a conflict contributes to the development of a plan for human rights learning implementation. It was suggested during the situational analysis (2005) that actors from all of the various factions be asked the following questions in order to get a complete and accurate picture of the situation in northern Uganda:

- the duration of the conflict;

- the fragility of any peace talks;
- the actors involved;
- the current intensity of the violence; and
- the known pattern of the violence.

Attention to the Context

Attention to the diversity and complexity of the culture, history of the conflict and indigenous traditions of the participants is vital. Human rights learning responses need to be highly adaptive as each conflict is unique and context bound. All human rights information can be interpreted and applied according to the different cultures and traditional values. It is especially useful to remember that when human rights instruments are used as a foundation in the training, they represent a vision or standard to aspire to. Generally, these instruments do not prescribe how to be meeting the standards, allowing opportunity to attune them to local histories and conditions.

Attention to the Locale

It is important to be cognizant that "local input determines impact" (situational analysis 2005). While it is necessary to be informed by insights gained elsewhere, human rights learning programs need to use an integrated, community-based participatory approach with emphasis on capacity building. This helps communities heal from violence and determine their own paths of development and thus improves sustainability.

Ecological and Child Centered

This study focused on young women. For these participants, it is vital to ensure that human rights learning is ecological and child centered: "Human rights education must not be theoretical, but relevant to people's daily lives. People learn from their own narratives to conceptualize human rights and work toward fulfillment" (Koenig 2001, p. 4). We need to recognize that human rights learning and democracy begins from within the person. Human rights learning can serve as a tool for protection and prevention of harm when young women are moved by human rights education from a position of passivity and apathy to vigilance and action. Human rights learning has the capacity to take a transformative stance (Koenig 2002).

Learning Environment

During conflict, a learning environment is required that can assist to restore a girl's sense of normalcy. The creation of a learning space where young women divided by conflict can come to talk, play, and learn together acts as a model for peace, protection, and healthy development.

Trainers/Facilitators

Human rights learning trainers need to be supported to be self-reflective and self-aware. During times of conflict, education is often used as a tool of oppression. Human rights learning facilitators need to be fully aware of their role, power, discriminatory thoughts, and political position in relation to the conflict. If the facilitator is not mindful, then a genuine learning community will not be successfully established with the girls. As a result of the conflict,

the girls will be distrustful of the adult's agendas and will be hyper-vigilant for inconsistencies between action and words. Trainers need to be sensitive to gender, women's and children's rights, ensuring that they do not value the contributions made by boys over girls or allocate tasks based on gender stereotypes. Hiring female trainers who can act as role models for girls may increase the comfort level of some participants and their parents. Trainers and program developers also need to ensure that materials and plans are gender sensitive and relevant to the lives of the children in that community.

At the time of this writing, one of the challenges that remain is the capacity to develop more effective and comprehensive teachers (Council of Europe 2009). Yet there remains no clear objective standard for what constitutes a qualified human rights education trainer. Those who have some kind of previous training experience lead human rights education courses. There is no national or international certificate to clarify and demonstrate the competencies of these educators. There are no clear standards for study or practice. Training and curriculum standards for trainers and facilitators could further the status of human rights learning as a legitimate, effective field.

Definitions

After reviewing the literature and the concordance of instruments collected, a standardized definition of human rights education is lacking and an updated definition is required if a shared system of values is one of the goals. There are many divergent and contested definitions in existence. Some suggest current definitions exclude peace education, citizenship education, gender

education, environmental learning, and conflict resolution, all of which are either viewed as components of human rights learning or see human rights learning as an element within them (Osler & Starkey 1996, Osler & Vincent 2002). Definitions often reflect the practitioner's diverse backgrounds and while this is an inherent strength, it can also lead to fragmentation in the field. Even the term "human rights education" is questioned and the usage of the term human rights learning is preferred by some (Koenig 2002) as it is more reflective of lifelong learning rather than a discrete period of education. Existing definitions also make negligible reference to related terms, such as the culture of human rights and its relationship to human rights education.

Better Practices

While it is true that this is an emerging field, it is also apparent that many have made significant commitments to understanding and developing human rights learning in multiple contexts over the past decade (Council on Europe 2009; Flowers 2000; Osler & Starkey 1996, Osler & Vincent 2002). The result appears to have been many general formulations and strategies, and too few specific actions. Better practices need to be sanctioned that have the capacity to cover all contexts in which human rights education, learning, and training are relevant (Council on Europe 2009). These practices need to incorporate the latest theory and practice, drawn particularly from the advances in the implementation of human rights learning available since the UNESCO Recommendation *Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (1974), the *Vienna Declaration and*

Programme of Action (1993), the *UN Decade for Human Rights Education* (1995-2004) (United Nations General Assembly 1994) and *World Programme for Human Rights Education* (2005-2009) (United Nations General Assembly 2005) .

Evaluation

The question of evaluation is a significant one in the human rights learning arena. During this study, a considerable number of references were found to point to the need for its inclusion in all levels of program development. While references agreed that evaluative processes need to be built in when human rights learning programs are implemented, they are frequently not evident. Especially during a conflict situation as explained by Bird (2003, p.30):

> Evaluation issues are frequently the last consideration during a conflict or post-conflict phase where priorities are typically focused on immediate outputs. This focus is often short sighted as the institutionalization of effective monitoring and evaluation systems put in place at the onset of a project can save considerable time later when there is need to review and revise programmes in the light of experience.

Richard Pierre Claude, author of *Methodologies for human rights education* (1999, p.7), echoes the need by suggesting:

> The effectiveness of human rights education should not only be the concern of the C*harter* signatories, but of everyone who takes human rights education seriously. The standard suggests that those obliged to teach human rights should also ensure that such programs are effective in that people accept and understand their rights and that

> they are thereby empowered to use them and can benefit by exercising them.

Ulrich and Wenzel (2005, p.9), concur suggesting:

> Evaluation offers a chance to expand and broaden existing human rights education projects. The systematic inclusion of all participants often makes clear for the first time which divergent explicit and implicit assumptions predominates personal actions and experience. Evaluation enables a new level of reflection that can lead to an increase in quality within a project currently in practice. Theoretical conceptions are seen more clearly; other conceptions are classified and limited.

It was not evident from this study why there has been such difficulty in implementing evaluations of human rights learning models. Some practitioners have even suggested methods of evaluation. For example, *The Plan of Action* supports evaluation in *The First Phase of the World Programme for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 2005) and laid out specific human rights education program effective indicators. These indicators were developed to measure the knowledge/ understanding, attitudes/values and skills/ behaviours necessary to support national respect for and protection of human rights. However, during this study no programs were located, which had been evaluated using these criteria.

Safety

In a conflict situation it is especially important that program developers are mindful of safety and security for both participants and facilitators. Human rights learning programs can serve as a channel to convey survival messages to children. However, any time children gather in groups they become potential targets for being taken and recruited. It is, therefore, important to ensure that the program is held in a secure location and that safety is paramount. Education about human rights with children may also be viewed as threatening to some forces during a conflict and so it is critical to understand the particular circumstances of the conflict as previously suggested.

Taking care of the basics is important. Providing safe drinking water on site reduces the risk of being taken if participants have to leave the area to go and collect. Providing separate toilets for girls is also an important consideration. Girls will often not attend a location beyond menstruation if they do not have access to separate toilet facilities and these need to be identified as such.

A Pragmatic, Transformative Human Rights Framework

A primary focus of this study has been on human rights learning and in particular the development of human rights learning framework that is appropriate to the northern Uganda conflict zone and might offer a bridge between the legal documents and the opportunity for girls to learn about and exercise their rights. I reviewed human rights education/learning models

and tools developed. Now I continue by taking what I have learned from the participants' insights around their experiences and my understanding from the previous analysis, and propose a framework that could mitigate the issues associated with implementing a human rights learning program in a war zone.

It was clearly documented in the literature review that the overall number of human rights learning opportunities worldwide has increased with the visibility of both *The United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 1994) and *World Programme for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 2005). There has been a corresponding increase in the number of claims that human rights learning is beneficial and has a pivotal role as part of a complex human rights system to support lifelong learning. These claims were not always found to be grounded in sound pedagogical logic, or open to much critique in the literature or in the perception of the participants. The literature review and the tool analysis suggests that credible human rights learning should be concerned with knowledge, skills, values and attitudes (behaviour), but the empirical evidence was not documented or readily available to support this rationale. To substantiate methods and claims of the affect of human rights learning, a standardized measurement process that develops, defines, and refines indicators to allow the credible evaluation of human rights learning is needed. The necessity to measure tools against specific indicators is required as a way to improve practice and as a self-defined accountability mechanism.

Detailed examples within the human rights learning field that illustrate the careful use of learning theory appropriate to the context of the

program are beneficial. For example, formal school-based programs need to developmentally appropriate, recognizing that we may be working with a girl's "social age" rather than their chronological age. Models that are designed for specific populations, such as children and youth in IDP camps or girls formerly taken, need to be contextually and culturally sensitive to the specific needs of these populations. The human rights learning field requires evidence of having successfully achieved these goals. Researchers in this field need to establish and to document which programs have been successful and why. If the framework suggested by this study is to have any credibility, it needs to have the capacity to be tested and clarified through program evaluation.

Therefore the framework proposed here is not one that suggests specific activities, but is built of components based on the reality of life in northern Uganda and founded in the research conducted. It originates from the best practices identified in the literature and is supported by the experiences of the study's participants.

The model has been developed using some data sources as outlined in *The Plan of Action for the World Programme for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 2005). Inherent in the development of this framework was the notion that considerable thought had already been applied to thinking about how one might measure human rights learning. It therefore made reasonable sense to build on work already started. *The World Programme for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 2005, p.17) suggests human rights learning can be measured in the following ways:

a) pre-post surveys of program participants of their knowledge about and attitudes toward human rights and related issues, including relevance to everyday life (if not feasible to survey all participants, could do a random sampling of those with exposure to human rights education, including use of control groups);

b) individual focus group interviews with participants concerning their knowledge about and attitudes toward human rights, evaluation of the human rights education programming they participated in, and any plans for application of human rights principles; and

c) longitudinal data collection of affect including follow-up surveys and interviews on above topics.

In this study, I implemented point (a) through the situational analysis (2005) and field study (2006) rather than through formal surveys. I was able to execute point (b) to a greater extent through the focus group, interviews and art-based inquiry. Point (c) was not feasible within the confines of this inquiry, but would constitute the follow-up plan once the framework outlined had been implemented. At that point, post interviews would be conducted and, ultimately, longitudinal data collection made to determine the effect of the proposed framework on the target audience.

The target audience for this framework was girls living in northern Uganda's conflict zone. Although it could likely be used in other situations, it was developed and refined for this specific audience and based upon their experiences. The key elements in the proposed model follow the pedagogical triptych: knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes (Tibbetts 1997). The method

of delivery is non-formal, with a focus on lifelong learning processes through which participants acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights gained from their experiences and exposure to situations. This method was seen to have the capacity to be delivered in places where formal schools may not be in operation, such as IDP camps and rehabilitation centres in northern Uganda.

The framework is based on a Transformative model (Tibbetts 2002), as this is considered a model of empowerment and fits both with the feminist perspective and identified needs of participants. In this model, human rights learning is attentive to empowering participants to both recognize human rights abuses and to commit to their prevention. This framework has the capacity for multiple delivery mechanisms and therefore has the capacity to be more flexible depending on the situation and the needs of the participants. The model makes the following assumptions as derived from the study:

- it assumes that participants have had personal experiences with human rights violations such denial of basic rights such as freedom, food, and shelter, and have faced considerable harm and loss of human dignity at the hands of others.
- it assumes that participants, because of their experiences, are predisposed to become promoters and protectors of human rights.
- it assumes participants have capacity, resilience and are capable of post traumatic growth.
- it assumes that participants have the capacity to view concepts, issues, events, and themes from the perspective of diverse ethnic and cultural groups.

Table 15: Human rights learning model

Target	Method	Classification	Knowledge	Skills	Values
Girls who have been formerly taken in Northern Uganda	Non-formal	Transformational Gender sensitive Social relations and social roles Anchored in local knowledge and life skills Breaches of human rights versus responsibilities Indigenous practices	Rights of women & children Peace and social justice Indivisibility of rights Interdependence of rights	Negotiation Conflict prevention and resolution Decision-making Assertiveness Critical analysis	Gender sensitivity Respect for human rights and Responsibilities Sense of identity & self esteem & self confidence Empathy and common humanity

Gender Sensitivity

As illustrated in Chapter Two, the struggles of Ugandan women, especially those from the north, are inextricably linked to their diverse past, pre-colonial contexts, slavery, colonization, liberation struggles, and neo-colonial contexts. Traditional perceptions of women factor significantly in armed conflict. A gender-specific role develops over time into a stereotypical norm and expected state. In this way, the positions of women are no longer questioned. This study set out to question and illuminate the positioning of women in war and the roles they see themselves playing and those ascribed to them. The study found that young women experience complex processes when they are taken and that their experiences are often contrary to their expected state. When they return, they are penalized for seemingly "ignoring" expected female responsibilities (chastity, marriage, etc.) and, during demobilization and reintegration, their lived experiences are not always recognized. The participants in this study challenged the prevalent portrayal of them as passive victims, lacking agency to affect their lives. Accessing a gendered lens in this study has "alerted us to intentionality as opposed to naturalness in differentiation between sexes" (Moser & Clark 2001, p.16).

Developing a human rights learning framework for use in a conflict zone ought to have as a core learning objective the need to increase young women's ability to protect themselves, their children and others from harm. The proposed human rights learning framework would be explicitly gender sensitive, accessible, and free, to try and eliminate gender disparity and to increase access. It would be unambiguous in its understanding of gender and

would use a gender lens to discuss human rights learning. As noted by Sinclair (2004), in order to accomplish this, the framework in question ought to have a built-in commitment to recognizing the equal value of women and men. It would therefore be rooted in the value of universal human dignity along with a belief that gender balance should prevail in all social institutions and human relationships based on the concept of complementarity.

In order to address the complexity of the context in which the participants were located, this model would acknowledge them as a specific phenomenon. An understanding and provision for their unique needs before, after, and during conflict be considered. In northern Uganda, girls face multiple gendered practices that shape their ability to have their rights upheld. These practices include the concept of defilement, early marriage, and harmful traditional practices such as virginity testing, widow inheritance and female genital mutilation. During war, there is a documented increase in the prevalence of gender-based relationship and sexual violence, both physical and mental. There are also higher occurrences of systematic rape, mutilation of genitalia, rape/shooting/stabbing combinations, and being forcibly taken and forced into sexual slavery. In northern Uganda, non-state actors and rebel fighters also use acts of extreme terror against girls and women to construct horrific public scenarios (like lip, nose and ear severing) in order to gain and maintain control of the population (Eichstaedt 2009).

