The Living Archive as Pedagogy: A Conceptual Case Study of Northern Uganda

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The Living Archive as Pedagogy: A Conceptual Case Study of Northern Uganda

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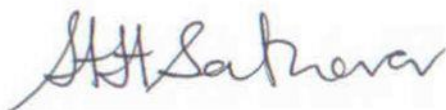
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DEDICATION

To Professor Bongani Mawethu Jongilizwe Mayosi

28 January 1967- 27 July 2018

In remaking ourselves, in spaces that deny our belonging.

ABSTRACT

The *Living Archive as Pedagogy* emerges from Northern Uganda's experience of war 1986-2008, between the Lord's Resistance Army and the Uganda People's Defense Force previously named the National Resistance Army. This period of war and post-war has been a difficult experience where finding solutions and mechanisms for transition or justice remain complex, restricted, delayed and consequently concealing the reality of lived marginalization from below. The Acholi of Northern Uganda went through predatory atrocities, painful humiliation and unwilled cohabitations with their oppressors during war and post-war. The study explores how the interlinking of archives and pedagogy as independent disciplines can extend possibilities for more transformative education horizons in bottom-up, post-conflict expressions.

The study is immersed through a conceptual and theoretical framing in the boundaries of archiving and pedagogy, to understand how the war constructs Acholi's lived experience in multiple complex ways. While the Acholi re-orient their lives post- war, we recognize their attention in affirming their human agency, ordering of new and different meanings, desiring a different liberation in post-conflict where responsibility in contexts of "up againstness" validates their dwelling and being in spaces that exclude them. The research acknowledges that pedagogy and archiving studies in post-conflict, needs restructuring to challenge the preserving of external and dominant epistemological purviews that order post-conflict reconstruction life. These traditions exclude the experiences of survivor-victims, are tone deaf to community-based groups articulations of post-conflict repair, and neither does lived experiences of the everyday gets organized as an outcome for knowledge. This is discussed at length, as the research responds to its central question of how *living archive as pedagogy* can offer a transformative education discourse.

The conclusion of the study emphasizes self-representation through transformative knowledge positions of *I am whom I am*, *Where I am, Where I Speak, and Where I think.* These positions articulate a self-understanding that supports rehistrocizing of post-conflict society as a body resisting exclusion in dominant knowledge formation and institutional omissions. There is evidence of the research foregrounding the formation of person-hood from experiences of 'up againstness" and *knowledge*/under-stand[ing] from below. The research facilitates a hermeneutical encounter with specific inscribed bodies of post-conflict experience, the Acholi and Wanjiku whose bodies archive a horizon of possibilities if a different and difficult reading

of the world is done from locations of struggle to produce consciousness of re-becoming, or returning to the human. These pedagogical experience positions Acholi and Wanjiku as educators, and their lives a *living archive*. We the readers are invited to a learning process as willing '*hearers'* of Acholi and Wanjiku testimony, to own responsibility as our practice to ensure they appear in the world to say their truth, as they defy conditions of their oppression.

Key Words: Acholi; *Living Archive*; Northern Uganda; Pedagogy; Post-war; Wanjiku

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ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
AUTJP	African Union Transitional Justice Policy
CAR	Central African Republic
CSO	Civil Society Organization/s
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GoU	Government of Uganda
HSM	Holy Spirit Movement
IBEAC	Imperial British East Africa Company
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICD	International Crimes Division
JRP	Justice and Reconciliation Project
LRA	Lord Resistance Army
NRA	National Resistance Army
NTJP	National Transitional Justice Policy
RCI-LRA	Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of Lord Resistance Army
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
UN	United Nations
UNHR	United Nations Human Rights
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
UNMIS	Uganda Nations Mission in the Sudan
UPDF/A	Uganda Peoples Defence Force/ Army

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

There are few people in the world less in need of an introduction

(Srinivasan , 2020).

1.1   INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The study proposes to explore the *living archive* as a concept to extend the scholarship and contemporary practice of both an archive and pedagogy as a bottom-up post-conflict expression. To achieve this the research locates itself in a precise empirical case study of life during and after the occurrence of 'new wars' (Kaldor, 2012); an illumination of warfare arising with the start of a globalized era. Northern Uganda's '1986-2008'[1] (Atkinson, 2009) experience of 'new wars' is diminutively acknowledged, narrowing legitimacy and interpretation of this period locally. There has been biased political manoeuvre post-war[2] which has gravely delayed the process of survivors- victims'[3] recovery. Their demand for action, engagement, and remembering (Herman, 2015), is overlooked leaving them to continuously commune in the post-conflict intricacy of unaddressed legacies of overt conflict (Oola, 2019).

The two decades conflict, between the Government of Uganda (GoU) and the insurgent fundamentalist Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) led by Joseph Kony is the central backdrop of this study. A major complexity of the war and fundamental to this study, is in the disproportionate brutality, intimidation, suffering, and predatory violence meted to the Acholi community of Northern Uganda by both parties. This war has been "the most protracted vicious and debilitating" in the history of Uganda (Atkinson, 2009, p.6).Whereas this warfare may be

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[1] Northern Uganda's war lacks an official communiqué of its ending. Accounts from journalists, international civil society, multi-lateral negotiators and academics do not cohesively give a specific year to mark the end of the war. Certain references indicate 2005, but this period coincides with the newly began peace talks in Juba- South Sudan, between the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) and the current administration of Yoweri Museveni. 2005, witnessed the moving of the LRA to Eastern- Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and their settling in the DRC has been violence based. I use Atkinson period of 1986-2008, 2008 being the last time when stakeholders (religious, cultural, political, parliament, civil society, and donor governments) pursued peaceful dialogue (Atkinson b, 2009). However, the community's sense in Northern Uganda is that the war is not over but only the silence of guns, which is not a symbol of prevailing peace (Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity , 2013).

[2] The term post- war is highly used in this work; other similar terms to be used will be post-conflict, post-justice, post-atrocity and postbellum.

[3] Erin Baines (2017) defines survivor-victim, as part of complex victimhood. This is to mean that both the survivor and victim at some point during the war they became perpetrators.

additionally theorized and clustered as part of Africa's post-independence conflicts, it remains unknown to be a revolutionary war premised to "be the most significant event since Ghana's [independence 1957]; ... to genuinely free Africa" (Amaza, 1998, p. 1). Both LRA and GoU promised a public ideology in the interest of all communities, and transformation that would escape the fate of other post-independence regimes in Africa, by beginning a new era (Buckley-Zistel, 2008) that would catalyze an age of radical change and construct a way of life with human dignity (Gilly, 1967).

The unparalleled and disconcerting reality of this war and postbellum, was *Madit*[4] Joseph Kony founding a sociopolitical order of New Acholi/ Acholi A. A nationalism project that he began from its original stronghold in Northern Uganda, spreading it to South Sudan, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Central Africa Republic (CAR) (Cakaj 2016; Dolan 2009; & Kersten 2016). The New Acholi or Acholi A are an apocalyptic demand from LRA's spiritual realm, where Joseph Kony serves as a prophet and a powerful spiritual guide. The confluence of spirituality and politics to read politics is not often the norm (Ncube, 2019). In this context, the use of spiritual power and presence becomes an "extension of politics by other means, when regular politics does not provide any avenue or mechanism for dealing with the increasingly complex problems of Acholiland in particular and Uganda in general" (Kaplan, 2010, p. 85).

New Acholi is not an entirely isolated political creation, it is part of the "… new world- a utopian society that is populated of new men and new women, revolutionary beings uncontaminated by any semblance of the old world" (Kaplan, 2010, p.2). Historically we find evidence of this in the Khmer Rouge of Cambodia who are cited as the originators of new world (Kaplan, 2010, 2016). This regime forcefully reconstructed a classless Cambodia, with a pure agricultural economy, eradicated all vestiges of western influence, intellectualism, technology, use of money and abolished the legal and judicial systems that were replaced by death squads or' re-education' camps from 1975-1979 (Llewellyn, Southey, & Thompson ,

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[4]*Madit* its direct translation means big in the Acholi and Luo language.

Madit Kony is the title given to Joseph Kony to mean great teacher. LRA abductees often use this title while they were in war and even after their return in the community as civilians. The discipline within LRA considers it disrespectful to refer to Joseph Kony using his official names or military rank, therefore the wide use of *Madit* Kony.

2018). Other anomalous forms of new world in the continent exist in the socio-political organization of *Al-Shaabab* from Somalia and *Boko Haram* from North-East Nigeria.

The New Acholi builds and legitimizes its "sense of self" by sharply controlling "language, locality, religion, tradition and ethnic boundaries," (Geertz, 1963, pp. 108-109) of those abducted. Joseph Kony born Acholi, argues that Acholi A/ New Acholi are the worthy heirs of the sought after peace and democracy in post-colonial Africa (Cakaj, 2016). The construct of the new order, primarily exists from viciously abducted young children from weak African states in East, Central, and Southern regions of Africa. Kaplan (2010, p.1) comprehends this as "radicalization of a war that turns inwards, becomes particularistic, localistic and centered on the purification of the nation through the perfection of … tribal group". The Acholi A in present times exist in fewer numbers, but are evidence of the Continent's "brutality of civil wars … unique horrors, the harvest of child soldiers who currently plague the continent, [and have] wiped clean the most basic humane sensibilities…" (Soyinka , 2016, p. 4). The complexity of this war and its duration has various unrecognized realities, unspoken constructions from below not in public discourse, providing context to explore archiving and pedagogy from Northern Uganda.

The *living archive as pedagogy* proposed by this study becomes a new point of entry that questions both pedagogy and archiving in post-war societies, relying on documented lived experiences among the Acholi. Archiving within a post-war edge has recorded repositories of information for the purpose of what is remembered in history, what is mourned (Derrida, 1995), what we identify as evidence, power, contestation and knowledge among other possibilities (Luhe et al., 2018). The *living archive as pedagogy* proposes a different repository, a living body inscribed with war mutilations, painful-humiliating oppression and continual presence of oppressors in a physical space that you cannot detach from. I do wish to clarify that I begin this study without a pre- formulated description of what *living archive, as pedagogy* is, how the archive becomes pedagogical, who can use it and how it specifically functions. Each chapter in the thesis attempts to tease and expand these ideological thoughts. Progressively an adequate description of what this archive and pedagogy are emerge succinctly in the final chapters of this study.

The *living archive as pedagogy* invites us to witness the Acholi reclaim their humanity, assert their agency and emancipation (Manji, 2017), in spaces of radical co-existence and exclusion. The use of an archive and pedagogical approach become mediums that attempt to show

Acholi's agency, their desire for liberation, and how they "feel themselves in the unspeakable, forbidden and dangerous" (Casper & Wertheimer , 2016, p. 56). Identifying the Acholi is not meant to minimize Uganda's different war experiences from 1967-1987 (Kannyo, 1986/87), political and civic unrest post 1987, and neither to silence other affected communities who are non –Acholi and non- Ugandan. However, the closeness with the Acholi helps to evolve knowledge, from complex post-war configurations from a subject excluded in dominant knowledge formation, and where interpretation of their experiences is done in very simplified or rigid terms perpetuating non-recognition, misrecognition, oppression and reduction of their being (Taylor, 1995).

"Knowledge calls us to certain kind(s) of action in the world" (Gamedze, 2019, para 11). Within postbellum societies there is an ethical consciousness to mediate conflict, build resilience, promote peace (Pherali, 2019) while providing other desired outcomes within deeply divided societies. Education being the most important social institution in the world (Fedotova & Nikolaeva, 2015) is crucial in post-conflict and called on, to "…prepare people for a world not as it is but as it should be" (Mayo, 2013, p. 36). Hence, education becomes and remains an obligatory approach to concretely and ethically respond to inequalities, irrationalities, hegemonies and dehumanization (Pradhan & Singh, 2016; McLaren, 2009) as they present themselves in existing disparate forms of everyday life conditions. Therefore, the significance of education in this study and the exploring of various forms of knowledge are vitally seen as critical tools to question social order, understand a particular reality (Bowles & Gintis, 2011) and perharps transform a controlled reality.

Pedagogy, as outlined by Fedotova and Nikolaeva (2015), is a merge of formal education and people's knowledge with a critical fold. In other literature, it is developed as a concept "yearning to give some shape and coherence to theoretical landscapes of radical principles, beliefs, and practices that contribute to an emancipatory ideal" (Darder, Baltodgno, & Torres, 2003, p. 2). In this study, I approach pedagogy as knowledge or consciousness that is with the people, affirms them in their struggles (Woodson, 2009) and can constructively study their everyday, as well as accept difference. In this regard, people's consciousness becomes aligned to an intellectual project, where they can become "agents against exploitation, repression, domination and are able to speak and act" (Spivak , 2006, p. 68). From a wider stance education and various forms of pedagogy/ knowledge can then be valued as an active political act for the

practice of freedom, (hooks, 1994) and liberation (Diaz- Plaja , 1972), which are characteristics of a society, wanting to actualize full humanness within the world (Freire,1975).

There exist numerous typologies of pedagogue; the study limits itself to pedagogical work that supports transformative education. This specific orientation pays attention to the Acholi appearing in their spaces of below as agents of subjugated forms of epistemology. The transformative dimension, authenticates that the Acholi extend and produce knowledge through their self-representation that rejects them being denied, repressed, forgotten or made to disappear or to be of nowhere (Haraway, 1988). The value of transformative education approach affirms the Acholi, as bodies capable to widen the crack of finding new worlds of knowledge from their unprivileged accounts. A broader discussion of transformative education appears in chapter four of this thesis, and the research findings in chapter seven, depicting the unfolding of transformative knowledge as breaking away from domineering and normative practices.

This research examines the conceptualizing of *living archive as pedagogy* as part of a scholarship itinerary seeking to newly see and give new argument to everyday post-conflict life excluded as a possible knowledge outcome and re-organization. The study intimates the complexity to continually transact with the difficulty of an absent comprehensive and inclusive justice system for the Acholi, acknowledge their disproportionate specific brutalities; land grabs, destruction of culture and identity, making them slaves through a silent genocide (Otunnu, 2009). The research aims to evolve as a pedagogical tool, to explore how survivor community-based groups among the Acholi, use their everyday experience to collate a contemporary different curation that asserts their agency and emancipation in spaces of exclusion. The study borrows Foucault's (1977) description of the invisible to point to material or persons not seen to be relevant in history and therefore not recognized and neither perceived to be as having any moral, aesthetic or historical value. Their analysis in either psychological, psychoanalytical or linguistic dimensions is encoded as troublesome and is rather omitted. This is what the study presents as preamble intellect boundaries, which will intentionally be stretched or disrupted to accurately and practically provide the thesis with the language to describe Acholi's lived experience, ordering of new meanings and affirming their desire of liberation in post-conflict.

1.2   RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The interest of the researcher is specific; it arises from the interest to comprehend deeper new possibilities of a post-conflict archive in the form of a body and its forms of knowledge that can be integrated into the lived reality of post-war contexts. I extend solidarity to the complexities of New Acholi/ Acholi A and Acholi, all precariously exposed to reproductions of homelessness, destitution, statelessness and without any political preservation (Butler, 2012) in the face of hollowed democracy and disfigured state affairs (De Sousa Santos, 2017). Archiving and education can be a part of finding solutions to legacies of violence (Gisser, 2017) as they function as authoritative facets with the responsibility of both redress and compensation for past injustices (Davies, 2017). Postbellum societies through transitional justice mechanisms imagines possibilities of recreating liveable spaces of national peace (Hayner, 2010). A transition to liveable space in northern Uganda is sharply contested by the reality of "up againstness" (Butler, 2012, p.134). Judith Butler (2012), describes 'up againstness" as living in unwilled adjacency that is not of our of choice, or finding ourselves invariably joined to people's solicitations that we must respond to in languages that we may not understand or even wish to understand.

This understanding of "up againstness" appears in Hayner's (2010), work of Unspeakable Truths where the term is conceived as unchosen, unwilled earthly cohabitation a challenge in doing the work of transitional justice. In the preceding sections of this chapter, I unpack "Up againstness" as being inscribed with physical war mutilations, painful-humiliating oppressions and continual presence of oppressors in a physical space that you cannot detach from. Having to prove to the oppressors that you are human in spaces that radically exclude Acholi's existence. The irrevocability of such living, patterns geographies and landscapes that legitimize the treating of "up against" individuals, communities or minorities as intrinsically unworthy of life, redundant, and unmournable (Butler, 2012).

1.3   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Education in post-violence societies does not have a singular interpretation and its importance in such contexts is determined by "strategic actors with powerful political agendas and strategies" (Davies, 2015, p. 3). Where education has been designed to be an intervention, it is often represented through theories of conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacebuilding, nation building (ADEA, 2004), among other ideological constructions. The conflict archive

and post-war archive (Balcells & Sultivan, 2008) exists as a catalogue whose material is used for data analysis or retained as the "possession of government" (UNHR, 2015, p.5). Education methodologies in post-conflict fit into the cookie cutter or tool-kit approach of transition mechanisms that narrows understanding and transformation of different post-war communities (Davies, 2015; Duthie, 2017; Gready, 2008 & Jusi, 2017).

Theoretical disciplines in conflict and post-conflict have a gap in adequately accounting for the complexity of "up againstness" and radical co-existence. Contemporary studies infer that they exclude the 'big questions' of war and post-conflict struggle to a singular discipline and practice of transitional justice (Montouri, 2008). This ordering does not comprehensively respond to the welfare of the people, nor sustain critical discussion of complex political situations that is a key component of post-conflict reconstruction. Alternatively, theoretical propositions underscore representational epistemology (Osberg, Biesta & Cilliers, 2008) that enhances over-simplification (Kanakulya, 2012) of knowledge outcomes that disregard post-justice, social context, human experience, and people's needs (Keyl, 2017). This representational knowledge makes up for the problem of non-recognition of subordinate consciousness, self-know and transformation (Foucault, 1977). Consequently, restricting the ability of survivor-victims such as the Acholi to speak/dialogue, act and lucidly represent themselves as ascertained by Spivak (2006).

The practice of archiving is never closed and complete, every generation is allowed to reimagine, reinvent, and reconstruct (Booth, 2006). Both archiving and pedagogy are not new fields of study in war and post-war; however, there are some scholarly absences in relation to this study, not accounted for in previous studies limiting immediate knowledge possibilities. In the first place, it is unknown to me of existing literature that specifically illustrates the linking of a post-conflict archive and post- conflict pedagogy as intersecting theorization to address protracted exclusion of survivor-victims' and community-groups in post-atrocity. Such theoretical insertion is useful in defining how knowledge / under- stand[ing] from below (Spivak, 2006)[5] by the invisible, becomes applied in confronting their epistemic exclusion,

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[5] The thesis largely engages with Spivak's writings, and is drawn to her framing and reading from below, under-stand-ing from below (Spivak,1988), which builds how I unpack and develop landscapes from below as will be seen in chapter 3 section 3.3. The study does not wish too easily imply and categorize the Acholi as subalterns. This may appear as a contradiction, given that the thesis wishes to portray the agency of the Acholi, and part of honoring this requires the giving the Acholi the right to speak. Am neither denying the Acholi the right to their speech, naming nor dialogue. My careful reservation is that we do not automatically think of the Acholi as subaltern. This term in my view, makes it difficult to see possibilities, deconstruct or challenge an imminent

violence, or jointly developing sharp attentiveness to navigate complex post-war configurations. Secondly, to the researcher's best knowledge, the conceptualization of *living archive as pedagogy* from an Acholi perspective does not exist as a research inquiry. Neither do previous studies examine the field of post-conflict transformative education; explicitly through a repository of an Acholi inscribed body with the overall loss of their security, political freedom, and social justice (Ahmed & Gassman, 2010; Kimhur, 2019).

It is in addressing the limitations that the study becomes part of Acholi's agentive capacity, as they represent themselves as their own best authority, through an archival and pedagogical expression. Perhaps, this academic encounter makes a case for the Acholi's desire for human recognition, ordering of new and different meanings, desiring a different liberation/freedom in spaces of "up againstness", and exclusion that invalidates their being in everyday post-conflict life.

Fundamentally, to conceptualize *living archive as pedagogy* shifts this research to intellectual expressions that identifies with groups, experiences of invisible people also framed as absent subjects in the world due to their lived subhuman conditions (De Sous Santos, 2018). The development of these intellectual expressions in the study, can be additionally understood as how a responsive political sphere can inevitably make contributions to communities such as the Acholi. Specifically, by allowing remembering as a form of political language that shows and speaks to unspeakable trauma as a form of inconsolable mourning. The study seeks to depict a way of seeing, thinking and feeling from an excluded subject, who's lived experience is an epistemological response to the conquest of; colonialism, imperialism, post-colonial Incredibles and Africa without development (Falola, 2021). This, actively positions the study as an African philosophical engagement, where survivor-victim communities decenter marginalized lived experiences of the war and post-war using their way of thought/s and interpretation to revisit the past and support multiple possibilities to better inscribe, educate or order meaning and actions in post-conflict. The study situates itself as bearing witness to the interlocutors as they assert their own agency, essential in the recognition of their humanity (Simons, 2017) using their sites of struggle to name the world in their own terms, and to encounter the wor (l) d through a system of reading and being (Murillo, 2012).

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global scholar. I borrow Gayatri's challenge to explore what tools can the subordinate of the world use to challenge speech oppression

1.4 CENTRAL RESEARCH AIM

The study aims to develop a conceptualization of *living archive as pedagogy* for transformative education in Northern Uganda's post-conflict society.

1.4.1 Secondary Objectives

1. To understand Northern Uganda's war and post-war documented experiences of the Acholi for the conceptualization of *living archive*.
2. To demonstrate the link between *living archive* and pedagogy in post-conflict societies.
3. To establish how a *living archive as pedagogy* might be used to explain societal exclusion from the landscapes of below for the purpose of transformative education.

1.5 MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

How can a conceptual case analysis of Northern Uganda's post-conflict society serve as an example of how to create a *living archive as pedagogy* for transformative education?

1.5.1 Research Questions

1. How can Northern Uganda's documented lived experiences of the Acholi be understood for the conceptualization of a *living archive?*
2. In which ways can *living archive* be linked to pedagogy for transformative education discourses?
3. How might a *living archive as pedagogy* be used to explain societal exclusion from the landscape of below for the purpose of transformative education?

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

The fundamental contribution of this study will be to develop the concept of *living archive as pedagogy* through invisible categories[6] of people, in bringing them into broader educational discourses, for better theoretical grasp and praxis of building transformative education in

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[6] The study begins with positioning the Acholi in the language of invisible, excluded, absent subjects, or marginalized. As more writing happens in subsequent chapters, this framing becomes more fluid and more expressions are included such as rightless, barelife, unlivable bodies, undesirable, other, and the listing expands. This has been critiqued as lacking precision, and suggestions to limit these identities to a few categories has been suggested. However, to do so, would suggest to work from blindness or to activate an epistemic and identity gaze, that is not open in recognizing forms of otherness, which are unfamiliar and hinder Acholi's possibilities of self-representation. Verne Harris (2001) cautions, that our engagement with otherness should be from a place of compassion, where we care for what we do not know, and where we seek to find the indeterminable.

societies of post-atrocity. The study becomes part of indigenous knowledge formations, through African philosophical hermeneutics engagement; a discipline that allows for reinterpretation of lived experiences and cultures as quintessential form of responsibility and being-in- the world. Other central possibilities emerge: Firstly,-to conceptualize a *living archive* as a different model of documentation that relies on the Acholi inscribed body with the overall loss of their singular and collective identity, security, political freedom, social justice, entitlement and capability (Ahmed & Gassmann, 2010; Kimhur , 2019). Such a living archive can be an expression of otherness, excluded from official archives, and draws us close to what is Acholi's truth, knowledge (Jorgensen & McLean, 2017), their view of society and the values by which it lives.

Secondly, linking of a *living archive* to pedagogy gives the possibility to narrow the "gap in collective understanding" (Fricker, 2008, p. 69), of knowledge that comes from persons without social capital (Dotsun, 2014). Hence, the study positions itself as a form of dialogue to willing *'hearers'* (Fricker, 2007), who recognize authentic experiences often ignored, misrepresented, excluded and silenced (Quantz & Buell, 2019). In the light of post-justice historical exclusions and omissions, the study intends to become useful for scholarship that is multi-disciplinary. It stimulates new conceptualizations and linkages, stretches pedagogical criticality, and trails re-writing of knowledge from excluded categories. Most needed for this study is for interpretations that can sustain indispensable discussion of complex political situations, and transformative configurations.

1.7   THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMING

The study intentionally takes a bifurcated approach for its theory and conceptual outlining, to enable an exhaustive look in the explicit gap of representation and visibility of marginalized war and post-war communities. The study leans into scholarship that firstly foregrounds particular decolonial work as done by Nicola Whyte (2013)-Landscape History from Below, and Amílcar Cabral's Pedagogue of the Revolution (2009). Secondly, post-structuralism thinking as found in Michel Foucault (1969) - The Archaeology of Knowledge and thirdly, postcolonial work of Jacque Derrida (1995) - Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression. These intellectual contributions do not exist as independent forms of theories, but their contribution feature as ideas that well explain and respond adequately to the origins of archiving, the materiality of an archive, and the complexity in appearing in landscapes of marginality, or the landscape from below and coherent with the aspiration of second liberation in the African

context. Theoretically, the study leans into scholarship that foregrounds the origins of archiving, the materiality of an archive, and the complexity in appearing in landscapes of marginality, a landscape from below. There is a search for forms of pedagogy sensitive to conflict and post-conflict life and coherent with the aspiration of second liberation in the African context. This has led into the borrowing of the following intellectual frames. Jacque Derrida (1995) - Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression, The Archaeology of Knowledge-Michel Foucault (1969), Nicola Whyte (2013)-Landscape History from Below, and Amílcar Cabral's Pedagogue of the Revolution (2009). The theoretical chapter keenly responds to stimulating conversation around archiving and pedagogy, as preparation to finding ways of logically linking the archive to pedagogy, as a fundamental assertion in this study, and identifying areas of epistemic deficit.

The conceptual development of this thesis is a distinct paradigm that may not easily fold into the theoretical objective and chapter. This section of the study taps into the use of concepts as emphasis of understanding and wanting to change or be free from unfair structures in society. I particularly endeavour to use conceptual work that validates identities and precisely, subjugated persons. The plasticity of concepts provides for autonomy, in that specific locations of exclusion can generate their tailored concepts to address specific structural concerns rather than rely on institutions to organize and generate an equality outcome (Shultz. 2013), which may not be congruent or relatable to the difficulties and reality of landscapes from below. I introduce in this chapter and to the study the concept of Wanjiku, a living body from East Africa, to widen how we read transformation from a concept that represents or mirrors in society the body of no political consequence, due to being incalculable(Osberg, Biesta and Cilliers, 2008), the lesser person in society (Rutherford, 2016).

Wanjiku also fits into the study as a co-researcher, a body I use for reference in the study, in matters that would deeply unsettle the Acholi, given the need to cover experiences of revolting shame, harmful truth, wilful forgetfulness, fear, political surveillance and risk (Cameron, 2012) of unexplained disappearance and punishment. In developing concept to include body, there is a pull for the study to extend itself in knowing differently from exclusionary landscapes. Similarly, too understand difficult knowledge, framed as almost impossible contexts of knowing (Agathangelou, 2017), as part of representing what is separated from humanist vison in the social world.

1.8   RESEARCH PARADIGM AND DESIGN

The research takes an exploratory case study approach, committing to establish patterns of meaning through rich descriptions associated with qualitative inquiry. The research embeds itself in a constructivist/ interpretivist worldview where social reality is created and understood from people's truths, lived experiences, consciousness (Nguyen & Trah,2017) and beliefs to make meaning (Burrell & Morgan 2017). This research will rely on existing documents, artifacts, written and created by the Acholi, and available in the public domain. This material holds their reflections, responses, feelings, aspirations, and commitments in the experience of war and post-justice. To conceptualize *living archive as pedagogy*, the research will utilize interpretive hermeneutics, an approach that encourages disruption of preconceptions in prior conceptual frameworks or worldviews. Interpretation from a hermeneutics platform endorses the description of the social world through unfamiliar points as they occur in the cultural, social -political contexts, past and present in which understanding or misunderstanding ensue (Freeman, 2008).

The research design is a combination of conceptual case analysis and case study to benefit the study's research questions. These chosen designs predispose the study to be within a natural setting where knowledge emanates authentically from the participants and the phenomenon being studied is not isolated from its context (Harrison, Birks , Franklin , & Mills,2017). The case study design compliments this research by studying the phenomenon within its historical integrity (Starman, 2013). Conceptual analysis addresses the area of interest *living archive as pedagogy*; it supports the study to develop a language for what is unfamiliar. Both designs are descriptive and share a methodological structure supporting knowledge production by either broadening theory, introducing new concepts lacking in original theory, and the creation of knowledge as shaped by reality (Kosterec , 2016) rather than the verification of conclusions from existing theories (Vaismoradi , Jones , Turunen, & Shelgrove , 2016).

1.9   DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study of *living archive as pedagogy* arises from a history of acute security crisis in Uganda (Riano-Alcala & Baines , 2011). The years of war and post-war have profoundly affected the

Acholi community, other Uganda citizens and neighboring states within East African region[7]. The following are some caveats to the study:

There is an expectation of post-conflict scholarship to directly address post-conflict fragility (Wang, Suhrke, & Tjonneland , 2005; Dudouet, 2007). Therefore, the study of governance, institutional reforms, and transitional justice, as means to establish acts of transformation, social cohesion and sustainable peace prominently reoccur as areas of study and consistent practice (Brankovic, 2020; Salehi, 2021). The study deviates from this norm and neither does this research make in-depth discussion of theories of conflict prevention, peace building and nation building (ADEA, 2004). Instead, the research localizes itself in studying the Acholi experience and physical body as possible expression of a *living archive*.

The generated literature and analysis of this study does not serve as evidence of structures, institutions and people that have failed the Acholi or Uganda. I clarify that neither are omissions in the research a sign of researcher's complicity and non-adherence to neutrality as part of the researcher's ethic/s. The study is in the format of a case study, theories, arguments and conceptualizations made may not necessarily contribute to a linear study of understanding cause and effects as seen in generalized post-conflict situations.

The research emerges from retrieving Acholi's lived experience, which they have locally curated and is in the public domain as published field reports, autobiographies, audio-visual and new media. This local context approach or directly hearing from the locals is faulted in certain research traditions, where the norm is to sub-contract external non-governmental organizations or external stakeholders. This form of outsourcing local perspective/ knowledge is meant to legitimize or authenticate local/ indigenous perspective that is considered as primitive or naïve (McCorriston, 2014). Local experiences of the absent subjects of the world or subjugated are also labelled and thought of as 'grassroots' to mean low-ranking knowledge and therefore needing to be spoken for, to guarantee genuineness (Indira, 2020). In the study, the researcher intentionally refrains from inserting their voice to avoid replicating the hegemony of making the Acholi preferably unheard.

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[7] I use the East Africa Trade bloc to refer to East Africa region. The countries involved are Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo joined officially joined this sub-regional economic bloc on 29 March 2022 (Mwangangi, 2022). Uganda shares physical borders with all the countries mentioned.

The expression of post-conflict appears in the entire study, possibly misleading the reader that Acholiland or Uganda is conflict free,and there have been fundamental poltical transitions after 1986. The country is yet to implement a national transition in the form of peace, reconciliation or justice since 1986, over the years there have been active debates that question whose justice, whose peace, whose peace talks, or whose amnesty(Munene, 2016 &Pul, 2016) proving the difficulty of sustaining complex political discussions. The term post-conflict also gives a false impression of absence of violence in the country, this is an errenous assumption given that conflict is inherent in all societies.

1.10   STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The thesis has eight chapters providing three distinct sections of work. The first part, chapter one to four respectively covers the introduction to the study, historical contextualization of the Acholi, specific theoretical framings and the finding of a conceptual expression for the study. These first four chapters grant an interchange that traverses different times, thought patterns and complexities that surround the process of archiving as determined by prevailing authority, and subtly introducing the context of archiving evolving from the landscapes of below.

The second part is the methodology structure as presented in chapter five, with the emphasis on an interpretive hermeneutical approach that borrows from African philosophical work, to re-describe Africa's mode of life as having an emancipatory pull and inserting Acholi and Wanjiku to broaden community philosophical engagement.

The third part progressively builds the intellectual work that describes and keenly conceptualizes the position of *living archive as pedagogy.* This is achieved through an ordered process of data analysis to be found in chapter six, finding of new knowledge in chapter seven and chapter eight that appears as implications, possibilities, and conclusion of the entire study. I itemize each chapter below and provide a table format for the study design.

- **Chapter One** provides the general orientation of the study, the central research aim including the research questions to be examined.

- **Chapter Two** provides cursory historical literature around the Acholi in different politico- geographic formations of the past. This contextualizes living in complex and difficult configurations, their naming as *An-loco- li* to mean black and human emerges.

This chapter presents an active counter to the objectification of subjects and making them tropes to empower certain logics of order at the expense of others.