During human rights learning, participants need to have the opportunity to discuss and critically explore gender specific violations and link them to human rights and resolution scenarios. Conversations and debates need to be had with participants at the onset around whether it is a

disservice to women to censor or suppress the explicit details of such violations when the purpose is to establish the truth. Participants need to be encouraged to critique the status quo and consider their responsibility to uphold the rights of others whose rights they may be encouraged to violate.

Human rights learning should include strong elements of gender-sensitive training for appropriate assertiveness, negotiation skills, conflict prevention and resolution, and decision-making to guard sexual, reproductive, and general health and well being. The materials used need to ensure that any gender bias has been lessened and that it provides life skills related to peace education, conflict minimization, and prevention. The goals are to assist participants in dealing with gender related problems, including social fragmentation, problems of sexual harassment and exploitation, access to education (especially for girls), and community caring as well as skills for constructive and non-violent living (Aikman & Unterhalter 2005).

Social Relations & Social Roles

Human rights learners in northern Uganda ought not to be treated as part of a homogenous group, as doing so neglects acknowledgment of their specific needs. Girls in conflict situations may have participated directly in the war in multiple traditional and unconventional roles, as child soldiers, servants, or in being given as “wives”. During their encounters in the bush, they may have experienced a redefining of their traditional roles through becoming respected militarized combatants. The extent to which this occurs and the gender-specific effect of their involvement needs to be explored and acknowledged (Enloe 2000; Goldstein 2001). Girls require a holistic and

contextual analysis within specific armed groups, geopolitical and cultural contexts, time periods, and regions. In addition, as a result of the conflict, participants may have received less formal education and may need to have the human rights learning model adapted to their understanding and literacy level. Offering opportunities to discuss human rights in the local language in addition to English (the language of instruction in Uganda), may increase the participation of girls who may not have had exposure to formal education. In addition, some participants may be mothers or pregnant and forced out of peer groups because of the attached stigma. This issue needs to be addressed within a gender sensitive environment.

Anchored in Local Knowledge and Life Skills

Human rights learning needs to be anchored in the reality of the participants' lives. Learning needs to be interactive, participatory, and not didactic. Participants need to have an opportunity to examine and critique international instruments for what they do and do not represent and the relevance to them. In this way, human rights instruments become the subject of learning and not the constructors or apex of human rights learning. The formal models analyzed in this study were found to be primarily driven by international human rights instruments as representative of the vision or gold standard of rights as opposed to encouraging participants to critically engage with them. This critical examination is especially important to encourage in a country with a colonial history, which has experienced the imposition of foreign policy and one that is also donor dependant. It is documented that postcolonial countries appear less likely to question

imposed foreign instruments that are designed with their good in mind as discussed in Pollis & Schwab (2000) if funding is attached.

This framework proposes that participants also be encouraged to identify protective factors and resources within their communities. Resources and resilience can consciously turn survival stories into narratives of hope and positive vision for the future. Topics for discussion as identified through this study may include:

1. indigenous practices
2. God
3. social roles
4. standing up for self/strength of character
5. obedience
6. relationships

Breaches of Human Rights versus Responsibilities

In the field study the participants were asked whether those who had taken them had talked to them about human rights at all. As discussed in Chapter Six, this question was included as in other situations, child soldiers had been told about the Geneva Convention (Asia-Pacific Centre for Human Rights Education 2003). The answer to the question was negative. The question was asked after discovery was made that non-state actors under the Geneva Convention often informed their captives/combatants about their rights when captured by opposing forces. In northern Uganda's bush, the roles and relationships as evidenced in the field study were often blurred and very complex. A human rights framework should commit to untangling some of these complexities with participants and examine the responsibilities they

have to uphold the rights of others whom they may have violated. Often they were in a position of "kill or be killed". Other times, though, they made a conscious decision to work for the captives and identified themselves as part of the militia force.

Indigenous Practices

The framework should promote a cross-cultural understanding of healing or peacemaking that is respectful of indigenous practices. Indigenous cultural norms have traditionally provided protection for children during times of war (Otiso 2007). When formal structures break down it is often the deeply rooted traditional norms that provide an important frontline protection for children. Traditional norms should be seen as complementary to international standards (Teuton et al. 2007). In the northern Ugandan culture, a public and holistic view of healing is preferred and so the model needs to be creative and culturally responsive to such practices (Otiso 2007).

God

This is a complex area, but from the findings in this study it is evident that the role of faith is pivotal in the lives of participants in the north, a finding supported in the literature (Eichstaedt 2009; Otiso 2007; Teuton et al. 2007).

> Unlike Westerners, most Ugandans see physical and spiritual life as a continuum, where spiritual and material reality blends so seamlessly that they are inseparable. Thus Ugandans contribute most life events, both good and evil to unseen spiritual forces (Otiso 2007, p.21).

Ugandans are also considered generally very religious in that they believe in "a higher being or beings and follow the teachings of various religions, especially African Traditional Religions, such as animism (described in the definitions section), Christianity and Islam or a combination of these" (Otiso 2007, p.20). In Uganda, it was noted in the situational analysis (2005) and echoed by Otiso (2007, p.21) that "very few social initiatives succeed in Uganda and Africa in general without the participation of religious leaders". It is an area that ought, therefore, be addressed and considered from a context-specific perspective and be included in the human rights learning framework. How it is incorporated is complex, as faith has multiple meanings to participants. In this study, acceptance of a "greater presence" or "God" was primarily identified by participants as helping them find the strength to survive. Negating its inclusion in learning and critiquing human rights learning without it would present a significant gap. Supporting participants to critique and reflect on the role of religion/faith in a particular conflict and how alternate perspectives based upon the same ideology can be held is vital in prevention and actions made toward peace.

Summary

The provision of human rights learning during armed conflicts is still in the initial stages of development. This study has demonstrated that it is an area requiring more research and that evaluation of currently available programs should be undertaken in order to develop practices that are adaptable to such

a context. It is well established in the conventions examined that girls have a right to education, which includes human rights learning, and that enduring armed conflict is not considered grounds to negate or undermine these rights (CRC 1989; UN 2009).

To date, much emphasis has been placed on human rights education within formal education curriculum, especially primary and secondary education, both in practice and theory (partly flowing out of the United States of America's obligations to provide for the right to education). At the same time, human rights learning has historically addressed rights-holders with the aim of educating them about their rights in order to empower them. Duty-bearers and those individuals or institutions that have to guarantee or protect human rights have thus far provided few concrete answers to how this should be done (Enloe 2000; Evans 2008).

This study suggests both a set of considerations and a transformative framework through which to promote human rights awareness. As I gathered knowledge and insight through my research, it became apparent that ways need to be found to share and engage with others on local, national, and international levels. This joining appears to have begun on some level: recent calls from OHCHR for the development of a third phase of the World Human Rights Education Programme (2010) and requests for the development of methodological tools that will better contribute to the development of national competencies for human rights education in primary and secondary schools are a few examples. It is hoped that contributions to these ongoing unions will provide community leaders with the gender sensitive tools necessary to generate a viable moral, political, and

legal support system guided by the holistic vision and practical mission within a human rights framework. The literature reviewed, proposes that by working with participants in their context and by using human rights learning, oppression can be transformed (Banks 2001; Koenig 2002; Marks 2005; Claude 1999, 2008). While this may be possible, much rests on how human rights learning is delivered and what content needs to be included. The findings in this study would suggest in order to be transformative, learning needs to be developed premised on a process of examining participants' experiences, particularly with human rights, and then by promoting the awareness of rights through participatory action.

Conversely, human rights learning tools can also be tools of oppression. This can occur when they are imposed under conditions of mass education and provided by governments or regimes whose goal is to use their power to empower and/or privilege a group at the expense of disempowering, marginalizing, silencing, and subordinating another (Tomasevski 2003).

Human rights learning tools, as proposed here, are tools of power that have the capacity to become tools of empowerment, anti-oppression and rehabilitation. Empowerment is a multi-dimensional, social process that challenges basic assumptions about power, helping, achieving, accessing and succeeding (Unterhalter & Walker 2007). At the core of the concept of empowerment through human rights learning is the idea that power can shift, that it can be developed, and that power can be expanded. It is a process that can assist participants to gain control or agency in their lives. It is also a process that cultivates power (that is, the capacity to take action) in

participants, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their society by acting on human rights issues that they define as important.

The challenge addressed by this study is how to bridge the gap from the knowledge we hold about the "what" of human rights learning to the action about the "how". From the circumstances of this study, I can conclude that when offering human rights learning, an awareness of and sensitivity to cultural, gender and religious diversity is vital. It requires that we consider how best a model can be disseminated to all girls, in addition to educating the males. Local bodies need to improve their capacity to monitor social, economic, and cultural trends in their own communities and pay particular attention to patriarchal institutions. Girls should be recognized as having the capacity and capability of systemic analysis and critical thinking, and a background in human rights relevant to their lives, so their expectations and hopes can be raised, whoever and wherever they are.

The next chapter will conclude the thesis by providing a revisiting of the original questions and aims of the study.

Chapter Nine: Context, Innovation and Self-Empowerment as Vehicles of Transformation

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the study through a discussion about the purpose, the context, and the research findings as they relate to the questions posed. It also suggests recommendations for future research with considerations for implications and practical applications. Through the use of a transformative feminist methodology (Brayton 1997; Cook & Fonow 1986; DeVault 1990; Fonow & Cook 1991; Harding 1987; Harding 2004; Letherby 2005; Stanley 1990; Wolf 1996), this study has explored human rights education policy as it related to the experiences of twenty-four young girls taken during the protracted armed conflict in northern Uganda.

Study Objectives

The study was guided by four questions:

1. What is the situation in Uganda in relation to a) historical/current political context and b) human rights education?[17]
2. Which human rights education/learning models and practical tools have been developed so far?[18]

---

[17] See pages 20-74

[18] See pages 177-214

3. What are the experiences of girls living in northern Uganda who participated in the study? [19]
4. Given the learning from questions two and three, which perspectives and methods are best suited to human rights education/learning in a situation of armed civil conflict in northern Uganda?[20]

Through these questions the study sought to achieve the following objectives:

1. a descriptive, documentary analysis of existing human rights education texts. [21]
2. an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of current human rights education models. [22]
3. an examination of the relationships between human rights education policy and the experiences of young girls taken.[23]
4. an exploration of the issues associated with the implementation of a human rights education program during unending, armed conflict.[24]
5. a documentation of the obstacles and challenges associated with conducting research during conflict situations.[25]

---

[19] See pages 218-283

[20] See pages 311-333

[21] See pages 177-214

[22] See pages 177-214

[23] See pages 218-283

[24] See pages 96-114

6. a dissemination of the findings in a manner that allows the research to be accessible to practitioners in the field. [26]
7. an examination and documentation of the methodological complexities of conducting research in a war zone.[27]

Context of the Study

In order to answer question one, as well as to review the literature on human rights education/learning, I constructed a detailed socio-historical account of the situation in Uganda. Northern Uganda has signed several treaties, conventions, and protocols with regards to the protection and promotion of human rights (FHRI 2005). All the while, it has remained embroiled in a war which has consistently violated the human rights of its people. This has led to incongruence between the policy and practice regarding human rights education: the policy is in place but the practice is wanting. It was in this context that I sought to examine the gendered nature of violence, human rights education and the social construction of women and girls in Uganda's war zone: specifically, how their ability to achieve basic human rights is affected.

I began in Chapter Two with an examination of the literature as a means to situate the research within the context of the socio-historical

---

[25] See pages 288-309

[26] See pages 1-7 and 142-163

[27] See pages 288-309

processes and structures that have shaped Uganda. The review suggested that by understanding the complex linkages, contradictions and trajectories existing between the current circumstances and the historical struggles, an improved understanding of the progress of human rights development and human rights education policies could be developed within Uganda. The review also provided a foundational understanding of the participants' context in order to mitigate the potential imposition of my Western interpretations.

The review found that Uganda is a country of diverse people, ethnicity, geography, economics, and socio-political history. The present twenty-two-year conflict has roots in centuries of tribal clashes, oppressive colonial "divide and conquer" policies, pervasive patriarchy and debilitating underdevelopment. It is a country divided naturally by the Nile; it is also divided by tribal, social, and economic boundaries. The examination led to the identification of two theoretical concepts pivotal to the study: the gendered nature of war and a need to understand human rights learning models within context. Ugandan women, while apparently less marginalized in the pre-colonial era, have been significantly negated in both the literature and socio-politically since (Tamale 1999). This exclusion appears to have distorted the understanding of the roles played by women in Ugandan society and particularly during times of war. A clear gendered distinction exists between the roles of women and men. Women's participation in education, economics, politics, and the distribution of rights has overlapping affects. Slavery and Christianity have made dynamic contributions to shaping the character of contemporary Uganda by shaping the roles of women. Historical

and contemporary slavery practices have served to entrench the notion of women as property and have thus come to present an accepted way for men to communicate their power and wealth over others. Westernized education in Uganda, introduced through Christianity, has been responsible for introducing formal education, providing girls with an opportunity to gain an education and offering a vehicle for human rights learning (Finnstrom 2008; Gifford 1998; Hastings 1996; Isichel 1995). However, in some cases it has devalued the traditional roles of women as spiritual advisors and has dominated their morality and sexuality (Tamale 1999).

Uganda is a member of the United Nations and is also a signatory on multiple international human rights conventions, protocols, and treaties (FHRI 2005). Despite this, Uganda continues to face multiple human rights challenges and has a historical and structural legacy that has created a culture of political apathy and fear amongst the general population. This has undermined a resolution to fight for human rights and to make any regime accountable for human rights transgressions (Dicklitch & Lwanaga 2003).

From these theoretical foundations my focus shifted to issues related to human rights learning for girls in continuing conflict situations, including the current thinking and best methods for providing human rights learning in these circumstances. Based on a situational field analysis (2005) and an initial literature review, I premised my study on the prevailing assumption that those who do not know their rights are more vulnerable to having them abused, as they tend to lack the language and conceptual frameworks to effectively understand and therefore advocate for their rights. Underpinning

this assumption was the belief that human rights learning could provide a credible vehicle to improve self-advocacy (Banks 2001).

My second research question, directed me to look at human rights education/learning models and tools that have been developed. I began with an examination of the strengths and weaknesses of seventeen human rights education models currently in use, which had the potential to be appropriate for the northern Ugandan situation. The result was a brief descriptive analysis of these tools.

The third research question considered the experiences of the girls who participated in the study. Twenty-four female participants were asked to convey their experiences of living in a war zone and their familiarity with human rights learning. The participants were provided with the opportunity to express themselves through three different media: interviews, a focus group and the creation of quilt blocks. My primary intent for using art-based inquiry was participant accessibility and a commitment to finding creative ways of knowing and researching. The process and practice of performing the research was as important to me as the final product; this was a participant-driven process. I wanted to create a more participant-inclusive approach to the inquiry process, to facilitate knowledge sharing through the telling of the participants' own stories. I viewed this is a complimentary approach to the empowering, emanicipatory foundation of my feminist methodology with its focus on human rights learning.