- **Chapter Three** is the theoretical body of work that describes the archive, landscape from below, and the framing of pedagogy in conflict and post-war settings. These knowledge constructs are useful in understanding and exploring of the research phenomenon. The chapter examines current debates, gaps, possible new knowledge and places emphasis on the Acholi being part of an evolving knowledge in complex post-war configurations.

- **Chapter Four** demonstrates why a conceptualization approach for this research, this is done by effectively introducing Wanjiku. A living figure from the East African region whose forms of knowledge and voice consistently mirrors, narrates the exclusion in the landscapes from below. She features in this study as a co-researcher and one accompanying the Acholi from their difficult and unknown context from below.

- **Chapter Five** highlights interpretation of secondary data done through hermeneutics, there is discussion of why the choice of interpretive hermeneutics and how this becomes part of African life and philosophy. Secondary data for this case study is within the geographical location of post-conflict Northern Uganda.

- **Chapter Six** is the presentation of the themes emerging form the secondary data analysis, with a discussion that logically places without bias the founding of *living archive as pedagogy*.

- **Chapter Seven** is a succinct response to the research questions in this study. The findings are a crucial re-entry to African philosophical work done, by unlikely educators such as the Acholi and Wanjiku. The chapter concludes with affirmations that widen the study beyond the scope of Northern Uganda.

- **Chapter Eight** defines the salient implications from the study. Possibilities to extend *living archive as pedagogy* in future research appears here, limitations of the study and the overall conclusion of the study is made.

Table 1.1: Summary of Chapter Outline

Part One	

Chapter One	Introduction to the study
	    o Background and rational
	    o Statement of the problem
	    o Central Research Aim
	    o Research Questions
	    o Significance of the study
	    o Scope of the study
	    o Conclusion

Chapter Two	I am *An- loco-li*
	    o Baganda to Republic of Uganda
	    o Colonizing Darkness and Thingification
	    o I am An- loco- li/ I am Black

Chapter Three	Theoretical framing
	    o The notion of Archives
	    o Landscapes from Below
	    o Pedagogy in post-conflict context
	    o Transformative education

Chapter Four	Conceptual framing
	    o Developing conceptual tradition
	    o Identifying Wanjiku as a concept
	    o Discussion of Wanjiku as an identity of exclusion and possible role in transformative education

Part Two	

Chapter Five	Research methodology
	    o Describing of research paradigm
	    o Indicating Research Design
	    o Discussing of Interpretive Hermeneutics
	    o Data Collection and data analysis procedures
	    o Research trust worthiness and validity
	    o Ethics

Part Three	
Chapter Six	Data analysis and discussion
	o Outline emerging themes and categories form analysis
	o Detailed description of each theme and their linkages to other studies
	o Discussion merging the key points attained
	o Conclusion of this chapter
Chapter Seven	Findings, new knowledge and summary
	o Response to each of the research questions
	o Discussion on how to apply the results
	o Revisit the main research questions to establish the extent to which the questions have been answered
Chapter Eight	Implications, possibilities and conclusion
	o Discussion of implication of study
	o Expanding possibilities in the area of study
	o Limitation of the study
	o Conclusion

CHAPTER TWO

I AM AN-LOCO-LI, I AM BLACK

...we must first redefine ourselves. Our basic need is to reclaim our history and our identity from ...cultural terrorism. We shall have to struggle for the right to create our own terms through which to define ourselves, and our relationship to the society, and to have the terms recognized

(Hamilton & Ture , 1967, para.2)

2.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to make a symbolic re-entry into the lives of the Acholi. This is done by examining complex historical paths of past civilizations, slavery, colonialism and post-colonial life, that directly impacts Acholi's present identity and socio-political participation in Uganda. This revisiting of the past is in part an archival journey of retracing lived reality, which is not part of society's immediate memory. This archival retrieval permits for a *long durée* narrative, to enable a careful read of the Acholi and Uganda beyond the war period of 1986-2008. The historical narrative approach or *long durée* unburdens the study from the expectation to finely define the start, cause and effect of the war between LRA and GoU. Such direction pulls the study in highlighting surface dynamics of power, dominant conquer accounts rather than differently seeing sidelined post-war communities often actively postured as victims.

The choice of *long durée* narrative/s in academic engagements is for identifying knowledge outcomes that go beyond listing our current moments of crisis, but rather to connect and be in solidarity with other histories and "humanities across the global system as whole" (Armitage & Gyiai, 2013, p. 37). This then guides the chapter from an archival process, to identify what has been the historical agency of the Acholi people, and to auxiliary affirm the study as paying homage to being with the world from a knowledge perspective (Sawyer, 2015).

The chapter begins by introducing the Buganda Kingdom, a federal pre-colonial traditional polity in Sub-Sahara (Shelter, 2003) and of direct consequence in the formation of the Republic of Uganda. In this chapter, I locate the Acholi people from their origins in the Nile, as *An-loco-li*, this is their naming before the 19th century. Later in this century and in particular the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan period of 1821- 1899 they appear in the archives as *"choli", "shooli", "shuuli", or "sooli"* [8](Atkinson, 1989, p.28). Some scholars argue that the name Acholi was

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[8] Variations in naming and calling the Acholi

non-existent and only arose from British colonialism that had an influence in creating an Acholi ethnic identity (Amone & Muura , 2014) in (B)Uganda.

The naming of Acholi as a *An-loco-li* is not used in contemporary times, nevertheless, this name archives how they historicized themselves in slavery, and in the formation of new world synonymous to capitalism, industrial revolution, forced migration and labour exploitation (Black , 1997) from places such as Darkest Africa (Adams, 1977). While this new world generated its economic base for the social and cultural success of European colonies (Schwartz, 1998), the colonized structurally lived in produced political and social fragmentation, ethnic fractionalization, weak states, and local economy (Nunn, 2006). This regulated any possibilities of semi-autonomy then and imposed how the colonized were assimilated in post-colonial context. The finding of the Acholi as *An-loco- li*, is befitting we witness the defining of themselves in an archival manner over different periods, seeing this is argued as crucial for the Acholi in identifying and enriching connection to self, and concern for future self (Uriminsky & Bartels , 2019). The latter is the anticipation of a future with benefits to be enjoyed, a form of higher self-continuity (Frederick, 2006) which benefits the reader or *willing hearer* in the knowing of the Acholi. Although, this higher self-continuity can possibly be seen as Acholi's desire for their liberation, human agency and evolving ways of knowing themselves.

2.2   TRANSITIONS FROM BUGANDA TO REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

The arrival of the Arabs and British in East Africa cultures, arrival to mean conquest, religious conversion and colonization in Buganda and surrounding regions was in 1843. The Arabs were the first outsiders in want of ivory, slaves, and gold (Beachy, 1967), followed by the explorers of the Nile River who wanted to find its source[9], specifically the British explorer H.M. Stanley in 1875 (Stanely, 2001). The Buganda kingdom had existed before the arrival of the British or the Arabs as a federal traditional institution, a multi ethnic polity that had expanded its territory through the annexing and conquering of a number of chiefdoms and kingdoms, expanding from its initial three provinces to twelve by 1890. This expansion was primarily because of its military superiority over its neighbours (Franz, 2009; Oliver, 1995). The Kabaka (King of Buganda region), in a later period of time was faced with an internal threat of the expansionist

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[9] The Nile is described as the Father of African Rivers; it is the longest river in Africa. Ancient Egypt referred to it as the *Aur* to mean black (Hurst H. E.-K., 2021)

Egypt-Sudan wanting to take away his political throne and incorporate it in the Egypt - Sudanese empire(1875-1919) in the 1860's - 1870's.

Kabaka Mutesa (1856-1884) tactically used the British to counter the political and religious threats over his kingdom by the Anglo- Egyptian Sudan, by writing to Queen Victoria of Britain asking her to send missionaries (Brierley & Spear , 1988). When Kabaka Mutesa died, a civil war broke out in 1894, the Baganda were unsuccessful against the British who immediately interposed their authority. Buganda then became a British protectorate run under the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) 1893-1962. Uganda's history is distinct from many settler colony narratives in Africa; their past does not have the invasion of colonial overlords, massive disruption of the old African traditional order, and huge masses of white settlers in waves (Mutibwa, 1976). Some studies analyze this protectorate arrangement as a privileged position of the Kabaka and Buganda, where British administrators and government held Buganda territory "in trust of the African people themselves" (Mutibwa,1976, p. 112). The protectorate gave the Buganda Kingdom unprecedented governance autonomy and legal rights (Mutibwa, 1976).

The historic Kingdom of Buganda sweepingly won the admiration of the British; it was a Kingdom with a history dating back to the 13th century, with unique administration, stately leadership, economic growth and development that "they had not seen anywhere in their journey of the discovery of the dark continent" (Makubuya , 2018, p. 1). In the 1900's Sir Harry Johnson defined the Kingdom as the "Japanese of Africa" an expression to describe "their potentiality for absorbing western knowledge and techniques" (Bell, p.202). The Kingdom compared to other territories in the continent was placed in high regard alongside the Asante and Dahaomey empires, of present day Ghana and Benin respectively. These kingdoms were esteemed "as pristine examples of united African society; infinitely superior to the 'barbarous' polities of the rest of Africa" (Doyle, 2009, p.15). Early adoption of Christianity in some sections of the Buganda Kingdom, enhanced Ganda's[10] ethnic profiling as being more

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[10] This is a point of clarification; the Buganda is in reference of territorial space present from the 13th century and present in contemporary Uganda as a province. The Ganda/ Abaganda/ Waganda/ Baganda are the people that occupy Buganda and speak Luganda, a Bantu language in Africa. The Ganda are not a mono-clan but a mix of Northern Bantu people, a federation of clans. A more accessible description of the Ganda in today's terms would be; the Ganda are a community among the 45 groups that make Uganda. Baganda refers to the plural persons, while Muganda is in reference to the singular person, they are descendants of Kintu and Nnambi first Man and Woman, similar to Bibilical/ Historical Adam and Eve (Makumbi, 2020).Additionally, Ganda also describes different clans joining the Abaganda, through Kabaka's cultural imposition, taxes, taking away of the land, enforcing laws, chiefs and enforced obedience (Roberts, 1962).

civilized than other African people in the 19th century (Speke, 2019). The Kingdom became a sub-imperial power, an equal power and an ally to the British who would transfer territories that they had invaded, annexed, for incorporation in the protectorate to be run by the Kabaka (Doyle, 2009).

In the protectorate, recognition of the Kabaka as the center of power, and his Kingdom[11] as the most powerful was enforced. This was done through a colonial integration that disciplined the conquered[12] by mechanisms of- "the universal insistence on Luganda as the language of public life, and the use of the court system as a means of coercion and mandatory education" (Doyle, 2009, p.284). The conquered immigrants acquired new Ganda clans and new individual names, they became bodies of labor for ordinary Ganda people in their farms, and in census, they were counted as Baganda (Doyle, 2009). This cultural imposition brought a different kind of erasure for the conquered; they were alienated from their homelands of origin, their kingdoms, in the South and West parts of present Uganda. The Kabaka exported chiefs and agents from the kingdom to implement the Ganda system and government (Oliver, 1995; Doyle, 2009). This was to ensure that royal authority of the Kabaka was felt in places conquered by the British and far from the Kabaka.

The reign of this powerful Kingdom for a far longer period was anticipated; the Ganda acknowledged, "theirs was a superior culture that other Africans should aspire to emulate" (Doyle, 2009, p.16). Economically, the Kingdom further benefited from the introduction of coffee and cotton as new cash crops from the British. They implemented a land tenure system[13], where communal land was redistributed to the Kabaka, Chiefs, the British protectorate and

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[11] Buganda as a powerful Kingdom is a result of its military superiority over its neighbors. For 300 years, it had expanded its territory by annexing and conquering a number of Kingdoms and chiefdoms, expanding from three provinces to twelve by 1890 (Franz, 2009). The defeating of its neighbors and other Kingdoms in several literature appears as Buganda wars, the Ganda Kingdom had also survived famine caused by World War I, and the negative impact of abolition of slavery/ free labor.

[12] The conquered Kingdoms were Ankole, Bunyoro, Toro and the territory of Busoga. The Districts of Acholi, Bugisu, Bukedi, Karamoja, lango, Madi, Sebei, Teso, West- Nile and Kigiezi (Mutibwa, 1992, p. 24).

[13] Land resource was a communal commodity, in pre-colonial Buganda and other communities. The 1900 Buganda Agreement, divided land in two categories the crown land and the *mailo*. The crown land was reserved for the British protectorate, while the *mailo* was put under the custody of the Kabaka, religious institutions, kingdom officers and other royal or notable individuals. The term *mailo* in English would be miles, this agreement effectively rendered people as squatters and landless. Over the years, the ordinary people would rent the land to farm, in order to pay for their hut tax and sustain themselves. With time, individual land ownership became acceptable to meet the demands of capitalism machinery. Other groups and individuals that worked in this *mailo* land system were the Ruanda- Urundi people (1920-1960) colonized by the Germans and part of Belgian Congo-Zaire colony, present day Rwanda and Burundi. In vast literature, they are referred to as migrants or foreigners, (Foster , Hitchcock, & Lyimo, 2000).

notables (loyal family, kingdom officials, religious institutions and other individuals) (Monitor, 2020). Consequently, a class system – of those who labor and a few who appropriate a specific form of economic production emerged (Mamdani,1975). The extraction of masses of land from its rightful heirs, favoured the protectorate commercially and the Kindgom, Buganda became the second largest producer of cotton second to India (Earle, 2012).

The Acholi in the northern region of Buganda planted cotton and tobacco cash crops that were labour intensive, the climate at the north was not conducive for the crops, and the harvest happened once a year with very little pay (Amone, 2104). This in comparison, to high altitude regions of Buganda in the south that planted tea, coffee, pyrethrum and constantly got payment for these crops all year round, was economically unviable for the Acholi. The northern region was generally disadvantaged (Amone, 2014) and labelled as the rural- backward society, primitive.[14] The disadvantaging perpetuated structures of neoliberal racism, ethnic, and spatial othering that justified their discrimination, stigmatization of the northern people. (Armitage , 2015).

The Acholi men were forced to move to the south that later became Kampala metropolis, for formal jobs, casual laborers, but many offered cheap military labour from 1862- 1962 (Amone, 2014), that has since made them labelled as 'naturally martial'[15] (Mutibwa, 1992, p.26). Vast literature shows that the Acholi were often paid poorly, and despised due to their minimal basic education or none (Lunyiigo, 1987). Traditionally the Acholi are pastoralists with large herds of cattle, needing to graze in vast open rangeland (Akena , 2018). The separation of people from their lands "in much of East Africa represents all that people are or have; their identity, wealth, and cultural heritage" (wa Thiongo & Mugo, 1976, p. 14). Communities' relation to land is also a form of self-knowledge, history and future (George & Dei, 2018). The removal of land capital from its original custodians is not unique to the Buganda Kingdom, overtime this has evolved as a global systemic exploitation, causing a class of landless proletariat (Walter, 2015) at the expense of capitalism thriving in forced displacements (Harvey, 2003).

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[14] In specific reference to the Acholi and Karamajong ethnic groups (Armitage, 2015), though there are dozens of other ethnic groups in the north.

[15] In the reign of Idi Amin 1971-79 the Acholi were severely persecuted and their men systematically executed for their past association with the colonial army and supporting the firs president of the Nation Milton Obote 1962-79, 1980-85 (Britannica, 2019).

With the dawn of independence in the 1960s for the continent, Buganda had to restructure itself to become a Uganda polity. Transition to nationhood in many post-colonial states remains awkward, given the unresolved colonial inequalities, complicities and lingering suspicions in multi-ethnic societies. A vast body of literature interprets these transitions as the immediate move from colonial feudal system to capitalism, in others a shift from authoritarian rule, to a desired democratic dispensation. For Buganda, we see an extreme difficult change; on the day of national Independence, the Baganda Kingdom immediately become demoted to being any other regular ethnic group (Green, 2010) to fit the imagination of modern nationhood.

The study of nationhood is articulated as a shift to a non -privileged citizenship that accommodates cultural self-definition, where the citizen/s has urgency to revise historical marginalization (Okunoye, 2001), while allowing for resistance that does not threaten the sense of belonging. This formulation is very much an ideal for Uganda and other nation states in the continent. I revert to Mazrui (1982, p. 44) position of nationhood, as an applicable consideration of an African solidarity, a sense of belonging, a familial solidarity, where we "transition from Kinship sentiment to Kinship fulfilment, from a desire to see all Nigerians or all Ugandans as one people". Referring to Mazrui's thought of nationhood, he strongly proposes the creation of a sense of dwelling and solidarity in and for the continent, as opposed to nationality boundaries. What is nationhood by Mazrui may be one that advises the continent to address matters of marginalization and exclusion as needing a continental approach as opposed to divisive ethnic- politico interventions. In the next section, I uncover Acholi's pre-colonial experience, before their inclusion in Buganda, which historicizes how they named the world, named themselves in their sites of struggle.

2.3   COLONIZING DARKNESS AND *THINGING*

The Acholi community are Nilotic speaking and indigenous to the banks of White Nile Valley, that is present day South Sudan (Amone & Muura, 1962; Odingo, 1968). Other Nilotic groups and non- Acholi communities also existed there that migrated and dispersed in historic times to contemporary Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Using an ethnolinguistic perspective, we have two groups of the Acholi community those that have lived in South Sudan, and the Acholi of northern Uganda who appear in this study. The White Nile region the original home of the Acholi from the "very beginning of historic time and undoubtedly before, … has been [a place of] trade in slaves throughout the Nile Valley spreading across the Red Sea and into the Middle East" (Collins,

1992, p.140). "The Plotemies, Romans, Arabs, Turks in ancient and modern times have all taken slaves from the upper Nile valley" (Ewald, 1998, p. 1820) what is now the Republic of South Sudan that recently got its independence in 2011. The people of the Nile appear in history as "deracinated and deculturated" (Shilliam, 2012, p. 99), and often homogenized as darkness to morally legitimize their exploitation, and justifying their need to be civilized after all they are barbarians from the borders of the earth (Adams, 1977).

The people of the Nile were sold in exchange for "… Indian cotton, spices, perfumes and gold". Sought after "as domestic servants, concubines and children…" (Collins, 1992, p. 292). Several studies show evidence of a natural order, where the Ottoman Empire[16], Arabian Peninsula[17] and the Pharaohs insatiably desired them as best grade bodies (Pavly, 2018). For centuries, the captured men from the Nile served in the Egyptian armies; they made crusades against Syria, Arabia, Greece and Crete (Ross, 2003) during the helm of the Anglo Egypt –Sudan period of 1875- 1919 (Powell,1995). This historic natural order is also an unspoken reference to who is seen white, who is close to white and who becomes black; these separations were enforced from above, causing ethnic and racial difference (Mondesire, 2018).

Historically we find a gap that fails to account, or describe the Nile's contribution to the civilizations of the past and the formation of new world order from the seventh century to the early nineteenth century (Searcy, 2011; McHugh, 1989). There also exists another layer of racial erasure, the Nilotic historically exist in literature and in past- life as purely exploited and having a paternalistic relationship with Egypt -Sudan history (Darwisheh, 2019). This attitude excluded them from fitting or belonging in the history of the Middle East or North Africa, where they were slaves. They have starkly fallen short of being included in any race construct, including the Negro. This is acurately described by Reinsch (1905, p.145). The Negro race in the continent is studied as the "Central African people living in the forests of their original state, the mixed race of the Arab and Hamite (Ethiopian descendants) in northern Sudan…" Or the Khoi and San natives thought to be socially inferior and living side by side with the white population of South Africa (Reinsch,1905). Scholars who have attempted to address this gap have logically concluded that this exclusion prevails because they came from a geographical

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[16] Ottoman Empire (1301- 1922) was the largest and longest lasting empire in history. Its fall off was due to the World War I and Balkan Wars. In the scramble for Africa, it had conquered Egypt, the North Africa Costal Strip, and had slaves from East Africa working in Zanzibar in the farming of cloves and other spices.

[17] Part of the Arab Peninsula had been captured by the Ottoman Empire before its fall. This peninsula is the largest in the world, present day Middle East.

space without interest, and being an aberration on the periphery (Collins, 2005). Their use as slaves does not mean they were defenceless, or their Chiefdom leadership and power structures were unresponsive to their security threats. They were often captured, deliberately plagued, their livestock as means of livelihood stolen, and their spears and arrows were not a match for the canon and musket fire (Collins, 1992) of the enemies.

The first domination of the Nile and in extension Sudan was in the 1820-1885 under the Turco-Egyptian Empire (Darwisheh, 2019), the second form of domination was by the Anglo Egypt-Sudan 1875-1919 (Powell , 1995). The later form of domination was equated to a civilizing mandate intended to advance Egypt's cultural and political morale (Sharkey, 2003). To them "Sudanese [Nilotic] slaves and servants…[were] sexually licentious, coarse and half-naked, alternatively passionate and dull-witted" (Sharkey, 2003. p.691), found at the borders of the earth as " miserable …barbarian neighbors" (Adams, 1977, p.163). The Nile's colonization by the British Empire, was reasoned to be a policy matter, and ideology that galvanized both a 'civilizing' and 'humanitarian' mission (Collins, 2005). The people of the Nile at this point become part of the colonial architecture, and a colonial space had to be created, where the "African world had to be made livable" (Táiwò, 2010, p. 137) for the colonizers and to protect them from the primitive savage (Pierre , 2020). The logic of colonial nativism, toward black African communities is evident in the Nilote's experience. They were perceived to be "childlike people [who] inhabited Africa and could not progress beyond their simplistic environment…until the white's colonized…" (Mamdani, 1996, p. 6). Similar to Reinsch's (1905) argument, Africa was then seen to be lacking higher intellectual capacity. Colonialism was to improve this civilization, to keep the native "under wise restraint" to transform "the child to good and even clever children for, in their wild impulses and passions aflame can be … devils incarnate" (Kabalega, n.d., para.12).

How colonialism organized these spaces of darkness has enduring episteme and social consequences around communities (Lee, 2015). Accounts of the Acholi from the British explorers on *safari* produce a spatialized process of othering, racializing and normalizing the production of a non-human. The extract below provides context to develop this further.

The whole of the Nile country is barren and unproductive when compared to the rich lands of Unyoro[18] and Uganda. The undulating country is covered with thorn bush and stunted shrub, broken here and there by giant boulders. The pitiless sun shone day after day and week after week ... it scorched and withered every crop and dried up all rivers. The Nilotic ... is indolent and famine or plague have seldom been absent from one part of his country or the other. The type is tall, very thin, the legs are long with undeveloped calves, inclined to be knock-kneed; ...the skin is very black, the hair woolly.

The tall and emaciated ...stalked abroad over the land like some wild animal in search of food; you met him on the roadside and in the jungle; hunger lent as lustre to his eye, which glared from a dace drawn with exhaustion and lined with suffering. If you went 'on Safari', the rear of your caravan was shadowed by these hungry skeletons hoping for a meal. It would come sometimes when Bushbuck or Hartebeest dropped to your riffle, and then ... muttered 'Bism Illah'. This picture is no exaggeration, the Nilotic... has always had a struggle for bare existence for nature and inherited characteristics have been against him." (Meldon, 1913, p.167-169).

The use of disadvantaging historical events to describe the locals from these *safari* expeditions played a significant part in the failure to understand this objectified non-human. For example, the pestilence of "small pox, famine, incessant fighting, desertification of the Sahara, slave raids and the Dervish occupation of 1860-1900 where they were killed, captured in thousands and exported to the north" North Africa (Meldon , 1913, p. 174). The thought of surviving this was referenced as the 'martyrdom of man' (Reade , 1872) an expression aggressively indicating the unbelief of human survival unless it was a savage of primeval nature (Reade, 1872).

The colonial descriptions above, frames objectification of a subject, a "human slightly more than an object-yet also less than the object, because what is human in it is so intangible, so removed from the zone where human interaction may take place" (Plotz, 2005, p. 113). Their objectification as explained by Foucault (1978) is a dividing power practice that justifies how we put controls on certain human subjects. Their objectification contrives an intangible life condemned to *thingdom* where they appear as a thing. The theory of *thingdom* or *thinigified* (Césaire, 2000); is a lens describing those in the margins whose lives evoke no ordinary human association. It is close to the intellectual thought of failing to name those in the margins (Plotz, 2005) enabling their existence as mere spectacle, lacking "ontological resistance in the eyes of the colonizer" (Fanon, 1995, p. 110). Their *thingness* permits their life and humaness to be decontextualized and replaced with conceptualizations of 'absence', 'lack' and 'non-being' negativeness –in short nothingness. (Mbembe,2001, p. 4).This *thingification* becomes

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[18] Unyoro land belongs to the Banyoro people assimilated into Baganda. The Uganda mentioned in the citation refers to Buganda kingdom.

important for colonialism and coloniality to explicitly show what locations are worthy of selfhood in the globe. The classification of *thingdom* automatically makes the colonized lose their ability to name and speak, articulate knowledge and systematically erases the colonized human agency before (Galison, 2004).

The locating of the Acholi in the protectorate does not sharpen a sense of worth or belonging, we find them profiled through *thingdom* as people coming from non- productive inferior zones of the north (Lunyiigo, 1987). What majorly changes is their ethnic naming, in the past they appear as *An-loco-li,* some migrate to the north of Buganda from 1400-1800 (Collins, 2005), and by the late 19th century they are referred to *"Choli," "Shooli," "Shuuli" or "Sooli"* the local Luo word for "black." (Atkinson, 1989, p. 28). The change of name almost coincides with their separation from Egyptian –Sudan rule, to their colonization by the British Empire. In the north of Buganda, they are totally deprived of any colonial infrastructure to develop the area (Lunyiigo, 1987), and until now the country has an active south- north divide, where the north is more exposed to inequalities pre-existing the pre-colonial period (Colette, 2015).

Acholi's role in military ethnocracy from 1862-1962 (Amone, 2014; Mazrui, 1975) is a constant retold feature in their past and present history. This service is not seen as honourable and neither a superior position (Mazrui, 1975); through it, the Acholi generations have been portrayed as cruel people (Adimola, 2007) since previous regimes have used them as representatives of state coercion and violence as the martial race (Laruni , 2015) of (B)Uganda. In the reign of Idi Amin Dada 1971-79 the Acholi were severely persecuted and their men systematically executed for their past association with the colonial army and supporting the first president of the Nation Milton Obote 1962-79, 1980-85 (Britannica, 2019). The Acholi been "stereotyped, isolated and hated by other ethnic groups especially from the south" (Mazrui, 1975, p.305). I do not wish to minimize this experience, and how it may have affected any community in the society. Nevertheless, this exemplifies the deep-seated nature of objectifying, which preserves a dividing practice, where the thingified/ objectified identity is only understood in a static and frozen time, so that they may exist as a trope (Foucault, 1978). This way we manipulate their ability to speak, un-see their human agency and cognition by legitimizing our irrationality, fear, resentment, judgement, and dehumanization as more sensible than the needs of the objectified (Dagar, 2017).

2.4   AN-LOCO-LI

How to remedy, the construction and consequences of being *thingified* is a mediation needing multifarious capacities in post-colonial life. Could it be, that *An-loco-li*, which means I am a human being, or black (Amone, 2014) is a body actively re-entering our context to resist the systematic separation (of self, the other and ourselves). The identifying as black in scholarship refers to "history, representation, culture, identity and spirituality" (Gabriel, 2007, p. 85). *An-loco-li* as a self-hood description that existed prior to the arrival of the European colonizers. It significantly goes beyond being an ethnic marker, it is neither geographically delimited, but rather an ideology close to the concept of being-in-the world (Dreyfus, 1990), showing that we have dwelling, or belonging in the world. I present the argument that *An-loco-li* is a regenerative form of naming, considering the lexicon of black or blackness is synonymous to the long structure of witnessing dehumanization, erasure, distortion, and fragility (Sithole, 2020). This comes from the racialization experience where white culture has constructed "blackness as embodiment of burden, and blackness as the presumed untouched and unmediated by various contingent discursive practices of history time and context" (Yancy, 2008, p. 3).

In this study, *An-loco-li* organizes itself to be an ideology that courageously names its body, as human to signify a form of dwelling. To imply, that while minority identities may be excluded or rejected from communities, their own bodies are incapable of rejecting themselves, for the body is a form of home. This radically reverses or contradicts language tropes that differently name the black body as the dwelling of death, extraction of labour, evil and barbarousness (Conyers, 2003). It resists the racialization and homogenization of the diverse types of being black or blackness, as structural pathways for conditioned prejudice, where their (black) culture, society, spaces are subconsciously seen as the transferal points of "evils" to blackness the person and group (Austin, 2004, p.12). The naming *An-loco-li* also applies as the resisting to be defined as *nigger, Negro* and other white descriptive terms used in history (Alabi, 2005). Finding *An-loco-li* of the past and presenting them in the study shows the Acholi giving a narration of who they are to themselves. Close to Sylvia Wynter's body of work that confronts the limits of being human, she encourages blackness narrating who it is, to itself for representation (Scott, 2016). In doing so it is plausible to argue that *An-loco-li* -I am black and human is illustrative of, at no point can we argue of there being an overrepresentation in the following; who is human/black, what it means to be human/black and what a human/black is supposed to do (Wynter, 2013 cited in (Rodriguez , 2018).

The presence of *An- loco- li* esteems Mbembe's (2021) notion that the world does not have two types of humanity, rather we are yet to experience other ways of living in the world for all, without institutionalizing separation. In retracing the life of *An-loco-li*, perhaps this naming is evidence of how we consciously archive and preserve body integrity, by refusing to be nameless and faceless as unprivileged subjects (Walter, 2015). While *An-loco-li* does not exhaust insights of personhood from the margins, its presence is useful in guiding how to resist delegitimizing black body, challenge our complicities, and failed responsibility to foster solidarity (Sefa Dei, 2018). I perceive the past generations of *An-loco- li (black and human)* in the eighteenth and nineteenth century as the resurfacing of an archive from the past that connects to our present living conditions, that have been unfavourable and disadvantageous due to the years of war post-independence, post-war and the coloniality lived experiences by the Acholi community.

This chapter enables an intellectual nexus of *An-loco-li* and the Acholi from a *long dureé* perspective. This joint connection permits both *An-loco-li* and Acholi to be concerned of their present and question: what is their expression of higher-self continuity? The historical past shifts the *An-loco-li* to encounter the present not as a *thingdom* character deprived of talk/speech, human agency and their blackness interpreted thinly as colour scheme of barbarians from the borders of the earth. In this connection both the Acholi and *An-loco-li* share a similarity of disadvantaging environs, which the Acholi could address for the purpose of future self (Uriminsky & Bartels, 2019) and higher self-continuity (Frederik, 2006). The Acholi cultural way of life emphasizes, that when living in– *piny rac* (p'Bitek, 1962), then we must find forms of restoration, or identify what affirms our sense of security, stability and dignity (Nabudere & Velthuizen , 2013). This is to protect our cultures from being unable to cope with the menace anymore (p'Bitek,1986). Interestingly, what p'Bitek refers to *piny rac-* un-favorability/bad surroundings needing a cultural response appears differently in contemporary studies as the reading of demonic grounds, geographies of domination (McKittrick, 2006), public arena among other descriptors. All of these grounds are crucial ways of narrating people's experiences and representation from their experience with slavery, violent colonial past and racial sexual displacement (McKittrick, 2006) among other dehumanizing experiences. These cartographies are critical in highlighting black subjectivity, erasure, struggle (Mondesire, 2018), and the production of difference, and how we complicate and refuse especially for the female body to redefine and remake in these spaces (Gorkariksel, Hawkins , Neubert , & Smith , 2021).

The understanding of these places and spaces that are *piny rac* actively position both *An-loco-li* and Acholi among other diverse forms of excludes persons as constantly being -in -the-world not as figured bodies but rather evolving from their sites of struggle linked to the dominations of the past and present. Finding *An-loco-li* as an inhabitant of *piny rac* and one whose life is archive accessible provides for an interesting glimpse on the traditional nature of who can archive within the African context. Well-established African traditional kingdoms of the past had griots as early as the 13th century. Often a male individual born from a specific family of griots trained to excel as orators, lyricists, musicians and can memorize records of all the births, deaths, and marriages through the family and village generations for years (Keita , 2019).

They were born to tell the truth (Palmer , 2002), and they preserved the community's archives and information through their multiple roles of being an advisor to the King, an excellent orator, and musician (Obamwonyi, 2016). This individual was the custodian of knowledge, history, and tradition. Seeing the griot as an individual permitted to do archiving for African traditional society, opens up to see *An-loco-li* as possibly, a different kind of griot who's archiving is an application to resist being defined as darkness, *thingification* and its consequences. Chapter three of the study firmly grounds the scientific procedure of how to do archiving, and how the Acholi may use certain parameters of archiving for their desire for liberation, to lucidly represent themselves and reclaim their humanity.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The chapter presents a historical past and present, to uncover different ways of knowing the Acholi, from a place of continuity rather than in the limited context of the war between the LRA and UPDF/A or GoU. This past introduces them to the study as African Nilotes, originating and indigenous to the White Nile Valley in contemporary South Sudan. For centuries they lived in a historic context that was natural order, to have them as slaves for the Pharaohs, North Africa, Middle East, Roman and Ottoman Empire among others, groupings before the new world order. They later appear in the history of the Buganda protectorate 1893-1962, as a colonized people living in the margins of the northern areas the structurally non-productive zones compared to the South of Buganda.