The collected voices of the girls and their art created a complex depiction of the violent and destructive circumstances in which they found themselves in northern Uganda's war zone. Similar to the findings in earlier

research, the participants in this study described their lives as a complex web of relationships between those who had taken them and traditional and non-traditional roles (Eichstaedt 2009; Finnstrom 2008; Honwana 2006; McKay 2006; McKay & Mazurana 2004; Singer 2006; Wessells 2006.) Throughout these depictions, the girls wove the trauma they experienced when forcibly taken away from their communities, made to participate and to commit horrific acts, and given as "wives" to Commanders.

When asked about their experiences with regards to human rights learning, participants primarily reflected back the knowledge gained in a conventional, didactic, formal method through their contact with the UPE school curriculum. The majority of the participants indicated they had some rudimentary understanding around children's rights through this method. Findings suggest they did not identify the learning process as empowering, nor as promoting their autonomy as a learner; rather, they described the experience as more passive, a rote method of learning. This was also evident in the compliant role that participants described themselves as having in relation to advocacy and responsibility for upholding rights, both their own and those of others. They described the belief that others were responsible for upholding their rights. Yet, they did not indicate any critical understanding of the role played by them in upholding the rights of others. In this way, human rights appeared to be something external to them, which others controlled and could facilitate.

In order to answer research question four, I combined the field findings, literature review and what I discovered during this tool analysis and proposed an alternate, contextualized transformative human rights learning

framework that might be best suited to human rights education/learning in the northern Ugandan situation. The framework that I proposed gives participants an opportunity to critically examine both their rights and responsibilities. This study concluded that such a framework should be offered through an informal or non-formal means and that its content should be more responsive to the participants, holistic in approach, with a goal to "awaken people from passivity and apathy" (Flowers 2000, p.7) as this would be more empowering and transformative for participants. This would be particularly true if the content was designed to: integrate the experiences of participants; explore their values and attitudes, thereby promoting a democratic culture; and to encourage brainstorming ways for participants to be involved in civil and political society, to take action to defend human rights and to prevent future human rights violations. This study indicates that key elements in the formation of such a framework are:

- gender sensitivity;
- awareness of social relationships and roles;
- anchored in the local culture;
- acknowledging the differing needs for knowledge and life skills of the participants;
- focusing on responsibility rather than breaches of rights; and
- incorporating and/or acknowledging indigenous practices.

Despite the conflict creating turmoil in the northern Ugandan schools, school-based learning was still determined to be an important vehicle for providing basic knowledge to many about human rights and therefore an integral component of the process in which the whole community learns

about human rights. While school-based human rights education is acknowledged as a piece of the human rights education puzzle, additional components as indicated by this study's participants are needed if this mode of human rights transmission is to move beyond a rudimentary, rote learned appreciation of rights.

Moreover, and contrary to the initial assumption that human rights learning offers a credible vehicle for improving the achievement of human rights, the findings suggest that the reliability of some human rights learning models is not as finely qualified as some claims might assume. The study indicates that this is most likely due to several factors:

- the provision of human rights learning during armed conflicts is still in the initial stages of emergence;
- there has been a significant lack of evaluations completed to determine the benefit of human rights education in practice; and
- there continues to be a gap in the feedback loop between policy, theoretical knowledge, application and practice in the field.

This study found that human rights education frameworks considered often lacked:

- attention to the context;
- attention to the circumstances of the conflict;
- attention to the preoccupation of those in power;
- attention to participant safety;
- attention to the local traditions;
- adequate training for facilitators;
- documentation of best practices in the field; and
- a clear definition of human rights.

Areas for Further Exploration

This study was not able to address all of the questions that were raised during its completion. To address these gaps, future research may investigate the five topics discussed below.

1. During this female-focused study, it was noted that there has been limited research to date around young, Ugandan males' experience of sexual slavery and/or human rights learning in a conflict zone. This research gap would prove to be a complex area of study given the current illegality/ taboo around homosexuality in Uganda.

2. The issue of forcibly taken child mothers was considered, as in my study nine babies had been born during the participants' captivity in the bush and two participants were pregnant. It was identified that the experience of giving birth in the bush and raising the child of a former captor was a significant issue needing further research. In addition, understanding the experience of children who are born in captivity to captive mothers and non-state actors also requires attention as the needs of these children are unique and, again, complex.

3. Further research is also required to understand how participants are able to reconcile the discrepancies they identify between their spiritual beliefs and the ideology of their captors. The role of a spiritual identity was acknowledged as pivotal in the lives of participants and as a factor contributing to their resilience and post-traumatic growth; however, the non-state actors, who had taken the participants, also claimed a strong Christian base for their actions, similar to that shared by participants (Eichstaedt 2009).

4. During the study, participants articulated contradictory expressions of caring and compassion toward their male captors. Some informants consulted assessed these relationships as indicative of the "Stockholm

Syndrome" (Brusca 1993). However, I chose to accept these positive relationships with captors as participants described them. This, therefore, is an area that would benefit from further exploration.

5. In addition to "duty bearers" and ""rights holders," there is a third group who should be addressed in a well-developed system of human rights, they are those to whom Kent (2005) refers as the "agents of accountability." These are those accountability agencies, such as the United Nations Treaty bodies, that have a responsibility to monitor or detect whether there is deviation from an international convention or standard, and to what degree. Once such a deviation is detected, they have a responsibility to correct the situation to restore the behaviour to within a zone of acceptability. As noted previously in the current international human rights system, there is little capacity to actually pursue and punish human rights violators. However, there is a reasonably good system of detection, by both governmental and civil society agencies. Without authoritative capacity to make corrections, of course, these alerting mechanisms have limited effect. This study has not considered this group beyond noting the above and that there remains a gap in the research in this regard.

Hindsight

In this study, each participant's confidentiality and anonymity was protected as much as possible, given the cultural and physical limitations of the situation. Each participant was asked to choose their own pseudonym to protect their identity; however, obtaining consent from unaccompanied minors, unsure of their chronological age, remained a concern throughout, given the particular vulnerability of the participants. To counter this I was vigilant and ensured accessibility to local resources while in the field. In

future research I would ensure from the onset that I considered these issues in greater depth. I had not fully comprehended the extent of the time and effort that this aspect of the study would have on my work.

The opportunity for the focus group in this study occurred without very much preparation or lead-time. During a visit to the Rachele Rehabilitation centre I was informed that nine girls would be interested in participating in the study, but that it would need to occur immediately. I have considered whether it may have been preferable to not do the focus group in these hurried circumstances as this perhaps affected the depth of the data gathered. Given how the focus group unfolded, some data only exists for those girls who were interviewed. Yet, given the precarious conditions of research in a war zone I am not sure if another opportunity would have been available.

Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on northern Uganda, as an example of the human rights learning experience in a war or conflict zone. It must be stated that each war/conflict has its own set of peculiarities, politics, and social culture. While aspects of this study may provide a helpful framework or guidelines to consider in other situations, it would be problematic to attempt to extrapolate findings to other conflicts without consideration of a thorough situational analysis of that particular context. This study is limited by its reliance on self-report and the small number of participants. In addition,

there is the risk of trans-cultural errors as I am studying and writing about a culture other than my own. Accessing the knowledge and reference of local informants was my attempt to minimize those errors wherever possible.

While English is the language of instruction in Uganda, many of the participants could not access their English language skills at the time of the study. Much of the study exists in transcriptions, which are translations from the oral to text (Hyder 2005). There is concern noted by Kvale (1996, p.165) that these "transcriptions are decontextualized conversations". The living dynamic conversation is lost; where what is said is as important as what is not said. Also, the data is essentially collected and there is less co-authorship when translators are involved. In an effort to counteract some of these limitations, I used the art-based inquiry so that the participants' voices remained unembellished or altered and are preserved in the quilt.

Dissemination of Findings

One particular aim of this study was to disseminate the findings in a manner this allows the research to be accessible to practitioners in the field. To date, this has been achieved by the display of the seven-foot by seven-foot quilt that was created as part of this study. As a dissemination vehicle, the quilt has generated numerous responses and sparked multitudes of questions. I have also returned once to Uganda to share the completed quilt with the participants whom I could contact, but given the continued precarious conditions there, many were difficult to locate. It is my intention to produce

and publish two papers from my work, apart from this dissertation: one on human rights learning frameworks and another on using art-based inquiry in research. I am also preparing a submission to the second phase of the *World Programme for Human Rights Education* on my insights and experiences of the first phase (2005-2009) with regard to policy and legislative measures, learning processes and tools and the importance of a contextualized learning environment and the lessons that I learned.

Summary

At the onset of this study I wondered why countries were unable or unwilling to protect their most vulnerable citizens despite ratified legal agreements to do so. Moreover, in lieu of this protection, I had begun to surmise that citizens might begin to be empowered at the community level to protect themselves. During this period, the United Nations initiated the *World Program for Human Rights Education* (United Nations General Assembly 2005), which has now been extended until December, 2009 as a follow-up to the *Decade for Human Rights Education* (1995-2004) (United Nations General Assembly 1994). Currently, consultations are being held in the development of the second phase of the *World Program for Human Rights Education*, which is set to begin 2010. As I read over all of the materials that I amassed during the initial phases of my research there appeared to be burgeoning support behind the idea that human rights learning could provide the potential vehicle or link to promote and protect human rights at

the community level. This prompted me to begin to look at human rights learning as a way to bridge the divide between the experiences of young girls, the violation of their rights, and what could be done on the ground to support them.

My study addressed this by looking at effective ways to bridge the gap from the knowledge that we hold about the “what” of human rights learning to “how” we might develop appropriate human rights frameworks. I reviewed the “what,” through the human rights education literature, examined a descriptive analysis of current human rights education tools and a concordance of relevant Acts and Conventions that uphold rights. I then moved on to the “how” by taking all that I had discovered and asking those who were and are the most affected —the girls living in northern Uganda’s war zone— what they thought about their experience with human rights education and how it could be improved from their perspective.

From these circumstances I now conclude that when developing human rights learning with girls, an awareness of and sensitivity to their gender, cultural and religious diversity is important. This awareness requires that we consider how best a framework can be developed and disseminated to all young women that fitted with their contextualized experiences. Girls need to be seen as being capable of systemic analysis and critical thinking, and offered human rights learning that is made relevant to their lives, to raise their expectations and hopes, whoever and wherever they are.

As I complete this study and work on a submission to the second phase of the WPHRE, I am left pondering some of my original questions around the role of international organizations in monitoring human rights

violations, in particular when non-state actors, not party to agreements such as LRA's Kony, are involved. In addition to considering human rights learning for rights holders, I wonder how we might begin to impact those who are committing the violations against the girls (LRA, UPDF, LDU, and Karamajong): specifically, how they might be educated and held to account.

I have seen the role that local administrations have in trying to monitor human rights in their own communities. Yet, until the social, economic and cultural trends in these communities supported by patriarchal institutions, it is difficult to see how change for girls will be possible. Human rights learning is a valuable vehicle of transmission, but unless the human rights road has been built and paved it will be difficult to cross the distance between policy and practice. In essence the wealth of data collected over the course of this study has further exposed the level of complexity inherent in this context. The difficulty of delivering practical human rights learning in a manner that is both empowering and activating for the participants, and "worth more than the paper it is written upon" has become ever more evident.

Appendix A: A Chronology of Key Events in Uganda[28]

Pre-colonial Uganda

1500 - Bito dynasties of Buganda, Bunyoro and Ankole founded by Nilotic-speaking immigrants, likely originated from present-day Southeastern Sudan.

1700 - Buganda begins to expand at the expense of Bunyoro.

1800 - Buganda controls territory bordering Lake Victoria from the Victoria Nile to the Kagera River.

1834 -Slave trade abolished throughout the majority of the British Empire.

1840s - Muslim traders from the Indian Ocean coast exchange firearms, cloth and beads for ivory and slaves from Buganda.

1862 - British explorer John Hanning Speke becomes the first European to visit Buganda.

1875 - Bugandan King Mutesa I allows Christian missionaries to enter his realm.

---

[28] The information listed here has been gathered from numerous places, including Uganda media and in particular from http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/africa/ countryprofiles/ 1069181.stm (2007)

British Influence

1877 - Members of the British Missionary Society arrive in Buganda.

1879 - Members of the French Roman Catholic White Fathers arrive.

1884-85 - Berlin Conference held.

1890 - Britain and Germany sign treaty giving Britain rights to what was later to become Uganda.

1892 - British East India Company agent Frederick Lugard extends the company's control to Southern Uganda and helps the Protestant missionaries defeat their Catholic counterparts, who had been competing with them, in Buganda.

1894 - Uganda becomes a British protectorate.

1900 - Britain signs agreement with Buganda giving it autonomy and turning it into a constitutional monarchy controlled mainly by Protestant Chiefs.

1902 - The Eastern province of Uganda is transferred to Kenya.

1904 - Commercial cultivation of cotton begins.

1921 - Uganda given a legislative council, but its first African member not admitted until 1945.

1958 - Uganda given internal self-government.

1962 - Uganda becomes independent with Milton Obote as Prime Minister and with Buganda enjoying considerable autonomy.

1963- Uganda becomes a republic.

1963-1966- Sir Edward Frederick William David Walugembe Mutebi LuwanGulu Mutesa 11 (often referred to as King Freddie in the foreign media) a Bugandan, becomes President.

1966 - Milton Obote ends Buganda's autonomy.

1967 - New constitution confers considerable power in the President and divides Buganda into four districts.

Idi Amin Years

1971 - Milton Obote is deposed in a coup led by Idi Amin.

1972 - Amin orders all Asians who are not Ugandan citizens - around 60,000 people - to leave the country.

1972-73 - Uganda engages in border clashes with Tanzania.

1976 - Idi Amin declares himself to be President for life and claims parts of Kenya.

1978 - Uganda invades Tanzania with a view to annexing Kagera region.

1979 - Tanzania invades Uganda, unifying the various anti-Amin forces under the Uganda National Liberation Front and forcing Amin to flee the country;

Yusufu Lule installed as president, but is quickly replaced by Godfrey Binaisa.

1980 - Binaisa overthrown by the army and Milton Obote becomes President again after elections.

1985 - Obote is deposed in military coup and is replaced by Tito Okello.

1986 - National Resistance Army rebels take Kampala and install Yoweri Museveni as President.

Timeline for Rebel Insurgency in Northern Uganda

1986 March/July 1988- Formation of the Uganda Peoples Democratic Army (UPDA).

1986-end 1987- The formation of the Holy Spirit Movement led by Alice Lakwena (HSM).

1988 January - August 1989-UPDA and Severino Likoya (father of Alice Lakwena) engage in conflict.

Late 1988 – Feb. 1994- Uganda People's Democratic Christian's Army (Joseph Kony, cousin of Alice Lakwena), UNRFII is formed and later becomes known as the Lord's Resistance Army.

1994-2006 –Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) is established.

Beginning of Recovery

1993 - Museveni restores the traditional kings, including the King of Buganda, but without giving them any political power.

1995 - New constitution legalizes political parties, but maintains the ban on political activity.

1996 - Museveni returns to office in Uganda's first direct Presidential election.

1997 - Ugandan troops help depose Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, who is replaced by Laurent Kabila.

1998 - Ugandan troops intervene in the Democratic Republic of Congo on the side of rebels seeking to overthrow Kabila.

2000 - Ugandans vote to reject multi-party politics in favour of continuing Museveni's "no-party" system.

2001 January - East African Community (EAC) inaugurated in Arusha, Tanzania, laying groundwork for common East African passport, flag, economic and monetary integration. Members are Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya.

2001 March - Uganda classifies Rwanda, its former ally in the civil war in DR Congo, as a hostile nation because of fighting in 2000 between the two countries' armies in DR Congo.

2001 -Museveni wins another term in office, beating his rival Kizza Besigye (69% to 28%).

Campaigns against Non-state Actors

2002 March – In Sudan, Uganda signs agreement aimed at containing Ugandan rebel group, LRA, who have been active along the common border. LRA wants to run Uganda along lines of biblical Ten Commandments. Led by "prophet" Joseph Kony, they have kidnapped thousands of children and displaced many civilians.

2002 October - Army evacuates more than 400,000 civilians caught up in fight against LRA, which continues its attacks on villages.

2002 December - Peace deal signed with Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRF) rebels after more than five years of negotiations.

2003 May - Uganda pulls out last of its troops from eastern DR Congo. Tens of thousands of DR Congo civilians seek asylum in Uganda.

2003 August - Former dictator Idi Amin dies in hospital in Saudi Arabia.

2004 February - LRA rebels slaughter more than 200 people at a camp for displaced people in the north.

2004 December - Government and LRA rebels hold their first face-to-face talks, but there is no breakthrough in ending the insurgency.

2005 April - Uganda rejects accusations made by DR Congo at the International Court in The Hague. DR Congo says Uganda invaded its territory in 1999, killing citizens and looting.

2005 July - Parliament approves a constitutional amendment, which scraps presidential term limits. Voters in a referendum overwhelmingly back a return to multi-party politics.

2005 October - International Criminal Court issues arrest warrants for five LRA commanders, including LRA leader Joseph Kony.

2005 November - Main opposition leader Kizza Besigye is imprisoned shortly after returning from exile. He is charged in a military court with terrorism and illegal possession of firearms. He is released on bail in January 2006.

2005 December - International Court in The Hague rules that Uganda must compensate DR Congo for rights abuses and the plundering of resources in the five years leading to 2003.

2006 February - President Museveni wins multi-party elections, taking 59% of the vote against the 37% share of his rival, Kizza Besigye.

2006 July - Peace talks between the government and the LRA begin in Southern Sudan.

2006 August 26 - The government and the LRA sign a truce aimed at ending their long-running conflict. A ceasefire comes into force on 29 August. Subsequent peace talks are marred by regular walk outs.

2006 November - Government rejects a United Nations report accusing the army of using indiscriminate and excessive force in its campaign to disarm tribal warriors in the lawless northeastern region of Karamoja.

2007 March - Ugandan peacekeepers deploy in Somalia as part of an African Union mission to help stabilize the country. The UN World Food Programme says it will have to decrease food handouts by 50% to more than 1 million people displaced by war in the north.

2007 April - Protests over a prized rain forest explode into racial violence in Kampala, forcing police to protect Asian businesses and a Hindu temple. An Asian man and two other people are killed.

2007 July - LRA says lack of funds for foreign travel and to reach their Commanders in remote hideouts will delay peace talks.

2007 August - Uganda and DR Congo agree to try defusing a border dispute.

2007 September - State of emergency imposed after severe floods cause widespread devastation.

2007 October-December- Ebola outbreak in Western Uganda.

2008- Joint Military Offensive launched against the LRA by UPDF, DRC and Southern Sudan.

2008 - Peace agreement tentatively reached between the LRA and Uganda which includes a permanent cease fire. Kony refuses to sign in April and also in May.

Appendix B: Situational Analysis (2005)

Uganda is a relatively small, land locked country. The current State of Uganda was created by the British and was declared a British Protectorate in 1894. Prior to the formation of the country Uganda, there were more than thirty ethnic groups with different, but primarily centralized political systems, each based on a monarchical model of governance. Ancestor worship was a common aspect of life and the extended family was the primary social unit in all societies.

Uganda gained its independence from Britain on October 9, 1962. Since that time, and continuing today, Uganda sits at a major cultural crossroads. This crossroads is best described by Gakwandi (1999) "as a vortex of great sociological complexity, a complexity that underlies the political and military confrontations which have dominated the country's history."

Post-colonially, and inclusive of the current twenty-two year war in the northern Uganda, there has been significant political and social unrest throughout this African country. To this day, based primarily on the colonial British "divide and conquer" tactics, the Ugandan political environment has often been repressive, divisive and complex. It also appears to have been largely misunderstood and misinterpreted by the international and national community, as evidenced by conflicting media and political reports.

Starting with the first post-colonial Prime Minister, Milton Obote declared himself executive President in 1966 and suspended the 1962 constitution. In 1971, Idi Amin seized power from Obote and ran a violent military dictatorship from 1971 to 1979. In the period of 1980 to 1985, Milton Obote was able to regain and retain power for a second office as President of Uganda. Both Amin and Obote are on record as being responsible for some of the worst human rights violations in the world, with as many as 500,000 citizens believed killed during their period in office. During my time in Uganda, many areas I visited are connected by the citizens to these atrocities, such as the beautiful national park called Kibale, which became infamous as a body dump.

During these violent years, Yoweri Museveni formed the opposition National Resistance Army and after five years of guerrilla fighting won government power in 1986, a position he continues to hold. At the same time the post-colonial north-south divide begun by the British, became further galvanized with the north further alienated from the south. The result has been that for the past twenty-two years in northern Uganda, there has been an enduring brutal rebellion and civil war. According to the literature and after speaking with many who have experienced either fighting or being a victim of the war, there are really three conflicts woven into this one war: first, there is the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), fighting to correct perceived injustices against the Acholi ethnic group by taking on the current Ugandan government, and second are the grievances held against the current Ugandan Government for atrocities committed by the current Prime minister when he was a rebel leader. Third, and even less well understood, is the role played by the nomadic ethnic group called the Karamojong who also continue to cause civil unrest and commit atrocities against civilians.

To complicate the situation further, the geopolitical situation in the great Lakes region cannot be overlooked. Sudan has played an influential role in the conflict in northern Uganda. In response to perceived Ugandan government support for the Southern Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), in 1994 the Sudanese government in Khartoum allegedly began providing weapons, training, and safe haven in southern Sudan for Lord's Resistance Army fighters. After an agreement with Khartoum, the Ugandan military (UPDF) went into southern Sudan to destroy LRA bases. The LRA returned to northern Uganda with a vengeance leading to an intensification of the conflict. Up to this point all peace negotiations between the government and the LRA have been unsuccessful.

The West (in particular, the United States), appears to view the situation between northern Uganda and southern Sudan as a battle against the spread of Islamic fundamentalism in Sub-Sahara Africa and has given significant aid to the Sudan People's Liberation Army through Uganda. Since September 11th, 2001, the West has declared the LRA a terrorist group and

has further increased military aid to the Ugandan government, thus exasperating a military end to the conflict.

Those most affected by the current war are the civilian population living in the north. Eighty percent of the people living in the Acholi region of northern Uganda are displaced, with most living in squalid conditions in Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps. Ordered by the government in 1996, Ugandans living in the north were directed to move into these protected camps, many of which lack basic facilities such as sanitation, schools and clinics. This forced resettlement has actually had the opposite effect. Ugandan troops are often unable to protect the IDPs in camps, and the camps are often LRA targets. Since the intensification of the conflict in March 2002, delivering humanitarian assistance has become problematic, and NGOs do not have access to large numbers of IDPs, most of whom are totally dependent on food assistance.

On top of this situation, these displaced persons have lost their sense of community, source of livelihood and ability to be self-sustaining. Roughly 1.2 million people are now displaced within Uganda, and up to 20,000 children have been abducted to fight, be servants or sex slaves with the Lord's Resistance Army. In addition, there are roughly 20,000 night commuters, mainly women and children, who travel as far as ten kilometers to sleep in the perceived safety of the provincial centres, such as Noah's Ark.

There is confusion amongst those people with whom I spoke, about who is responsible for the civilian attacks. Some report that the rebels use stolen UDPF military uniforms and maim and kill people to make it appear as if it is a government-backed attack. Still others report that it is actually the government solders that are responsible for some of the attacks. When attacks are committed by rebels, it seems the same confusion arises, some say it is government soldiers in civilian clothes who do not want the war to end, as they have become reliant on the salary.

Twelve informants from whom the information was gathered (others did not give their names):

Gabriel Oling Olang, Save-the-Children, Gulu.
Charles Mugasa, Solace Uganda, Fort Portal, Kampala, Gulu, Jinja
Benjamin, Elder and IDP camp leader, Akeer, Gulu.
Frank, former child soldier with Alice Lakwena's LRA, Kampala
Simon, former Foreign Affairs Officer
Juliet, UPE school teacher
Arthur, Head Master of KCC School
James, Head Master of Stella Maris primary School
Frank. Head Master of Sure Secondary School.
Serena, Micro-financing program for women, Kamwokya
Vincent Obwana, Public Health team, Mulago Hospital, Kamapala
Dr. Atai, Director of Public Health, Mulago Hospital, Kampala

Places visited:

Human Rights and Peace Centre, Makerere University, Kampala
Mulago Hospital, Kampala
Kamwokya, "poverty corridor"
KCC Primary School
Sure Public Secondary School
Stella Maris Primary School
Akeer IDP camp, Gulu
Akeer Primary School, Gulu
Norah's Ark Centre, Gulu
Save-the-Children, Gulu

Appendix C: Ethics Approval Letter

Ref: LC/EH

Ms. Elaine Halsall
561 Wain Road
Sidney, BC.
V8L 5N8
Canada

20th May 2006

Dear Elaine,

Application for Ethical Approval Title: Girls at the Front: An exploration of the relationship between human rights education policy and the lived experiences of girls who have been abducted by the militia in northern Uganda's civil war.

I am delighted to inform you that the Ethics Board has approved the above application.

Please let me know if you have any queries.

Yours sincerely

Linda Clapham

Research Administrator

Appendix D: Letter of Participation and Consent in Acholi/Luo

DUL ME CIK MA LUBU TWERO

Karatac me apona I kom turu twero pa dano.

Nying jami me akweda: Medo rwom me twero pa dano ki yubu kit me dongo pwonye me twero malubu "Culu pyeda me btu ki dano I lum I tung malo me Uganda.

Gin akweda man tye me niang matut tic pa joo ma tye katic ikom kwedo nywaro twero pa lotino ma ki mako gi dok kibutu kwedgi tektek I ting malo me Uganda I kare me lweny.Kwedo te lok man tye ma rwate ki kwano lok ikom twero pa dano igang kwan madit me Roehampton,London

Kwedo telok me turu twero pa dano pe yot. Tye lok mogo ma myero lagam lok akweda man myero ogwookke kede pien loke mogo lik dok kelo ajim ikom latit lok. Ka man otime(tye) ci lakwed telok man ma tye ki ngec matut ikom wic ma onywene ki butu ki lotion mon tetek bi mino latin pwonye mo manok bot lugam lok ikom kwedo nywaro twero pa dano. An ma lakwed telok man aitimo ki teka ducu pe me yaro mung mo woko. Pi man oweko pe mitte ni icoo nyingi ikom karatac man. Gin ma amito ki botwu aye ni mii ngec muromo wek okony kwedo turu twero pa lotion

Yena: Ayee me mino lagam ma opore ikom lapeny ikom lok akweda man. Kape atwero, ci myero awac kamaleng ni pe atwero.Ento lok ducu ma abecoyo obebedo lok ada ma lakwed telok man myero pe obed ki akalakala ikom lok ma acoyo pien pe tye lanyut mo nyutu ni an aye ayaro lok malik magi ma lube ki kwedo turu twero. Aye bene ni lok mo keken mabimitte iyi anyim , adyere dok atye atera me dok iyee.

Nyinga: ________________________________

Nini dwe: ______________________________

Ka tye gin mo ma kwako bedo ni ikwan man ma imito ngeno, peny bot Ladit kwan me Yunivaciti man ma obedo,

Dr. Liam Gearon
Centre for Research in Human Rights Education
Roehampton Lane, London, England
SW15 5PU
+44(0)2083923661
Email: L. Gearon@roehampton.ac.uk

Appendix E: Letter of Participation and Consent in English

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Name of Study: Girls at the Front: An exploration of the relationship between human rights education policy and the experiences of girls taken by the militia, in northern Uganda's civil war.

This study will explore the role of human rights education in the lives of girl children who have been taken in to sexual slavery during armed conflicts in northern Uganda. It is performed as a fulfillment of the requirements for the research Ph.D. in human rights education at the University of Roehampton, London, England.
There are some risks associated with this research; primarily some participants may experience emotional reactions and become upset while telling their stories. If such a situation should arise the researcher who is a trained social worker with experience in trauma and sexual exploitation and local outreach workers, will offer debriefing to the participant. In order to protect the confidentiality of participants no real names or other identifying information will be used. The main potential benefit for the participant is in contributing to a greater understanding of this issue. No costs or payment are associated with participating in this study.
A more complete statement of the nature and purpose of the research will be available when the data collection is completed.

Name and Status of Investigator:

Elaine Halsall B.S.W., M.A., R.S.W, Clinical.

Ph.D. Student

Email: xxxxx @ shaw.ca

Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the researcher and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings. I agree that I may be contacted in the future for follow-up and to determine the accuracy of the findings.

Name ....

Signature ....

Date ....

I agree to have my photograph taken and understand that it may be used in future presentations of this study. I am aware that if I change my mind at any point I am free to withdraw this consent.

Name ....

Signature ....

Date ....

I agree to have my artwork included in this study. I am aware that if I change my mind at any point I am free to withdraw this consent.

Name ....

Signature ....

Date ....

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation, please raise this with the investigator or with the Head of School (or equivalent), who is

Dr. Liam Gearon
Centre for Research in Human Rights Education
Roehampton University
Roehampton Lane, London, England
SW15 5PU
+ 44(0) 20 8392 3661
Email: L.Gearon@roehampton.ac.uk

Appendix F: Questionnaire Guide

A pebble cast into a pond causes ripples that spread in all direction. Each one of our thoughts, words, and deeds is like that. We won't sit down and feel hopeless. There's too much work to do."-- Dorothy Day

Questionnaire for Northern Ugandan Field Study (June/July 2006)

(Based on questionnaire used in the UNICEF Children involved in Armed Conflict in East Asia Pacific Case Studies Project Oct.2002, permission requested)

Introductions of researchers and participants.

Introduction of the project and the reasons for it.

Letters of participation and consent to be signed.

Questions.

Overview of the time to be spent together.