The chapter retraces from an archive perspective the experience of colonization, an era where selfhood of persons in geographical spaces without interest, made the locals an aberration on the periphery (Collins, 2005). The Acholi were subjects of the powerful Buganda kingdom

residing in the north and generally labelled as rural-backward society. Their minimal basic education or none, poor survival on cash crops trade forced a majority of Acholi to move to the South of Buganda for low paying jobs. Most Acholi men offered cheap military labour for the colonial regime, and the first governing regime post-independence. The perception of the Acholi being backward and lacking any social- political status worsened their experiences of stereotypes, discrimination, spatial othering and neoliberal racism that persists to date.

Prior to colonialism through an archival process, I trace the Acholi community appearing as *An-loco-li* in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The name *An-loco-li* means "I am a human being, or black" (Doom, 1999, p.10) this is an important description of themselves in an era where the blackness was colour synonymous to a savage, without agency and their form of speech, life and agency un-seen. I argue in the chapter that finding *An –loco-li*, is finding an archive of the past, which connects with the Acholi to continue the *long dureé* narrative of future and self-continuity desire. *An-loco-li* identity grounds itself in –being-in- the- world with other forms of blackness, needing to represent themselves as I am human/ black, what it means to be human/black and what a human/black can do (Wynter, 2013 cited in Rodriguez, 2018). This chapter quintessentially introduced a different knowing of both *An-loco-li* and Acholi in places of *piny-rac*, this historic engagement was important to avoid a surface account of the war between LRA and UPDF/A. The historic narrative approach becomes a useful application in exploring the conceptualization of *living archive* and its form of pedagogy in post-conflict Northern Uganda.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMING FOR THIS STUDY AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The disinterested learn from none, the curious learn from some, the keen learn from
many, but the disciplined learn from all

(Dhilwayo, 2014, para. 3)

3.1   INTRODUCTION

A post-warscape society is often a complex environment with a gamut of high-level interventions that demonstrate the state's constitutional duty of political repair in society (Muzaffarli & Ismailov, 2009). Eminent focus is on political programs in the form of peacebuilding implementation, security reform, economic, environment and social input. These are determined by the co-operation and contestation of different authorities; local, national, regional and international collaborates (Ansorg & Gordon, 2019) as well as policy applications for renewed post-war life transitions. While these interventions are crucial to the architecture of post-conflict, there are power dynamics that negate, erase, and abandon post-war communites needs and the re-investigation of an inescapbale past (Shringapure, 2019).

In the chapter, there is specific keenness to revert to theorization that is consistent with the explicit gap of survivor-victim communities reclaiming their agency and desiring of freedom in spaces of radical co-existence and exclusion, human agency, and liberation amongst others. I argue that their exclusion teers their drapery of own representation essential in the recognition of their humanity (Simon, 2017) and everyday lived experience. In the following sections a wide theoretical expanse is made within the boundaries of the itemized considerations:

  i.   Return to the original archive and conceptualization of *living archive*.
  ii. The materiality of a *living archive.*
  iii. Acholi's "up againstness" and radical co-existence in the landscape from below.
  iv. Returning to humanity through pedagogy of revolution and source.

While this chapter is informed by decolonial, post-structural and postcolonial thinking the identified scholars and their work do not stand specifically as theories. However, their contributions shape responses, inspire critique on the above-itemised points that become the expanse of this theoretical discussion. The following intellectual frameworks are used: Jacque Derrida (1995) - Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression, The Archaeology of Knowledge-

Michel Foucault (1969), Nicola Whyte (2013)-Landscape History from Below, and Amílcar Cabral's Pedagogue of the Revolution (2009). In brevity, Archive Fever and Archaeology of Knowledge enlighten the research objective and the task of conceptualizing a *living archive as pedagogy*. Equally, these provide the material to understand archives lexicon and procedures, fundamental assertions, and epistemological areas of blindness.

Amílcar Cabral's Pedagogue of Revolution (2012) and Return to the Source (1973) are prominent works that illustrate knowledge formation in contexts of overt political conflict and the aspiration for liberation. It is reasonable to expect Cabral's writings to inform transformative education in post-war, which is a research objective of this study. Landscape History From Below (2013), becomes an additional lens to elucidate persistent structural excision as lived by undesirable identities in society (Alphen, 2017). Often, literature on exclusion may be met by a response of dispiritedness, or prolonged impassivity, individually or collectively. This theoretical engagement submits to the disruption of exclusion impassivity, so that present political life generates a consciousness and sets up conditions that relate with our difficulties (Alphen, 2017).

3.2   (RE) READING THE ARCHIVE

The study approaches the archive as a key configuration for varied forms of knowledge production. Archiving has long been a linguistic science from the nineteenth-century (Cook, 2001) and how to archive continues to be an evolving concept and practice (Boyda, 2013). The history of the first public archives coincides with Europe's modernity period, where the archive is structured to support judicial, administrative, historical and cultural mandates (Mckemmish et al., 2005). Jacque Derrida (1995) studies the Greek archive in his work Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression. His scholarship rectifies this wrong *(le mal)* representation, and in hindsight shows the double meaning of *mal* to also mean a form of illness *(malaise).* This then in my view strategically explains the beginning of a European archive founded on a place of both *mal(aise).* The *malaise* that Derrida identifies is the fever possibly a consequence of European modernity positioning its archive as the first in modern world. On the contrary, there is evidence of the Greek archive having been kidnapped (Dussel 2000; Posner 1972; Schellenberg 1956) by Europe expunging Greece as the genesis site of the archive (Gordon, 2014). This form of *le mal* has long benefitted and created an impression of Europe, having authority over the world's linguistic reality, as well as being kernels of historic truth (Gordon, 2018) or custodians and devotees of the truth in the modern world (Jenkinson , 1922). The

*mal(aise)/*fever in the archive has further served "Imperial linguistic scholars [who] … continued to colonize non- European histories and create a place for themselves as heirs of the world's different civilizations" (Gordon, 2014. p.110).

The imperial linguistic scholars using the *mal(aise)* to present a singular image of a modern archive, used this to argue as being linguistically, culturally, and racially Eurocentric pure (Nesmith, 2005). To maintain this, they developed an ordering of the archive dependent on an etymological approach or philosophical vocabulary from the Greek archive. I introduce a few of those terms; *Arkhê, Arkhieon*, and *Archon*, that inform whose exclusion or visibility in the archiving process. These terms are also significant in establishing and conceptualizing *living archive as pedagogy* as a different category of contemporary archives. I begin explaining this by noting the archive has its root word as *arkhê* to mean original, place of origin or beginning (Boyda, 2013). The *archon/s (who rule/s)* are mandated to take the responsibility to run the archive (Vosloo, 2005). Their intellectual authority permits them to read and interpret documents customarily preserved and protected in the archive (*arkhê/ arkhieon)* (Eastwood, 1994). The *archon*, usually a superior magistrate, serves as a faithful custodian of state law and resides in the *arkhieon* (Derrida, 1994). This archival order was moreover fundamental in pervasively placing Eurocentric knowledge production and culture (Gordon, 2014) as most superior.

The theory of Archive Fever is an impulse to return to the archive in ancient and classical Greece and to find ways to read our contemporary archives radically (Derrida, 1994). Gordon (2014) contends that to shift from the singular Eurocentric perspective of the archive presents the possibility of locating other, and otherness within the archive. This shift is essential considering that meaning in knowledge is raised from "western philosophy (metaphysics). This is based on the construction of binaries that privilege presence over absence, speech over writing (logocentrism), and the masculine over feminine (phallocentrism)" (Gordon, 2014, p.112). The return to Greece as argued by Derrida, is not a summon to transcend the kidnapped/ original archive, but rather to have it function as a base *arkhê* that spurs contemporary reflection, is of better judgement, diversifies consciousness within archives and has a duty to historical truth and justice (Derrida,1995).

3.2.1 Tracing Contemporary Typologies of Living Archives in African Context

The conceptualization of *living archive* and later *living archive as pedagogy* in this study is to perhaps become part of the larger contemporary bloom within academic discourse, and other spheres that view an archive as a catharsis for personal and collective memory, as well as for self-hood stability (Walsham, 2016). Living archives are a recent genre within the archival space and lack singularity of definition as their purpose is widely spread across disciplines and varied interest. Archives that model themselves to be living, work around the synergy of creatively adding content or material that links the past, to the present through a participatory process (Sabiescu , 2020) with the anticipation of this continuing in the future. This kind of archiving can be an expressed in the form of an exhibition, documentation, preserving of a sentiment or movement in a particular community (Rhodes , 2014) with the potential to be more wide-ranging and layered. Studies of living archives are relatively new, and material or scholarship explaining this intellectual work is evolving. For this research I find resonance with appropriating Living Archive typology that is in sync "with a range of subaltern voices and the epistemic violence's to which some are subjected, made unhearable, or even impossible to hear due to the effects and results of grave historical omission" (Abdulhadi et al., 2015, para.2).

I first trace available formulations of living archive to give context, but also to identify areas of similarity or unlikeness as regards how I frame *living archive as pedagogy* for this thesis. I share the following three examples for contemplation. One, living archive as a practice of collecting material to create living curricula. This is introduced in Holt's (2015) study of *Feminst Conversations with the Judy Chicago Art Education Collection.* This collected work is in the form of analogue audio, visual material, and textual material. The ultimate archival desirability for this project is for it to be a teaching tool within a feminist context. The replication of this work in communities, through collaboration and archival preservation is what propels this work to be classified as living. The study submits that the living archive attribute is in the perpetual availability of curated material made available at the Judy Chicago Art Exhibition. This particular approach of a living archive is desirable; it differs from my study for I rely on the living Acholi body inscribed with war mutilations as the primary living curricula and educator, who is also the vessel provoking transformation using their body, and the styling of a living body as archive cannot be preserved as a form of collection. I note that the Art Education featuring in this section is not an African intended archive.

Secondly, I encounter Adebonmi Gbadebo a visual artist whose work is described as impactful and high content work (Oliver , 2019) before, during and after the African Art Fair London - 2019 exhibition. Gbadebo categorizes her installations as living document (Gbadebo, 2020). This artwork involves differently producing paper through her own new technique, which uses only black people's hair, pulp and cotton as the raw material to produce this paper (Gbadebo, 2020). Her artistic work involves creating sculptures, paintings, print and paper using human hair. This aesthetic creativity stands out as rejecting traditional material/s for art. She argues that her artwork is living; hair is the main medium of work and it carries with it peoples DNA content, enabling her work to deliberately center the history and narratives of black people (Gbadebo, n.d; Valentine, 2020). In her words, "My material is DNA, it is my heritage from hair donors" (Gbadebo, 2021, para 5). Her artwork demands a care routine for black people's different types of hair, for example a gentle hair comb, spritzing of hair with conditioner, protecting it from dust. Sticking of sharp razor blades on the hair to avoid the attendees, from touching the hair. Given hair has energetic pull and is part of people's crown chakra. Thus, to preserve her exhibited work, staff at the exhibitions have to learn how to take care of black people's hair as if it were living, and in this way her artwork resists death (Gbadebo, 2020). Reviewers of her exhibition argue that Black hair, as a medium of work, is both revolutionary and celebratory; her artwork radically confronts the contemporary impasse of anti-blackness, black hair politics and discrimination (Austin, 2018).

Adebonmi Gbadebo's work centrally inspires this study and other admirers of her work to unapologetically center what is marginalized, and controversial. Her work exhibited in one of the greatest art institutes, encourages the pursuing of controversial living archives typologies in public space/s to generate a consciousness that is not simply pop culture trying to figure 'woke/ wokeness' attitudes. I have profound admiration for Adebonmi Gbadebo, her contribution and work radically shapes how studies can continue to imagine living archives or in her words "living documentation encoded with DNA, history, culture of the people I am interested in depicting in my work" (Gbadebo, 2019).

Thirdly, I pursue the ancestral veneration among the Mijikenda people of Kenya. This partly involves the construction of life-size statues for specific respected departed (death) persons in society unfortunately, it is only male privileging. These statues named as *vigagango* in plural, *kigango* –singular, are made by specific highly skilled artisans, who carve out "local termite-resistant hardwoods in the form of decorated and abstract human males, with long rectangular

bodies and circular heads" (Nash & Chanthaphonh, 2013, p. 55). These *vigagango* are publicly put near or on top of the graves of the notable men. The *vigagango* differ from the Christian or other traditions of putting headstones, crosses or other markers on graves. The *vigagango* are "living objects that physically incarnate the spirit of the honored elders" (Nash & Chanthaphonh, 2013, p.55). The *vigagango* are allowed to stand until they naturally decompose, they are replaced by a second generation of wood statue (*kibao*), which embodies the remaining spirit of the first sculpture, this is a centuries old practice (Wolfe, 1979).

There has been a massive flight of these *vigango* from the sacred forests and family graves to the United States, stolen and sold to art dealers from the late 1980's through a "destructive and extensive growing international market" (Nash & Chanthaphonh, 2013, p.58). The uprooting of the *vigagango* is an act of abhorrence with consequences of illness, bad harvests, death, and disunity in families and the community of the Mijikenda. There is an interesting brief return to archive fever at this point, the Mijikenda's form of *mal(aise)/*fever is the collective destruction of community by a higher form of power. Returning the *vigagango* from museums abroad to the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi or to the community has been exasperating. How to appease the spirits from their molestation ritually remains unknown and, these unresolved living vigagango's in diaspora could worsen what was once familiar and easy for the Mijikenda (Nash, 2021). While the *vigango* fall into a more spiritual –community practice, I at this point presume it may have nodes of similarity to what I imagine *living archive* is, in an Acholi context. For instance, *Vigango* are specific to highly respectable persons in society often male. I realize that not all Acholi survivor-victims can embody living archive. There is concern on how to respect the *vigango* in diaspora and to ensure their safety. I imagine that what is conceptualized as an Acholi *living archive* has concerns for the safety and respect of persons that are alive, but persistently excisioned as living undesirable identities, in spaces of "up againstness".

Transitioning to how this study identifies itself as living archive, I am closely guided by Riaño-Alcalá and Baines (2011), joint study of post-conflict Northern Uganda and Northwest Colombia. They describe a living archive "as safe social space created by individual or survivor groups to give testimony and re-story past events of violence or resistance in settings of chronic insecurity" (p,412). I attempt to intellectually conceptualize the *living archive as pedagogy*, as a body of work curated in understated lived experiences of war and post-conflict. It presents the linguistic scholarship of a specific marginalized body, as they locate themselves; represent

themselves in an archive unknown to them, that continually embodies their everyday "up againstness" and radical co-existence. The visibility of this archive is unfamiliar to the Acholi and largely the broader society, this invisibility exists due to the non-recognition of the body as a form of archival practice and repository.

It is my view that the *living archive as pedagogy* differs from customary post-conflict archives, if appreciated in this format.

A living moving / mobile archive in society;

A living body or physical space (acting as original documents) that cannot be reproduced in the form of copies to be accessed in any archive;

The archive catalogues through a living inscribed person/ body with specific set of lived experiences (scars, injuries, deformation, trauma, and terrors) carried over a long time;

An archive constantly appearing, failing to be perpetually stored; in storage, museum, graves, administration offices, can neither be cast as a statue, and challenges particular forms of memory, it can neither be said to be totally private or public; and

It declines to be a read-only epistemic archival space.

These different possibilities ground the *living archive as pedagogy,* an archival practice of encounter with people's experience or the Acholi naming of their experiences (Kozel, 2017 & Baumgarmer, 2018) from what is excisioned below. Encountering an archive, any for that matter, is framed as performing of the archive (Kozel, 2017) which may occur through identifying people's feelings, elusive concepts, practices of intellect, and intrigue among other options. I, to some extent, with reference to this study view the framing of archiving as a process of meeting and yielding to opening up a co-presence of potential (Massumi, 2015). What is not encountered, performed or non-archived, given the boundaries of the study, is recognized as part of indeterminable other and otherness (excluded) (Harris, 2007), whose non-recognition allows for visibility of the archives that we can presently engage with. In the subsequent sections I discuss the theorizing of *living archive*, with specific focus on how the archive can be organized in terms of present-day *arkhê, arkhieon* and *archons.* In addition to this I propose to examine the interconnected modes that possibly disadvantage a *living archive* as seen in the edging of *living archive* intersectionality.

3.2.2   Formation of Living Archive in Post-Conflict Situations

Living archive as pedagogy which is the focus of what this study proposes to conceptualize and position as a different classification within archive studies, will need to be immersed within the existing archival philosophical lexicon and preconditions. This I explain using the main Greek etymological references in the founding of an archive.

Arkhe

Arkhe to first mean beginning or original; this is a foundational issue seeking to determine what are the origins or beginnings of any archive. For this study, Northern Uganda becomes the point of departure for *living archive as pedagogy* where a living person has first-hand lived the experiences of war and post-war. This body is human and cannot be duplicated or cloned to enable the traditional archive to multiply copies from the original documentation. The *living archive* will differ because, it cannot copy, submit and distribute itself in archives, museums, libraries, memorial grounds, or inspire the creation of a statue in memory of the demised due to its nature of being excluded and living in "up againstness". Traditionally the original records in an archive are returned to the rightful owner, or the owners bequeath the original records to institutions of their choice.

Arkhe as the principle of commencement be it (physical, historical, art, etc), also indicates who is in a position to command (who becomes authority) (Derrida, 1995) the archive. What I proposition as *living archive* and eventually the *living archive as pedagogy* is to begin with the historical context of war in Northern Uganda. However, it positions the Acholi survivor-victims as the primary source of commanding the archive. This is a deviation from post-conflict archives and records under the predominant and 'legitimate authorities' authority of the state, judiciary, and military regimes, local or international tribunals. The *living archive as pedagogy* proposes new authority in the form of a marginalized body whose presence counters denial of the war, erasure, and agency. Their presence within this archive I argue, can be viewed as the authority to participate in rightful civic duty (Graham, 2017). The study will make a case for the Acholi in the *living archive as pedagogy* as their own best authority, capable to create a social order that will find further learning and represent themselves through the archive.

Customarily, authority over the archive is the mandate of the *archons,* who can hermeneutically interpret documents, have public political power to be custodians, defenders of the archive which to some extent is the representation of law and rule of law (Derrida, 1995). This *archon*

in present-day politics resembles closely the influence of members of parliament who are in dynamic and competitive political spaces. It becomes unusual for any *archon/parliament* a significant political power broker to shift their power to regular citizens, who are often considered historically problematic and selectively acknowledged. Hence, the *living archive as pedagogy* is intentional in presenting a different *archon/*authority who's little or no power centers their periphery lives that desire to claim agency, find liberation within complex post-war configurations that we need to comprehend. In chapter four of this study, I localize the *archon* and name them as Wanjiku, a being that historically represents the ordinary excluded persons in the context of national politics in East Africa. To have a different *archon*/authority becomes significant in recreating a new form of public space urgently required for new democratic projects (Mbembe, 2015).

Arkhieon

Copious attention is given to the dwelling of an archive, which is habitually, but not limited to a museum, a heritage site, town hall, a private house, a public government address of where the records are placed and protected. The site of an archive is paramount, without residence stated as *arkhieon*; an archive ceases to exist (Mbembe, 2015) and this what a *living archive as pedagogy* challenges, the re-imagining of a different kind of residence located in the person and other rethought locations. The presence of an archive and its site/ residence/ *arkhieon* confirms the archology practice: where the archive/ *arkhieon* hosts an *archon/s* this engagement gives the archon/s power to command a social order that is favourable for the state or to impose laws on behalf of the state (Jorgensen & McLean, 2017). How to command from the *arkhieon* is discoursed by Derrida (1995) as principally patriarchic politics of the archive. It is argued that the *arkhieon* is intrinsically patriarchal for the purpose of protecting and preserving itself as a place of ultimate authority, authenticity, originality and truth (Jorgensen & McLean, 2017).

Archons

In this research I, propose that the landscape from below be the dwelling or residence for *living archive as pedagogy,* making it a category of unofficial archives. The landscape from below is a familiar space for the Acholi *archon*, it's the site of atrocities faced, and the consequent trauma, pain and loss. They still live in this landscape being a place that they cannot detach from given it is their ancestral and family land. This space hosts various mutilations, triggers,

deformities, painful oppressions and humiliations as they happened in their homes, farms, schools, rivers, escape trails, abduction routes, food collection points, water points, forests, ancestral altars, churches, mosques, borders, displacement camps the list of these sites remain infinite. The Acholi in their various identities: *archon*, victim, survivor, marginalized persons cannot detach from this dwelling of difficult memory-scapes (Riaño- Alcalá & Baines, 2011) difficult knowledge, enduring trauma, and complex victimhood where differentiation of victim and oppressor is imprecise.

Living archive as pedagogy in terms of this viewpoint opens up an unofficial curation of a post-conflict archive, where community-based organizations and survivor groups can extract their own archive and use their authority as *archons* to decenter the marginalization of lived experiences of the war. I reason that *Living archive as pedagogy* become part of the knowledge loop needing archives to open up by detaching and disrupting the existing colonial and pre-colonial order of things in them, for new possibilities (Mbembe cited in Goldberg , 2018). The colonial order of things in an archive is challenged for its universal outcomes. Mbembe's (2018) discussion would then animate the possibility of a different archive, one led by the human who is a lesser being. This would influence the official archives by shifting meaning and knowledge in the world that serves the general "we" to meaning and knowledge that is particular, direct, and responds sharply to the lesser human in the world.

I kindly remind the reader, that while opening up *living archive* within defined theoretical perspectives, and seeing its possible application from a different, *arkhê, arkhieon* and *archon* as explained above, there is the need to equally investigate the challenges of the archival structure. I do not do this exhaustively but tease out a few areas that may be significant to the Acholi archive. I stage the following themes, namely epistemic anxiety, patriarchy and technology that I view as intersections to an archive to facilitate a discussion within the literature as highlighted in the subsequent sub-topics of this chapter.

3.2.3   Intersectionality's of Living Archive

The science of archiving, positions archives as documentation work in relation to history, power, the archivist and the subject. The archive also stands as a historical institution with intellectual authority; the laws in the past and present endorse and preserve its existence into the future. In this section, I delve into a reflexive analysis of mainstream archival process that may limit the conceptualization of this study's *living archive* and the operation of any other

archive. While the study is keen in identifying how an archive is linked to pedagogy, it is not impractical to argue that knowledge emerges from an identity that can self-represent (conscious, aware, self-agency) and this becomes a guiding route to develop the forms of teaching and learning. I address the character of power, unique privileges and resulting discrimination that complicate archiving as a tool for self-representation in the broader politics of identity (Cifor & Wood , 2017). While power[19] is not the only sustaining inequality that perpetuates how an archive works, I identify patriarchy and technology, and revisit epistemic anxiety (Stoler, 2008) of archiving as itemized in the next subsections.

3.2.3.1   *Patriarchy and technology in archiving*

Terry Cook's read of archival theory corroborates that the scholarship of archiving "from the beginning [that is] archives, records and memory [are] remorselessly and intentionally patriarchal" (Cook, 2001, p. 26). Representation is always masculine determined (Cove, 2011) this trajectory has been preserved from ancient time and impacts minority groups especially women who "find themselves de-legitimized in the archival process" (Cook, 2001, p.26). How de-legitimization is sustained is varied, but the archive practice reveals its complicity in the following details made by Derrida (1995) in Archive Fever. The social order that exists in having an archive follows a nomological principle where legitimate authority lies in gods and men to run the society and this is applicable to the archive that appears as an institution in society. The archive as a dwelling and when referred to in French *un/le archive* suggests a vessel that is masculine assigned (Derrida, 1995). Therefore, what we place into and retrieve from the archive is legitimated based on patriarchal authority.

To better self-represent using the archive, there needs to be long-term consideration of what technologies to use to preserve experiences, and identities for a reasonable period after a certain generation or beyond human life. This means that the material submitted to the archive, needs to be technologically compatible and that can evolve to a future. This is what Derrida (1995) in Van Zyl, 2002, p.49 explains as, "…what is archived must have a relationship with the future." Bernard Stiegler (2010) argues that the human being is inseparable from technology since they define the human. In this regard, the archive should be regarded as part of technology, but there needs to be a co-evolution between the archive and technology; this is

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[19] I identify power as the production in and through social relations that shapes and affects the capacities of actors to determine circumstances and fate (Barnett & Duvall , 2005)

primarily how we preserve and represent ourselves, and memories into the future (Bluemink, 2020). This co-evolution between human life and technologies "expand[s] the capacity to produce meaning" (Stiegler , 2010, p. 66) , opens up and makes durable the future of our societies through technology (Pujor & Montenegro, 2015).

There exists different kind of memories; the archive partly relies on phylogenetic (inherited) memory to provide our relationship with the future. This memory can exist as part of exterior human life, in the form of artifacts, language, tools and technical memory banks (Stiegler, 2010). Additionally, phylogenetic memory in the archive is also information arising from the experience of past ages, which becomes reconstructed for public history. An example of phylogenetic memory appearing in the study is the archival retrieving of *An-loco-li* as seen in chapter two, that educates us of the Acholi from a *long durée* narrative. The presence of this inherited memory appearing in the future provides different strands of knowledge-race, slavery, colonialism, history, orality, memory among others. Key to this inherited memory is for the future to meet the archive with a transformative potential, but to also grapple with "absences, holes, deferral, crises of meanings, ambivalences and negotiations" (Visser, 2014, p.4), as the peril that Derrida identifies as the unknowable and unsayable (Derrida,1995).

To technologically preserve lived experiences, memory or exterior human life in an archive that can meet the future the content of the archive needs to some extent relate to the forthcoming archon whose "consciousness, beliefs, motivations, attitudes and interests" (Van Zyl, 2002, p.40-41) influences interpretation. The archon of the future has power to read the archive, hopefully, with a transformative potential (Visser, 2014) or grapple with the unknowable and unsayable (Derrida, 1995) of the social- political reality of the far or near future. We have evidence of this, if we are to give attention to how transitional justice commissions are set up globally. For discussion, I identify the International Criminal Court[20] (ICC) - Hague mediating gross human rights violations of past violent histories, using archived evidence. Through the ICC we see different kinds of *archons* (judges, prosecutors, defendants, interpreters, librarians, academics, administrators, human rights practitioners, journalists, activists, international community, civil society, communities) and how they, in the present implement, define new concepts and interpretations to intervene in the past using a judicial process.

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[20] ICC the world's international court with a mandate to investigate, prosecute war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. In 2005, the ICC issued warrants of arrest for LRA's top five commanders.

From the ICC process, we see phylogenetic memory (in this context evidence of brutal and violent acts) acting as a regime of truth (Pujor & Montenegro, 2015) which provides the future of post-conflict societies the support for accountable forms of self-governance (Nikolas, 1999). How technology serves the archive of the future, also explains a gramamatization process that enables "latter generations to gain literal access to what took place in the history of society and thought" (Hansen, 2010, p.75). The presence of technology is what reproduces recognition, inclusion, empowerment, knowledge and defines the political (Rasmussen & Brown, 2002) from an archive perspective. In chapter two the *An-loco-li* appear in archived history as a body that was an extension of technology needed in the formation of a new world. There is agreement in several literature writings that technology amplifies patriarchal power in societies. Consequently, reproducing inequalities, archival silence, domination of social conditions that undermine the needs and experiences of women and other marginalized groups (Cater, 2006; Pujor & Montenegro, 2015). To be critical of patriarchy and technology in the archiving process opens up a space for "future-orientated structures of archives that [should be] politically responsible and ethical" (Derrida inVan Zyl, 2002, p. 45). This also pushes the boundaries towards generating archives that can genuinely shape self-historicization, self-representation and the achieving of social justice as an objective crucial to the achieving of "democratic participation; redress and … human rights" (Duff, Flinn, Suurtamm, & Wallace , 2013, p. 321). In hindsight the material in the archive needs to be wary of cognitive capitalism (Hansen, 2010); where memory, knowledge, self- representation of the excluded maybe objectified and controlled by the economy of "knowledge industries" and "knowledge societies" (Hansen, 2010, p.67).

3.3   EPISTEMIC ANXIETIES OF ARCHIVING: A RUPTURE AND BLINDNESS LENS

In this sub-section of the chapter, I engage with Foucault and Derrida's frameworks to read the archive from a power imbalance. Michel Foucault's (1972) work *The archaeology of knowledge* studies archive knowledge as emanating from the confines of what can and cannot be said, reinforcing the organization of the archive as law (Basu & Jong , 2016). His work then and now is receptive of the radical disruption of archival knowledge that theorizes linear logic. He is particular of an archival system that can evidence differences, ruptures, contradictions, and transformation potential. In the literature Foucault (1970/2) outlines the difficulty of archive discourse lacking expression in relativity, or the failure to have discourse and reality

as non-opposing domains (Burton, 2003). Foucault's work prompts the need to develop theory that privileges the material weakness (Leach, 2020) of the archives. His principle dissatisfaction with the archive is recognized in other bodies of literature, for example Stoler (2010) elucidates this uneasiness of archival materiality as having caused *long durée* consequences, that can be felt in the present. Her analysis of the archive is; we have been subjected to the "force of writing, the feel of documents, lettered governance" and our lives are an extension of "colonial traces" (Stoler, 2010, p. 1).

The archive acting as law, being of colonial influence or functioning close to the original Greek archive relegates our lives; political, cultural and socioeconomic as 'figured' which means the archive has monopoly of our lives (Brault & Naas 1990). To what extent the archive is figured is already identified; "…the archive- all archive-every archive is figured.- and the process built upon it…" (Hamilton , Harris , & Reid , 2002, p. 7). Its implication is, not just to the past and the present, "but to the fate of regimes, the physical environment, the serendipity of bureaucrats and the care and neglect of archivist as well" (Burton, 2005, p.6). The outcome of this is seen in Foucault's (1972), conclusion that holds true of the archive being a place of exclusion and having monuments of particular configurations of power. Resisting to enagage with the archive from a place of finality, Derrida establishes the logic that archives have an inexhaustible debt from the original archive, "the debt can never be repaid" (1991, p.viii). In perspective, I find this logic as bearing truth; what we subscribe too, has terms and conditions, whether favourable or not we are in debt for pledging to a particular ideology. The preceding discussion confronts a 'figured' archive as limiting the possibility of 'seeing' new lives, in archiving as nuanced by different practices and interpretations (Shellam & Cruickshank, 2019).

The materiality of the archive can be extrapolated using Derrida's (1990) literature *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self- Portrait and other ruins.* These writings permit the encountering of an archive as additionally a visual vessel, to allow for debate around privileged vision. Derrida questions the phenomenon of vision, through the experience of the Louvre Museum where his paintings and drawings were part of the exhibition, that has influenced the theorizing of vison and blindness. This ideologocal work beckons for a non-presumptuous engagement of what we define as a light/vision in both literal and figurative state, but still invokes and provokes the opening of our eyes (Brault & Naas , 1990). Derrida describes the technical process of a painter drawing or graphing a subject, as involving the subject becoming memory in the present tense, as soon as their image begins to appear on the painter's board. He positions that we need to

acknowledge a realm of blindness happening, as the painter paints and as the painter's subject becomes an image. This blindness is not the loss of physical sight, but the abyss between a subject and its representation as a self-potrait.

Philosophically *Memoirs of the Blind* critiques the politics of vision that creates the impression of self-representation as direct or instant. To operate from a lens of having access to sight/vision/knowledge, is to claim the position of being "the master of truth, the one who sees…guides the other towards the …light" (Derrida, 1990. p.6). Engagement with blindness is a crucial form of knowledge and consciousness that brings to the fore of "what is threatened, lost, promised and restored" (Derrida, 1990, p.6) due to the monocular vision or ocular-centrism that privileges Western knowledge(Cove, 2011). The critique of vision provides an opportunity to "re-draw, with-draw, and retreat (Derrida, 1990, p.3) rather than to perpetuate the legacy of an othered gaze resulting from monocular vision.

The compulsion to recognize blindness becomes "partial refusal to be aware of all the options" (Viatte & Michel, 1990, p.ix), very similar to the call of resisting a figured archive. In examining blindness, we achieve what Derrida terms as *puissance,* a reference to work that is of great power, prowess or influence. Seeing in blindness influences an epistemic consciousness to "return to oneself, a soul-search or self-relation without sight" (Derrida, 1990 p.12). This widens the capacity of knowledge to bear both passion and compassion towards identities framed as 'other' (Harris, 2001) and to accord hospitality. The practice of hospitality as part of knowledge with influence, is not necessarily related to performing a moral virtue, but a gesture to help everyone survive and to have equality (Jolliffe, 2016). In the reality of human life where excesses of "cycle[s] of production-desire- consumption … determine global inequalities" (Abbinnett, 2015, p. 66). In sum the presence of hospitality signals the "care for what I do not know, the other…. (Harris, 2001, p.10). While seeing in blindness provides an act of knowing in passion and compassion.