Opportunity for debrief

Interview questions for girls

1. How old are you and where are from?
2. What name would you like me to use for you in this study? (a safe pseudonym)
3. Have you been to school? What level/standard did you complete?
4. Can you tell me about your family, brothers, and sisters?

5. Do you have any children?
6. Were you taken* from your school, home, village or somewhere else?
7. Who took you away?
8. Why do you think they took you away?
9. Can you tell me about...
10. Do you remember when...
11. What happened to you...
12. Could you describe in as much detail as possible...
13. How old were you when you were taken?
14. How long were you held?
15. How were you treated?
16. Where you threatened with violence? What kind of Violence?
17. What things did they ask you to do?
18. Were girls treated differently than boys?
19. Did you get any schooling while you were being held?
20. What helped you survive, stay alive?
21. What strengths did you draw upon?
22. Did any of the captors show you kindness?
23. What did that look like?
24. What do you think can be done to stop this happening?
25. How did you escape?
26. Have you heard about human rights? Explain if possible (What have you heard? And where?)
27. Did you ever learn about the Geneva Convention?

28. Have you ever heard of the Convention on the Rights of the Child? If so, where from?
29. Have you ever received any formal or informal education about human rights? If so explain
30. What do you see as the strengths or problems with a human rights education program?
31. Do you think talking about human rights makes any difference? If so how?
32. What are your plans now?
33. Is there anything else you would like me to know about?

Thank-you for taking part in this study.

*** “taken” to be use instead of “abducted”**

Appendix G: Photos of the Quilt Squares

Each square is framed by a specific sashing of fabric. The method for how the art squares were assembled into a quilt is included in Chapter Four (pp.159-164).[29]

Figure 10-35: Squares completed by participants when asked "to make a picture of something you think I need to know"

Figure 10: Sue # 1

Figure 11: Joy # 10 (square kept by participant)

[29] 3 squares were completed by social workers.

Figure 12: Sarah # 9

Figure 13: completed by researcher

Figure 14: Rose # 13

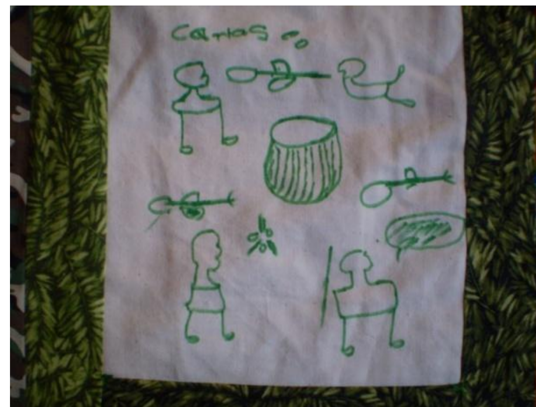


Figure 15: Joyce #4

Figure 16: Stellina # 7

Figure 17: completed by social worker

Figure 18: Alia # 14

Figure19: Milly #8

Figure 20: Jenny # 5

Figure 21: Susan #3

Figure 22: Harriet #12

Figure 23: Winnie # 6

Figure 24: Stella #2

Figure 25: Alice #11

Figure 26: Joy #10

Figure 27: Sharon # 11

Figure 28: completed by social worker

Figure 29: Sarah #9

Figure 30: completed by a social worker

Figure 31: Jenny #5

Figure 32: Harriet # 12

Figure 33: Sharon # 11

Figure 34: Alia # 14

Figure 35: Sarah #9

Figure 11: 9 fabric babies, representing the 7 babies born in the bush and the 2 participants who were pregnant.

Figures 12 & 13: Quilt squares representing the weapons the participants indicated were used to physically threaten or harm them.

Appendix H: Sample of Coded Guided Lira Focus Group Data

This appendix contains a sample of the data from the Lira focus group that I coded using a simple method: highlighting (Crabtree & Miller 1999; Patton 2002). I used differently coloured markers; each colour represented a different category. The data was sorted into five primary data categories and sub-themes.

Lira Focus Group

Location: Rachele Rehabilitation Centre, Lira

of participants: 9
Social worker (**SW**):
Research Assistant (**RA**): Beatrice
Researcher (**R**): Elaine Halsall

Sound quality poor-large board/meeting room with all windows opened for cooling, distances great across large table, several very young children and nursing babies present.

Prior to recording: Purpose of research explained, consent explained in Lango Alur and letter of explanation read and circulated and signed by all participants.

<u>Focus Group Transcription:</u>
R-Good morning, my name is Elaine Halsall and I am a student from ummm Canada and I am working on a research project ummm looking at what has happened to girls who have been taken. And I am here because I would like to understand from you what that experience is like, so that I can (pause) I can tell the story to other people from you (chairs scraping) but tell the stories from you, not tell the stories from what I think happened. I'd rather

hear your story. We only have a very short time and so ummm so it will be a very sort of (not clear). I probably need to stop.

SW- That's doesn't make it very easy for me...

R- Oh, I'm sorry I forgot you were translating...

SW- Sorry I forgot your name...Elan?

R- Elaine, yes

(noisy, babies crying and toddlers babbling)

Translation into local language (Lango Alur) begins counter # 27-45.

Consent passed to **B**.

R-Beatrice have you got that?

R-So I would be happy if anybody has anything that they think is important that I need to know to tell others so that we can maybe prevent this from happening in other countries, to other girls. Does anybody have any ideas about things that might be done that could help?

SW translations counter # 50- 59

Pause #59-66 translators laughing, babies crying and some girls looking down.

After brief pause at end of translation, there is no verbal response to question.

(Non-verbal- heads of some looking down others looking out of window, others attending to babies, not looking at researcher).

R-I can, I can go and visit many centres and look at places and read many books...and think I have some ideas about what could help. But I think it is much better that I hear from the people who are living it and get their truth, instead of the many things that are written.

SW-translation counter #70-86

R-Can you ask them why they are uncomfortable speaking...is it because they have...they don't have ideas or they're just (pause) not familiar with me and this is very quick?

SW- No they came here to speak...translation-counter # 88-93 (girls giggling and looking down)

93-99 silence, laughing

R-If we leave they will all speak (laughing)

SW-They will speak, just be patient…
(babies crying, other talking from outside windows, coughing, banging)
Door opens, a woman enters room and says # 117 "Can I send a message?"
R-Pardon, can you send a message?
Women-to the Commander (dealt with by **SW**)
(baby making sounds).
SW comments to mother with reference to her baby, he has much to say
Comment by a participant (yellow shirt with Kony's baby to my left)
SW translation -Perhaps she thinks… if they took part? to the President of Uganda, then the rebel leader Kony would accept to come together in peace talks. To her she believes the war would end…
R-And that would be the best
SW-That would be the best
R-And that would prevent it happening
SW-Yes
R-For those who it has happened to, what works? Having a centre like this is this a good solution? (side comment not on tape to research assistant). Do they have other ideas of things that would be helpful?
T-counter #133-139 no verbal comments
Participant (key chain around her neck) counter #139-144
T-To her she feels staying in the centre, like the Rachele Centre, is very important for all children who are formerly taken because it helps them, the counseling that they go through, the teaching that they go though from here
R-uh uh
T-Helps them to feel comfortable at home so that they would not be, they wouldn't constantly have trouble when they reach home, because of their trauma is resolved.
R-How long can you stay in the centre?
Participant counter # 149-152
T-She says 3 months
R-3 months? is that the longest you can stay here?
T-For us here it depends on the circumstances they come …for example we group them from the lowest category to the highest category. The lowest

categories are those people who did not do so much…who did not go through too much trauma or subjected to so much who didn't have to do so much killing. For them we have two levels. The highest categories are those forced to kill, some of them their own family and all that. They tend to take longer and the other category is any girls who come pregnant and they have to stay longer cos thy want their children and we know that

EXTERNAL COMMOTION HARD TO HEAR DIALOGUE ON TAPE

T-Leaders should have ensured that the children's rights were met.

R-Knowing they had rights though; did knowing they had rights give them hope or make it harder in the bush?

T-For herself she felt so bad…and yet at the same time she felt so helpless, what would she do. You know the Commanders they were staying with, they were much older than them and they had authority over them in all ways. So you know your rights are being trampled on but there is nothing you can do about that so you accept that.

R-Does she still think it is important that children are taught about their rights ?

T-They should be taught in school…

R-Because…

T-Continue to…they should continue to teach in school so children know what their rights are.

R-even if they feel hopeless in getting them achieved?

T-They should continue teaching them in school.

R-The way they do now?

T-Yes, the way they do…they have no control.

R-Keep it the way it is?

T-Just let them be taught in school. They should be teaching in children's rights. That's what they say.

Counter # 315

R-Can you ask them what their hopes for the future are or whether they feel hopeful?

R-Everybody can answer this one?

QUIET FOR A FEW MINUTES

T-She wants to be a nurse.

Lots of laughing

T-She wants to be a minister.

R-She wants to be a minister…good.

T-She wants to be a business woman.

R-What kind of business?

T-Shop.

R-Shop…ohhh

T-She wants to be a tailor.

R-A tailor?

T-Yes.

T-She wants to do business as well.

R-What kind of business does she want to do?

T-She wants to sell shop items also.

R-Ok

References

Ablo, E. Renikka, R., 1998. *Do budgets really matter? Evidence from public spending on educations and health in Uganda.* Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Acayo, C. Mnjama, N., 2004. The print media and conflict resolution in northern Uganda. *The African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 4 (1), pp.27-43.

Acker, J. Barry, K. & Essevold, J., 1983. Objectivity and Truth: Problems in Doing Feminist Research, *Women's Studies International Forum,* 6, pp. 423-435.

Action Professionals' Association for the People (APAP), 1996. *The Bells of Freedom.* Addis Ababa: Ethiopia.

Adler, P.A., 1994. Observational techniques. In: N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln, eds. 1994.*Handbook of qualitative research.* London: Sage.

African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child 1990. Organization of African Unity.

African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Banjul) 1986. Organization of African Unity.

African Women's Development Fund, 2005. Charter of Feminist principles for African feminists. [Internet] Available from http://www.awdf.org. Retrieved 16 July 2008.

Aikman, S. Unterhalter, E. eds., 2005. *Beyond access: Transforming policy and practice for gender equality in education.* Bournemouth: Oxfam.

Akatsa-Bukachi, M., 2005. *African feminism, does it exist?* Presentation made at the TGNP Gender Festival, 6-9 September 2005.

Allen, B., 1996. *Rape warfare.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Allio, E., 2007. Uganda: Kampala to threaten the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *AFRICAFILES,* [Internet] Available from: http.//www.africafiles.org. Retrieved 02 September, 2007.

Allwood, M., Bell-Dolan, D., Husain, S.A., 2004. Children's trauma and adjustment reactions to violent and nonviolent war experiences. *Journal of American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 41 (4), pp.450-458.*

Altheide, D.L. Johnson, J.M., 1994. Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research. In: N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, eds. 1994. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 485-499.

Amnesty Act 2000. [Internet] Available from http://www.amnesty.org/.../uganda-former-child-soldiers-excluded-adulthood-20051014 Retrieved 16 November 2005.

Amnesty International, 1998. *SINIKO: Toward a human rights culture in Africa*. New York: Amnesty International.

Amnesty International, 2003. [Internet] Available from http://www.amnesty-usa.org/children/soldiers/about.html Retrieved 4 November 2006.

Amnesty International United Kingdom, 1999. *In the firing line: War and children's rights*. London: Amnesty International.

Amnesty International Commission, 2005. *The Ugandan amnesty commission report 2004-2005*. Kampala: Amnesty International.

Annan, K., 2000. *Message for Human Rights Day 2000. Secretary-General Press Release: United Nations*. SG/SM./7648 OBV/18 [Internet] Available from http://www.hrusa.org/education/PromisestoKeep.htm Retrieved 3 March 2006.

Appiah, A.K., 1992. *In my father's house: Africa in philosophy of culture*. New York: Oxford Press.

Aptekar, L., 1988. *Street children of Cali*. London: Duke University Press.

Akksey, H. & Knight, P., 1999. *Triangulation in data collection interviewing for social scientists*. New York: Sage.

Artz, S., Nicholson, D. Halsall, E., 2001. *A review of the literature on assessment, risk, resiliency and need*. Vancouver: The National Crime Prevention Centre Department of Justice.

Asia-Pacific Regional Resource Centre for Human Rights Education, 2003: Revised. *Human rights education pack*. Bangkok: Asia-Pacific Centre for Human Rights Education.

Atkinson, R. R., 1984. *The roots of ethnicity: The origins of the Acholi of Uganda*. 2nd Edition. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Ayittey, G., 1992. *Africa betrayed*. New York: St. Martens Press.

Bales, K., 1999. *Disposable people: New slavery in the global economy*. Berkley: University of California.

Bales, K. & Robbins, P., 2002. *No one shall be held in slavery or servitude: A critical analysis in international slavery agreements*. Unpublished paper.

Ball, H., 2008. Quilts. In: K. Knowles & A. Cole eds., *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research: Perspectives, methodologies, examples, and issues*. Los Angeles: Sage, pp.363-368

Ball, H., 2002. Subversive materials: Quilts as social texts. *Alberta Journal of Education,* 48, (3), pp.1-29.

Baker, J., 1996. Never work with children? The geography of methodological issues in research with children. *Qualitative Research*. 3 (2), pp. 207-227.

Baker, S., 2005. *The Albert N'Yanza great basin of the Nile & exploration of the Nile sources*. London: Echo.

Banks, M., 2001. *Visual methods in social research*. London: Sage.

Banks, D., 2001. Promises to keep: Results of the national survey of human rights education [Internet] Available from http://www.hrusa.org/education/PromisestoKeep.htm. Retrieved 27 January 2005.

Barakat, S. Ellis, S., 1996. Researching under fire: Issues for consideration when collecting data and information in war circumstances, with specific reference to reconstruction project. *The Journal of Disaster Studies and Management*, 20, (2), pp. 149-156.

Barber, B., 2001. Political violence, social integration, and youth functioning: Palestinian youth from the Intifada. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 29(3), pp. 259-80.

Barrs, D. Juffkins, M., 1995. *Primary school kit on the United Nations*. New York: United Nations Publications.

Barron, C. L., 2000. *Giving youth a voice: A basis for rethinking youth violence*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Barry, K., 1979. *Sexual Slavery*. New York: New York University Press.

Behrend, H., 1999. *Alice Lakwena & the Holy Spirits*. Kampala: Fountain.

Bennett, E., Gamba, V. & Van Der Merde, D., eds. 2000. ACT against child soldiers: A reader. Institute for security studies. February 2000. [Internet] Available from http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/BOOKS/ACTblurb.html. Retrieved 16 November 2005.

Berkeley, B., 2001. *The graves are not yet full: Race tribe and power in the heart of Africa*. New York: Basic books.

Bensala, K., 2002. *Guidelines for education in situations of emergency and crisis: Education for all strategic planning*. Paris: UNESCO.

Bird, L., 2003. *Post-conflict education: A review of literature and CFBT experience*. Reading: The Centre for British Teachers.