3.4   NAMING FROM THE LANDSCAPE OF BELOW

The conceptualization of *living archive as pedagogy* in this research is attached to the theorization of landscape from below (Whyte, 2013). I define this landscape as a site crucial for the desire to sustain a narrative of self-identity (Giddens, 1991), self- representation or describing a threshold of desirability (Alphen, 2017) in the contrast of invisibility, 'other', persistent subordination and "up againstness". Linking the *living archive as pedagogy* to the

landscape from below in Northern Uganda allows entry to people's gathered curiosities, resistance, un/consciousness, insecurity, site of evidence and organization of various forms of expression in an environment of "up againstness" and radical co-presence. In having this landscape it becomes an extension that supports the Acholi *archon* in their justification for "accountability, justice, responsibility, law and history" (Brothman, 1997, p. 192).

The history of landscapes from below has been studied from the 18th century and repetitively shows a social order that cuts off certain classes of people from "embodied human relationships, inclusive of traditions, value systems, ideas and institutional forms" (Thompson, 1963, p.10). Nicola Whyte deliberates that landscape from below can be "… the space for alternative experiences among the marginalized and dispossessed, the rootless and unsettled those whose histories, memories and perception of the landscape fit uncomfortably within the grand narratives of progress, improvement and technological change" (Whyte, 2013, para. 5).

The reality of landscape from below post-conflict Uganda is unacknowledged; where witnessing of violent past through commissions, remains unfinished business, and destruction of threatening memories impedes archive presence. The LRA and GoU's extreme political contestation through war still restricts liveable space, and civilians are pushed to oppression, non-recognition or misrecognition, imprisoned in a false, distorted, reduced mode of being (Taylor, 1995).

The depth of suffering within the landscape signals the gap of restoring humanism affected by the disproportionate brutalities such as "Social torture of the Acholi, in 'protection villages' [which were] concentration camps where 1,000 people died weekly" (Mwenda, 2010, p.155). Under aged girls and women were forced into the uterine economy (Spivak, 1987), where forced motherhood symbolized vengeance, and their unwilled bondage temporarily guaranteed life for the moment. In the Northern Uganda landscape from below, young children were forced to kill their own families by hacking them with machetes, knives, and scissors (Storr, 2014). The presence of such horror also applied as a form of initiation passage, aimed at the abducted children. Their forced participation in this ferociousness was to mark their transition from being a child to a real soldier whose acts of incongruous violence was to be seen as normal and part of daily life (Cakaj, 2016).

I bring to the fore an inexplicable development within the Northern Uganda landscape from below, the dilemma of nodding syndrome a rare unexplained neurological epidemic among children aged three to eighteen characterized by episodes of repetitive dropping forward of the head, often accompanied by numerous convulsions/seizures and staring spells in a day (Mwaka , Semakua , Abbo, & Idro , 2018). This medical phenomenon was prevalent in LRA battlegrounds; nobody knew where it came from and it persists, without medical relief. There have been different scientific hypotheses as to why nodding syndrome occurs. In recent medical reports the nodding syndrome seems to be Eastern Africa bound (Southern Tanzania, South Sudan, Northern Uganda) with the exception of Liberia in West Africa and its clinical symptoms first seen in 1960 (Olum, Scolding , Hardy , Obol , & Scolding , 2020). Though it may be partly explained as occurring in rural and poor communities, it is interesting to note that these rural communities have suffered from periods of extensive civil wars (Mwaka, Semukua, Abbo, & Idro, 2018). Children living with the nodding syndrome live in disability and many have died having seizures at unfortunate moments that resulted in burns, falls or drowning (Corley, 2019). The daily life of these children is almost non-existent, many live a secluded life, tied in tight ropes, with little or no caregiver presence as family members go about fending for themselves.

Intellectual provocations suggest that the transformation of the landscape from below can be done by expansion of knowledge "cognizant of people's agency and conscious efforts in times of acute social disturbance, loss of status and freedom" (Thompson, 1963, pp.13-14). There has been a global call to write subordinate lived experiences, beliefs and purposes reflecting that they are in the winning side of history (Cabral, 1973 & Hitchcock, 2013). This process of differently inscribing landscape from below, is assigned to multi-professional bodies, but is critiqued for the reproduction of monological representation, a standpoint that rigidly maintains hierarchical syntax where the professional writer, writes what they choose, not what they must (Kraetzig, 2008). This implies that life is too complex to be communicated from one perspective.

How to understand "up againstness" within the landscape from below? I argue that it is to view and experience a place where bodies have to conform due to their low threshold of desirability, non- recognition and oppression. However, the landscape can activate some conditions of possibility and knowledge from the rootless or marginalized lived experiences. This can be confirmed, for instance, in the literature *Black Skin, White Mask* by Frantz Fanon who presents

the experience of Algerians reduced to "problematic beings, locked in… zone of nonbeing" (Gordon, 2015, p. 22) in the anti-colonial liberation of Algeria (1954-1962). Their naming as "problematic beings" is an imperial anthropological framing, also seen among the Acholi who are named and described as "historically problematic", and coming from "hostile territory", or a "problem area" (Latigo, 2008, p.87). This viewpoint plays an important role in distancing the Acholi from their history, voice, representation, and their story of the nation (Basu & Jong , 2016). It encourages a standard global reproduction of the invisible, that fails to show knoweldge possibilties, occurrences of interuptions, and interventions (Basu & Jong , 2016) where the invisble can use their landscape of below to accurately reflect the process of knowing ourselves through them.

To further support the above viewpoint of knowing ourselves through the marginalized I return to the witnessed and archived revolutionary experience of the Middle East and North Africa (2010- 2011) eminently referred to as the Arab Spring. I illustrate that this period of history radically presents and collectively names the invisible of these regions as Mohamed Bouazizi. The late Bouazizi, an ordinary fruit vendor in his youth from Tunisia, is the primary archival image that embodies the Arab spring. This renaissance was against authoritarian regimes, nepotism and cronyism, police brutality, impunity and dire economies (Cordall, 2018). Through the act of self- immolation, Mohamed radically inspired more citizens to self-immolate in the demand for "open societies and flood gates of democratization" (Snyder, 2016, p. 906). These political deaths and other forms of resistance steered regime change and expanded the trajectory of post-conflict archives. The Tunisia's Truth and Dignity Commission, which was instituted in 2014, became the first global institution to address gross human rights violations through a dignity lens. The condition and necessity for dignity advances a plural yet emancipatory language of human rights (Reglime Jr, 2019). In which the Bouazizi's from a landscape of below, demand that we know them and ourselves as inherently valued, respected, appreciated and treated ethically (Ziebertz, 2016). Close to the narrative of Bouazizi, I conceptualize Wanjiku, as the identity and name that bares the story and history of post-conflict landscape from below in East Africa as discussed in the next chapter, section 4.3.

In summing up this section, it is reasonable to articulate that spaces of "up againstness" have the existence of identities that go beyond the generic term of invisible. Through their specific naming, we shift towards reading of our societies within knowledge that is difficult to recognize or to come to terms with (Sandlin, Schultz & Burdick, 2010). Additionally, we are able to

encounter their experience without a paradigm of over-simplification that is often a result of fear, doubt, ignorance, confusion, anger, and other emotions, which masquerade as coldly rational when we abscond from the permanent process of self- reflection (Alhadeff- Jones, 2009; Montouri, 2008). This also implies for the opening up of multiple pedagogical imaginations and multiplicities, driven from landscapes of below to "avoid the danger of [their] lives getting lost, or of being buried or retold by someone else who has more influence" (Hitchcock, 2013, para.4). To achieve this the next section coordinates a theoretical conversation to broaden the thinking of pedagogue around post-conflict, invisibility not excluding the underlining thought of "up againstness".

3.5   RADICALLY RETURNING TO HUMANITY THROUGH PEDAGOGY

Amílcar Cabral is part of the iconography that powerfully represents the need to defend an idea or an ideology with the will to change society (Gamedze, 2019). This explains why he is contemporarily seen as "a critic of various forms of power, inspiration for new struggles-ongoing work of decolonization, new forms of pan-Africanism,[and] anti- imperialism" (Rogue, 2018, para 9). His work bears a deep commitment in affirming and bringing historically subalternized individuals back to history (Rogue, 2018) "on their own terms to determine their future" (Gamedze, 2019, para. 5). The study uses the notion of pedagogy of revolution; a frame of knowledge synthesized by Paulo Freire (2009.et.al) as a biography and tribute to Cabral after his assassination in 1974. The pedagogy also acts as Freire's contribution to independent Guinea- Bissau and Cabo Verde in exploring Amílcar Cabral as the "embodiment of the dream of liberation and the political and pedagogical procedures to realize this dream" (Freire, 2012, p.169).

Cabral's being, studies, work, thought and practice rests on the foundation of the radicality of the humane. This is to mean that, our process of freedom, emancipation, liberation or other locations of struggle should expose what prevents a transformed social order and in doing so that history accounts of our actions as "being on the side of history, and that history is on our side" (Freire, 2012, p.170). As such the pedagogy of revolution invites us to "read the world" (p.171), far from a dichotomized approach where text is only interpreted from a specific scholarship or academy this methodology would largely hinder the "imagination of not yet" (p.171) a crucial feature of any revolution and a profound human response to the landscape from below. Cabral enlightens us that it is not the "extreme suffering of those in the invisible that produces consciousness for liberation in the struggle" (Chabal, 1981, p.40), rather the

"active participants, active minds who take responsibility" (Chilcote, 1968, p.144). Thus, pedagogy of revolution becomes a continuous radical impetus to find the space of re-becoming, returning to the human/humanity (Paraskeva, 2019).

3.5.1   Pedagogy of Revolution

The pedagogy of revolution intertwines firmly with Cabral's theorization of returning to the source. The latter illustrates the process of returning to the human, it is critical of the distinctions that we have in society; which he points out as the visible and invisible, and the latter are excluded as agents of their everyday (Aronowitz, 2009). De Sousa Santos (2017) and Paraskeva (2019) in their scholarship have given new nuances to this distinction of visible and invisible to return to the source as contemporary inflection. Paraveska (2019) explains, there exists a radical line that divides social reality in two realms and the invisible persons are the foundation of the visible ones (p.2). This existing line is what De Sousa Santos (2017, p.237) defines as the "abyssal line- on one side we are fully human… on the [other] people are sub-human".

Paraskeva and De Sousa Santos study the effects of the other side of the radical divide from an epistemic lens. Their argument is that this divide produces a reality of non-existence that is attached to the identity of the invisible. To be described as non-existent is to affirm, "not – existing in any relevant or comprehensible way of being, and whatever is produced here as nonexistent is radically excluded because it lies beyond the realm of what gets to be accepted of inclusion" (Paraskeva, 2019, p.2-3) as determined by those legitimized as visible. This theoretical turn would positively affirm the thinking and standing of the *living archive as pedagogy*. As a project driven by an invisible/ subordinate/ marginalized constituency for the purpose of under-stand[ing] difficult post-atrocity archives and to broaden the current social order of post-conflict societies that exclude the sub-human.

Education is a core action and means for returning to the source, we are cautioned that if generated from the invisible side of the divide it is discriminated and already termed "not real knowledge. Rather it becomes mere beliefs, opinions, intuitive and subjective understanding or raw material for scientific inquiry" (Paraskeva, 2019, p.3). De Sousa Santos, terms this as other knowledge, which in his analysis is "incommensurable and incomprehensible for meeting neither the demands of scientific methods of truth and falsehood" (2007, p.47). To be at this status quo of who is human or sub-human, visible or nonexistent, what is knowledge or other

knowledge? There is the inevitability to question what action should be taken to make visible of a "wor (l) d system of reading and being in the world?" (Murillo, 2012, p. 32).

3.5.2   Returning to the Source

Returning to humanity means the establishment of a common pedagogy, and praxis of liberation respectful of the idiosyncrasies of the oppressed to reclaim their humanity and freedom (Cabral,1973) in areas of their struggle;historically, socially, culturally and politically. This praxis is intentionally a de-linked framework. To de-link by Cabral is to own decolonial thinking as part of our praxis and to return to the source by "actuated ex-sistence." (Mignolo, 2011, p.75) To de-link is to "prioritize local reality" (Cabral,1980, p.106), where the invisible can use pedagogy and praxis to define a position (Cabral, 1973), to theorize from their locale and give legitimacy to "I am where I think" (Mignolo, 2011, p.80), to reply to the contested inescapable historical contradictions between the dominant and oppressed (Cabral, 1980).

The articulation of own pedagogy/ thinking and praxis becomes a force in the recognition of society's demand for structural change and development as debated by Cabral (in Chilcote, 1968). The body of Bouazizi, Wanjiku and the Acholi community become educators whose use of dialogue can become "part of historic sensibility where dichotomized text is not the only medium for reading the world" (Freire, 2012, p. 173). To engage in dialogue, is to be open to the process of active listening that involves a communication strategy of ; *to speak to, speak with, without speaking against.* Thus, there is knowledge possibility to develop *living archive as pedagogy* as under-stand[ing] of knowledge that legitimizes sub-human through dialogue*. Cabral and Freire share the inflection that "it is only through speaking that one can be legitimized or claim to have the right to speak to" (Freire, 2012, p.173).

Cabral's and Freire's framing of dialogue is augmented in other literature as; the invisible speaking in their own voice, about their own experiences and their knowledge becoming part of collective understanding (Dotsun, 2014). Their ability *to speak and speak with* indicates reciprocal dialogue that "validates social and education experience of marginalized groups" (Dotson, 2014, p.126) as not a simplistic conversation. The presence of dialogue highlights contemporary issues to be heard (Mommand, 2018), but it becomes most important for the invisible persons or other categories that are excluded. This is because it intensely examines complexity of lived experiences and the ideology behind invisibility or oppression with a

deeper and refined method. It is also a reflective medium demanding responsible participation aiming at meaningful human transformation (Pradhan & Singh, 2016).

3.6   CONCLUSION

The chapter is a response to the study's aim of how to navigate the explicit gap of representation and visibility of the marginalized in war and post-war communities. A few intellectual lenses are used; Jacque Derrida (1995) - Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression, The Archaeology of Knowledge- Michel Foucault (1969), Nicola Whyte (2013)-Landscape History from Below, and Amílcar Cabral's Pedagogue of the Revolution (2009). The theoretical input affirms and recognizes humanity of the sub-human, and their agency in an inescapable past (Shringapure, 2019). The chapter begins with the theoretical description of the European archive, an institution structured to hierarchically organize Europe as the legit heir of civilization and the placing of Eurocentric knowledge production and culture as most superior (Gordon, 2014) globally. The study contests this Eurocentric privileged archiving body, and rather finds resonance with living archive typologies, in sync with a range of subaltern voices, made 'unhearable' or impossible to hear due to grave historical omissions (Abdulhadi et.al. 2015). The study embodies the typology of living archives and the potential of living *archive as pedagogy* as intellectual work archives as part of civic duty, honoring historic past where the sub-human exists in the wor (l) d and their local reality prioritized as part of truth, justice and dignity.

The description of landscapes from below, is extensively done by providing an adequate understanding of how the Acholi of Northern Uganda live in environs of "up againstness" and radical co-presence. This type of landscape features in the study and problematizes how witnessing of the past history remains restricted, distorted, reduced due to the un-comfortability of making these spaces more liveable (Taylor, 1995). The presence of the landscape from below and its exclusion reverberates thereby ensuring that the theorizing of living archives is inextricably linked to the desire of accountability, justice, and responsibility (Brothman, 1997). This landscape from below also appears in the chapter as zones of nonbeing, locations of struggle and invisibility, with the latent possibility of the subordinate to teach the process of the world knowing itself through the lens of the marginalized. The chapter relied on Nicola Whyte's understanding of landscape from below a place that she describes as an alternative; this view would be untrue for the many categorized as sub-human, for where they are placed is not a place of option. Rather, this is their primary dwelling place; they cannot remove

themselves from it and therefore have to additionally live in added hierarchy of "up againstness"

The study engages with specific pedagogical work, as a process to actively read the world, a manner supportive of making visible being in the wor (l) d system (Murillo, 2012). The selection of Pedagogy of Revolution and Return to the Source by Amílcar Cabral support the possibility to see *living archive as pedagogy*, as possibly an autobiography of the invisible wanting to name the world, speak with 'hearers' through self-representation, self-historicization (we are on the side of history and history is on our side). Cabral's theories for this research provided the understanding that education, and post-conflict societies need to relearn from working in the landscapes of below where they can amplify *speak with, speak to* for transformative action, rather than *speaking for.*

In assembling the different intellectual provocations as presented in this chapter, in retrospection prepares to see the study *living archive as pedagogy* develop as ideology coming from and endorsing thought that determines a future for the excluded. The chapter carefully becomes a site that invites the Acholi and other invisible identities globally to radically challenge legitimization that depends on political authority and willingness, the archive is an example. There is the plea for scholars in the chapter to engage with knowledge that is hospitable and compassionate to those that suffer and experiencing hopelessness. Such knowledge becomes resistance that gives human life a chance to imbue and develop more new politics of diffrence (Stiegler, 2013). In finally closing this chapter, the navigation of archive, landscape from below and pedagogical work, around the Acholi can be seen as a knowledge exposee of being-in- the wor (l)d, quintessential of African thought and a form of knowledge as part of responsibility, to illuminate new pathways of being, pedagogy and education in post-conflict justice societies.

CHAPTER FOUR

THINKING WITH CONCEPTS TO RECOGNIZE AND TRANSFORM OURSELVES

We pass through the present with our eyes blindfolded. We are permitted merely to sense and guess at what we are actually experiencing. Only later, when the cloth is untied can we glance at the past and find out what we have experienced and what meaning it has

(Kundera, 1969, p. 5)

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Philosophical concepts and transformative education place central importance on the lives and experiences of marginalized categories; they both reflect humanistic, participatory and emancipatory knowledge commitments (Mertens, 1994; Hodge, 2019). A central quest of this study seeks to address *living archive as pedagogy* as a knowledge practice that is transformative as seen in the research question three. The emphasis on transformative education resides in the void of many bodies of knowledge accentuating vulnerability and redundancy in facing contemporary life (Knowles, 1990; Ramos & Hynes, 2020). A transformative pedagogy aims for a process of change, to disrupt acquiring of knowledge in normative ways, and links to conceptual work with the resolve of achieving "autonomy in complex, changing societies" (Hodge, 2019, p. 2).

The previous chapter made inroads in (re) thinking of a customary archive and an attempt to differently conceptualize a *living archive* in a post-conflict African context as seen in section 3.2.1. Equally, there was the undertaking to seek and find different names/naming of marginalized identities from landscape from below such as, Bouazizi, of the Arab-spring, the 'problematics beings' of Algeria's anti-colonial liberation in their zones of non-being. These examples added to the scholarship of under- stand[ing] from below (Spivak, 2006) which appears in other literature as seeing from below (Moya , 2011) as not only a burdened geographical placing, but also a place with human names that tell of certain redundancies.

 In this chapter, I equally present a name from the landscape from below that the study will use as a concept and with multiple layers of engagement or views to shows participatory move towards overt transformative options. I introduce Wanjiku as the identity from below, partly as a philosophical concept, a co -researcher, whose presence in the study is a simulation of the Acholi. Wanjiku as living persons is also a body of exclusion but with more permanency, as opposed to the Acholi's invisibility due to the botched legitimacy and narrowed

acknowledgment of the war 1986-2008. Wanjiku also appears in this chapter as an identity able to break away from "meaning structure[s] that hitherto dominated learning consciousness" (Hodge, 2019, p. 2) and the obstruction of truth as defined by Wanjiku and the Acholi. This becomes more lucid in latter sections of the chapter when the concept Wanjiku is understood from situated knowledges, a lens authorizing knowledge based from where we speak and where we are (Haraway, 1988; Moya 2011).

Utilizing the situated knowledge frames both the learner and educator in non-privileged epistemologies who are affirmed to be critical of themselves and to own their bodies as representative of knowledge (Haraway, 1988). This position then allows for *living archive as pedagogy*, to break away from the customary binary of learner and educator, where the latter centrally coordinates or manipulates learning due to their hierarchical power. While in ideal situations, the arrangement is for the educator to respectfully invite the learner to embody consciousness (Giroux , 2018). Instead, we encounter the Acholi and Wanjiku as educators of a complex-lived experience that we know little of, through a *living archive*, their body and living from a landscape from below and "up againstness". The individual or audience that participate in this learning is voluntary, but they need to be *willing hearer/s* to witness the Acholi and Wanjiku self-historicize, reclaim their humanity, agency and second liberation in their zones of non-being, locations of struggle and existing as sub-human. The Acholi and Wanjiku also take an active learning position for themselves that is instrumental in how they negotiate their visibility through their bodies, geography, archive and embody epistemic visibility, that is conscious of a wor (l) d that reads their world and being (Murillo, 2012). Haraway and Moya's work also necessitates that knowledge encountered from disparate places, becomes a way of consciousness for both the learner or educator to check their privileges that may perpetuate writing, reading, citing, listening of the other (Moya , 2011) ''from the belly of the beast" (Shultz, 2013, p. 29).

4.2   CONCEPTS AND TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING

The impetus to link philosophical concepts to transformative learning and knowledge is to place the emphasis on being free from limited ways of being in the world and understanding meaning (Freire, 1975) in the process of change (Hodge, 2019). I will interchangeably refer to transformative education as transformative learning since both suggest that people are capable of critically questioning and thinking of their social and cultural contexts when embodied (GCE, 2019). I adopt the meaning of embodied to propose the permission to view or imagine

oneself as a body with a point of view (Haraway, 1988). This is in the light of education navigating restrictive "global capitalism, individualism, patriarchy and colonialism that determine these as the only possible ways to be in the public sphere" (Shultz, 2013. p. 30). The niche of transformative learning is designed to enable the learner to shift into thinking or be aware of perspectives that respond to the deep needs of the society over the priorities of the global market place (Baker, 2020) or the raving cognitive capitalism or knowledge industries as discussed in chapter 3 relating to phylogenetic memory. To have the learner engage in transformative learning that is responsive to the task of our times (O'Sullivan, 2003), widens "transformational impulses towards social justice and decolonization" (Baker, 2020, p.11). It equally, broadens pedagogical realities that shape education as emancipatory, interpretive, and appreciative of spiritual dimensions. In other studies, transformative education is explained in terms of how to see and feel what parts of oneself and the collective have been forced into exile. This entails also being aware of what we need to strip away from our conditioning if it is no longer useful, as part of transgression (Kulundu- Bolus , McGarry, & Lotz- Sisitika, 2020). In this way learning models become exemplars of solidarity leading to more cohesion, and more expression of our true selves in the world (Ndlovu- Gatsheni,2013)

Through transformative education (Mezirow 1978, 1990, 2000), we position ourselves to confront life-shaping effects from unfair structures within society. This knowledge practice through emancipatory notion drives to achieve "collective freedoms, opportunities, human rights and to encourage … participation in democratic fairer societies" (GCE, 2019, p. 1).

Transformative learning demonstrates the significance of making new, deep, meaningful interpretations derived from lived experiences. Since I am fully aware of the constant repetition of meaningful interpretations throughout this study, I would require a more tangible approach in explaining this from a place of self-reflexivity. In this way, I would feel more invested and connected to the term or have a better idea of its value and impact in the learning context. Therefore, I borrow Ted Fleming's visual description of high wire walk, between what was the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in Manhattan. To make it through the tight rope, there are high risks; possibilities of falling, the tension to maintain balance, possible cancellations due to health and safety concerns, and over- extreme focus is also a threat to the required readiness to walk the tight rope (Patfield, 2012). Fleming richly imagines that the experience of walking the tightrope is to "practice … [and possibly]… to transform walk- to fly" (Fleming, 2018, p. 121).

Using the Twin Tower illustration, making meaning then becomes part of a transformation impulse where the synergy of both the educator and learner make movement or activate change against burdening or perilous odds. The understanding of transforming walk – to fly may feel exaggerated, but in perspective, transformative education merged with concepts becomes a heightened practice of engagement for both learner and educator to embody and activate "multiple perspectives and knowledge" (Shultz, 2013. p.39) "… aware of wide differences in peoples … contents of social phenomenon" (Wright & Osman, 2018, p. 259). The value of concepts, philosophical or other in transformative education are meant to widen how we read and order meaning. Concepts compliment transformative learning by identifying meaningful interpretations to authentically be part of a linguistic and cultural capital of ideas enabling participation in "power relations and discovery of their own power" (Bird, 2010, p.3).

Merging concepts and transformative education, invite us to a process of learning where the educator and learner shift from a place of being, to a place of becoming, using what they identify as the concept to facilitate this movement (Natahasabapathy & Maathuis-Smith, 2018). Therefore, in this study the concept Wanjiku becomes the means that enables the transition of walk into fly, and from being into becoming. I adopt being as the "behaviour of the [learner or educator] at present, while becoming is the embodiment of the desired change that demonstrates a transformative movement" (Natahasabapathy & Maathuis-Smith, 2018, p. 2). I argue that a concept validates identity, and in particular subjugated identities, the concept uniquely extends for identities to decide desirability, social life and *raison d'être* in (Wang & Tucker , 2017) locations of exclusion rather than the reliance on institutions to organize equality (Shultz, 2013).

Knowledge through concepts is articulated as a practice done within a community, that embraces learning through participation or practice for pedagogic response (Natahasabapathy & Maathuis-Smith, 2018). Concepts determine how knowledge is constructed, how meaning is made and how lived experiences are authorized (Bird, 2010). The responses from a conceptual pedagogy make clear how subjugated identities can write themselves or represent- "in a culture of silence that mutes and prohibits creatively taking part in transformations that alienate them from power responsible for their silence" (Freire,1970, p. 163). Philosophical concepts bring us close to identifying what is us, and this explained as the voice that "embodies us with full emotions and gives voice real value" (McLeod, 1987, p. 442). It is in this backdrop that I introduce the concept of Wanjiku that emerges from the landscape of below or under-

stand [ing] (Spivak, 2006).Wanjiku in this context is both an educator and learner who creates a border around the understanding of complex post-conflict life, but also widens our view of an inclusive public space. Evading possible conjecture of the concept Wanjiku - it is anticipated that we sense their authority to meaningfully integrate their own ideas, knowledge, experience and responses to communicate newness (Bird, 2010) in their situated locations.

4.3   FINDING WANJIKU

Conceptual work encompasses radical investigation of a concept's function, originality, history, present utility and what remains of it (Koort, 1975). While this guides the unpacking of Wanjiku as a concept and body that examines exclusion, political life in landscapes from below, and power, this concept hopes to be an immersion that portrays exclusionary space and modes of transformation that rupture habitual modes of being and subjectivities (Jones, 2018). I present Wanjiku as a living body and concept/ concept body to help us traverse the landscape from below, with a more mindful attitude to exclusion, complex post-conflict background, and possible diverse learning.

Wanjiku is a popular female name in Kenya- East Africa that collectively symbolizes the most ordinary individual within society who is rendered 'unpresentable' or 'incalculable' (Osberg, Biesta, & Cilliers, 2008) in political discourse and for whom all things are layered irrespective of their past. Wanjiku's theorizing as a concept was in the late 1990s by the late President Daniel Arap Moi. This period coincided with Kenya's constitutional reform process within an autocratic state, where citizens lobbied for a constitution led and hewn by Kenyans (Cottrell & Ghai, 2007). The then President was not in support of a new constitution but threatened the shift from a declared de *jure* state to multiparty system of governance. While dismissing the calls for a new constitution in a national address he remarked,

> *"Do you think Wanjiku understands what a constitution is? The voters throughout the public gave members of parliament the mandate to make the constitution. Then how can this members of parliament ...go back to Wanjiku and ask her to show us the way on how to write the constitution of Kenya?... what kind of game is this?*(KTN,2010).

Wanjiku is birthed within this autocratic, patriarchal political gaze. Her social role in society is to comply and be a present voter during the repetitive electoral cycles. Wanjiku is perceived the lesser elite, less educated subject, illiterate, or barely literate (Rutherford, 2016) among other nuanced discriminatory prejudices. Her ability to vote makes it possible to ascertain the

tyranny of numbers needed by political leaders to be in office. Wanjiku is also the person whom society easily narrates of their life situations because we have simplified knowledge about them. This casualness towards Wanjiku and the privilege that the society from above has, in speaking about this conforming or agreeable body subordinates them and opens forms of epistemic injustice. Lewis Gordon (2015) defines epistemic injustice as an "epistemic closure a moment of presumably complete knowledge of a phenomenon..., individual thus closing off possibilities. The person seen in this way is never spoken to, never queried, but instead simply spoken about and, at best ordered…"(p.49).

Wanjiku is part of this study as a concept, co-researcher, and offering ethical reference in the development of *living archive as pedagogy*. Her presence is not merely an importation of a being from below/ under-stand[ing] from below, and neither a substitute nor a duplication of the Acholi. Wanjiku as a concept extends the Acholi's experience, she fills the gap of people sharing much less, than they actually remember given the feeling of shame, forgetfulness, and fear of punishment and political constrains (Cameron, 2012). The following description by Rostan (2014) best describes who Wanjiku becomes in this study. a living body whom we "can access under their own conditions, within their own ambiguities and fractious facts" (p.31). This study further encounters Acholi or Wanjiku as fluid identities of either educator or learner as they interact with dominant ideology in particular historical moments detached from possible educational practices that reflect of what in our lives has been forced to exile.

4.3.1   Finding Wanjiku

February 13, 2020   **True to His Word Even In Death!**

**Figure 4.1: Finding Wanjiku A visual of Wanjiku's relationship with the highest figure
     of authority in the land**

*The late President Daniel Toroitch Arap Moi, was buried on the 12th February 2020. He created the
political image of Wanjiku, a person who represents the public- this public is not considered intelligible.
Kenyans interpretation of this image is that Wanjiku remains gagged post autocracy 1978-2002 and
even after the death of Kenya's longest serving ruler. @iGaddo,2020* (Gado Cartoons, 2020)

While foregrounding Wanjiku as a conveyor of knowledge based on her complex lived
experience and precarity in life, Wanjiku confirms identities from below, have an embodied
self-consciousness of wanting to self-represent in the world, Gordon (2015) argues that this
consciousness can transform their experiences, but it must happen through a specific body of
language. Therefore, the study becomes a place of encounter with Wanjiku as an educator of
her consciousness, self-representation and taking part in a humanistic project in the social
world. Wanjiku also becomes a form of knowledge that invites us to witness her own *living
archive as pedagogy* that asserts her being and becoming, agency, and adequately captures

politically inscribed bodies from landscapes of below within geographical East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and South Sudan).

In this study, I take the position and make it clear that we cannot relate to Wanjiku as a metaphor, if so we reduce her life experiences to a place where society absolves itself from the guilt, complicity and complacency in excluding and enabling conditions of "up againstness". Wanjiku and the Acholi's experience and presence are meant to implicate and unsettle (Tuck & Yang, 2012) our distancing from landscapes from below. To address this concern, from an impactful transformative engagement, I argue that the conceptual body is an educator of her experience, a critical learner who embraces "knowing what you don't know" (Taylor & Hamdy, 2013, p. 1562) for lifelong learning. Knowing what you do not know leads me to introduce situated knowledges, as a discourse directing Wanjiku and the Acholi as the unprivileged body of knowledge production.

4.4   WANJIKU IN SITUATED KNOWLEDGE FOR TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION

Situated knowledge as discoursed by Donna Haraway (1988), optimizes the process of educational transformation by recognizing subjugated forms of epistemology. This approach to knowledge is critical of being dependent "on institutional, technical, and cultural norms (Kuhn (1962/1970), or practice (Clarke and Fujimura, 1992; Pickering, 1992), and attempts to witness, measure, comprehend, or command assent to it (Latour, 1987; Shapin, 1994; Shapin and Schaffer, 1985)" (Thompson, 2015, p. 1). Haraway (1991), demonstrates the impulse to think outside the origins of traditional knowledge that is "universal (male, white, heterosexual, human), has relativism (being nowhere while claiming to be everywhere equally/ all opinions are equal/ neutral)" (p.191) and "realism (seeing everything from nowhere/ view from above that has a gaze)" (p.189). Through this study, the use of concept body extends transformation as vessels that undeniably shape the way we understand the world, or produce a crack in affirming new world (Jones, 2018) through authenticity, truth and trustworthiness of knowledge (Haraway,1998). Haraway emphasises that, "it matters most which stories tell stories, which concepts think concepts" (Haraway, 2016, p. 101) for knowledge is recognized and read through the identification of most powerful and reliable tools (Maton & Moore, 2010). This is interestingly similar to what was previously discussed in chapter three, with reference to Steigler's (2010) argument that human life as being inseparable from technics. The point of clarification being that we associate education as a means to developing technics, while

education in different practices may fail to be understood as a form of technology. Therefore, using Haraway's perspective of stories, concepts,and archives as forms of education among the epistemplogically unpriviledged, they become what Steigler identifies as parts of exterior human life and if preserved well they become the technical memory banks of how we are recognized and read in future.