Black, R., 2003. Ethical codes in humanitarian emergencies: From practice to research. *Disaster,* 27 (2), pp.95-108.

Bloom, S. L., 2005. Neither liberty nor safety: The affect of trauma on individuals, institutions, and societies. Part III. *Psychotherapy and Politics International,* 3 (2), pp. 96-111.

Bole-Beckner, L., 1996. *A scrap of pride: How to use quilting as a tool to bring people together*. Cleveland: BB Sound & Light.

Boothby, N., Strang, A. Wessells, M., eds., 2006. *A world turned upside down: Social ecological approaches to children in war zones*. Bloomfield: Kumarian.

Boyden, J., 2003. The moral development of child soldiers: Peace and Conflict. *Journal of Peace Psychology,* 9, pp. 343-62.

Bowles, G. Klein, R.D., 1983. *Theories of women's studies.* Boston: Routledge.

Brackman, B., 2006. *Facts and fabrications: Unraveling the history of quilts and slavery.* Lafayette: C & T.

Brayton, J., 1997. What makes feminist research feminist: The structure of feminist research within the social science? [Internet] Available from http://www.unb.ca/web/PAR-L/win/feminmethod.htm Retrieved 13 June 2007.

Briere, J. Scott, C., 2006. *Principles of trauma therapy: A guide to symptoms, evaluation, and treatment.* London: Sage.

Infants Act of British Columbia 1996. Victoria: Queens Printer.

British Educational Research Association, 2004. *Revised ethical guidelines for educational research.* Southwell: British Educational Research Association.

British Columbia College of Social Workers 2009. *British Columbia Social Work Code of Ethics.* Vancouver: British Columbia College of Social Workers.

Brown, A. Barrett, D., 2002. *Knowledge of evil: child prostitution and child sexual abuse in twentieth century England***.** Cullompton: William Publishing.

Brown, J. H. D'Emidio-Caston, M. & Bernard, B., 2000. *Resilience education.* Thousand Oaks: Corwin Press.

Brown, M. ed., 1996. *Human rights here and now: Celebrating the Universal Declaration of human rights.* London: Amnesty International (UK).

Brownmillar, S., 1976. *Against our will: Men, women and rape.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Brusca, C., 1993. Psychological response to terrorism [Internet] Available from http://www.peacefaq.com/stockholm.html Retrieved 14 May, 2007.

Burnett, P. Karmali, S. & Manji, F. eds., 2007. *Grace, tenacity and eloquence: The struggle for women's rights in Africa.* Nairobi: Solidarity for African Women's Rights.

Byers, M., 2005. *War law: Understanding international law and armed conflict*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

Calderisi, R., 2006, *Why foreign aid isn't working: The trouble with Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cahnmann-Taylor, M. Siegesmund, R., 2008. *Arts-based research in education: Foundations for practice*. New York: Routledge.

Cannon, L. E. Higginbotham Leung, L., 1991. Race and class bias in qualitative research on women. In: M. Fonow & J. Cook eds. 1991. *Beyond methodology: Feminist scholarship as lived research*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Centre for Human Rights Education, 2003. [Internet] Available from http://www.pdhre.org/chre/index.html Retrieved 26 December 2005.

Central Intelligence Agency, 2007. The World fact book: Uganda [Internet] Available from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ug./html Retrieved 13 December 2007.

Centre for Reproductive Health, 2006. The protocol on the rights of women in Africa: a briefing paper [Internet] Available from: http://www.reproductive health.org Retrieved 20 November 2008.

Cerny, C. A., 1991. A quilt guild: Its role in the elaboration of female identity. *Uncoverings,* 12, pp. 32-49.

Child Soldier Global Report 2004. [Internet] Available from http: //www. childsoldiersglobalreport.org Retrieved 10 May 05.

Children as Peace Builders International (CAP), 2005. Action alert: petition for return of child soldier [Internet] Available from: http://www.childrenaspeacebuilders.ca/index.cfm?page=News§ion=Alerts&id=6 Retrieved 9 May 05.

Chretien, J. P., 2003. *The Great Lakes of Africa: Two thousand years of history*. New York: Zone Books.

Christian Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development (CORD), 2006. Peace Clubs. [Internet] Available from http://www.cord.uk.org Retrieved 12 January 2007.

Civil Society Organizations for Peace in Northern Uganda, 2002. *The net economic cost of the conflict in the Acholiland and sub-region of Uganda.* Kampala: Civil Society Organizations for Peace in Northern Uganda.

Claude, P. R., 1996. *Educating for Human Rights.* Manila: University of the Philippines Press.

Claude, P. R., 1999. Methodologies for human rights education [Internet] Available from http://www.methodologies for human rights education Retrieved 29 October 2005.

Claude, P. R., 2008. Methodologies and praxis for human rights education The People's Movement for Human Rights Education (PDHRE) [Internet] Available from http://www.pdhre.org Retrieved 13 April 2008.

Claude, P. R. Andreopoulos, G. eds. 1996. *Human rights education for the 21st Century, conceptual and practical challenges.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Clover, D. E. Stalker, J., 2007. *The art of social justice: Recrafting adult education and community leadership.* Leicester: NIACE.

Clover, D., 2007. Tapestries through the making. In: D. E. Clover & J. Stalker eds. 2007. *The art of social justice: Recrafting adult education and community leadership.* Leicester: NIACE, pp.125-143.

Coalition to Stop Child Soldiers, 2004. Global report [Internet] Available from. http://www.child-soldiers.org Retrieved 23 August 2005.

Cockburn, C., 1999. *The space between us: Negotiating gender and national identities in conflict.* New York: Zed Books.

Colby, A., 1978. *Quilting.* London: Batsford.

Cole, A. L. Knowles, J.G., 2008. Arts-Informed research. In: J. Knowles & A.L. Cole eds. 2008. *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research: Perspectives, methodologies, examples, and issues.* Los Angeles: Sage, pp. 55-70.

Conde, H. V., 2004. *A handbook of international human rights terminology.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Conroy, M., 1976. *300 years of Canada's quilts*. Toronto: Griffin Press.

Cook, J. Fonow, M.M., 1986. Knowledge and women's interests: Issues of epistemology and methodology in feminist sociological research. *Sociological Inquiry,* 56 (4), pp.2-29.

Cook, K., 2007. *The kidnapped girls of Uganda: Stolen angels*. Toronto: Penguin Books.

Cooper, P. Allen, N., 1989. *The quilters: Women and domestic art: An oral history*. New York: Doubleday.

Council of Europe, 2009. *How teachers can support citizenship and human rights education: A framework for the development of competences*. Belgium: Council of Europe

Coyne, I. T., 1997. Researching children: Some methodological and ethical considerations. *Journal of Clinical Nursing,* 7, pp. 409-416.

Covell, K. Hove, R., 2001. Moral education through the 3 Rs: Rights, respect and responsibility. *Journal of Moral Education,* 30 (1), pp. 29-44.

Crabtree, B. Miller, W. eds., 1999. *Doing qualitative research* 2nd edition. New York: Sage.

Creswell, J., 1994. *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Daniel, K., 2000. *Mummy's little soldier: Child participation in armed conflict*. University of Manchester: Department of Government.

Danish Centre for Human Rights, 1999. Mid-term report of the Uganda Human Rights Education and Documentation Centre [Internet] Available from: www.humanrights.dk/files/pdf/Publikationer/ugandamanus.pdf Retrieved March 06, 2007.

Denzin, N., 1970. Strategies of multiple triangulation. In: N. Denzin ed.1970 *The research act in sociology: a theoretical introduction to sociological method*. New York: McGraw-Hill, pp. 297-313.

Department of Education, 1926. Report by the Education Secretary of the African Inland Mission, *1925 Annual Report*. Entebbe: Uganda Protectorate Government Printer.

Derluyn, L. E. Broekaert, G. Schuyten, G. De Temmerman, E., 2004. Post-traumatic stress in former Ugandan child soldiers. *The Lancet,* 363, pp.861-863.

De Temmerman, E., 2001. *Aboke girls: Children abducted in northern Uganda.* Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Derbeyshire, J., 2008. Into Africa. The American Conservative. [Internet] Available from http://www.amconmag.com/issue/2008/mar/24 Retrieved 23 June 2008.

De Sas Kropiwnicki, Z., 2002. *Conceptualizing childhood: A critical analysis of discourse on child soldiers.* Norway: Save the Children Norway.

Devault, M., 1990, Talking and listening from women's standpoint: Feminist strategies for interviewing and analysis. *Social Problems,* 37 (1), pp. 96-116.

De Waal, A., 2000. *Who fights? Who cares? War and humanitarian action in Africa.* Trenton: Africa World Press.

De Watteville, N., 2002. *Addressing gender issues in demobilization and Reintegration programs.* Africa Region: The World Bank.

Dick, B., 1993. You want to do an action research thesis? How to conduct and report action research. [Internet] Available from http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/gcm/ar/art/arthesis.html Retrieved 02 April 2007.

Dicklitch, S. Lwanga, D., 2003. The politics of being non-political: Human rights organizations and the creation of a positive human rights culture. *Human rights quarterly*, 25, pp.482-509.

Dosekun, S., 2007. Defending Feminism in Africa. *Postamble,* pp. 41-47.

Eder, D. Corsaro, W., 1999. Ethnographic studies of children and youth: Theoretical and ethical issues. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* 28 (5), pp. 520-531.

Edwards, R. Mauthner.M., 2002. *Ethics and feminist research: Theory and practice.* New York: Sage.

Eichstaedt, P., 2009. *First your family: Child soldiers of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army*. Chicago: Lawrence Hill

Eisner, E., 2008. Art and knowledge. In: J. Knowles & A. Coles eds. 2008. *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research: Perspectives, methodologies. examples, and issues*. Los Angeles: Sage, pp.3-12.

Enloe, C., 2000. *Maneuvers: The international politics of militarizing women's lives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Epstein, H., 2008. The invisible cure: Africa, the West and the fight against AIDS. [Internet] Available from http://www.amazon.com/Invisible-Cure-Africa-Fight-Against/dp/0374281521 Retrieved 03 April.

Evans, G., 2008. *The responsibility to protect: Ending mass atrocity crimes once and for all*. Washington: Brookings Institute.

Faculty of Law, Makere University, Kampala, 2007. The Refugee Law Project. [Internet] Available from http://www.refugeelawproject.org/resources/papers/others/RLP.BP09.pdf Retrieved 05 July 2007.

Farmer, P., 2005. *Pathologies of power: health, human rights, and the new war on the poor*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Figley, C. R., 1995. Compassion fatigue as secondary traumatic stress disorder: An overview. In: C. R. Figley ed. 1995. *Compassion fatigue*. New York: Brunner-Mazel, pp.1-20.

Finnstom, S., 2008. *Living with bad surroundings: War, history, and everyday moments in northern Uganda*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Flowers, N. ed., 2000. The human rights education handbook: Effective practices for learning, action, and change. [Internet] Available from http://www.1.umn.edu/humanrts/edumat/hreduseries/hehandbook/toc.html Retrieved 24 June 2005.

Fonow, M. Cook, J. eds., 1991. *Beyond methodology: Feminist scholarship as lived research*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Forsythe, D., 2000. *Human rights in international relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foucault, M., 1993. Space, power and knowledge. In: S. During ed. 1993.*The cultural studies reader*. London: Routledge.

Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI), 2005. *Uganda human rights status report*. Kampala: Foundation for Human Rights Initiative.

Freire, P., 1970, 2005. *Pedagogy of the oppressed revised edition*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

French, H. W., 2004. New York: Vintage *A continent for the taking: The tragedy and hope of Africa*.Books.

Gakwandi, A., 1999. *Uganda pocket facts*. Kampala: Fountain Press.

Gearon, L., 2003a.*The human rights handbook: A global perspective for education*. Staffordshire: Trentham Books.

Gearon, L., 2003b. *How do we learn to become good citizens?* Roehampton University: British Educational Research Association.

Gerdes, L., 2006. *Prostitution and sex trafficking*. Detroit: Greenhaven Press.

Gifford, P., 1995. *Studies of religion in Africa, Christian churches and democratization of Africa*. New York: Brill Academic.

Gifford, P., 1998. *African Christianity*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Given, L. ed., 2008. *The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods vol. 2*. New York: Sage.

Goldstein, J., 2001. *War and gender: how gender shapes the war system and vice versa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Goodhand, J., 2000. Research in conflict zones: Ethics and accountability. *Forced Migration Review,* 8, pp.56-62.

Gomm, R.Hammersley, M.Foster, P. eds., 2000. *Interviewee profile method: Key issues, key texts*. London: The Open University.

Gorkoff, K. Runner.J. 2003. *Being heard*. Winnipeg: Fernwood.

Gouurevitch, P., 1998. *We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families: Stories from Ruwanda*. New York: St. Marten's Press.

Government of Uganda and the AIDS Commission, 2002. Kampala: Government of Uganda.

Government of Uganda, 2003. *Post-conflict reconstruction: The case of northern Uganda*. Kampala: Resolve.

Graham, D. L. Rawlings, E. Rimini, N., 1988. Survivors of terror: Battered women, hostages, and the Stockholm Syndrome. In: K. Ylloe & M. Bograd eds. 1988. *Feminist perspectives on wife abuse*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 217-233.

Gundy, S., 1982. Three modes of action research. In: S. Kemmis & R. McTaggart eds. 1982. *The Action Research Reader*. Geelong: Deakin University Press.

Gurakkal, R., 2002. Post-colonialism today: Theoretical challenges and pragmatic issues. Conference Paper delivered at Post-colonialism today: Theoretical challenges and pragmatic issues multidisciplinary conference, September 26-28, 2002.

Gutman, R. Reif, D. eds., 1999. *Crimes of war, what the public should know*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Hall, R., 1974. *Stanley: An expedition explored*. London: Houghton Mifflin.

Halim, A., 1998. Attack with a friendly weapon. In: M. Turshen & C. Twagiamaiya eds. *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflict in Africa*. London: Zed Books, pp. 85-100.

Halsall, E., 2004. What is measured matters. Unpublished thesis. Victoria: University of Victoria.

Halsall, E., Ali, S., 2004. Unravelling quilted texts: An alternate inquiry into the social fabric of life. *Journal of Child and Youth Care Work,* 19, pp. 136-140.

Hamad, T. I. Frederick, A. Smart, A. eds., 2003. *Culture of responsibility and the role of NGOs*. St Paul: Paragon House.

Hammersley, M., 1992. On Feminist methodology, *Sociology*, 26, (2) pp. 87 - 206.

Hammersley, M., 1995. *The politics of social research.* London: Sage.

Harding, S., 1987. *Is there a feminist method in Feminism methodology?* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hardin, S., 2004. *The Feminist standpoint theory reader: Intellectual and political controversies*. New York: Routledge.

Harlow, B. Carter, M., 1999. *Imperialism and Orientalism: A documentary sourcebook*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harrison, W., 1984. *Burton & Speke*. London: St Martins/Marek.