For decades, situated knowledge as practice widely affirms objectivity of knowledge from partial and situated perspectives of differently positioned social actors (Young, 2004). This provides us with the liberty to engage with Wanjiku as a contemporary provocation, that shifts our consideration to societies and groups whose ways of knowing (Leibowitz. 2017) and being are subjugated. Significantly, this practice of knowing legitimizes Wanjiku's body as an entree in "how we experience, reflect and act [transformation] mediated through the sociality of language and the social production of meaning" (Michelson, 2015, p. 91). Wanjiku is positioned as an epistemic body produced through power regulations and whose experience cannot be rejected (Davis, 2007). Such bodies also find expression in the theoretical framework of Foucauldian body; bodies that live through disparate circumstances but there is adamant refusal to view them as passive bodies given their subordinate or marginal accounts (McCay, 1991).These bodies become part of "ways of transforming the world based on other understandings of the world" (De Sousa Santos, 2016, p.21).

The use of body as a path of knowing or reproducing a knowledge narrative is however contested. Critics have censored the body as inadequate for truth (Jonsson, 2019), due to their generalization from public. Haraway (1988) argues that efforts to produce scientific knowledge is a desirable objective, however, she cautions that knowledge is not produced without bodies. In the study I do not wish to separate concept from the body, therefore will continue to use the term 'concept body' to see how it progresses as knowledge practice.

Situated knowledge studies the gaze as the vision of "Western tradition that idealizes sight by aligning it with pure rational perception" (Cove, 2011, pp. 3-4). In the previous chapter, I referred to Derrida's work: *Memoirs of Blindness* to provoke the theorizing of *living archive as pedagogy* as a knowledge project of self-representation, that can "see in blindness" (1990, p.12). Derrida's examination of blindness challenges Western metaphysics of sight that becomes the gaze that reproduces immediate self-representation. Derrida argues that the "conception of sight must include blindness" (Cove, 2011, p. 4). Haraway (1988) understands vision to be body, and therefore questions how we can use the body to see, represent, account

for what matters to the body, and how the body can be a host of meaning or is dispossessed from it.

The body is discoursed by Haraway as facing multiple forms of gaze, white gaze, political, patriarchal among others. She also locates the gaze present in "history that is tied to militarism, capitalism, colonialism and male supremacy" (1988, p. 581). In her view a body under a gaze is "conquered, deprived of meaning, it losses the capacity to see, and loses its own semiotic material to represent- self" (Haraway, 1988, p.581). The gaze is also analyzed as the ability to know everything through "modest witness". This is explained in what Haraway conceptualized as the (god trick) "monopoly of sight, from one location, divine and all-knowing in discernment" (Huff, 2019, p. 378) who produces, appropriates and orders differences" (Haraway, 1998, p.587). Within contemporary life, the excesses of Western vision exacerbate a technological feast, we can relate to this when it manifests as surveillance and its consequences in daily life. Her body of work questions our complicity in the voraciousness of vision, and the impact of seeing "through the blood that has crafted the eyes", which means "we become answerable for what we learn how to see" (Haraway, 1988, p.583). Therefore, self-representation through body is an active and different engagement by the 'concept body' that rejects its denial, repression, to be forgotten, disappear or to be nowhere (Haraway, 1988). This resistance creates transformation from an underprivileged epistemic subject (De Sousa Santos, 2016) whose horizon of possibilities restores their human capabilities, actualization of personhood, meaning- making (Van der Westhuizen , 2017) and inter-connectedness towards wholeness (Krog, 2008).

Moya (2011) expands the notion of "concept body' as an identity that should participate in complex dialogue in their situated knowledge positions. This complex dialogue is part of a didactic approach that clearly indicates who they are, where they are coming from. Moya (2011, p. 79) phrases it as "who we are and from where we speak". It defies god's trick judgement (Haraway, 1998) that views unprivileged knowledge practice "as less interesting, less significant and more parochial" (Moya, 2011, p.84). This complex dialogue is complementary since it fits the study by addressing an essential gap that is; self- representation of the concept body needing an interpretative horizon for more completeness. The latter is an epistemic engagement where marginalized identities reformulate how they are viewed from 'their' below.

4.5   I AM WHERE I SPEAK

The interpretive horizon is sometimes referred to as the horizon of possibility or understanding (Hirsch, 2013) and is an "open and dynamic… perspective that is always …moving into the future and into new spaces as the subjects move" (Alcoff ,2005, p. 95). Subjugated epistemic identities have the power to name, characterize, and judge their embodied experiences of the world (Alcoff, 2003). This becomes valuable in the recognition that first "we are modes of being, before [we] are modes of knowing" (Holroyd, 2007, p.2). Therefore, within the interpretive horizons, *I am where I speak* signals; we are beings, whose mode of knowing comes not from knowing more but knowing differently (Grondin, 2003 & Holroyd, 2007). The encounter of interpretive position/ horizon establishes why the following critical phrases of *I am where I think* (Mignolo, 2009), *Who we are and from where we speak* (Moya, 2011) is language that discloses epistemic know of the identities in the periphery and arising from the conditions in which they live in (Holroyd, 2007).

The study creates its own interpretive phrase; *I am where I speak*, as an interpretive position for both the Acholi and Wanjiku. The intellectual foundation of this phrase *I am where I speak* appears in chapter three as a result of Cabral's and Freire's inflection that an owned form of pedagogy should prioritize the local reality (Cabral, 1980) and give the sub-human the right to speak, to speak to, and speak with(Freire, 2012). I argue that *I am where I speak* positions the invisible wanting to name the world, speak with *'hearers'* for the purpose of self-representation, self-historicization (we are on the side of history and history is on our side), reclaiming of their humanity and freedom in the context of both Acholi and Wanjiku. Cabral selected theories for the study provides understanding of marginalized post-conflict societies needing and capable of amplifying *speak with, speak to* for transformative action, rather than *speaking for* the latter is often done by external agencies in the communities. The presence of Acholi and Wanjiku's speech *I am where I speak* is meant to be reciprocal dialogue that validates their social education experiences as not simplistic conversations (Dotsun, 2014).

I am where I speak confirms the sense of self, validating the concept body as philosophically mature (Jay, 2005) and wanting to feel different in their everyday, move beyond the hegemonies of power, oppression, epistemic exclusion (Moya, 2011) as a practice of their learning. *I am where I speak* clarifies situated knowledge to also mean,

> *...born of a lived experience that was always in progress [shifting from a place of being to a place of becoming]. An experience at the limits, full of risk, where the thinking subject reflected in full awareness on his [her] very existence, and his [her] own name, and in the name of the people to come, those yet to be born (Mbembe,2017).*

In other studies how we hear or reciprocate the dialogue from *I am where I speak*, involves the *willing hearer*, listening to confirm pluriversal forms of knowledge ecology, being, and giving attention to intonations and perspectives, as well as to hear the possibilities of the speakers synthesis (Kulundu- Bolus , McGarry, & Lotz- Sisitika, 2020).

4.6   CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses the significance of philosophical concepts and transformative learning as a means to address the research question if living archive as pedagogy can be a part of a transformative knowledge practice. The use of a philosophical conceptual lens permits the study to depart from established dominant learning and consciousness. In the chapter, there is the introduction of Wanjiku a living body in East Africa, to act as a conceptual body that speaks of the exclusion of landscapes from below. Using Wanjiku as the concept representing exclusion, but also applicable as a category of invisibility, with a regulated voice, or voice without reciprocal dialogue in their locations of struggle. We enable an epistemic opportunity where both the Acholi and Wanjiku become part of a knowledge phenomenon that resists being spoken about or at best ordered (Gordon, 2015).

While education transformation lacks singular description, it aims to disrupt normative knowledge formulations that lack autonomy to support complex and changing societies (Hodge, 2019). The merging of transformative education with conceptual possibilities in the form of Wanjiku, richly grounds the chapter as having both philosophical and epistemic value. In this way the study provides copious attention to subjugated identities, for how they know the world is a form of knowledge coming from their own conditions, that should be understood as a crack affirming new world, truth, and authenticity (Haraway, 1998). In this way, the excluded body opens itself to the process of their own liberation as part of transformation within modernity (Dussel, 1977).

Key in this chapter has been the merging of both conceptual and transformative learning to widen what kind of meanings we can achieve and especially understand interpretive horizon. The latter is the ability for the epistemic subjugated to name and represent self within a specific

context, to enable the discussion of knowing differently, to speak of or dialogue as means of naming their human conditions (Holroyd , 2007). The chapter identifies with the interpretive horizon of *I am where I speak*, a position that Acholi and Wanjiku can identify with as a sense of self, validating and confirming their right to speak, in light of hegemonies of power, oppression and epistemic exclusion (Moya, 2011). This chapter also underscored that understanding of our location is to know of our story, and to be a society in dialogue with itself (Okeja, 2019).

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY AS A PROCESS TO RESHAPE OR TRANSFORM

*Communities have issues that matter and processes and methodologies
which can work for them*

(Smith,2008,p.161).

5.1   INTRODUCTION

The chapter has seven segments; it begins with section one, the presentation of the interpretivist paradigm as an ontological positioning of the study. The overlap of African and Western intellectual scholarship of interpretative hermeneutics is discussed in section two. This heightens the prospect of considering new horizons or dialogue that centres qualitative experiences of invisible identities as platforms to recognize themselves. In further developing the chapter, part three has the researcher's positionality, which adds to the trustworthiness and reliability dimension of the research.

The fourth section of this chapter describes the conceptual case analysis and substantiates why a case study design was adopted. The sampling strategy and the procedure of organizing secondary raw data for both conceptual and hermeneutic content analysis is in the fifth section. I provide a discussion of the strategic techniques used to meet the threshold of trustworthiness and reliability in qualitative research in section six. I conclude this chapter with the seventh section, which outlines specific ethical commitments that this research is appreciative of and is obliged too.

5.2   CONSTRUCTIVIST/ INTERPRETIVIST PARADIGM

The paradigm concept is diverse and never complying into a singular articulation. Nevertheless, it explains a set of common beliefs, values, and assumptions (Kuhn, 1962, 1977) that a community of researchers or scientists have in common agreement, regarding the nature and conduct of how difficulties should be understood and addressed. The study is embedded within the constructivist/interpretivist/ phenomenological (Babbie & Mouton, 2008; Willis, 1995 & Gephart Jr, 1993) worldview of social sciences or metatheories of social science. This view aims to understand how people in a particular setting construct reality. What are their reported perceptions, of how they recognize themselves through their truths, experience, and beliefs (Patton, 2002).

The constructivist/ interpretivist paradigm has its foundational work from Edmund Husserl's (1981) phenomenology, as well as Wilhelm Dilthey's (1989). Guba and Lincoln (1994) echo interpretivism as a discourse of meaning and understanding that is constructed inter subjectively in the social and experiential space (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006) where human actors articulate social reality by the understanding of lived experiences, and perceptions to uncover meaning (Nguyen & Trah, 2015). Objects too are included as part of social reality for they provide significant language to shape reality and consciousness (Scotland, 2012). In the data analysis chapter, the study engages with objects in the form of nature, spirits and geographical locations, as an essential part of describing Acholi's phenomena of "up againstness" and living from below. Guba and Lincoln (1994), position the argument that a world without consciousness is meaningless and therefore welcomes ideology, conceptualizations and theory as necessary patterns of generating social reality (Burrell & Morgan, 2017; Creswell, 2003). These multi-layered patterns of consciousness are not designed to provide a "precise, systematic and theoretical answer to the complex human problems, but provide a greater understanding of the human condition" (Nel , 2019, para. 2).

The Interpretivist paradigm is predominantly faulted for not being objective, due to the element of subjectivism that is thought not to be scientific enough. Interpretivism is distinctly a by human product, which shows the understanding of social world from intuitive and subjective source (Nel, 2019). The removal of subjectivism denies people of being responsive agents in achieving their own significance as established as follows,

> *"Humans are self-interpreting and self-evaluating ..., the interpretative philosophy then helps man to define self as a responsible human agent"* (Taylor, 1985, p. 45).

> *"This does not mean that this position is subjectivist. In this framework, human subjectivity and evaluation are objective elements of reality and constitute who we are. This reality is composed of some elements that are pride, shame, moral goodness, evil, dignity, the sense of worth ...these are "matter[s] of significance"* (Taylor, 1995, p.vii-viii).

The removal of single detachment of subjectivism does not deter from the careful work done by interpretivist researchers, to authentically be involved in areas we may shy away from such as; intimate views of our thoughts, feelings, perspectives and prejudices. Another recurring limitation in the paradigm is the power hierarchy concern that could subjugate participants' expression of beliefs, and assertions. The dilemma of such studies is on the researcher's choice on how to interpret data, what area of research they choose, and how to present evidence

thought to be hierarchically determined (Goodsell, 2013) leaving out to some extent the contribution of the participants. Knowledge from this paradigm is critiqued to be context specific, limiting the possibility of the generalization of experiences (Pham, 2018). This of course does not necessarily make interpretivism subordinate to scientific inquiry; at the core, it ascertains human experience and significance that does not need to be a replication (Agrey, 2014).

5.2.1   Interpretation through Hermeneutics

To conceptualize *living archive as pedagogy*, the research utilizes hermeneutics, an approach that encourages disruption of preconceptions in prior conceptual frameworks or worldviews. Interpretation from a hermeneutics platform endorses the description of the social world through unfamiliar points as they occur in the cultural, social -political contexts, past and present in which understanding or misunderstanding ensue (Freeman, 2008). Hermeneutics postulates that meaning from our interpretation happens when we are at a point of encounter (person and person, person and object, person and landscape, person and the world). This place of encounter has its body of language and symbols that convey people's experience in the world (Freeman, 2008) and gives facts to the phenomena in the study. In this research, I anticipate that the notion/formulation of *living archive as pedagogy* becomes the main medium or body of language that the Acholi can rely on to represent, name and own their world in the reality of "up againstness" and radical co-presence.

What is conceptualized as *living archive as pedagogy* may perhaps lead us to spaces of encounter with inscribed living bodies, documented active experiences from the landscape of below- rituals, narratives, autobiographies, and performances (songs, stories, poems, and dances) developed from protracted oppressions during the war and in present times. Interpretation by hermeneutics submits that authentic meaning and understanding of our lived experience cannot be pre-thought, and neither can a conceptual study have a ready-made response (Tamenu, 2016) to complex lived experiences. Hermeneutics provides a trajectory, where the everyday encounters of Wanjiku can be channelled as the possibility for dialogue, or expansion of horizons. Dialogue as elucidated by Paulo Freire (1970) in his body of work Pedagogy of the Oppressed is a place of encounter between people appreciable for those who want to name the world and those who do not wish this naming. Dialogue becomes an existential certainty, that legitimizes the right to speak, deters naming of the world done on behalf of others and prevents continual dehumanizing aggression by the oppressor. The out-

turn for dialogue by Frieire is meaningful human tranformation, while Freeman (2008), analyses and proposes dialogue from hermenutics as transposing the everyday experiences to what can be a possible beyond.

Interpretation through hermeneutics guides this research to examine the complexity of obscure identities in post-conflict phenomenon as they represent themselves, or name their world through self-historicization, collective identity mapping and challenging of structural barriers (Cifor & Wood , 2017). The study is intent in encountering Acholi's omitted realities to enlarge the loop of knowledge in pedagogy and archiving. This encounter within the bounds of interpretative hermeneutics permits disrupting the predictability of reading post-conflict situations with existing elaborate terms from external interventions (Freeman, 2008). Alternatively, from using post-conflict western-centric labels as responses to Acholi's complex lived situations and environment the research anticipates dialogue from a conceptualized *living archive as pedagogy* as one in which, Wanjiku or Acholi's perspectives, critically overlap with frames of social justice to transform or name the possibility of beyond/ new horizon. The study comprehends that dialogue from hermeneutics is a reflection of "what makes it possible for us to speak, think and act in the ways we do" (Agrey, 2014, p. 396). To dialogue brings with it a provocation to have a continual self-reflective process, where differences are acknowledged (Freire, 1970; Freeman, 2008). In hindsight to conceptualize the *living archive as pedagogy,* becomes a call to witness meaning and understanding developed by the Acholi to address self-worth, human agency, liberation, and ways of knowing from their context.

The concept of Being –in- the- world (Dreyfus, 1990) has various philosophical interpretive thinking around it. Philosopher Martin Heidegger approaches it as an expression explaining our dwellings, with emphasis not to be merely inside the world, but to feel that we belong to a familiar place (Zalta , 2020). Paul Ricœur (1975, 1999) approaches the concept of being-in – the- world as answered by how we may exist and the uncovering of how we exist. He argues that the concept, is a form of language both metaphorical and speculative (Brisson , 1976). This language is the mediation that integrates human beings into society, or simply put that our being imprints our work, and our work gives us access to dwell in the world. Ricœur makes the inference that we belong to the world depending on how we understand and interpret all types of texts, fiction, imaginative, and non-textual material (Petrovki, 2013).

The interpretative logic of being-in-the world, favourably validates excluded persons living from below, who continuously have to authenticate and defend their humanity, given the

human gaze and nebulosity of what is human (Olorunkeke , 2010). I bring in the scholarship of African philosophers in hermeneutics, as a thought system that challenges the over-compensation by the Acholi, Wanjiku and others in the landscape of below in proving being-in-the- world. In a parallel vein to Ricœur (1975), philosophical hermeneutics from Africa seeks to use language to concretize and solve problems within our context in a manner that is both an intimate philosophical and human experience (Unah, 2006 &Azenabor , 2010). Akin to Ricœur's thinking, I introduce Oladapo Balogun's (2013) study of hermeneutics in African philosophy. A theorization that propounds that the relationship between our ways of thinking (beliefs, practices, values, doing, assumptions) and being "confers humanity its humanness" (Balogun, 2013, p. 107).

Balogun's orientation is not necessarily to dwell in the world, but that our being should be a self-creation of humanness. This requires the return to our origins or history similar to Amilcár Cabral's return to the source as discussed in chapter three, at this point we are returning to our origins "to recognize the problem of conceptual continuities and discontinuities at all intellectual dimension and creatively or alternatively redescribe ourselves" (Balogun, 2013, p.105). He goes further, to confirm the connection that when we engage with our thinking and understanding, we creatively re-describe intimate human experiences and locate our humanity (Balogun, 2013). In this articulation, he is conscious that, what we locate as African humanity or humanness is philosophically and contemporarily over-generalized and increasingly becoming redundant. However, Balogun's theorization permits seeing Acholi and Wanjiku's lived experience as a place of epistemic possibility, literary and intellectual positioning. If we approach this from an intention of redescribing inconsistent patterns of thinking, in this way their being becomes humane.

Largely, hermeneutics cautions of "semantic hollows that exist" (Petrovki, 2013, p. 26) in achieving authentic self-comprehension. African philosophy relying on the scholarship of Kwasi Wiredu, Sophie Oluwole, and Maduabuichi Dukor empahisizes that African thought and its humanity is best elucidated from an open-ended position (Balogun, 2013). In this way, Africa resists being a location of myths, developmental goals, resists framing as problematic, not enough, or the reliance of a singular narrative that fails to exemplify its originality, concepts and creative concerns (Balogun, 2013). An added point of caution points to the dialectical interpretation of text done from a privileged space of self-understanding. This imparts actions of prejudice, lack of transparency, illusions, and obstruction of historical knowledge of how

minority identities belong to the world (Petrovki, 2013). In Ricœur's (1999) work, this prompts the formulation of otherness whose self, daily phenomena and natural practice fails representation and whose environs are a mere "assembly of objects without imaginative variations of the symbolic, poetic, literary, religious and philosophical discourse, able to express the situation of the original destination of the self" (Petrovki, 2013, p. 26).

Ricœur's emphasis on interpretation of text does not completely cover how we preserve the integrity of complex lived experiences or use it. To address this gap, I borrow from particular African philosophers[21] who position hermeneutics in scholarship as intellectual work to advance social theory, historicity and to address the ontological gap of African liberation theory in postcolonialism (Serequeberhan, 1994). They examine and legitimize lived experience as material adaptable to historicity, rather than the insolence of classifying African[22] life and intellect as legend, fiction or unverifiable events of the past needing authentication (Balogun, 2013) from Western cultural imperialism (Masaka, 2018).

The discourse of African hermeneutics sets itself apart from European dominance (Okolo, 1991) or in favour of Western proclivities and ideals (Etieyibo, 2016), to "enable [us to] occupy an elevated and more fulfilling intellectual pedestal" (Okolo, 1991, p.110). The labour of concrete historicity within hermeneutics is integrated for re-describing the continents –"mode of life, languages, cultural motifs, traditions and destiny in a manner that is emancipatory" (Serequeberhan, 1994, p.110). Hermeneutics reflecting Africa's intellectual work and way of life within the continent, confirms Serequeberhan's (1994, 2012) conviction of unfinished work of beginning anew after colonialism and postcolonialism if we are to achieve more expressions of postcolonial liberation theory. The latter may be addressed from the hermeneutic perspective of *D'où parlez vous?* From where do you speak? An analysis to challenge hegemonic modes in dialogue, requiring keen contemplation of "who is the "we" [in

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[21] Serequeberham, T. (1994), Okolo, O. (1991), Owolabi, KA. (2001), Dukor, M (2010), & Balogun, O. (2013).

[22] My understanding of studies describing African thought and life is not necessarily fixed to a geographical location. Africa is a global outfit; with massive pan-Africanism, diaspora, and continent work. I appreciate the posturing of Africa as generative, with agency and, not necessary wanting Africa to present its knowledge systems as complete. There is value in the work of Africa being incomplete (Nyamnjoh, 2015), given it faces complex manifestations of intersectionality that cannot be resolved with immediacy. Am aware of the tendency to have Africa compared to the global north and their forms of modernity, it is these comparisons that chronically undermine the people, thought and modes of life. Nkulu-N'Sengha succinctly summarizes it as African mind [and life] is defined in binary terms as the opposite of not only the Western mind but also of the rest of humankind (2005, p. 41).

dialogue]… Who is saying what to whom, why, where and when" (Veldsman, Bulrendag, Fourie , & Van Wyk, 2017, p. 100).

From where do we speak? Chiefly mirrors Western and African hermeneutics as disciplines of unequal footing and with grave imbalance and impact, for research and learning in the African context. This is because Western hermeneutics functions in Western normativity and privilege thus inhabiting the context of African hermeneutics [and generally other African spheres] from a "description that easily passes as prescription. This "limit[s] precise and accurate descriptions" (Sands, 2019, p. 376) of contemporary African thinkers and its people. This Western prescription as argued by Serequeberhans (2012) hinders accurate self-awareness, self-determination causing a false sense of independence, while in reality African thought and its people are trapped "inauthenticity and oppression 'of they' embodied in Western hegemony" (Sands, 2019, p.377). From where do we speak? Is a contemporary call for transparency where both schools of thought and the people recognize their prejudices and limitations (Sands, 2019). It makes clear the political work needed to free us from the paradoxical independence and the "epistemicide or suppression of paradigm thought" (Musaka 2018, p.21). From where we speak? In supporting the labour of historicity, becomes part of Cabral's theorization of returning to the source, which obliges that we; speak to, to speak with, without speaking against (Cabral cited in Freire, 2012). Serequeberhan's analysis of Western hermeneutics speaking for the African context delegitimizes interlocutors, other cultures, contexts and maintains a comparison to the West. This fails hermeneutics as an imagination of liberation "an embodiment of encounter, where the colonized is in a process of self-emancipation with possibilities of their own history" (Serequeberhan, 2012.p.100).

Acholi and Wanjiku enter the frame of interpretive hermeneutics, as persons with the capability of engaging in historical retrieval and the ability to reconstruct their being-in-the-world from a space of dialogue, intellectual work, and seeking to expand their horizons. Through them, this research is able to engage in co-epistemological work that illuminates the significance of marginalized identities as interpreters, leading their idea of destiny, which directs our reading, re-reading possibilities and our retakes (Agrey, 2014; Balogun, 2013) in dismantling inauthenticity of paradoxical liberation. Through them we encounter their humanness, and responsbility to address their dilemmas with a consciousness that has impactful meaning (Petrovki, 2013).

5.2.2 Researcher's Positionality

This is the researcher's chosen view (philosophical perspective beliefs, attitudes) to describe reality in relation to the research task (Manohar, Liamputtona, Bhole, & Arora, 2017). Philosophically, the choice of interpretative hermeneutics as discussed from an African vantage point, in the section above, serves as a favourable intellectual and social grounding for me. I am Kenyan born and raised, in an era where the country was viewed as the 'peaceful neighbour' among its neighbours in the Horn of Africa, Great Lakes Region and East Africa, due to intense war experiences shortly after their independence and political instability in the present for some regions. I am from a multicultural lineage, a granddaughter of the Mau Mau Freedom Fighters of Kenya. These fighters who are from my grandparents' generation fought for independence, and the return of their land due to their massive displacement from the homeland by the implementation of the British colonial land policy or the Crown Land Ordinance of 1902 (Coray , 1978).

This generation of fighters partly raised us, but gravely lived in muteness never uttering a word of their multiple traumas, torture or mentioning of their experiences in horrible concentration camps among other obvious difficulties, the grim cultural oaths that they took sanctioned them into grave silence. Nevertheless, the trauma of this past is very visible in the generation of our parents, who live in heightened political panic, whom we have partly lost through suicide, and other early deaths due to prolonged bouts of illness. This briefly gives context to how I appear within the political space, Wanjiku the concept body described in chapter four, is pretty much my political parent, who for two generations has used silence to self-preserve the individual, family, community and strategically to preserve what we identify as Kenya pre- 2007[23] the peaceful neighbour.

The Wanjiku of my generation has to address the tempestuous period of the 1990's, where Citizens (*Wanainchi)* clamoured for the transition from a one-party state initiated by the founding fathers to a multi-party system. During this time political riots by the University of Nairobi students is rife, as they participate in resistance marches against political assassination,

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[23] Violent political, economic and humanitarian crisis erupted due to the failed presidential elections of 27 December 2007. The election commission failed in ensuring a free and fair election, resulting into a bitter and hateful divide of the country between pro Emilio Mwai Kibaki camp and pro Raila Omolo Odinga camp. Over 1,100 people lost their lives, the crisis turned into ethnic fighting and cleanse in some parts of the country. Peace mediation by a few African elders and former Statesmen led to some resemblance of peace in the first quarter of 2008.

the detention of political prisoners and their insistence for the establishment of a multi-party democracy. The slogan Nairobi, the city under the sun becomes meaningless, Nairobi transitioned to become the home for rural mothers going on public hunger strikes, in the hope that their sons would be released from detention alive. Critical clergy against the president were targeted; The Late Nobel Laurette Wangari Maathai was countlessly beaten into a pulp, for wanting to save the trees to secure a greener future for East Africa. At this point I was a primary school going child, in a school that is less than 600 meters from parliament. I quickly learn how to fear special para-military riots, their clubs, uniform, horses who were often dropped nearby the school gate 'to manage' the *wanainchi* through extreme physical force that was never challenged. I learnt how to return home safely, but to never talk about the tear-gas at school, who you saw beaten, to never admit that you were afraid, and to never discuss politics. However, my parents would buy the two authorized Newspapers daily, and in this way I politically groomed myself when to speak and when to be silent, angry, disappointed, and when be ashamed and to be punished for my ethnic background, and at times just deeply pray that the situation would improve.

While conducting this study I am constantly reminded about my upbringing that relied on the support of young women who had escaped the years of war in Uganda, and worked in neighbouring Tanzania and Kenya as domestic workers, but who often lied stating that they were our relatives from upcountry. Dai (not her real name) is the young woman that my family lived with for a short period. Her escape from war to an autocratic environment meant that she had to consciously learn how to survive; she was not Acholi but fled due to the instability of the Idi Amin Dada reign (1971-1979) . In this dictatorial environment in Kenya, daily life involved dodging the heavy handiness of the government and resisting its day-to-day violations. We (Kenyan's/my family) conformed to a community life that enforced the use of a specific language (Kiswahili) to minimize surveillance, and hardly spoke in our mother tongues. We (family) learned how to discerningly respond to questions from perceived civil servants, strangers, or possible informants, and of course look over our shoulders, it seemed like we were actively present in life but on the contrary, we were largely absent. These experiences are a fraction of how instruments of authoritarianism ensure control, repression and co-optation (Beiser & Metternich, 2016). Dai in the later years became an entrepreneur in the informal sector; having her own capital to start her importation of grains for sale in the area, where she was hosted. I was constantly sent to her shop to buy grains and she inspired me. I respected her; she had survived difficult years in a foreign country, all alone and nothing

seemed to defeat her[24]. She died suddenly of ill health, and left a young family behind but her being remains unforgettable to me.

Over the years, my connection to Dai, the Acholi, and Wanjiku helps me see the gaze of a political body, which carries "certain meaning … in the past, it is infused in us, permeates us, infects us, stirs us, [and] exercises a formative effect" (van Manen, 2007, p. 11). I do not relate with Dai, the Acholi, Wanjiku or their gaze as otherness, an area already discussed in the body of this study's literature. I find these identities and their gaze to be I, and vice versa. While this risks the interpretation of trying to centre myself prominently in the research. I make this clear using the understanding of hermeneutics of self (Ackermann, 1998) to clarify my positionality.

> *"We find identity from the interaction of those around us; it is only when one interacts with difference and diversity (the other) that one finds true self. That is when I look into their face, its you and I…. I acknowledge that I am not complete unto myself, I see myself in the face of the other. I am not fully myself until I can see me in your face. You are the mirror of myself; I am the mirror of yourself. Only when we can see ourselves and each other are we fully human"* (Ackermann, 1998, p. 24).

What my positionality does in this study, is to grant permission to present an "African political class that has failed in their mission to build nations characterized by justice and progress in spite of a number of significant and very welcome advances" (Anne, 2018, para. 2). Political transition in Uganda in the form of a different national leader and different economic direction has been a delayed prospect; the youth in the country are largely into oppositional politics, they are outspoken critics of the president, activists and voters (van Gyampo & Anyidoho, 2019). My positionality allows me to defend the dismissal of the youth as agents of social change. This is visible with the reigning president using patronage politics (Anabwe, 2018) that tactically labels the youth as *Bazukulu*, which means grandchildren. In this way the government reserves them as politically unformed and immature which absolves lines of accountability and prompts the government to use technical gaps to deny and delay their voting rights. Where the youth/ *Bazukulu* have protested, political authority uses this opportunity to describe them as individuals that cannot be trusted, widening their exclusion in society (Gavin, 2020).

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[24] It would be untrue to state that nothing seemed to defeat her. She did what most black women do, live the strong black woman syndrome. A syndrome that does not allow to show in both public and private, expressions of defeat, worry, weakness, emotion or failing courage. Leaving you to function in toxic positivity, where the woman is of good spirt and having a very warm personality without emotional meltdowns.

I am aware that developing *living archive as pedagogy* is an active encounter with many identities (Dai, Acholi, Wanjiku, otherness, *Bazukulu*) in challenging landscapes of below and "up-againstness". The study's sustainability is not in the recording of invisible identities, it speaks of them being co-researchers and that their self-narrative is significant for "new and original interpretation to emerge" (Agrey, 2014, p.399) or the creative self-description. Their presence in my view brings an emancipatory pull, where their dialogue and conversations educate us of what horizons need to be expanded when we understand what their lived experiences mean. This may be through challenging established authorities, demanding for decolonial input, the altering of hierarchical societies using specific cultural references (music, art, iconography) as ways of being responsible in present social-political life (Anne, 2018). Therefore, my research positionality is one that positions the self and the research to assume responsibility in widening the emancipatory dialogue from the invisible identity to the *willing hearer.*

5.3   RESEARCH DESIGN

The design for the research is a combination of a conceptual analysis and case study methodology to benefit the study's aim and research questions. These chosen designs predispose the study to be within a natural setting where knowledge emanates authentically from the participants and the phenomenon being studied is not isolated from its context (Harrison, Birks , Franklin , & Mills, Case Study Research: Foundations and Methodological Orientations, 2017).   The case study design compliments this research by studying the phenomenon within its historical integrity (Starman, 2013). Conceptual analysis addresses the area of interest *living archive as pedagogy*; it supports the study to develop a language for what is unfamiliar. Both designs are descriptive and share a qualitative structure supporting knowledge production by either; broadening theory, introducing new concepts lacking in original theory, and the creation of knowledge as shaped by reality (Kosterec , 2016) rather than the verification of conclusions from existing theories (Vaismoradi , Jones , Turunen, & Shelgrove , 2016).