Hart, T., 2003. *The secret spiritual world of children.* Maui: Inner Ocean.

Harvey, R., 2002. *Children and armed conflict: A guide to international humanitarian and human rights law.* London: University of Essex.

Hastings, A., 1996. *The church in Africa 1450-1950*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hedges, E. Ferrere, P. Silber, J., 1996. *Hearts and hands: Women, quilts and American society*. Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press.

Hegel, G.W., 1956. *The philosophy of history*. New York: Dover.

Herr, K. Anderson, G.L., 2005. *The action research dissertation*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Heuman, G. Walvin, J. eds., 2003. *The slavery reader*. London: Rutledge.

Hodgson, J., 1997. *Games pimps play: Players, and wives-in-law: A qualitative analysis of street prostitution.* Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press.

Holmes, R., 1998. *Fieldwork with children.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Holmgrunn Sham Poo, K., 2005. *Promotion and protection of the rights of children: Statement before the third committee before The United Nations Assembly*. New York: The United Nations Assembly.

Honwana, A., 2006. *Child soldiers in Africa*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hooks, B., 1994a. *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations*. New York: Turnaround Books.

Hooks, B., 1994b. *Teaching in transgress:Education as the practice of freedom*. New York: Routledge.

Hoskins, M., 2000. Living research: The experience of researching self, other, and discourse. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, 13, pp. 47-66.

Houghton Mifflin Company, 2003. *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* 4th edition. New York: Houghton Mifflin.

Human Resources and Development Canada, 2009. Health infant mortality [Internet] Available from http://www4.hrsdc.gc,ca. Retrieved 09 September 2009.

Human Rights Watch and Liu Institute for Global Issues & Human Rights & Peace Centre & Human Rights Focus, 2002. Abducted and abused: Renewed conflict in northern Uganda. *Uganda,* 15, (12), pp.34-38.

Human Rights Education List Service, 2005. [Internet] Available from *www.hrea.org/lists/hr-education/markup/maillist.html* Retrieved 23 September 2005.

Human Rights Watch, 1997. The scars of death: Children abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army - in Uganda. [Internet] Available from http://www.hrw.org/reports97/uganda/Retrieved 09 May 2006.

Human Rights Watch, 1997. Condemns abduction and killing of - Children by Ugandan rebel group. [Internet] Available from http://www.hrw.org/press97/sept/uganda.htm. Retrieved 09 May 2006.

Human Security Report, 2005. [Internet] Available from http://wwwhumansecurityreport.info/content/view/35/70/. Retrieved 30 June 2006.

Humphries, B., 1994. Empowerment and social research: Elements for an analytic framework. In: B. Humphries & C. Truman eds. *Rethinking social research*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Humphries, B., 1996. Contradictions in the culture of empowerment. In : B. Humphries ed., *Critical perspectives on empowerment.* Birmingham: Venture Press.

Hyder, T., 2005. *War, conflict and play.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Ignatief, M., 2001. *Human rights as politics and idolatry.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

International Crisis Group, 2004. [Internet] Available from www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3644&l=5. Retrieved 03 March 2006.

Isichel, E., 1995. *A history of Christianity in Africa.* New Jersey: African World Press.

Iweala, U., 2005. *Beasts of no nation.* New York: Harper Collins.

Jacobs, H. H., 1989. *Interdisciplinary curriculum: Design and implementation.* Alexandria: ASCD.

Jander, J., 2005. *Working with art therapy according to the Alma method with refugees traumatized by war and torture.* Malmo: The Swedish Red Cross.

Jeffries, J., 1998. Autobiographical patterns. In: Bachmann & R. Scheuing eds. 1998. *Material matters: The art and culture of contemporary textiles.* Toronto: YYZ Books, pp. 107-120.

Jick, T. D., 1979. Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative Science Quarter*, 24, pp. 602-611.

Jick, T. D., 1983. Mixing qualitative and quantitative research methods: triangulation in action. In: J. Van Maanen ed. 1983. *Qualitative methodology.* London: Sage, pp. 135-148.

Jjuuko, F., 1993. Matriarchy in tribal Buganda. *Journal of African Religion and Philosophy,* 2, pp. 88-120.

Jordan, N., 1996. Feminist methodology and research among rural African women n Transkei. In: T.C. Maria & S.A. Sitas eds.1996. *Gathering voices*

and perspectives on the social sciences in Southern Africa. Cape Town: ISA Regional Conference Proceedings, pp. 145-155.

Kasozi, A. Musisi N. Sejjengo, J., 1994. *The social origins of violence in Uganda 1964-1985*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press.

Keddie, A., 2000. Research with young children: Some ethical considerations. Journal of Educational Inquiry, 1 (2), pp. 72-81.

Keitetsi, C., 2004. *Child soldier*. Denmark: Souvenir Press.

Kent, G., 2005. The fundamentals of rights systems [Internet] Available from http: //www2.hawaii.edu/~kent/ THE%20FUNDAMENTALS%20O F%20HUMAN%20RIGHTS%20SYSTEMS.doc Retrieved 13 June 2006.

Kerr, A. E., 1998. Toward a feminist natural science: Linking theory and practice, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21, pp.95-110.

Koenig, S., 2001. Human rights learning [Internet] Available from http://www.pdhre.org/dialogue/koenig01.htm Retrieved 16 November 2005.

Koenig, S., 2002. Human rights education for social transformation: Innovative [Internet] Available from http://www.pdhre.org/dialogue/koenig01.htm Retrieved 14 November 2005.

Klohnen, E.C., 1996. Conceptual analysis and measurement of the construct of ego-resiliency. *Journal of Social Psychology,* 70, pp.1067-1079.

Kvale, S., 1996. *Interviews*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Lal, K. S., 1994.*Muslim slave system in medieval India*. Delhi: Aditya.

Lamb, D., 1985. *The Africans: Encounters from the Sudan to the Cape*. London: The Bodley Head.

Lancaster, P. O'Neil, J. Spencer, S., 2005. *Children in conflict: Eradicating the child soldier doctrine (draft version #9).* Unpublished Paper. Vancouver: Carr Centre for Human Rights.

Langellier, K., 1990. Contemporary quilt making in Maine: Refashioning femininity. *Uncoverings*, 11, pp. 29-55.

Lavitt, W., 1993. *Contemporary pictorial quilts*. Layton, UT: Peregrine Smith Books.

Leadbeater, B. Bannister, E. Benoit, C., 2006. *Ethical issues in community-based research with children and youth*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Leadbeater, B. Schellenback, C. Maton, K. Dodgen, D., 2004. Research and policy for building strengths: processes and contexts of individual, family and community development. In: K. Maton, B. Leadbeater, C. Schellenback and A. Solarz eds. 2004. *Investing in children, youth, families and communities: Strength based research and policy*. Washington: American Psychological Association.

Leggett, I., 2001.*Uganda: An Oxfam country profile*. London: Oxfam.

Letherby, G., 2003. *Feminist research in theory and practice*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Levin, L. ed., 1978. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Human rights questions and answers. [Internet] Available from http: //www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 12 November 2006.

Lincoln, S., ed. 1994. *Handbook of qualitative research*. London, Sage.

Lippard, L., 1983. Art and Politics: Questions of a Politicized Performance Art. *Art in America*, 72, pp. 39-5.

Long-Behuniak, S., 1994. Preserving the social fabric: Quilting in a technological world. In: C.B. Torsney & J. Elsey eds. 1994.*Quilt culture*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Lunyiigo, S. L., 2007. *The struggle for land in Buganda 1888-2005*. Kampala: Wavah Books.

Maerten, M., 2005. African feminism. *RoSa*. 24, pp. 1-8.

Maguire, P., 1987. *Doing participatory research: A feminist approach*. Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts.

Maguire, P., 1996. Proposing a more Feminist participatory research: Knowing and being embraced openly. In: K. De Koning & M. Martin eds.1996. *Participatory Research in Health*. London: Zed Books.

Mahanty, C.T. Torres, L. Russo, A. eds., 1991. *Third World Women the Politics of Feminism*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Mahanty, C.T., 2003. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Malchiodi, C. A., 1998.*The art therapy sourcebook*. Los Angeles: Lowell House.

Malchiodi, C. A., 2008. *Creative interventions with traumatized children*. New York: Guildford Press.

Martin, M., 1994. Developing a Feminist participative research framework: evaluating the process. In: B. Humphries & C. Truman eds. 1994. *Rethinking social research*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Martin, M., 1996. Issues of power in the participatory research process. In: K. De Koning & M. Martin eds. *Participatory research in health*. London: Zed Books.

Marks, S., 2005. The human rights framework for development: Seven approaches. In: A. Sengupta, A. Negi & M. Basu eds. *Reflections on the right to development*. London: Sage.

Massey, C., 2000. Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers. Child soldiers: Theory and reality of their existence: The question of international protection available to them in contemporary times [Internet] Available from http://www.child-soldiers.org/ Retrieved 24 may 2006.

Mazrui, A., 1975. The Resurrection of the warrior tradition in African political culture. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 13, pp. 67-84

Mazurana, D. McKay, S. Carlson, K. Kasper, J., 2002. Girls in fighting forces and groups: The recruitment, participation, demobilization and reintegration. *Journal of Peace Psychology,* 8, pp.97-123.

Mealer, B., 2008. *All things must fight to live: Stories of war and deliverance in the Congo*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Meeske, K., 1996. Quilt me a story. In: K. E. Vandergrift ed. 1996. *Ways of knowing: Literature and the intellectual life of children*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press.

Meredith, M., 2005. *The state of Africa: A history of fifty years of independence*. London: Simon & Schuster.

McAdamCrisp, J. Dona, G. Tefferi, H., 2003. *Some methodological challenges of cross-cultural research with children in need.* Unpublished paper.Vancouver: University of Victoria.

McCarthy, M., 2003. Ebola outbreak continues in Uganda. *The Lancet,* 356, 9240, pp.1499-1499.

McKay, S., 2006. The inversion of girlhood: Girl combatants during and after armed conflict. In N. Boothby, Wessells, M. Strang, A. eds. 2006. *A World Turned Upside Down: The Social Ecologies of Children in Armed Conflict*. Bloomfield, Conn: Kumarian Press, pp. 89-109.

McKay, S. Mazurana, D., 2004. *Where are the girls? Girls fighting in northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their lives during and after war*. Montreal: Canadian International Development Agency: Rights and Democracy.

McDonnell, F. J. Akallo, G., 2007. *Girl soldier: A story of hope for northern Uganda's children*. Michigan: Chosen.

McNiff, J. Whitehall, J., 2006. *All You Need To Know About Action Research*. London: Sage.

McNiff, J. Lomax, P.L. Whitehall, J. 1996. *You and your action research project*. New York: Hyde.

McNiff, S., 1998. *Art-based research*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

McNiff, S., 2008. Art-based research. In ; J. Knowles & A. Cole eds. 2008. *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research: Perspectives, methodologies, examples, and issues*. Los Angeles: Sage, pp. 29-40.

McRobbie, A., 1982. The politics of Feminist research: Between talk, text and action. *Feminist Review*, 12, pp.46-57.

Miller, C., 1977. *The Lunatic Express: An entertainment in Imperialism*. New York: Futura Books.

Miller, M., 1994. *The careless quilter*. Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press.

Miller, V. Affolter, F., 2002. *Helping children outgrow war*. New York: United States Agency for International Development.

Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development, 2003-draft. *National orphans and other vulnerable children policy: Hope never runs dry*. Kampala: Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development.

Ministry of Education and Sports, 1999a. *The Ugandan experience of primary education (UPE)*. Kampala: The Government of Uganda.

Ministry of Education and Sports, 1999b. *Ugandan primary school curriculum syllabi for primary schools (vol.1)*. Kampala: The National Curriculum Development Centre, Kyambogo.

Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2000. *Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP)*. Kampala, Uganda

Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2007. *Annual Report, 2006*. Kampala: Uganda

Ministry of Public Safety and Solicitor General, Assistant Deputy Minister's Community Project Fund. (2001/2002) What is sexual exploitation? Capturing ethno-cultural voices. [Internet] Available from http://www.pssg.gov.bc.ca/community program.htm
Retrieved 02 April 2005.

Mitaftab, F., 2004. Can you Belly Dance? Methodological questions in the era of transnational feminist research. Journal of *Gender, Place and Culture*, 11 (4), pp. 595-602.

Mohanty, C. T., 1991. Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. In: C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo & L. Torres eds. 1991. *Third world women and the politics of Feminism*. Indiana University Press.

Morris, C. Bruell, C., 2006. Feminist theories of rape: A cross-national study. American society of criminology. [Internet] Available from http://www.asc41.com. Retrieved 16 July 2008.

Morrow, V. Richards, V., 1996. The ethics of social research with children: An overview. *Children and Society,* 10, (2), pp.90-105.

Moser, C. Clark, F. eds., 2001. *Victims, perpetrators or actors?: Gender, armed conflict and political violence*. London: Zed Books.

Mutibwa, P., 1992. *Uganda since independence*. London: C. Hurst & Co.

Nii—Amoo Dodooo, F. Frost, A.E., 2008. Gender in African population research: The fertility/reproductive health example. *Annual Review of Sociology,* 34, pp. 431-452.

Northey, M. Tepperman, L., 2005. *Making sense: A student's guide to research and writing*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Northern Uganda Social Action Fund, C. Laker ed., 2006. Rate of death in northern Uganda is three times higher than Iraq: new report. [Internet] Available from *http: www.oxfam.org/fr/node/501*. Retreived August 15th , 2007.

Nzita, R. Miwampa, M., 1993. *Peoples and cultures of Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain

Ndagire, H. Albi, S., 2007. [Internet] Available from http://face-music.ch/inform/history_uganda_en.html Retrieved 07 May 2007.

Nussbaum, M., 2000. *Women and human development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Brien, S., 1996. In: A. Nhema & P. T. Zeleza eds. 1996.*The roots of African conflicts: The causes and costs*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.

O'Byrne, D., 2003. *Human rights: An introduction*. Essex: Pearson Education.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 2003. Promoting and protecting rights around the world [Internet] Available from http://www2.ohchr.org Retrieved 20 November 2008.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 2008. [Internet] Available from http://www2.ohchr.org Retrieved 20 November 2008.

Ondaatje, C., 1998. *Journey to the source of the Nile*. Toronto: Harper Collins.

Osler, A. Starkey, H., 1996. *Teacher education and human rights*. London: David Fulton.

Osler, A. Vincent, K., 2002. *Citizenship and the challenge of global education*. Staffordshire: Trentham Books.

Otiso, K., 2007. *Culture and customs of Uganda*. London: Greenwood.

OXFAM, 2006. Education for global citizenship: A guide for schools [Internet] Available from http://www.oxfam.org.uk/education/gc/curriculum Retrieved 03 November 2007.

Özerdem, A. ed., 2000. [Internet] Available from http://www.york.ac.uk/depts/poli/prdu/worksh/research.htm Retrieved August 23 2006.