5.3.1   Case Study Methodology

This research is a single case study seeking to conceptualize a *living archive as pedagogy* in post-conflict northern Uganda. A case study inquiry guides the researcher to investigate contemporary phenomenon (Yin, 2014) in an in-depth, social- contextual and detailed

descriptive manner for the interpretation of the research topic (Vaismoradi , Jones , Turunen, & Shelgrove , 2016). Case studies have different typologies, and the exploratory case study has been selected that demands the utilization of thick or rich descriptions to understand and articulate patterns of meaning in the phenomenon of *living archive as pedagogy*. An exploratory case study affirms that the research will adopt a flexible and open- mindedness orientation. This entails that the researcher commits to creatively searching for data, and explores other approaches to analysing data (Tamenu, 2016). Overall, the case study methodology is appraised for its evidence of investigating and understanding complex issues in the world (Haradhan, 2018).

5.3.2   Conceptual Analysis

A conceptual case analysis foregrounds concepts to be explored in a particular research study (Richards, 2002). A concept is a philosophical response to an existing phenomenon that is badly understood or badly posed (Hagen, 2015), concepts verify and represent the agreed meaning we assign to them. Therefore, conceptual case analysis becomes a philosophical tool inclined towards the pushing of research thoughts, experiments, and reflections beyond the boundaries of established models without isolating knowledge production from commonplace usage (Jackson, 1998). A conceptual inquiry also demonstrates the ability to generate empirical adequacy useful for a more rational, free, just -social order in society (Burgess & Plunkett , 2013).

Conceptual analysis defines specific constructs or components to be examined. In this study the *living archive as pedagogy*, Wanjiku is the identified constructs presented in the demarcated geographical case study of Northern Uganda. The study will demonstrate how the concept Wanjiku, can be linked to the theoretical work of this study as part logic and part coherence (Baxter & Jack , 2008). Starman (2013) argues that case analysis contributes to the body of knowledge in two ways: Firstly, it provides a heuristic impact where new or unexpected pathways emanate from the research. Secondly, a theoretical contribution could emerge expanding existing theory. These are plausible expectations of this research as well.

5.4   CASE SELECTION

The selected case for this study will be the Acholi community of Northern Uganda -East Africa. The protracted war between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and Government of Uganda (GoU) 1986- 2008 uprooted the Acholi community and adversely affected their political,

economic, spiritual and cultural spheres which have been un-reinstituted fully to date. The Acholi are purposively sampled for their first- hand experiences of the war and for liberally documenting this experience as individuals or community volunteers from 2005. The material is archived at the Justice and Reconciliation Project (JRP) a local Non- Governmental Organization formed voluntarily by the community members. JRP's work enhances grassroots involvement in transitional justice debates, truth-telling, traditional justice, reparations and gender justice within the context of Uganda's justice framework (McClain & Ngari, 2011).

5.5   DATA SELECTION

The study will rely on existing secondary evidence for a war that we can no longer observe. The documents are in the form of published autobiographies, policy reports, field reports, literature review, audio podcasts, webinars, visual and textual social media content as from 2008. Table 2 of the thesis provides a list of the main secondary data used whose source is mainly from the Justice Reconciliation Program (JRP). Independent academic researchers, civil society, national media, and international politico-aesthetic artists also add to the nature of social action work done by JRP in the war and post-war context. This explains why the list of data has other sources than JRP. There is the inclusion of artifact records from the Acholi people in the form of their rituals, narratives, stories, poems, songs, mobile peace exhibition, inscribed body, and documentaries. The variety of documents in secondary data contribute to multiple expressions that affirm plurality of experience, means of knowing and extends credibility. Bowen (2009) argues that qualitative data supports research in uncovering meaning, giving of voice, and discovering of insights related to the inquiry. A varied selection of material helps define who is the subject matter, how we understand the subject matter through their text or non- text items, what is their significance, consciousness, points of difference, and their dimension of being in the world (Venema, 2000).

5.6   DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the research will rely on a qualitative integrated framework that has four strategies supportive of interpretative dialogic outcome (Plamondon , Bottorff, & Cole, 2015). The study places itself as material that can be engaged to open up for new horizon involving theory, conceptualization and action reflection (Vieira & de Queiroz, 2017).I outline this process as I did it, described from section 5.6 to 5.6.3 for consideration. The immediate process begins as follows: One, coding through the creation of themes to describe social reality. This

systematic approach will involve some phases adopted from (Vaismoradi et.al 2016, p.100-101).

Step One

- Identify what are the research questions/ objectives of the study?
- Extensively gather an array of secondary data material related to the research questions
- Identify more specifically from the pool of material, secondary data to be used and have this safely stored in a safe central repository in either soft or hard copy
- Create excel spreadsheets or word tables to log in the data sets (abstracts, authors, year of publication, central argument, areas of disagreement or congruence)
- Make labelled electronic folders to store soft copies of selected secondary material
- Have electronic folders for audio material and their transcriptions catalogued in computer folders. For transcription of audio I used otter.ai software
- Images supporting research were arranged in accessible scanned, print and soft copies
- Reading the entire pool of textual material and gaining overall understanding
- Attaching notes/ memos to my selected visual content
- Sufficiently highlight the main issues arising from the data material
- Thoroughly identify categories emerging from the varied data from an inductive and deductive lens
- Developing extensive categories comes from using the criterion of; attributes, emotion, value, versus, evaluative, magnitude, language, and action words (Vincent, 2016). I expanded the criterion of categories by including important criteria for my research to include historic political timelines, physical landmarks, abduction routes, and locations of peace talk's negotiations. Part of this appears in the thesis in Table 4, Figure 9 and Addendum 3 and 4.

Step Two

- Coding of data for the thesis was guided by the following linear four-step analyzing methodology from Atkinson (2002).
- Develop initial codes: these involved extracting chunks of data that responded to the specific research questions.
- Expanded codes: I identified themes that emerge from the different research data sets.

- Rationalized codes: This focused on the gleaning of coded data to ensure no duplication, anomalies, and that identified themes are sufficient for the thesis.

- Analyzed codes: The themes settled for in the thesis, will then be contrasted to theory, conceptual and literature review to give newness to research, or to relate the themes to existing knowledge. This step is the foundation of the data analysis and discussion in chapter six of the thesis. The final themes from the codes appear in section 6.1.4 of chapter six in table 3 labelled as research themes and categories.

- The study is hermeneutic responsive to widen interpretive inquiry through the deconstruction of the data set, and this is done while simultaneously engaging in the coding process. The choice of interpretive hermeneutics permits me to be a spirited co-participant in collaborative meaning and understanding efforts. Finally, in this coding process, my engagement with the data is for the research to become an "educational output with new and exciting directions not previously experienced" as argued by Agrey, (2014. P. 401).

- The thesis presents a vast presentation of visual data, as seen in the list of figures, tables and addendum section. This assorted material are collected from the sourced secondary data and literature, while others are a new creation that the researcher devises to meet the criteria of conceptualization, and affirm where the Acholi lived in the unseen landscapes of below. There also exist pictorial work, which is recreated, from the original pieces. The process of analysing the visual data is not limited to text analysis, The researcher uses the methodology of pictorial analysis which includes description and explanation, matching of a visual image to text or context, shaping of new images to fit conceptual thinking and identifying photos with text to closely highlight different lived realities during the war and post- war periods.

Step Three

- This is a two –step process, which interiorly calls for the researcher to think of the following.
  o One: The search for contexts, stories between texts and meanings that can be linked to the data.
  o Two: Suspicion –For the researcher to pay deep attentiveness and amplification of what is not said or omitted.

I disclose my nervous academic encounter/s, where peers or critical reader/s conclude that I have a distant relationship with the co-participant (Acholi), because the research is document based, in their specific words 'desktop research'. In hindsight, what I seem to pick up is the tension of proving the validity and credibility of my work. I primarily notice the tradition to travel to the field place, as an activity that seems to prominently validate (boost esteem) the peer comparing their research progress, to mine. From this, they deduce their research to be more credible due to direct interaction with their human co-participants. I am of the view, that these comparisons may be driven by wanting to tick as many boxes in the qualitative journey, as a way of confirming that the knowledge and meaning achieved is scientific, because of a specific travel to the field.

I do clarify that my inability to go for fieldwork, for primary data research is informed, by the deterioration of civil and civic space since the last electoral cycle of 2016 in Uganda. There has been heavy police and military deployment in civil and civic public spaces to "maintain order" (Michael , 2021). The punishing of dissenting voices in opposition parties, civil society, journalists and civilians vocal in the rise of unprecedented repression, enforced disappearances, arbitrary detention, and restricted freedom of association (Human Rights Watch, 2021) has been a wide security concern, becoming worse with the COVID 19 lockdowns of 2020-21. Government machinery has deliberately caused fear in the public, and violently dealt with citizens, we have recent examples of Dr. Stella Nyanzi and Kakwenza Rukirabashaija (Lubanga, 2022) for using poetry and politico-aesthetic respectively, to resist the restriction of freedom in the country, and the two are currently in exile. It was important for me to observe the no harm principle to protect JRP's work, its beneficiaries and avoid attracting surveillance and suspicion for them and myself. I previously worked in East Africa in civil society as a Human Rights Defender, this commitment comes with great risk in certain political contexts.

My positionality in the research has had commentary of needing a more authentic introspection, and having a gap in what is my professional, philosophical view and beliefs. This is an area of intense disquiet, because I deliberately conduct the study without wanting to project my voice. I feel my positioning may be used to validate Acholi and Wanjiku's experience. This trajectory is common, given that certain civil society work, and even academic traditions do not find the community to be logical. Since the community is often put in the realm of subjugated knowledge to imply that, their understanding is 'naïve', 'grassroots' or 'low-level knowledge'

(Indira , 2020) needing to be brought closer to certain knowledge traditions, to validate their experiences as truthful.

Step Four

- Being Emphatic:
  - The process of being attentive and amplifying what is expressed
  - Describing in detail what emerges in every research question

This process will materialize in chapter seven and eight respectively.

- Finally provide conclusion for the study

This bullet point appears in chapter eight section 8.6

The four major steps provide a systematic description of content analysis for qualitative data, but when this process is merged with hermeneutics, the analysis becomes a hermeneutic content analysis for textual analysis (Vieira & de Queiroz, 2017). I give my interpretation of this merged process of hermeneutics and content analysis as seen in the images that appear in figure 2 and figure 3.

I present figure 3 in the successive page to succinctly summarize the process of conceptualizing *living archive as pedagogy*, showing areas of theory analysis that help to respond to the research objectives and formalize the being-in the world as a conceptualized Wanjiku/Acholi.

5.6.1   Hermeneutic Content Data Analysis

1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

2. SELECTED RESEARCH MATERIAL

3. BUILDING OF A CODING FRAME

4. CODE ANALYSIS

5. EMERGENT THEMES FROM STUDY

6. CONTRASTING OF THEMES FOR
    CONCEPTUAL AND THEORY VALIDITY

7. FINAL CONCLUSION TO RESEARCH
    QUESTIONS

Deductive reasoning

Inductive reasoning

Figure 5.1: Hermeneutic Content Data Analysis 25

The figure summarizes the analysis process of the research, in between are the several steps that shift raw data to research findings. The study relies on both deductive and inductive reasoning to explain the phenomenon of living archive as pedagogy as a plausible knowledge frame.

ε[25] The hermeneutic content data analysis figure above is an original design from the study.

5.6.2 Living archive as pedagogy conceptual frame
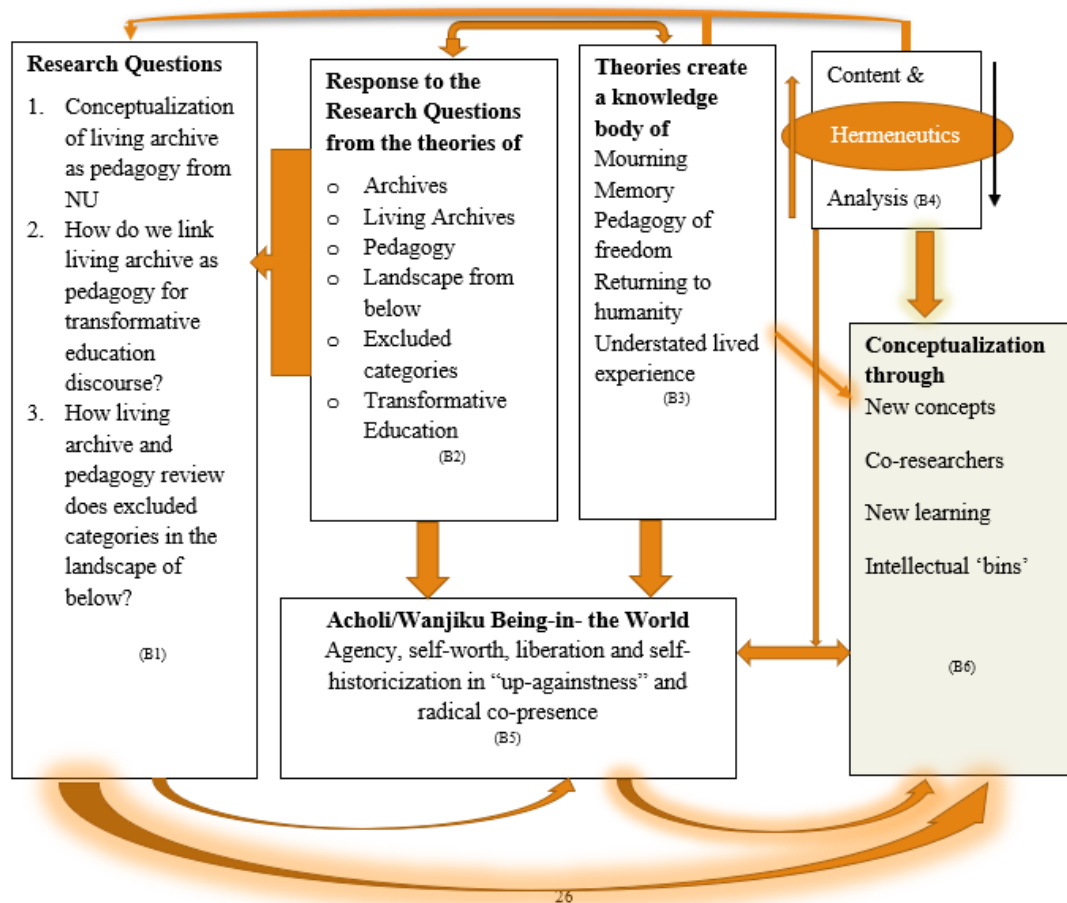
Figure 5.2: Living Archive as pedagogy Conceptual Frame

Illustrates the schematic conceptual framework with different inter-connections

5.6.3 List of Selected Secondary Data

Table 5.1: Secondary Data List

Autobiographies

ε[26] The conceptual representation above is an original design from the study.

a, The research questions are the beginning point of how the study is conceptualized.

b, Extensive theoretical literature and specific body of work has been read as appears in box 2 and 3.

c, Secondary data as appears in box 4 is also merged, to the broader reading.

d, The sets of critical reading in box 2,3 and analysis in 4, sets tone of how to frame the Acholi/Wanjiku as a reader, being-in- the world doing liberatory forms of work as appears in box 5.

e, Collectively all segments of this framework is what describes conceptualization of *living archive as pedagogy.*

*f,*The study presumes that the conceptualization can prove new forms of learning, brings in new co-researchers and expand other forms of intellectual work.

Not Yet Sunset: A Story of Survival and Perseverance in LRA Captivity	Acan, G. (2017).
I am Evelyn Amony: Reclaiming My Life from the Lord's Resistance Army	Amony, E. (2015).
Adyebo The Wild Plant	Apiyo, N. (2013).
Books	
Buried in the Heart: Women's Complex Victimhood And The War in Northern Uganda	Baines, E. (2017).
When The Walking Defeats You: Joseph Kony's Bodyguard	Cakaj, L. (2016).
Rethinking Reconciliation Evidence From South Africa	Lefko-Everett, K., Govender, R., Foster, D. (2016).
The Lord's Resistance Army's Forced Wife System	Watye Ki Gen & CAP International, (2013).
Living With Bad Surroundings: War, History and Everyday Moments in Northern Uganda	Finnström, S. (2008).
Social Torture: The Case of Northern Uganda 1986-2006	Dolan, C. (2009).
Terrorist Groups and the New Tribalism: Terrorism's Fifth Wave	Kaplan, J. (2010).
Alice Lakwena and the Holy Spirits: War in Northern Uganda 1985-1997	Behrend, H. (2000) 1999).
Scapegoats for Social Harmony: The Challenges of reintegrating former abducted girls in Northern Uganda	Booth, G. (2017).
Book Chapter	
Transitional Justice Process and National Reconciliation in Uganda: Lessons and Challenges	(Munene, 2016).
Field/ Policy Notes & Blog	
The perspective of JRP on local approaches to justice and peacebuilding; the case of Northern Uganda	(Justice Reconciliation Project [JRP] & Amani Institute) 2017.
My Body, A Battlefield: Survivors' Experiences of Conflict Sexual Violence in Koch Ongako	JRP. (2015). *JRP Field Note 22*, 1-11
Acholi People: The Famous East African Spirituality and Martially Powerful People with Culturally Unique Mato Oput Justice and Reconciliation Rituals Ceremony	Kwekudee (2013). Retrieved from *tripdownmemorylane.blogspot*
Pay Us So We Can Forget: Reparations for Victims and Affected Communities in Northern Uganda	McClain, L & Ngari, A. (2011). *JRP- IJR Policy Brief 2,* 1-8
The Lukodi Massacre 19th May 2004	JRP (2011). *JRP Field Note 13,*1-24
Moving Forward: Transitional Justice and Victim Participation In Northern Uganda	Ogora, L.O. (2009). *IJR-AP Fellows Programme* 1-6
Time for Truth: Rapid Situational Brief on Current Perceptions of Truth-Seeking in Gulu District	JRP (2012). *Situational Brief* 1-4
Articles	
The Archive in the Witness: Documentation in Settings of Chronic Security	Riaño- Alcalá, P & Baines, E. (2011).*The International Journal of Transitional Justice*

	5(3) 412-433
I Cannot accept what I Have not Done: Storytelling, Gender and Transitional Justice	Baines, E and Stewart, B. (2011). *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 3(3) 245-263
Forging Forgiveness: Collective Efforts Amidst War in Northern Uganda	Finenegan. A, (2010). *Sociological Inquiry* 80(3) 424-447
Coping with Life in Rebel Captivity and the Challenge of Reintegrating Formerly Abducted Boys in Northern Uganda	Amone- P'Olak, K. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(4) 641-661
Audio-Visuals	
After the Verdict Dominic Ongwen and the Many Sides of Justice	UBC School of Public Policy and Global Affairs. (2021). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pY4K GIUqsM0
An Audience with Evelyn Amony-Surviving the LRA	Acoli TV. (2021). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WIxN VhBpeao
Advocating for Justice and Reparations in Uganda – Discussion Panel	Hall, R. (2019). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I9MXu neXDY8
A Brilliant Genocide February	Mutex, I. (2017). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8boQa ql6Ofc
Genocide and atrocities in Northern Uganda Under Dictator Museveni	Kiyingi, A. (2015). Retrieved fromhttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fv GfDWaG8Tk Retrieved from
The National Reconciliation Conference	Refugee Law Project. (2015). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9OcU wwNeRtg
Killing makes you Strong Hearted	Dwogpaco. (2011). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xHdX BMu8SVo
Life Stories- EX LRA Rebel Wives Pt 2	NTV Uganda. (2013). Retrieved fromhttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O 5hBsUmy-po
We Make it or We Die- BBC Africa Eye Documentary- (2021).	Empatz, C. (2021). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZriYK 6A9eNE
Online- Gallery/Tweets/Hashtags	
Alit Ambara- global artist and activist body of work www.nobodycorp.org Pikdo.biz/p/nobodycorp/2075210933882275646_100592791-paintings of Northern Uganda	

Twitter Handles
@ iGaddo @ NMPDCKitgum @KagutaMuseveni @DGFUganda17 @refugeelawproject @DrchrisDolan @EUinUG
#LRA #TransitionalJusticeUg

Pictorial Assemblage	
Sources[27]	Finding Wanjiku see Figure 1 (Gado Cartoons, 2020)
	Portrait of Wrongness see Figure 4 (Baines, 2017, p. 25).
	Portrait of Where I Appear see Figure 5 (Ambara , 2000).
	Portrait of Military Base Camps see Figure 8 (Baines, 2017, p.23).
	Portrait of Wounding: My Body Remembers see Addendum 5, 6, & 7 Addendum 6 (Watye Ki Gen & CAP International, 2012, p.19, p.67 & p.67).
	Body Map Portrait see Figure 9 (Watye Ki Gen & CAP International, 2012, p.67).
	Incompleteness of Body Portrait see figure
	Life Maps see figure 11,
	Life Maps: Where we walked and what happened Addendum 1 and footnote 49
	How I appear, where I am placed see Addendum 3 and footnote 52
	Am I Desired in Third Public Spaces see Addendum 4 and footnote 54
	Lukodi Painting figure 5, Addendum 3 and footnote 61 (Ambara, 2019).
	Maps see Addendum 8, 9

5.7   ENSURING TRUST WORTHINESS AND RELIABILITY

Qualitative research provides a means to understand the social and human problem in its natural setting without manipulating the truth (Pandey & Patnaik, 2014). Generating of research findings is an effort of in-depth understanding of research settings, participants and the minimizing of bias and subjectivity (Pandey & Patnaik, 2014). Therefore, there are detailed, and multifaceted measures advanced to support the research as trustworthy and valid. Trustworthiness-or validity (Stenbacka, 2001) is a measure that evaluates the degree of confidence in data collected, interpretation procedures used to ensure the rigor of the study (Polit & Beck , 2014). While reliability-or consistency should indicate the integrity of the study, transparency of the research and decreased bias (Simon & Goes , 2016). The study proposes to utilize measures of credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability (Korstjens & Moser , 2018) as means to confirm rigor and trustworthiness of this research. I elucidate the four listed strategies as they apply to this study.

©[27] The copyright symbol to show the figure that appears in the thesis is in its original format and original source cited.

†Sign to show recreation of the original work by the researcher.

εPortrait/ narrative table designed by the researcher

5.7.1 Measures for credibility

Credibility in the research is a measure for internal validity aimed at confirming the legitimacy or truth of the research findings. In this research, the study of other pedagogues, different archives and philosophical concepts have been widely read, critiqued and gaps identified. This extends new forms of truth that are unfamiliar, opposed, subjugated from a theoretical perspective, but also aid in a richer analysis of data informed by new insights, and impactful meaning. The study has utilized feedback from peer scrutiny, supervisors, and critical readers whose responses, area of doubt and questions have contributed to a more confident study. Debriefing sessions conducted with my supervisors became interactive dialogues with commentary, suggestions and questions for the development of the chapters. The researcher has constantly made thick descriptions of the phenomenon under study, to assist in the accurate description of the study, for reflection and to tie intellectual parallels needed for conceptualizing the task. The researcher has complied with the faculty's academic requirement to adequately prepare and undergo a proposal defense. The response from the panel of examiners broadened the literature perspective; their commentary was supportive of the study as an academic resource that is useful and necessary during our present time.

5.7.2 Measures for dependability

Dependability affirms that the research results, interpretation and recommendations (Korstjens & Moser, 2018) will be consistent if the same research is repeated using unchanged methodology (Pandey & Patnaik, 2014). Primarily an audit trail becomes the measure to ensure that interpretation of data is linked to what is recorded as the research process, and research material (Korstjens & Moser , 2018). In the data analysis section 5.6 of this chapter, step two shows the process of coding data, and a detailed record of every step made from data collection to data analysis is made available. There also appears in this chapter Figure 2: Hermeneutic Content Data Analysis a visual illustration of the thinking process that shifts the research questions into research findings with an interpretive hermeneutic process and approach. Figure 3 immediately follows, another schematic representation piecing the thought process of conceptualizing living archive as pedagogy. This diagram specifically provides the thinking that shifts raw data to findings and the structure guiding conceptual formulation. The research also shares the list of the main secondary material used, as appears in this chapter section 5.6.3 – table 2. This research trial is thought to benefit the researcher as having developed extensive work from a transparent process that heightens critical thinking and critique, it also gives the

researcher-increased confidence on the output attained (Lietz , Langer , & Furman, 2006) and allows other scholars to appraise both the research process and findings (Pandey & Patnaik, 2014).

5.7.3   Measures for transferability

Transferability articulates that the research findings are applicable if the research is repeated in a similar research phenomenon or a case-to- case transfer (Tobin & Begley, 2004). Given that, the study is of a specific distinct political situation, which remains unresolved. Therefore, the measure of transferability would be more useful if examined as, the extent to which the findings of the research are found useful to other post-conflict settings, and that the research findings portray a tangible and useful resonance (Amankwaa, 2016). To achieve this there is the need to provide thick descriptions; the study consistently provides Acholi's social and political interaction in war and post-conflict in a manner valuable for an outsider without prior knowledge of the Acholi, Wanjiku, Uganda and Northern Uganda. Thick descriptions in the format of observations and interpretations of context by the researcher appears in the data analysis and findings chapter of this study. The purpose of these rich descriptions is to support the transferability of knowledge to contexts of inquiry (Nowell, Noris , White , & Moules , 2017) similar to this study.

5.7.4   Measures for confirmability

Confirmability ascertains that the research results are not influenced by the researcher's bias or manipulation, this technique is very close to the dependability strategy. Guba and Lincoln (1989) argue that confirmability is achieved when strategies of credibility, dependability, and transferability have been achieved; in the above sections, I confirm how I have applied the three other different measures. Confirmability also infers that the findings of the research can be repeated and this is analogous to achieving objectivity (Connelly, 2016).   Proposed strategies for this measure spontaneously include the researcher's commitment to honesty throughout the study (Anney, 2014). To affirm truthfulness, the researcher made use of a reflexive journal to record reflective thoughts concerning themes, dilemmas or new insights for the research analysis. The researcher has attached to this study her methodological immersion and engagement schedule that appears in addendum 11, to avoid a contemporary knowledge deficit or produce bias in the analysis process due to unchecked personal preferences or viewpoints.

The researcher's philosophical positioning of the study appears in this chapter section 5.2.2 as an obligatory self- reflection that helps to construct and critique the overall research process (Manohar, Liamputtona, Bhole, & Arora, 2017). It refers to the researcher's beliefs, worldview, academic disciplines or theories that the researcher identifies with, and how they influence the interpretation of research findings (Moon , Brewer , Januchowski, Adams , & Blackman, 2016).

The researcher recognizes different forms of deep pain and excess violence experienced by the Acholi, and some of these realities appear in the research text. Part of the reflexivity process and journaling was to intentionally find a transformative debrief session, of how the researcher could unpack the experience of trauma from the secondary material. The takeaway from this commune was to be acutely aware that re-documenting of any loss and pain as appears in the research is not a temporal flirt with horror. Rather a conscious way of witnessing, radically honouring memories from a place of below where the other is viewed unmournable, unworthy and of no consequence.

5.8   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study relied on assorted secondary documents archived and published by the Justice and Reconciliation Project (JRP) a community NGO based and founded in Northern Uganda. The research does not have a direct human interface, therefore, removing risk associated with live co-participation. Great attention was made in the access of JRP's published public secondary material. In 2017, the researcher travelled to JRP's offices to express interest in using their material, and to introduce myself. This brief visit included the shadowing of the team members in their day-to-day office and field engagements. The trip enabled the direct meeting of the authors of the autobiographies that is Evelyn Amony, and Grace Acan, I directly purchased their autobiographies from them. I was equally privileged to meet the editorial team driving JRP's publications, as published on their website in the form of field research notes, policy briefs, podcasts, radio programs, visual arts, and social media content. I also used Erin Baines work, a member of JRP. She offered a soft copy of her book through her office at the University of British Columbia. I have attached in the addendum 12, proof of my visit and communication as regards access to material and general readiness for the visit.

The research adopts the principle of humanity; thus the material for research is not objectified, manipulated and neither has respect, dignity and autonomy for this research been comprised. The study applies the method of common good, to imply that the study becomes part of critical

engagement that supports both the Acholi and Wanjiku in their efforts of justice, situated learning and critical cultural perspectives. Overall the study has adapted the Belmont Ethics Report 1979 (US Department of Health and Human Service, 1979), the Montreal and Singapore statements of research integrity 2013 and 2010 respectively. Other supporting values include:

- **Respect of the Research:** The study recognizes the involvement of JRP and its beneficiaries as co-partners to this research. Therefore, their support in this study becomes an end in itself and not as a means to an end (Dube, Mhlongo, & Ngulube, 2014).

- **Ownership of Research:** The researcher commits to producing the thesis without falsification, fabrications and plagiarism.

- **Do No Harm**: This is a principle that suffices in both academia and humanitarian work, it asks that the researcher assure dignity, and integrity of the research work (Stevens, 2013). From a humanitarian lens, do no harm implies that the researcher abides by the principle of neutrality within post-atrocity zones. In adhering to the neutrality norm, the writing of this study intends making unbiased, inoffensive and non-discriminatory expressions. This is crucial, since the study is developed within sensitive identity issues in the form of nation-state building, political, ethnic, religious affiliations as well as ideological identity (UNICEF, 2003). Nevertheless, the neutrality of the researcher does not mean blindness towards human rights abuses, neither an attitude of indifference towards Acholi and Wanjiku's aspirations for a more democratic process nationally.

- **Responsibility Principle:** Required of the study are measures of both societal and professional checks. Responsibility to society requires that the study add intellectual value; this can be seen in the last two chapters of the study. These chapters explain the ideological conceptualization of *living archive as pedagogy* from both a global and Northern Ugandan perspective. In fulfilling the professional standards for the study a variety of supportive and generative work has been done, I list in the addendum section 11 varied immersions, that assist the study and the researcher to have practical, theoretical, political, and personal grounding. Some of these engagements are in the usage of peer engagements and debriefing, webinar immersions of post-conflict studies

seminars, critical readers input, supervisor's engagement and various feedback emerging at different points of the study.

5.9   CONCLUSION

The chapter is largely a synthesis of a research design, constructed to practically achieve the research objectives and aims. This however begins, with the entire study unfolding itself in ideological bounds of the interpretivist paradigm, a worldview legitimizing human social reality as capable of owning its consciousness and ordering meaning. A steeper examination of the interpretivist thinking is seen in the study's engagement with interpretivist hermeneutics as a process of creative self-description encouraging the exploration of new horizons. The use of hermeneutics interpretation is a close intellectual explanation useful to the study's gap in responding to obscured and complex representations of marginalized identities in post-conflict societies.

To accomplish a contemporary and in-depth investigation of the phenomenon of *living archive as pedagogy* the chapter chooses a singular case study methodological design with an emphasis on conceptual analysis, the latter a method that pushes research thoughts beyond the established models of knowledge production or to clarify concepts (Jackson, 1998). The Justice Reconciliation Project (JRP) in Northern Uganda has granted access to the secondary study data. This organization is a community-based NGO formed in 2005 which has largely documented the lived experiences of the war and post-justice era. The forms of secondary data selected were open publications in the format of policy reports, autobiographies, and social media content among others.

A systematic data analysis process is covered in the chapter, and an accompanying coding method. The prolonged engagement with the data and the outcome of data is meant to provide the study with an interpretive dialogic outcome (Plamondon, Bottorff, & Cole, 2015) which will be evidenced in the immediate chapter that follows. In the last section of the chapter, the researcher commits to a process of ensuring trustworthiness and reliability as a means of confirming the integrity of the entire study. The chapter incorporates ethical considerations and commitments as well, as part of an intentional responsibility to observe respect, dignity and the autonomy of a study emerging from Northern Uganda and jointly co- creating with the Acholi possible horizons.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

When…people become the researchers and not merely the researcher, the activity of the research is transformed. Questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, people participate on different terms

(Smith 1999, cited in Zavala , 2013)

6.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents themes and categories that have emerged from the analysis of secondary data to conceptualize and describe *living archive as pedagogy*. The research objectives that guide this study are:

1) To understand Northern Uganda's war and post-war documented experiences of the Acholi for the conceptualization of living archive; 2) To demonstrate the link between living archive and pedagogy in post conflict societies; 3) To establish how a living archive as pedagogy might explain societal exclusion from the landscapes of below for the purpose of transformative education. In this chapter, established themes from the analysed data are discussed together with practices and theorizations that needle local context knowledge as part of global learning. While specific responses to the research questions appear in chapter seven, the identified themes expand the theoretical and conceptual work that appears in chapter two, chapter three and are a fundamental thread in the realization of living archive as pedagogy as part of different knowledge affirmations. In the immediate sub-section, a brief re-introduction of the worldview used to interpret data, and data selection appears, as part of the methodological and transparency trail.