Paardekooper, B. J. De Jong, T. Hermanns, J.M., 1999. The psychological affect of war and the refugee situation on south Sudanese children in refugee camps in northern Uganda: An exploratory study. *Journal of Child Psychology Psychiatry*, 40(4), pp.529-536.

Patton, M. Q., 2002. *Qualitative and research methods*. 3rd edition. Newbury Park: CA, Sage.

Pelo, A. Davidson, F., 2000. *That's not fair: A teacher's guide to activism with young children*. St. Paul: Redleaf Press.

Perry, B. Szalavitz, M., 2007. *The boy raised by dogs*. New York: Basic Books.

Peters, R. Leadbeater, B. McMahon, R., 2004. *Resilience in children, families and communities: Linking context to practice and policy*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Press.

Pink, S., 2001.*Visual ethnography*. London: Sage.

Pitts, D., 2002. *Journal of Issues for Democracy* [Internet] Available from: http: //www.usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/0302/ijde/ijde0302.htm Retrieved 08 June 2006.

Pollis, A. Schwab, P.eds., 2000. *Human rights: New perspectives, new realities*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Presbury, J. McKee, S.A. Echerling, L., 2001. *Ideas and tools for brief counseling*. New York: Prentice Hall.

Rachele Rehabilitation Centre, 2006. Unpublished data report. Lira: Rachele Rehabilitation Centre.

Refugee International, 2006. Annual Report [Internet] Available from http: //www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900SID/TBRL-74RM6M?OpenDocument Retrieved on 08 October 2007.

Refugee Law Project, 2007. *Giving out their daughters for their survival*. Working paper #20. Kampala: Refugee War Project.

Regional Support Office for Central and East Africa and Regional Information Network, 2003. [Internet] Available from http://www.irinnews.org/about.aspx Retrieved 23 September 2006.

Reinharz, S., 1992. *Social research methods: Feminist perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reinharz, S., 1993. *On becoming a social scientist*. New Jersey: Transaction Press.

Renteln, A. D., 1990. *International human rights: Universalism vs. relativism*. London: Sage.

Rigold, F., 2005. *We flew over the bridge: The memoirs of Faith Rigold*. London: Duke University Press.

Ritchie, E. C. Watson, P.J. Friedman, M. eds., 2006. *Interventions following mass violence and disasters*. New York: Guildford Press.

Rose, G., 2002.*Visual methodologies*. London: Sage.

Rose, H., 1983. Hand, brain and heart: A Feminist epistemology of the natural sciences. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society,* 9, (1), pp.73-90.

Ross, A., 2004. *David Livingstone and Empire*. London: Hambledon & London.

Said, E., 1975. *Beginnings: Intention and method*. New York: Basic Books.

Said, E. D., 1994. *Culture & Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Shafer, S., 1987. Human rights education in schools [Internet] Available from http://www.hr-education-na@hrea.org Retrieved 06 August 2005.

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

Shor, I., 1992. *Empowering education: Critical teachings for social change*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Sinclair, M., 2002. *Planning education in and after emergencies*. Paris: UNESCO International institute for Educational Planning.

Sinclair, M., 2004. *Learning to live together: Building skills values and attitudes for the twenty-first century*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Singer, P., 2005. *Children at war*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Sinner, A., C. Leggo, R. L. Irwin, P. Gouzouasis and K. Grauer., 2006. Arts – based educational research dissertations: Reviewing the practice of new scholars. Canadian journal of education 29, 4. 1223-1270.

Sivard, R., 1991.*World military and social expenditures 1991*. Washington: World Priorities.

Smith, D. E., 1990. *Text, facts and femininity: Exploring the relations of ruling*. New York: Routledge.

Smith, D. E., 1999. *Writing the social: Critique, theory and investigations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Society for Children and Youth, 1998. *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: Does domestic legislation measure up?* Victoria: University of Victoria.

Society for Children and Youth, 2001. *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: "Three in one booklet"*. Victoria: University of Victoria.

Solanto, J., 2005. Trauma workshop material. Unpublished. Victoria, BC.

Sommers, M., 2002. Children, education and war: reaching the Education for All (EFA) objective in countries affected by conflict (Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit Working Paper No.1) [Internet] Available from http://wwwwds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/10/12/ 000094 946_02091704130527/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf Retrieved 01 November 2005.

Sommers, R., 1997. The quilting bee: A research metaphor. The qualitative report. 3, 4 [Internet] Available from http: //www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR3-4/sommers.html Retrieved 05 April 2005.

Stanley, L. ed., 1990. *Feminist Praxis*. London: Routledge.

Steele, W., 2006. The National Institute for Trauma and Loss in Children. When cognitive interventions fail with children of trauma: memory, learning and trauma intervention. [Internet] Available from http://www.tlcinst.org/cognitiveinterventions.html Retrieved 03 May 2007.

Starkey, H., 1991. *The challenge of human rights education*. London: Cassell.

Sunner, W.G., 1906. *Folkways: A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals*. Boston: Ginn & Co.

Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (SIDA), 2002. Education in situations of emergency, conflict and post-conflict [Internet] Available from http://www.sida.se Retrieved 31 October 2005.

Syminides, J. Volodin, V. eds., 2003. *A guide to human rights, institutions, standards, procedures*. New York: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Tamale, S., 1999. *When the hen begins to crow: Gender and parliamentary politics in Uganda*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Tarrow, N., 1992. Human rights: Alternate conceptualizations. In: J. Lynch, C. Modgil & S. Modgil eds. 1992. *Human rights, education, & global responsibility*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Teuton, J. Dowrick, C. Bentall, R., 2007. How healers manage the pluralistic healing context: The perspective of indigenous, religious and allopathic healers in relation to psychosis in Uganda. *Journal of Social Science & Medicine,* 65, (6), pp.1260-1273.

The British Psychological Testing Centre, 2006. Children as research participants [Internet] Available from http://www.psyctesting.org.uk/hotissues.asp?id+112 Retrieved 28 August 2006.

The Protection Project, 2002. [Internet] Available from http: www//.protectionproject.org/human_rights_reports/report Retrieved 14 September, 2006.

Tibbetts, F., 2000. *Case studies in human rights education: Examples from Central and Eastern Europe*. Paris: Council of Europe.

Tibbetts, F., 2002. Emerging models for human rights education. Issues of Democracy [Internet] Available from www.hrusa.org/education/PromisestoKeep.htm Retrieved 09 May 2006.

Tibbetts, F., 1997. Budapest: Open Society Institute. The annotated primer for selecting democratic and human rights education teaching materials [Internet] Available from http://www.hrea.org/pubs/Primer/introduction.html Retrieved 09 May 2006.

Tobin, J. Dobard, R., 2000. *Hidden in plain view: A secret story of quilts and underground the railway*. New York: Anchor.

Tolman, J., 2005. Building blocks for human rights education [Internet] Available from http:// www. re.org Retrieved 09 November 2006.

Tomasevski, K., 2003. Education denied: Costs and remedies. New York: Zed Books.

Tomlinson, K. Benefield, P., 2005. *Education and conflict: research and research possibilities* [Internet] Available from www.nfer.ac.uk/research-areas/pims-data/outlines/education-and-conflict-a-scoping-study.cfm Retrieved 02 October 2006.

Torou, D., 2001. *The struggle toward human rights in Africa: Success or failure?* Toronto: Centre for Victims of Torture.

Tosh, J., 1978. *The political history of an East African stateless society 1800-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Toure, A. Barry, M. Diallo, P., 2003. The two faces of African feminism. *Codesria Bulletin*, 1, pp.2-3.

Turshen, T. W. Twgiramariya, C., 1998. *What women do in wartime?* New York: Zed. Books.

Ulrich, S. Wenzel, F.M., 2005. Participatory evaluation a perspective for human rights education [Internet] Available from http://www.capakadamie Retrieved 10 May 2006.

Ugandan Childrens' Rights NGO Network, 1996. [Internet] Available from http: //www.ucrnn.org Retrieved 23 September 2006.

Uganda Foundation for Human Rights Initiative, 2005. [Internet] Available from http: //www.fhri.or.ug/ Retrieved 23 September 2006.

Uganda's Peoples Defence Forces (UPDF), Child Protection Units (CPU), 2005. Principles and minimum standards: A guideline for procedure and practice. Kampala: Uganda's Peoples Defence Forces.

Ungar, M., 2005. A thicker description of resilience. *The International Journal of Narrative Therapy and Community Work,* 3, pp. 89-95.

United Kingdom (UK)'s Department for International Development (DFID) and the Government of Uganda, 2009. MEGA FM RADIO, Bush Radio [Internet] Available from www.dfid.gov.uk/casestudies/files/africa/uganda-radio.asp Retrieved 07 January 2009.

United Nations, 1996 Cyberschool bus [Internet] Available from http://www.un.org/cyberschool/bus. Retrieved 26 August 2006.

United Nations, 2002. For the record: Human rights system. [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch. Retrieved 12 November 2006.

United Nations, 1989. Convention on the Rights of the Child [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/385c2 Retrieved 14 September 2005.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1978. The Principles of the International Congress on the Teaching Human Rights [Internet] Available from http://www. www.unesco.org Retrieved 23 September 2005.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2000. *All human beings: A manual for human rights education.* Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2005. *Learning in a war zone: Education in northern Uganda.* New York: Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

United Nations Children's Fund, 2002. *Adult wars, child soldiers: Voices of children involved in armed conflict in the East Asia and Pacific Region.* Thailand: United Nations Children's Fund.

United Nations Children's Fund, 2004. *ABC teaching human rights: Practical activities for primary and secondary schools.* New York: United Nations.

United Nations General Assembly, 1948. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 14 August 2008.

United Nations General Assembly, 1984. Convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 14 August 2008.

United Nations General Assembly, Centre for Human Rights, 1992. UN Commission on Human Rights Report, Secretary-General Boutros- Ghali. [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 11 November 2006.

United Nations General Assembly, 1994. The United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education 1995-2004. [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 11 November 2006.

United Nations General Assembly, 1996. Human rights questions: Human rights questions, including alternative approaches for improving effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for human rights on the implementation of the plan of action for the United Nations decade for human rights education. [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 10 November 2004.

United Nations General Assembly, 1998. [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 12 November 2006.

United Nations General Assembly, 2000. Optional protocol to the convention on the rights of the child on the involvement of children in armed conflicts. [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 15 August 2008.

United Nations General Assembly, 2000. The optional protocol to the convention on the rights of the child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 15 August 2008.

United Nations General Assembly, 2002. *Women, peace, and security*. Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325. New York: United Nations.

United Nations General Assembly, 2005. World programme for human rights education. [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 11 November 2006.

United Nations General Assembly, 2005. [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 12 November 2006.

United Nations General Assembly, 2009. Thematic debate on education in emergencies. [Internet] Available from http://www.unhchr.ch Retrieved 02 April 2009.

United States Federal Research Library, 2007. Country studies. [Internet] Available from http://www. memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/. Retrieved 26 July 2008.

Unterhalter, E., 2005a. Global inequality, capabilities, social justice: The millennium development goal for gender equity in education. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 25(2), pp. 111-122.

Unterhalter, E., 2005b. Mobilisation, meanings and measures: Reflections of girls' education. *Development*, 48(1), pp. 110-114.

Unterhalter, E. Walker, M., eds., 2007. *Amartyas Sen's capability approach and social justice in education.* New York: Pelgrave Macmillan.

Van Manen, M., 1997. *Researching the lived experience: human science for an action sensitive Pedagogy.* New York: SUNY Press.

Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, 1993, [Internet] Available from htpp: //www.unhchr.ch/hundocda/hundoca.nsf/ Retrieved 26 July 2008.

Waller, M. A., 2001. Resilience in the ecosystemic context: Evolution of the concept. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 71.3, pp. 1290-1297.

Wang, C. C. Burris, M.A., 1997. Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Journal of Health, Education and Behavior,* 24 (3), pp. 369-387.

Wang, C. C. Redwood-Jones, Y., 2001. Photovoice ethics: Perspectives from Flint photovoice. *Journal of Health, Education and Behavior,* 28 (5), pp. 560-572.

Weagal, D., 2006. Feminism now! Writing, quilt making and feminism [Internet] Available from http://www.unm.edu/~feminism/Current%20Editions/Summer%202006%20articles/Writing%20Quilt Retrieved April 02 2007.

Weine, S. et al., 2002. Guidelines for international training in mental health and psychosocial interventions for trauma exposed populations in clinical and community settings. *Psychiatry*, 65(2), pp. 156-164.

Were, B., 2005. [Internet] Available from http://www.hrw.org/english/docs/2005/10/25/uganda11920.htm Retrieved April 02 2007.

Wessells, M., 2006. *Child soldiers: From violence to protection*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Wessells, M. Strang, A., 2006. Religion as a resource and risk. In: N. A. Boothby, A. Strang & M. Wessells eds. 2006. *A world turned upside down: Social ecological approaches to children in war zones*. Bloomfield: Kumarian.

West, N. Stalker, J., 2007. Journey to a (bi) cultural identity. In: D.E. Clover & J. Stalker eds. 2007. *The Art of Social Justice: Recrafting Adult Education and Community Leadership*. Leicester: NIACE, pp. 125-143.

Williams, G. Aloyo Obonyo, C. Annan, J., 2001. *Resilience in conflict: A community-based approach to psycho-social support in northern Uganda*.

International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling, 25 (4), pp.235-245.

Wilson, R. A Mitchell, J.P. eds., 2003. *Human rights in global perspective: Anthropological studies of rights, claims and elements*. New York: Routledge.

World Conference on Human Rights Education, 1993. [Internet] Available from http: //www.un-documents.net/a48r127.htm Retrieved 23 September 2006.

Wolin, S. Wieczorek, W., 1999. *Resilience: Pros, cons, & unresolved issues*. Prepared for Canadian mental health services workshop, June 17-18, 1999.

Women 2000, 1998. *Sexual violence and armed conflict: United Nations response*. New York: United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Wolf, D. ed., 1996. *Feminist dilemmas in fieldwork*. Boulder: Westview Press.

World Vision, 1995. *Night Commuters*. Kampala: World Vision.

World Vision, 2004. *Pawns of politics: Children, conflict and peace in northern Uganda*. Kampala: World Vision.

Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005. *Learning in a war zone: Education in northern Uganda*. New York: Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2004. *Global survey on education in emergencies*. New York: Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2006. *Education in Darfur: A critical component of humanitarian aid*. New York: Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

Yardley, A., 2008. Living stories: The role of the researcher in the narration of life. Forum qualitative forum: *Qualitative Social Research*, 9(3), 3. [Internet] Available from http://nbn-esolving.de/urn:nbn Retrieved 08 August 2008.

Yardley, R., 2002. *Interviewee profile research: Design and method*. Washington: Sage.

Yoshiaki, Y., 1995. *Comfort women*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Young, J., 2001. *Art and knowledge*. New York: Routledge.

Zopf, D, 1997. *Surviving the winter: The evolution of quilt making among two cultures in New Mexico*. Unpublished manuscript.