6.1.2   Hermeneutic Interpretive Paradigm

Analysis of the data is through an hermeneutics interpretive paradigm, for extending horizons or finding possibilities of how we engage real problematic life situations from dissimilar perceptions. Selected secondary material as appears in table 6.1.4 of this chapter permits the experiencing of Acholi's lived experience intimately, and beyond the highbrow analysis of the literature section of this study. The secondary material coalesce particular lived experiences, situated knowledge, and critical questions that serve to "understand, describe and interpret experiences. This is key to uncovering meaning within the identified context" (Maguire & Delahunt , 2017, p. 3351). The secondary material is in the format of locally published

autobiographies, books that are an anthology of Africa studies, anthropology, law, sociology and transitional justice studies. The work uses several field notes, policy briefs, articles, imagery and online gallery work. The source of this material is largely from returnees that is formerly abducted persons in the community and collaborating with JRP. Government responses and perspectives appear subtly. This imbalance, or absence of government material should not be predicted as the deliberate intention of the researcher to regulate what voice or face appears in the context of violence and politics, or whom we choose to learn from as cautioned by Judith Butler (2012). Additional material from studies done by researchers in different post-conflict disciplines featuring JRP's work and beneficiaries' is chosen for in-depth historical, cultural, political, and social knowledge structures to clarify how we know the world and its conditions (Holroyd , 2007). Inserted below is table 2 an explicit list of the main secondary material utilized.

6.1.3   Selection Realization

In the chapter, we encounter people, places, events, institutions, portraits and landscapes fundamental in laying the foundation of what the study has consistently named as "up-againstness". This encounter is imperative to disrupt seeing and understanding from our already perceived blind attachments of classifications and categorizations of wars in Africa (Holroyd , 2007). The study has a number of first- person accounts, of how the war cataclysmically shifted their lives to multiple identities and representations not of their choice. I caution that this chapter transitions to a place and feel of throwing a blanket of terror, not because the study appeals for dramatic effect. Evelyn Amony illuminates my experience of blanket of terror in her autobiography where she describes her narrative of the war as "difficult stories, that maybe we should not read, but they remain difficult to forget" but silences her, because "I cannot tell them" (Amony, 2015, p.viii, xii). I interpret this terror as unavoidable for the study but crucial for reading consciousness that defies simplistic imaginations of human lived experiences. From Butler's study Precarious Lives (2012), the presence of what I term as blanket of terror gestures the unfinished work of learning to mourn the 'other'.

The intention for this study was to be gender inclusive, however, most narratives are from a women's perspective whose narration reveals complex interdependent relationships that facilitate survival in an environment of colossal tragic deaths. The names that appear in the study are pseudo apart from the published autobiographies of Evelyn Amony (2015) and Grace Acan's (2017). The research has experiences of abducted persons in the period 1993 – 2005.

They were by then children, abducted aged ten to fourteen, and though LRA would also abduct younger children aged eight and younger who were not strong enough to carry weapons or heavy loads (Amnesty International, 2011). Generally, anyone abducted by the LRA, adults alike, found it extremely difficult to transport LRA weapons, food supplies and personal loads for survival. I make a careful assumption that the absence of male voices, abducted by LRA in this study and in the country, possibly stems from their individual process of disarmament and re-integration into the Ugandan People's Defence Force (UPDF) formerly known as the National Resistance Army (NRA). It is conceivable that such transitions come with adherence to military codes, as well as their separation from civilians.

The personal documented narratives engaged with, is what inspires the theme autobiographies of dailiness as discussed extensively in the following sub-section. Most of the narratives come from women who were able to flee from the LRA having spent seven to seventeen years in captivity. The books that share these narratives collectively account for an average of 75 persons interviewed. Most of these abducted girls came back from the LRA in Sudan and Northern Uganda bases during and after 2005 as young mothers in their early- mid-twenties. Their return in 2005 was possible due to the peace talks that had begun between the LRA and GoU. The peace talks were presided by Joaquim Chissano former president of Mozambique who represented the late UN Secretary- General Kofi Annan. The LRA hastily relocated to Garamba in the Democratic Republic of Congo after joint defeat by the UPDF and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). At this point, the women had at least three children of their own; it was common to lose one of the three through miscarriage, or infantry and helicopter gunship attacks when it was difficult to hide (Acan, 2017). These girls had been involuntarily married to senior LRA commanders and had been active fighters with military ranking (Baines, 2017). These marriages were part of the LRA war strategy to retain their best male fighters (Baines, 2017) by betrothing them child brides, an act considered as a war crime and a form of sexual enslavement (Stor, 2014).

The community members refuse to call the returning girls by their names and generally refer to them as 'bush wives' or 'Kony's wives' and their children are all identified as 'Kony's children' (Laing, 2016) despite being fathered by other senior LRA commanders equally responsible for the war. The indifference towards these women is sharply prevalent, the community explains, "You as the women were the ones who made the LRA very strong … [you] were like foundation *(guti)* because you cooked for the men and they got satisfied"

(Baines, 2017, p.3). Spivak (1987) illuminates the experience of these girls as growing into an additional burdening space of clitoral or uterine economy, not unique to Uganda but present in many parts of the world and in variations. Her argument, underscores forced motherhood as placing women in economic survival bondages.

The insistence by the community to label these women and their children in ways that silence, stigmatize, and legitimizes non-recognition of the 'other' suggest that the war continues despite the silence of guns in 2008. I acknowledge the bravery of the participants, in providing public material that breaches the silence code observed in LRA, to ensure their survival in the community, but largely to control or exclude information, (Baines, 2017) of what happened during the war that favours both the LRA and GoU. Their narrations present and affirm a path of severe judgement, their exclusion in communities and confirm, "There is still war" (Baines, 2017, p.xiv).

6.1.4   Emerging Themes and Categories

You do not build bridges to safe and familiar territories; you must risk making mundo nuevo (new world) (Anzaldúa, 2015, p.156).

Table 6.1: Research themes and categories

Themes	Categories
5.2 Autobiographies of Dailiness	Performance of violence Public Arena Moral Geographies /(Cen)28 Places and bodies Abduction Walking to Sudan No movement
5.3 Awakening by salt	Political action Engagement with feelings Social justice Inferiorization Wrongness

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[28] Cen: Angry spirits that haunt their killers and the larger community, for the failure of being buried in dignity, or per cultural expectations. These spirits cause death, disease, psychic possession, and a haunted restlessness. (Kembel, 2015). Culturally the Ajwaka- who are spiritual mediums will communicate to these spirits, to find out how they want to be appeased

Themes	Categories

5.4 In- between Spaces	Where I am placed
	Formulaic Life of Where I appear
	   o Survivance
	   o Complex personhood
	Intersectionality
	Third Space of Desire

5.5 Returning to Body	Mapping of Our Lives Everyday Life Military Bases Incompleteness of Body Foucauldian Staging

Table 3: *A submission of the key themes and categories that describe the war and post-war social reality of the Acholi appear above. The table is an output of an extensive and systematic coding process, to arrive at patterns and meanings emerging from the data, which also act as crucial evidence in understanding the phenomenon under investigation that is living archive as pedagogy.*

6.2   AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF DAILINESS

Accounting for daily life in conflict and post-war, meets both national and international legal norms keen to identify victim's in need of rescue (sexual abuse, child-mothers, torture, trauma, fragility, helplessness and servitude violations) (Nicola, 2014). This innocent victim posture is inaccurate in Uganda's war and military discourse 1986-2008, a period with the most enduring and violent rebel group in Africa (Baines, 2017). The abducted person is described as "a body that projects justification of war, quest for justice, …[and] contending political projections" (Baines, 2017, p.4). Why this conjecture of innocence fails as studied by Baines, it limits the accounting for complex lived experiences, narrows justice approach, obscures individual, and political agency (Baines, 2017).

I develop the theme Autobiographies of Dailiness as an active way to challenge the war as an event happening to people outside humanity or desirability. This deters parties involved from absolved guilt, responsibility and disturbingly bothers us on how to address "the terrible decision to kill or be killed" (Baines, 2017, p.3) as part of complex injustices and victimhood that further worsen "up-againstnes" in landscapes from below. There is an overwhelming

performance of violence against the Acholi in the aspiration of both a revolution and democracy. Agamben's 1998 theorization of performance of violence becomes an intellectual tool that makes exegeses of Northern Uganda as part of what is defined as public arena and its consequences.

This contemporary public space intrinsically appears with ritualized repetition of abductions, torture, rape, strangling, femicides, and public dumping of bodies. The presence of a public space as studied by Hannah Arendt (1979) legitimizes the thinking of "everything is possible' an expression that gestures harming of the targeted person/s in eternally bewildering and indefinite methods. Therefore, Autobiographies of Dailiness in Northern Uganda, brings us to the predetermined reality of public arenas.

> *"You* [Acholi/ Wanjiku] *are nothing! You see no one cares about you! You are not really a part of our society; at most, you belong to its fringes; you live in a threshold area in which everything is possible. You may be killed but your death is not punishable"* (Yanez, 2005, p. 1).

While working on this section, I took several breaks and had breakdowns, overwhelmed by the rawness of details from the data. Minimizing the experiences, proved difficult given that this period of war is close to three decades and continues in other parts of the continent. Hence, the decision to encounter the public arena in this study as a place where numerous vulnerabilities can be read and understood as positioning the specific identities as subjects of their own social-political being.

6.2.1   Abduction

"War is not an act of policy but a true political instrument … to compel the opponent incapable of further resistance" (Clausewitz, 1976, p. 75). Joseph Kony's indulgence in war in 1986 is preceded by the desire for the Acholi to fit in a balanced political and community life that had been severely wrecked by military coups after independence. The failure of the Acholi to join Joseph Kony "…as a freedom fighter … fighting for freedom … [and] for Uganda to be free (Schomerus, 2010, p. 129) has had long term consequences in Uganda and across borders. LRA "frustrated in its aims and enraged at the lack of support they found among the Acholi, … they turned against their own kinsmen" (Kaplan, 2010, p. 93) through the extreme use of violence. The latter is also justified as means of purification, and healing as demanded by the

spiritual prophesies of Alice Lakwena[29] (Vlassenroot & Allen, 2010) that judged the Acholi as sinful.

The use of disproportionate violence was to cleanse "impure influences of witchcraft, westernization, corruption" (Dolan C. G., 2005, p. 89) and HIV/AIDS as detailed by Joseph Kony. Amílcar Cabral (1970),as the leader of the liberation wars in Cape Verde and Guiné Bissau in comprehending how we contribute concrete conditions to the African continent, argues that the use of violence is not a mark of victory but a site crucial for theory. Specifically, how do we theorize independence/liberation beyond a flag? How does the site of violence for liberation ensure mental decolonization and profound socioeconomic transformation to favourably affect the lives of the people (Husaini, 2019)? The shifting of violence to theoretical praxis is not automatic given violence eludes language …rendering one and more unable to speak (Baines, 2017, p.xxix). In Cabral's theorization of liberation, Northern Uganda's public arena can be revolutionized if read with an expectation to formulate practicable theory of resistance, or use this history to understand our locations of struggle and ourselves (IDAHOSA, 2002).

Statistics from the war indicate 60,000 children were abducted by the LRA (The New Humanitarian , 2013) in different parts of Northern Uganda; I name a few small towns that emerge from the data (Atiak, Gulu, Kalalo, Aboke, Lukodi). The experience of abduction is deeply ingrained in one's being, and this memory differs from one person to another. Evelyn Amony abducted from her family's home in Kalalo recalls this day.

> *"It was a day in late August 1994. I was eleven years old. They were wearing combat gear and had just arrived from Sudan. They had been sent to collect young boys and girls, thirteen years old and younger. Earlier in the day, the rebels had captured a young boy and told him to give them the names of children who would be returning home from school later on. The boy … led them to [our] compound. I went into the hut to remove my school uniform, I could hear them call my name, I did not say anything. They called my name again and looked at me. I told them, I am not the one. My name is Betty Ato. I thought they would not abduct me if I convinced them I was someone else. But they did, and Betty Ato would become my name for the next eleven years"* (Amony, 2015, p. 17).

Evelyn's abduction is quite similar to what Joyce faced.

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[29] Alice Lakwena was an Acholi prophet and the founder of the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM). She fought the National Resistance Army and was defeated by the official army 80 miles before she could capture Kampala. She is a cousin to Joseph Kony, and after her defeat, she fled to Kenya where she became a refugee and in 1995 died in Kakuma Refugee Camp. Joseph Kony founded LRA immediately after the HSM defeat in 1985/6.

I was abducted together with my old brother. My father died when I was young and our mother struggled to take care of us. Those who abducted us later said they were initially not going to our home, but they were told that there was a young girl in our home. My Mother pleaded with them to leave me because I was young. They told her that if she wanted me back they would give her my corpse. The other girls in the area were not abducted. I was the only one taken. (Apiyo. 2013, p.4).

These abductions were particular, the girls needed to be beautiful, without deformity and neither of heavy weight (Amony, 2015). The days of capture were petrifying, there are few mentions of the UPDF trying to retaliate or the communities' home guards but LRA's execution of their strategy, weaponry and numbers were never a match. I share three recollections from the Lukodi community members of the attack and abductions that happened on 19 May 2004, a day that indicates indiscriminate and brutal carnage.

"Suddenly, the whole of Lukodi was filled with ululations, shouts and whistles. All of us got confused. It was not just a single whistle being blown; there was so many of them at the same time. Then as the soon as the whistles ceased, gunshots broke out in powerful bursts, together with explosions of bombs. On hearing that all of us started running towards any direction that came to our minds. It was not a moment of thinking or making any sense of anything (JRP, 2011, p.12).

Out of the thirty-eight home guards, less than ten of us stood to fight back. After some time I remained alone to fight back,...At this point even our own commander had already fled the area. I stayed until I couldn't hold it anymore ... the rebels had spread everywhere; most of the huts were now burning (JRP, 2011, p.13).

LRA were here to kill and that is what they did. If you were, a mother and you had a child they would put your child in polythene bag and suffocate the child to death. If they told you to carry some luggage for them and you refused, they would kill you (JRP, 2011, p. 14).

Jean- Pierre recalls of the first village attack in 2008, and in two years over 500 villagers in Ligoua had become internally displaced persons living in specified camps in Central African Republic.

"It was about 6 in the evening when Jean-Pierre and his neighbor Paul sat outside their homes, talking about the harvest and the hot weather. Their families were still in the gardens, tending to cassava and maize. Jean-Pierre noticed four armed men running towards them. ...The armed men were just boys. One hit Paul on the head with a hammer until he stopped moving, his head becoming a bloody mess of brains, bones and red dirt. I fell on my knee ..., only then noticing blood pouring from my chest and arm. Jean –Pierre was terrified as he witnessed '(tongo-tongo), or the devil's children' as some people called them. A child [LRA] about ten entered Paul's house and came out with a large bag of peanuts. He sat next to Paul's dead body shelling and eating peanuts and staring at him in silence.... I started to walk slowly on the path that led towards Obo... I noticed people

running towards the bush escaping the wild crowd (tongo-tongo/LRA) who reminded him of locusts attacking a maize garden. When this was reported to the Uganda military, the response was. 'Don't worry, we are closing in on them and will soon capture them like grasshoppers in a bottle'" (Cekaj, 2017, p.88).

These abductions and attacks in post-conflict theory are studied as indicators of shrinked or hollowed-out (Bell & Hindmoor , 2009) states unable or failing to protect its people in the margins. They can be examined as strategic government configurations to normalize precarious ethnicities, bodies and places (Prentice & Trueba , 2018). This achieves exploitation, disposability that amplifies and makes it acceptable for the human body to be used to enforce social political order (Finnström, 2008).

Abductions did not necessarily occur, because these were children from rural families. A number of families affected in Uganda had parents who were part of the working middle class; and in the professions of doctors, veterinary officers, teachers, bankers and from wealthy businesspersons from cattle rearing families. Aling was ten years old when she was abducted in 1996. Her father, a banker, and her mother, a doctor, living in Jinja town had travelled over 470km, for Aling to see her grandmother for the first time. This is an important occasion for any family, one in which the grandmother sees her reborn and gives the blessing of spittle aimed at the child's chest and face. An animal sacrifice is common in this visit to connect the young one to their ancestors and protection. This joy was short lived, as she was part of the 150 children abducted that day and began their journey to Sudan (Apiyo, 2013). According to Kony it was the young ones that turned into good soldiers when trained (Apiyo, 2013, p.1).

At times parents felt much diminished in their roles to protect their children in the villages, my father tried to ask them not to take me but as they were about to beat him, he told them "Go with her. Let God be the one to protect her in the bush" (Apiyo, 2013, p. 2). Evelyn Amony who was raised by her grandmother, partly because her mother lived with disability recalls of her grandmother's negotiation to have her released, the rebels had looted all of her grandmother's clothing and she implored them to consider leaving her since she was the only person to help her.

> *"How about us? Do you not think our grandmothers asked for us? Do you even know how many we are in our family? Our mother did not give birth too many of us, and the rebels left them with no children in the home"* (Amony, 2015, p.17).

Her grandmother had been beaten by the rebels for following them, and when she pleaded more:

> *"the rebels grabbed my grand mum at once and tied her to a tree trunk very tightly. I was so worried when I saw her being tied on the tree; I thought they would kill her. As she cried out for us, the rebels forced us to move ahead and left her alive"* (Amony, 2015, p. 17).

The dialogue is of courage, depicts material and human loss, and gestures suffering seen as subjective and far removed as an articulation of resistance. It also fails to be read as a desire for change, or how to ethically respond to places or geographies of "up againstness" (Butler, 2012). The war underscored the abducted girl child as lacking privilege and increasing their vulnerability in the community as explained by Ajok.

> *I am my father's fourth child. I am the only girl. My Father never wanted to pay for me in school. We were then sent to town when war started. The condition in town was hard for me to handle. I was still young. I decided to go back to the village. The war was terrible, then on my way to Ajulu, I found two dead bodies that had just been killed. The rebels had just passed by. The reason why I am so angry is because my father did not take good care of me. The reason why I was abducted was his fault. He brought me to town in order to cook for my elder brothers. He said girls could not study. The person who was to take care of us would sell the food our mother brought us* (Baines & Stewart , 2011, pp. 250-251).

Complicity of the community with either the LRA or UPDF, normalized adults in the village giving away the names of the children to the rebels for abduction. Evelyn Amony recognizes the lack of a safety net within the community that could have protected the children but reconciling with the possibility of a parent's failure to protect hurts deeply.

> *When I was still at home, I knew that my father loved me, but I was secretly angry about my education. I think it was my father who facilitated my abduction, because on the day I was abducted I had been chased from school as my fees weren't paid. It was when I was walking back that the LRA abducted me* (Amony, 2015, p. 147).

By 2003, parents living in the countryside had sent their children off to live in Gulu the main administrative city of Northern Uganda (JRP, 2011). This was not necessarily with relatives; these children about 40,000 of them sought the refuge of churches, hospitals, and bus stations during the night (Amnesty International , 2011). "The UPDF and LRA continuously terrorized the civilian population, displacing more young boys and girls and the cycle continued" (Baines, 2017, p.xi). UPDF's failure to protect the children or rescue them from forced marriages is not on record, the children were viewed as enemies of the state. Abductions of adults did happen

in pockets, for instance on the day of the Lukodi massacre, survivors confirm that men and women were abducted and headed for the bush but never returned. "On that day my husband was abducted, and he has never come back, he was in his late sixties. Do you think such a person is living up to now?"(JRP, 2011, p.15).

6.2.2   We all Walked to Sudan

Theorizing this journey, trails the disruption of both a child and an adolescent losing their identity, community, and shifting to other identities and places not of ones choosing. It is not merely a journey, but a vituperative transition from a child to rebel, whose initiation is in the public arena, a place of unappeasable death. The LRA and UPDF fought in specific areas, villages, towns and military bases of Sudan, Uganda, DR-Congo and Central African Republic. These places are discoursed as the bush, an area alienated from normal everyday life. Thus, I suggest defining this journey to Sudan and other places/ bushes where the war happens, as an arena of stigma, stripped of moral experience, engulfed in death, diseased, and has inevitable encounter with unappeased powerful spirits. The spirits in Acholi cosmology are recognized as (*cen*), they are spirits of the dead who lacked proper burials. They are angry and are believed to cause death, disease, misfortune, mania and nightmares (Kembel, 2015).

The concept of the bush from Acholi cosmology delineates this area as non-habitable for human life and living, "a turbulent ungovernable place where wild animals roam free and formidable cosmological forces work through and above nature" (MacDonald & Kerali , 2020, p. 12). The movement to Sudan and other countries that the LRA infiltrated fits the theorization of Moral Geographies (Smith, 2000) which to a degree overlaps with Judith Butler's Precarious Life (2004). Both bodies of work invite us to make a reflection on how these spaces can be sites for different action. Smith specifically questions how these geographies can conceive social justice, while Butler asks how the public arena can reproduce transformation towards justice. The scholars are aware of the complex association that tags the site; the precarious space is one of vulnerability, death and suffering (Butler, 2004) while the context of moral geographies is isolated because we do not care to know these lives [Acholi] and neither will we take responsibility.

From the Autobiographies of Dailiness, walking to Sudan is a form of unceremonious transition that indispensably changed one. It began with the abducted children looting from the villages or trading centers en route to Sudan. This obligatory loot had farm produce, live cows, goats,

fowl, edible rodents, smoked meat, clothing, and medicine (Acan 2017; Apiyo, 2013) which greatly destabilized the communities' local economy.

The LRA brigades in Sudan and Northern Uganda depended on this loot for survival and to protract the war. The journey was fraught with hunger, severe suffering and punishments. With the large number of abductions, there was a sense that the children were sold to the Arabs as slaves, or in exchange of weapons (Acan, 2017; Amony, 2015), while this was untrue, such fears are founded on the history of the Acholi as slaves for the Arabs described in chapter two. Many of "the recruits would die of starvation, cholera, the long tiresome journey,… and the risks involved in moving" (Acan, 2017, p. 37) past infantry and gunship attacks.

When abducted by the LRA you automatically became a *Kurut/ Okurut*, a corruption of the English word recruit, your identity from this point became in relation to LRA. A ritual to make you 'Holy' or purified for LRA, among the *Kurut's* would be performed when the opportunity arose. Without cleansing, access to food and water was not their right, especially if these were scarce, "Thou shall not eat food with anybody who has not been sworn by the holy spirit" (Kaplan, 2010, p. 90). This was part of the LRA 20 commandments that acted as a guiding social contract in the formless and unpredictable geography of the bush. The *Kurut* was essentially a "non-person or one that had not matured into a Holy" (Baines, 2017, p. 60). Joyce experienced it as "the journey through the shadow of death" (Apiyo, 2013, p.5). "We were thirsty… We the recruits did not drink any water, only the rebels did. We got thirsty and drank each other's urine. You were killed if you refused to give your urine" (Apiyo, 2013, pp.6-17).

The failure to walk guaranteed your killing; the loot was of more value than any human life. Moving bare feet among the *Kuruts* was common, as their shoes were taken to be given to those in Sudan, or they did not have them. Walking through challenging topographies; of hot sand, small stones, slippery mountainous areas, deep forest and crossing of swollen huge rivers with or without shoes caused injury, usually the feet would develop wounds that would rot and the stench was unbearable (Amony, 2015). Nearly all abducted persons that made it to Sudan reference this walk (Baines, 2017). There was fast movement of the *kuruts* both day and night, making it difficult for the (UPDF) and Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) to totally defeat the LRA.

> "Every other day as we walked to Sudan there was at least one recruit or more being tortured either because they could no longer walk due to blisters on their legs [most okruts did not have gumboots/shoes] or because they could no longer carry heavy loads given to

them. The unlucky ones whose legs could not carry them any more were killed, most especially the boys" (Acan, 2017, p.44).

"There were some boys who killed you if they saw that the luggage you were carrying was good [food stuff]. They lured you to rest and as you rested, they killed you and shared your luggage. When your leg was swollen, the young boys called you to rest but if you did, they killed you" (Apiyo, 2013, p. 6).

These movements by the LRA could take days without resting, and the failure to walk was diagnosed as the 'no movement' ailment (Baines, 2017).

"We moved day and night. At times we would walk while sleeping. You could not say that you were tired" (Amony, 2015, p.33).

We could move form morning up to sunset, by the time I made it to Sudan all my toenails had fallen off. The skin on the bottom of my feet was gone. Some Kurut became paralyzed by physical exhaustion but carried on crawling (Baines, 2017, p.61).

You know, when the evening comes gumboots stiffen, so I had to heat the gumboots until they softened and I was able to remove them. My Legs had swelled. My feet smelled. I had moved for three days without removing my gumboots (Amony, 2015, p. 33-34).

Attempts to escape introduced the *Kuruts* to an incomprehensible punishment, which I interpret as violence as a form of ritual. This helped to homogeneously manipulate the recruits into a single adherence, cooperation, loyalty and tested their loyalty in the new normal that defied civic rules or humanness.

Once they were about seven who tried to escape, including two girls. The commander decided not to kill the girls. He told one of the girls to come and chop this boy into small pieces. She started trying to cut his head off, but was not doing a good job. The other boys were told to help. When they had almost taken the head off, they had to chop the body into small pieces. Then they were told to play with the dead persons head. The boys had to throw it in the air four times, and the girls three times. The girls were bare-chested. After, that they commanded the girls to smear blood of the dead boy on their chest. After that, they put the head of the boy in the central place, put clubs all over it covering the head, and informed us that anyone who tries to escape will have the same thing (Kaplan, 2010.p.65).

Such killings happened shortly after abductions, and it was the new recruits who had to kill. Refusal to cooperate would be met with tormenting chastisement as Grace Acan shares.

All recruits who had been with the rebels for less than two months in the bush were told to lie down flat, to be initiated into the army. With our heads facing down in the hot sand, the LRA soldiers wearing gumboots with rough soles stepped and jumped on our backs. The

second order was for us to be caned using a method called brigade the soldiers beat us at the same time until they stopped. I thought I was dreaming but it was real. My whole body was aching with pain. My head, back, buttocks and legs were all swollen. As if this was not enough the Major called for all the girls abducted from Aboke Girls College to kill someone (2017, pp 25-26).

Participation in ending of someone's life "bound one into guilt and shame that changed them forever" (Cakaj, 'When The Walking Defeats You: One Man's Journey as Joseph Kony 's Body Guard , 2016, p. 103). The children believed that they were now outcasts and had become bound to the LRA (Amnesty International, 2011). Killing of your own siblings, and parents or simply defenseless innocent members of the community was enforced. These slayings become a ritual that made you acceptable in the LRA, it also served as a major initiation to instil the spirit of an LRA soldier. However, it definitely served as an alienation tactic from your community, and the UPDF treated you as an enemy of the state, and not a child or a victim. Stella one of the girls abducted from Aboke Girls College recalls this misfortune.

"They killed the headmaster of a school and cooked him and made the pupils eat him. They could pluck eyes, cut peoples legs, cut their lips and put a padlock. My uncle was found hiding and was cut too many pieces so much that you cannot think he is a person anymore." (Kaplan, 2010, p. 97).

On reaching Sudan also named by the LRA commanders as Paradise or Kampala City, what new *Kuruts* saw was "a place dry and the sun so hot, the boys were all skinny…they were slow in their movements and had no sign of hope in them. It showed starvation, mistreatment and no freedom at all (Acan, 2017, p.55). The Khartoum government used the LRA to frustrate the succession of current South Sudan that happened in 2013, this is explained in chapter two of the study I am *An-loco-li*, I am Black.

Autobiographies of Dailiness, presents itself as an approach aware of multiple identities involved in oppression and its reproduction in the war and post-war. These identities while indicating the nature of complex victimhood bring us close to be receptive of the identity I am what I am, which I interpret as the choice to define oneself, despite existing judgement, and caveats by different authoritative bodies. *I am what I am* becomes a tool of resistance that radically counters identities that perpetuate guilt; Kony's wife, Kony's children, LRA rebels, bush life or Acholi. Accounts of what happened during the war in the autobiographies of dailiness, I argue bare authenticity that is omitted, denied, silenced or missing from national public archives. Uniquely, the autobiographies of dailiness as documents from living people,

present an opportunity to deliberate on and expand the notion of justice away from the classic forms of tribunals, commissions. *I am what I am,* allows us to encounter an identity demonstrating their complicity in causing grievous body, psychological, emotional and environmental scourge in the public arena, to preserve themselves.

Studies around autobiographies provide a key knowledge input, the ability to diminish existing hierarchies that order society. Hogan (1991) explains autobiographies while being evidence of what happened in a specific historical time, context and place. The author's process of writing presents actions done in chronological order from their memory, which is part of one's life continuum. This form of writing has an elasticity that bridges specific gaps "between reader and text, author and text, world and text" (Hogan, 1991, p.100). The autobiographies of dailiness bring the reader closer to LRA, UPDF, Joseph Kony, Yoweri Museveni, the community, parents, siblings among other identities. They allow for the readers interpretation of text, as they understand *I am who I am* in their environment of "up-againstness" public arena, and difficult authority. The chronological order found in autobiographies provide the organizing of life experiences in a scale of what is important, interesting, significant, more or less (Hogan, 1991). This design in autobiographies I argue critiques our inattentiveness to honour people's pain and loss, rather than tabulate trauma deaths, rapes and displacement as archives of past loss. This literature of dailiness invites us to re-embody history, records in the fashion of *Nilikuwa hapa*- I was here.

In closing the theme of Autobiography of Dailiness in this study, an examination of unforgettable experiences forced on the body; abduction, intemperate performance of violence, walking to Sudan, and 'beginning life' in the bush the place of wild animals and unappeased or hostile spirits (*Cen*). These described and written narrations imply the genre of dailiness as methodology resisting forgetfulness, challenging the scrutiny of the public or the outsider of invalidating their experience as made-up, exaggerated or false. Therefore, in the writing of the Autobiographies of Dailiness, I argue that there is flexibility for the authors to own the identity of *I am what I am*, an identity of their truth that nips the imagination of the Acholi needing rescue. This identity allows them to make sense of how and why they survived, among other big questions. Conversely, it allows for the reading the autobiographies while restraining judgment, of a complex landscape from below where the Acholi cannot remove themselves.

The theme of Autobiographies of Dailiness draw us to a learning encounter that describes personal life, multi-reflections, nationhood, the emergence of self in historical records to preserve experience, and activate process of transformation (Hogan, 1990). *I am what I am* makes the Autobiographies of Dailiness as contemporary text that unearths an ecosystem of human being with extra ordinary life conditions, participating in political and literary discourses of their communities as a form of agency to proof their existence, validate their claims and to radically change the conditions of their lives. Autobiographies of Dailiness confirm a project of self-representation for us and for ourselves (Acholi) in spaces of complex contradiction, where existing literature resists acknowledging them or is controlled by government narratives, and domination explaining their low status in canon (Hogan, 1990).

6.3   AWAKENING BY SALT

The value and access of table salt in a war context is an area of odd interrogation, surviving death, illness, hunger and thirst are the narratives and experiences rank highly and powerfully tell of a war history. This personal hypothesis was in sharp disparity with the Autobiographies of Dailiness where different authors mentioned salt as part of the everyday organization in war, and directly indicating some form of autonomy. The use of salt varies for spiritual, medicinal, cultural, economic, - gastronomy, symbolism, and language purposes. The study of salt as a mineral with contemporary political impact is infrequent. To avoid a limiting interpretation of salt or to deny the proclivity of the Acholi to teach differently or anew I briefly present moments in history when salt is theorized as part of political crisis, transitions, and urgent public dialogue. In this way the experience of salt among the Acholi defies an in-looking perspective in isolation, but rather a visible experience adding to global context knowing.

There is evidence of salt marking historical political moments and I cite a few. I begin with India's 1930 Salt March an epic protest led by Mohandas Gandhi against the salt act of 1882. This act prohibited Indian's from collecting or selling salt a staple in their diet, Gandhi challenged the denial of salt in the country an act that he felt was an inexcusable evil by the British colonial rule (Andrews,2019). I refer to the Second World War an era in which Hitler had envisioned building the most massive museum in Europe. Through the war, Nazi Germany had looted European artistic treasures; secret rare books, letters, the Madonna sculpture by Michelangelo, over 6,500 paintings including the work of Vermeer and Rembrandt(Williams , 2018, Edisel & Wilter , 2010). Many of these were hidden in Altaussee salt mine in Austria,

the repossession of this work has been ongoing as a way to preserve European cultural heritage (Fischer, 2016).

The discussion of salt in this study comes from the unmeasurable impact over the absence of salt by those undesirably affected first- hand by the LRA and GoU war. This leads me to the analysis of the significance and impact of salt in contemporary discussions of food security, malnutrition or micronutrient deficiency concerns (FANTA, 2010) but nothing surfaces from these spaces of literature, indicating extreme desire for this condiment. However, the history of salt in the African continent leads us to two distinct difficult political times where the dependency of salt at the height of low supply led to a specific ordering of society and history. In the eighteenth century, Western Sahara's need for salt is summarized by the expression "Man can live without gold but not without salt" (McDougal, 1990), the presence of salt determined the rise and fall of empires and the general political economy pre-colonial Africa (Kam, 2017).

In the Second World War, Nigeria's salt scarcity became one of the greatest upheavals and the value of salt was equated to gold, thus the collective expression of "Salt is Gold" (Falola, 1992. p.412-436). Salt was not the only scarce item, but it was of "utmost importance to the people's diets; and they could not do without it" (Falola,1992.p.412). The pre-independence government had regulated the production of indigenous salt, and implemented rationed salt supplies, which led to black market profiteering, hoarding, and the buying of illegal "German Salt" that was a punishable offence, considered as trading with the enemy (Unumen , 2016). The salt scarcity caused untold hardship that was felt more by the women, who had the responsibility of cooking for their families mostly vegetable foods that specifically needed salting (Ochieng, 1992). In this period most families had male members of their family serving in the Second World War as soldiers, carriers and laborers (Unumen, 2016) and many did not return, it is assumed that they could have died. Therefore, the absence of salt in Nigeria embodied several forms of individual and collective loss, human vulnerability, risks, and the crisis of life with unclear future. I use this backdrop to situate the salt phenomena among the Acholi and attempt to elucidate what is silenced, denied, ignored, unknown, and poorly understood in the historical description of this war.

The need for salt takes us to the dietary diary of the Acholi captured by the LRA. In times where the LRA were under great pursuit, from the Ugandan or Sudanese government soldiers, as well as villagers seeking revenge their movement to very interior places was necessary to

avoid being killed or captured, but at times, their movement to such remote hiding places was a war strategy to defeat the government soldiers who had little or no food supply. Evelyn recalls one of these moments:

> *We stayed in this position for several days … we realized the UPDF soldiers were following us…We knew the UPDF soldiers had no food, and the LRA wanted them to starve to death. Those UPDF soldiers just died from starvation and thirst. I recall walking among their corpses. They would just be there seated by a tree or lying down, with their gumboots still on their feet. They died of hunger and exhaustion. They were trying to imitate the LRA…, but you cannot imitate the LRA* (Amony, 2015, p.68).

To survive this terrain, where the LRA would also be lacking food supplies for their soldiers, children and infants, relied on the *Adyebo a* wild bitter plant and wild toxic fruits depending on their availability. Water scarcity was common; the drinking of each other's urine has been mentioned in the prior sections of this thesis, dependence on It Lyec/ "elephant ears" vines whose stems had water was a scarce alternative. This kind of living did trigger forms of self-preservation, such as hiding little amounts of water in your backpack, which you would infrequently sip in secrecy to delay death (Cakaj, 2016).

Nothing ever replaced salt and its value in the landscape from below; I retrace the mention of salt in the read autobiographies, sharing how its presence or absence ordered LRA living for further reflection:

> *We looked for wild plants like [adyebo] to cook. We prepared these without salt and ate. These were very difficult moments.* (Aling p.18 in Apiyo, 2013)

> *We finally reached the Imatong ranges [South Sudan] for the second time, but there was hardly any food in this place. We preserved cassava root tubers for future use. The food was tasteless without salt but we ate to survive.* (Acan, 2017, p.129).

> *A few able boys and girls were selected to go where the Sudanese people were living to loot food from their gardens after fighting them. So we roasted maize ground it to make a little porridge which we added salt to make sauce. That was what we fed on in Apwap for more than two months that we lived there.* (Acan, 2017, p.120).

> *One day, I had gone to get local salt (kado atwona) from one of the defenses where my bush husband was living. I kept on gathering the stems of the herb which I was going to burn for the local salt.* (Acan, 2017, p.99).

Jodie recalls her integration into the community as non-rebel during as part of her amnesty process, her starter kit as a civilian from the government included:

I was given everything to start a house from the rehabilitation center. I was given odii peanut butter) and magadi (soda ash a form of salt) to start my first meal. (Apiyo, 2013, p. 27).

Okot Deo, an Acholi not abducted by the LRA, but living in the community gives his description of living without salt as shared in his twitter account:

"Salt was the last item you need when hunger was at peak… different conflict times in Acholi has proven salt a luxury when one couldn't find what to take in …personal experience" (Deo, 2020) .

The absence of salt motions a visceral and abnormal normalizing of the less desired body and their colossal loss. I question why there lacks a form of rage, disruption to defend Acholi's humanity, or to deter their already depreciated lives? I question why the absence of salt is an obligatory need to fulfil and it disturbingly sits with the high exposure of their imminent harrowing death in this war? I am troubled why the body would awaken the desire for salt, in the face of irreversible harm, colossal loss, and it is impossible to claim any human right/s or protection due to your existence as bare life[30]. It is difficult to fathom to what depths humanity can empty or isolate itself from suffering and injuring persons living from below and with a complete bare life. The narrative of salt absence awakens certain kinds of feelings, which I argue can be part of responsive political engagement towards this bareness of life. I discuss in the following section salt becoming symbolic of our feelings, given the human condition of either living from above or below, feelings are intrinsically present, and in the same way, that human life cannot detach itself from salt.

Awakening through salt intimately arouses rage at an individual level, not as some form of wrenching hate or frustration within the private, but the positioning of rage in the public space of politics that acknowledges we have failed, dishonoured and transgressed (Lloyd, 2019) the Acholi's dignity and their humanity. I unwrap the discussion of rage within the intellectual work of Audre Lorde (1981), 'The Uses of Anger', that allows for the placing of the persistent

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[30] The paradigm of bare life as studied by Giorgio Agamben (1998) refers to living in a state of exception and exclusion of any political status, where jursditial law is inapplicable or suspended for the person striped from every right/s and their death through killing is of no consequence. This populace is not in a position to be saved or save themselves for they are in perpetual flight.

Bare life also means that the person is stripped from their individuality; their own body lacks any sovereign or political value. Therefore, to deny or control this populace needs and their body through infanticide, abandonment, social discrimination, statelessness, malnutrition, terror, abuse is not recognized (Vukovic, 2016). For their lives never existed to begin with (Seto, 2015).

deep systematic social inequality lived as an area we could legitimately respond to, using anger or rage as an empowerment tool. The presence of rage attests to deep-seated, tasted feelings that have been suppressed, felt and expressed. This rage Lorde cautions is not useless, disruption but one that questions why silence, misnaming, betrayal, and uncritical privilege (Lorde,1981). In her analysis, rage confirms the injustice of being unchosen and knowing that when we survive [war, xenophobia, racism, homophobia etc] we are taken for granted for our lack of humanness (Lorde, 1981).

Anger as part of intense feelings, engages the willing hearer to shift to deep listening, of grief, personal and institutional oppressions inherited and presently occurring causing difference. Of impact is the use of anger as the refusal to accept powerlessness (Lorde, 1981). The emerging of anger through the narrative of salt supports this research to view both salt and anger as forms of radicalness. I may have approached anger from a dialogical perspective, but it is critical to find anger performed through the body (Landry, 2021), the *living archive as pedagogy* partly performs the refusal to be in threadbare narratives and representations previously done. The presence of anger awakened by salt, affirms that we are partaking in political work involving social justice, we are intent in choosing actions that resist domination, the de-politicisation or the invisibility of the Acholi, Wanjiku and other non-desirable groups in a manner that confronts oppression, but also helps people to connect to each other and themselves (Lofton, 2020).

6.3.1   Salt as Feelings: The Security Vernacular

The study of feelings or emotions in society, confirm the persistent art of persuasion and reasonable arguments taking place in the public space for mobilization (Titleman, 2017). There has been the disapproval of feelings in the political public, due to positioning feelings as passion rather than part of rational deliberation, enabling feelings and emotions to be viewed as work that is intellectually inferior (Homolar & Logglmann, 2021). Nussbaum's (2015) scholarship of feelings approve them as providing public political space with agency, energy, strength, resistance (Landry, 2021) and do influence the figuration of justice and the better good of society. Nussbaum describes democratic societies as full of emotions; anger, fear, sympathy, disgust, envy, guilt, grief and this is a universal condition in which society can tell of its vulnerability, experiences of how people feel and describe themselves (Nussbaum, 2015).

In contemporary populist politics, emotions and feelings confirm their implications in building, sustaining and regulating communities (Homolar & Logglmann, 2021). They also mark their centrality in shaping social and legal institutions, social coordination, social information via media, and demonstrate national goals (Sajo, 2010). The omission of meaningful engagement with emotions and feelings in society reveals the radical departure from centered, collaborative, dialogical work and the possibilities of peaceful conflict resolution (Homolar & Logglmann). In the previous section, I argued how salt awakens feelings; I now shift in the reading of everyday absence of salt, as introducing us to the concept of the security vernacular. Homalar & Logglmann, describe the security vernacular as a paradigm shaped by feelings of insecurity marking boundaries who belongs, and fits in the imaginary of security. This at a global level partly elucidates the performance of the security vernacular through attitudes of racism, islamophobia, xenophobia, immigrants, and confirms the rejection of bodies-Muslim, refugees, black lives, foreigners, minorities, queer. The identities are framed as the undeserving others in the deduction that they are a threat to national survival (Homalar & Logglmann, 2021).

The vernacular of security distances itself from emotions that could influence ethics, acknowledgement of what is unbalanced, incomplete, unloved in society (Nussbaum, 2015) and alternative modes of communication (Monforte, 2000). Instead, the paradigm paradoxically objectifies the undeserving other to levels of humiliating fantasy. This comes from the vagueness of how modern societies pretentiously define human security,[31] and at the same time are unable to ensure that there is fair political means to sustain or defend all human life (Bubandt, 2005). Humiliating fantasy or other forms of populist fantasy is shifted to the deplorable, to separate them from the privileged in society, who are able to define vernaculars of their own security (Homalar & Logglmann, 2021). Therefore populist fantasy, through emotions controls the past that needs to be forgotten, what is trauma, suffering and encourage contempt to alienate people from their own land (Hochschild , 2016). In reference to the Acholi and Wanjiku, this humiliating fantasy achieves in marking them as the ethnic communities that are perpetually humiliated and shamed in the country (Homalar & Logglmann, 2021) with no end in sight.

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[31] Human Security has varied definitions; in evolving work, this term has defined the absence of doubt, danger, risk and anxiety (Bubandt, 2005). In the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 1994) human security involves; food and nutrition security, household livelihood security, information security, social security, energy security, and environmental security.

The discussion of salt as feelings, positions rich contradictions, complicities and complexities of negotiating personhood in messy social-political world. To feel through salt, proves the commonality of humanity in different struggles of the deplorable, who must refuse the uneasy contemporaneousness in life (Hampsch, n,d). The narrative of salt from the Acholi offers feeling as an alternative, when unable to speak due to crushing vulnerability, multiple forms of injustice, and inhibition of full and equal humanity. To feel through salt conveys raising of consciousness without boundaries, where the road map of how to negotiate personhood, and liberation, from spaces of below is journeyed from our heads and adventured through body (Salgado, 2015). Salt inducing a journey of both logic and entire body, to face the machinery of oppression, is an area whose total impact needs to be unpacked as a process of learning and reflection rather than instantaneous download of meaning. In one of the written passages explained by the LRA abductees, I do reflect on the end of life or near- death experience of the Acholi, one group serving as government soldiers while the other is the rebel. More of the biblical situation of one body, but different branches, but regardless of who survived neither is sufficient unto themselves.

> We knew the UPDF soldiers had no food and the LRA wanted them to starve to death. Those UPDF soldiers just died from starvation and thirst, but also from eating poisonous fruit in the area. I recall walking among their corpses. They would be just seated by a tree or lying down with their gumboots still on their feet. They died of hunger and exhaustion. They were trying to intimate the LRA by climbing the mountains, but you cannot imitate the LRA. None of them would ever return to Uganda. What annoyed me is that you found that they were Acholi ...boys they are the one who died. You would know because UPDF soldiers carry with them identification that identifies who they were and what their tribe was (Amony, 2015, pp.68-69).

In this study, I propose that the narrative of salt be considered as vernacular requiring us to recognize ourselves as having some form of power. An aide-mémoire of learning to view ourselves away from surgical suicide that targets the complete emptying of the body as human given the varied oppressions that undermine humanness and humanity. Neither salt nor its presence places *living archive as pedagogy*, an archival project where certain elements naturally resist death or opacity. It is in the nature of salt not to decay, but allowing itself to season life in particularness as opposed to generality. Readings of *living archive as pedagogy* front salt as practice of conditions of strain, where we are present ourselves and the lives of others, to do and transform our below and generations after. To be salty is to do and retrieve tangible work, as the continent addresses and explores its plural-lingua of liberation, dignity,

reclaiming and remembering different types of archons doing colonial, independence, post-colonial, post-conflict, constitutional-coup[32] decolonial, and pandemic work transformations .

6.3.2   Salt as Wrongness

The encounter with salt in this study as a narration that captures a collapse of society, governance and the failing of a nation confirms multi-layers of wrongs and wrongness. Steered by Fanon's description and ideological formation of wrongness in society this descriptor of wrongness lends to the Acholi knowing and learning of themselves in an environment absent in recognizing their presence and needs. Wrongness in society is a form of intensely recognizing self in nothingness, harm and what has been violently taken away. Fanon describes it as; "I cast an objective gaze over myself and discovered my blackness, my ethnic features, deafened by cannibalism, backwardness…slave trades and above all the grinning… " (Fanon, 1995, p.92).This gaze of wrongness stems from power which historically allows for those below threshold to internalize the oppressor ideals of self- hate, self-doubt to confirm that they are not "normal" (Ramirez, 2016, p. 49), or there is something wrong with them. From this internalized inferiorization and wrongness, the oppressed learn "to be at home with cruelty because [they] have survived so much of it within [their] own lives" (Lorde , Eye to Eye: Black Women, Hatred and Anger, 2007, p. 146).

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[32] Constitutional coup – where presidents change their countries constitution to eliminate age limit of the president, or to allow the incumbent to serve more than two terms. This is unconstitutional, but they use their power to make this process appear as legal process (Mbaku , 2020).
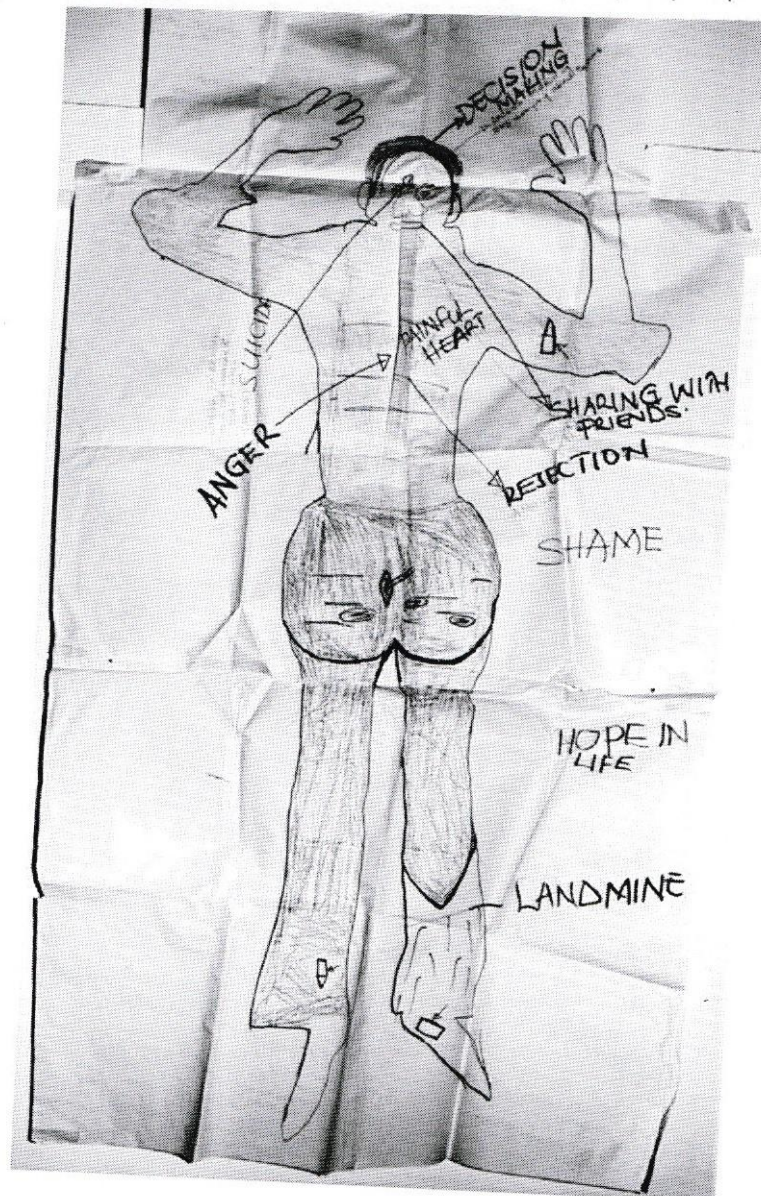
Figure 6.1: Portrait of wrongness

The above is a portrait done by the LRA female returnee's after escaping from the bush. The portrait is drawn on a large piece of paper, to fit the actual body. The outlines were drawn by the women identifying areas of harm and strength, before narrating their experiences, to other women who had escaped from LRA. The portrait captures the argument by Ramirez (2016) writing of our wounds as part of responding to evidence of our wounding in very intimate spaces. Very similar to Baldwin's opinion, "we each have a ...story to tell and every writing effort is just an attempt to say it better this time".

Portrait retrieved from Baines (2017, p. 25).

Wrongness through the absence of salt is evidence of wounding of very intimate places of our souls/ spirit, cultural life and belief systems. Ramirez (2016) argues of taking stock of wrongness or writing of our wounds as part of responding to historical and intergenerational trauma. The presence of catalogued wrongness forms an honest portrait for the important future work of a decolonial portrait. The latter speaks to the work of developing *living archive as pedagogy*. The decolonial portrait (Moraga, 1993) similar to an archive, exists through looking back to a time before the internalization of shame, self-hate, betrayals, or other practices of dismembering. This retrieval and remembering is crucial to constructing a decolonial future (Moraga, 1993 & Ramirez, 2016). To study salt as wrongness is a practice of locating the self/ I who needs to appear in the decolonial portrait in the capacity of logical thinker with emotional legitimacy (Ramirez, 2016) of; "I feel, therefore I can be free" (Lorde, 2007, p.38). To achieve the decolonial portrait and for Wanjiku, Acholi or this study *living archive as pedagogy* to borrow its authority we then step to a decolonial practice that intentionally recognizes; "we each have a …story to tell and every writing effort is just an attempt to say it better this time" (Baldwin cited in Popova ,2014, n.p). Salt as wrongness affirms the obligation to make "sense of the incomprehensible; which begins the process of understanding ourselves, our relationship to the world and… shows commitment for social transformation" (Ramirez, 2016, p. 96).

6.4   IN BETWEEN-SPACES

This area of exploration in the study comes from the continuous evidence of daily life oscillating between given contradictory boundaries of both the war and post-conflict period. There is consistent boldness to confine lived experience to fit the schema of 'either' 'or' which impacts archiving from below, its possible knowledge and learning practice. The phrase in between-spaces in my view can suffice as a metaphorical, political expression, as well as an ideological approach and analysis. I ground in between-spaces as the experience emanating from the Acholi having to swing in multiple limiting spaces of their community, location, identity, and emotions, which restrict interpretation, and the possibility of revealing meaning (Baines, 2017). The data in the study alludes to some of these margins; being Acholi A or Acholi, a rebel or a civilian, living in spaces of public violence or in internally displaced communities. These margins confirm daily-lived experiences that sees power everywhere and the need for more than high politics as an intervention (Kappler & Lemay- Herbert , 2019) of complex daily living. I broadly discuss in – between spaces in the subsequent sections of *Where I appear,* Formulaic Lives, Intersectionality and the desire of Third space.

I present in figure 5 and data from the study to show the Acholi existing in contradictory boundaries to show evidence of where they appeared but to also understand that in the places they appeared, they lived a very prescribed life, what the data calls as formulaic lives for survivance.

6.4.1   Where I appear

Table 6.2: Where I Appear

Selected places of where I appear

| Place / Town	Narrative
Northern Uganda	
Te-Kilak/ Kilak Hills	The main LRA sick bay
Atiak	Food looting from the trading centers
Position	"LRA term to refer to temporary permanent base where LRA rested" (Amony, 2015, p.19). This place had an established defense and hospital in the bush
Kilak- River Aswa	Walked in hiding for 171 Km[33]
River Aswa	Drowning place A lot of LRA abducted persons drowned
Palabek	People looked like dead rats in reference to LRA members due to hunger and thirst. "*You moved in brigades- in straight line called rail-24 If you had to relieve yourself, you had to ask permission from the officer, and he had to accompany you. If you tried to relieve yourself without permission, you were beaten and sometimes killed. At times, I could hear people being beaten to death in the bush as I passed them on the rail-24. Most of the children I moved along the rail with died of cholera, hunger, or thirst. Others died when they fell behind on the rail. In the morning, you could wake up and find your friend had died in the night. They would look as if they were asleep. They resembled edible rats that had died from poison*". (Amony, 2015, p.24- 25). "*People in Uganda said that the LRA abducted their children and exchanged them with guns in Sudan, but the truth is they died of cholera. Many children died*" (Amony, 2015, p. 25).

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[33] Distance estimation from Google Maps, source of information from various secondary data read

Former Sudan	
Where we walked and what happened	
Luwudu	LRA base in Sudan People died like nothing LRA military training (cleaning guns, fire guns, dismantle, re-assemble) this was mandatory training for LRA Monday – Thursday Marching drills Friday gun training (clean, fire, dismantle, assemble)
Gong	"Flat place with no food" (Amony, 2015, p.27).
Palutaka	LRA captured this base from SPLA. It had hospitals, streets, airfield and houses with iron roofs
Atebi River	"I removed his guns, gumboots and clothing. You know in order to prove to LRA commanders that you have fought, you have to charge" (take items belonging to the soldiers you killed) (Amony, 2015, p. 29-30). Evelyn Amony's recollection of how she got her first military fatigue in the battle of Owiny-Ki-Bul, it was a revenge attack from SPLA who had lost their military base to LRA.
Owiny-ki-Bul	"Dogs carried parts of dead people… You can't eat if you are not strong" (Amony, 2015, p.30)
Juba	*"Sr. Rakelle in 1996 came looking for Aboke Girls* *After Sister Rakelle left, some us begin to think. We wondered if we were not important because the Sister looked only for Aboke girls, not us. All of us were abducted, but no one followed us up to Sudan to find us. Why were the Aboke girls followed? Were they the only who were useful? Who had blood in their veins? We talked a lot about this afterward, about why no one looked for us. We concluded that children who had some education were more important than us"* (Amony, 2015, p.45).
Isore Mt-Agore	Farm work/farm fields The abducted would sow plants in large fields during the night to avoid being killed by UPDF
Imatong	One of the highest mountains in South Sudan
Koo	Children in the LRA fell to their death, their bodies remain at the bottom forever 78
Birinyang	Abduction of Kony's children by UPDF end July 2004
Northern Uganda	
Where we walked and what happened	
Ayuwai River	Kony was shot and one of his wife died later from a gun shot
Paludar	Interrogation by the UPDF for intel

Democratic Republic of Congo Where we walked and what happened	
Garamba – Congo	"LRA had left Sudan and were now in Garamba If I remained in the Congo, I would die as many mothers had" (Amony, 2015, p.116). July, September & November 2006 peace negotiation

Table 4: The entire table appears in the Addendum 1 of the thesis.
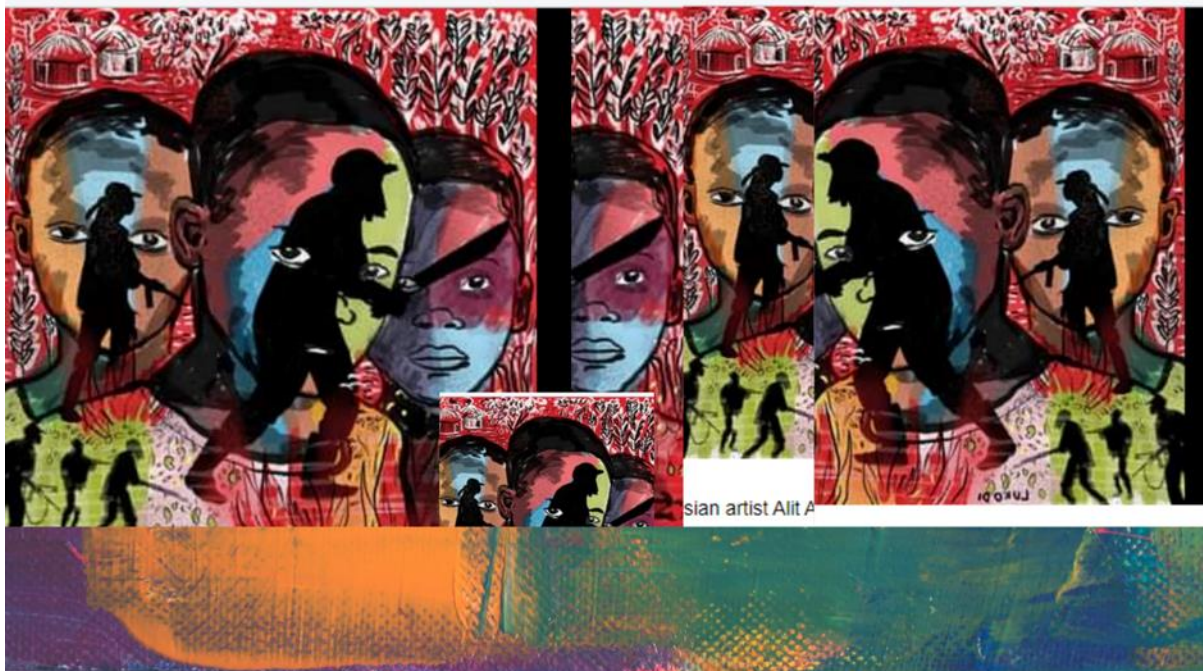
Figure 6.2: Where I Appear Portrait

An artistic expression of where I appear, showing a conflicting identity, of being a child but also appearing as a feared person in the way. It is this contradiction of where I appear, that become the base for discussing formulaic lives, intersectionality and the desire for third space in this chapter.

Image by Alit Ambara in 2000 a poster for global advocacy.

Addendum 2 has visual narratives of this.

6.4.2 Where I appear

In opening up the context of in-between spaces, epistemologically this lacks a singular expression. The necessity of this framing in the study is to unfold dichotomies to disrupt and unpack simplistic concepts of good and evil (Baines, 2017, p.xxvii), which often organizes the contemporary world into a hegemonic normality (Bhabha, 1994). Arendtian writings deliberates the in- between spaces as spaces of appearance (Arendt, 1979), or where do we appear. Arendt primarily questions how society organizes itself to be seen, and how we speak ourselves into existence in places that are not free and equal. This then shapes in- between spaces as a practice that outlines 'where I appear' (Arendt, 1979), 'where I am placed' (Kappler & Lemay- Herbert, 2019).

In locating appearance from the binaries that exist in society, Bhabha (1994) enunciates that we are confronted with the negotiation of identity of what is usually accepted vs the 'other'. Baines (2017) argues that this is the negotiation of the value of human life. The 'other' is crucial in defining symbolic language, spaces, historical reality, and culture in the face of misrecognition and competing truth. In- between spaces, according to Arendt, is indicative of lacking a public space of participation in modern politics and the meeting with others (Arendt, 1979). This appearance or placing of ourselves in public, determines what we can participate in, political action, affirms the right to contribute, debate, reflect on how we project ourselves and are part of transformation (Arendt, 1979, Williams, 2005).

6.4.3 Formulaic Lives of Where I appear

'How I appear' in the in-between spaces of this study, is a negotiation to change the normative contradictions of place, space, and community that reflects privileged inequalities and reproduction of differences (Bhabha, 1994 & Arendt 1979). The study attempts to illustrate in-between spaces, where the appearance of self coexists in anguished contradictory spaces (Bhabha, 1994). This favours the emerging of formulaic lives, formulaic life stories (Baines, 2017) that impact daily living with the stacking of privilege, discrimination, exclusion and inequalities, (Kappler & Lemay- Herbert, 2019). In the context of Northern Uganda 'Where, I appear' or 'Where I am placed' after decades of mass violence is not easily answered individually or by the community. Instead, we witness an imbalance where public information about the past is kept secret, versus a sharp division over questions of who is responsible for what. This in-between costs authentic reclaiming of one's life in the face of historical silence,

and negotiating of the present by removing entangled complexities. I borrow a few experiences as documented by Erin Baines and Evelyn Amony to contextualize formulaic living.

> *In 2005, I had asked a group of 20 young men and women in Anaka[name of place], as part of my research on re-integration and social repair, to brainstorm the plot of [the] play… [They said] We are ready, let us perform. The play consisted of aid workers, journalist, scholars, government officials and the military coming to the group one by one and asking the same set of questions. Date of abduction? Date of return? How old were you? Do you have amnesty… The dramatists then laughed as they continued to act, telling each set of officials the same story of their abduction, but slightly changed each time to respond to what the interviewer had wanted to know. Victimhood-helpless, innocent, injured-became a trope through which the victims reclaimed control…*(Baines, 2017.p.xiv-xv)

The role-play imitates international researchers, writers, photographers, documentary makers, aid workers, religious charities, travellers and a host of other parties (Baines, 2017) who authorize post-conflict living through the "damage centered research where these professionals document people's pain and brokenness to hold those in power accountable for their oppression" (Tuck, 2009, p.413). However, their analysis of these communities is "hopeless, defeated and depleted" (Tuck, 2009, p.409) where mechanisms of justice and redress of the war is seen as the crux of post-conflict life, and driven by professionals of these institutions. These efforts fail to generate spectacular living together of communities. The study proposes, to define formulaic living and life as sharing of life experiences in a manner that captures institutional interests and attractiveness. "The availability of rehearsed stories that emphasize victimization", to "avoid judgment but have access to humanitarian resources" while routing away from what is the people's "agency, desire and choices" (Baines, 2017, p.20, p.xvi).

Formulaic life largely gives institutions authorship of lived experience, deprives speech of the past that pressingly defines the present and worsens vulnerability and exclusion (Baines, 2017). At the community level in- between spaces bears 'I am placed' and live in tragic irony that is barely reconciled or will ever be reconciled.

> *A woman beaten by a Ugandan soldier for being a mother to a rebel. As he beat her and her child, the soldier told her that the rebels had killed her parents. Yet the rebels had also killed the young mother's parents before they abducted her and fathered the child she carried. She remained quiet as he beat her, pleading only for him to understand that it was not her choice.   I didn't choose to go in the bush. The suffering I have gone through, if you still point fingers at my back, reminds me of the past. Therefore if there is still finger pointing then there is still war* (Baines, 2017, p.xiii).

Evelyn Amony shares the anguish over her daughter's life:

> *In the community people talk. Like when we first returned and my eldest daughter was still young, people would point at her and say she looks just like Kony, She would cry and feel badly, because she knew that he was blamed for this war. She would hear on the radio the crimes he has committed, that he killed, cut people's lips, and then when she heard how she looks like him, it made her cry. Imagine how it feels to be in my child's shoes?*

While the experiences demonstrate the damage and the brokenness of political life, constraining possibilities of creating new spaces of synthesis and renewal in the future (Vizenor, 1998) formulaic living can adopt the interpretation of post-conflict living with expectations that multiply life choices (Grande, 2004). Gerald Vizenor's (1998) concept of survivance provides epistemology critical of the representation of dominance. The discussion of survivance in formulaic lives reinforces the "active repudiation of dominance, tragedy and victimry" (Vizenor, 1998, p.93) of the past. It generates awareness that no matter the presence of misery, tragic mode, heroic ruin, destruction and moral weakness (Vizenor,1998) communities have the power to shift the discourse of brokenness, damage and depletion (Tucker, 2009).

Survivance identifies complex personhood as part of the critical critique needed in lived experience of domination. Baines (2017) situates complex victimhood in the context of Northern Uganda, "where persons neither complete victims nor perpetrators in systematic violence, are implicated in and harmed by the realization of violence" (p, 7). Complex victimhood fits into survivance, because the latter cautions the analysis of life through simplification and generalization (Gordon, 2008). Survivance as elucidated by Avery Gordon (2008) is the reality of being beset by rich contradictory subjectivity. Where we remember, but also forget. We recognize and misrecognize ourselves and others (Gordon, 2008). The exploration of complex personhood and survivance 'places us' in an in-between that knows of sadness and the feeling of sinking, a place where we have to coexist with our unbearable past and unimaginable future, because there is potential to transform (Gordon 2008, p.vii). To appear or be seen within formulaic life, asserts in-between spaces as bearing contradiction. Complex personhood and survivance become part of formulaic life for they reiterate a lack of balance in any society but more acute within contexts of overt violence. I clarify that survivance is not survival; however, the biases, complexity and contradictions that do exist can be used to shift and create spaces of synthesis and renewal when we are overwhelmed with destruction (Tuck, 2009).

6.4.4 Intersectionality

Power asymmetries and its impact on people can be interpreted through in-between spaces. Conditions of living during the war and post-justice present structures that actively facilitate oppression, repression, exploitation and dispossession. An intersectionality approach confirms and identifies disproportional structural, and institutionalized power patterns that perpetuate violent and unjust relationships (Gomez, 2016). Intersectionality becomes an advantageous and urgent analysis in understanding the construction of difference, lived experience, thoughts, what matters and why? (Ropers- Huilman & Winters , 2010). From the data I present the diagram below, to enunciate some key in-between spaces that kept on reoccurring as momentous junctions in describing Northern Uganda's lived experience.

6.4.4.1 Intersectionality in In-between spaces
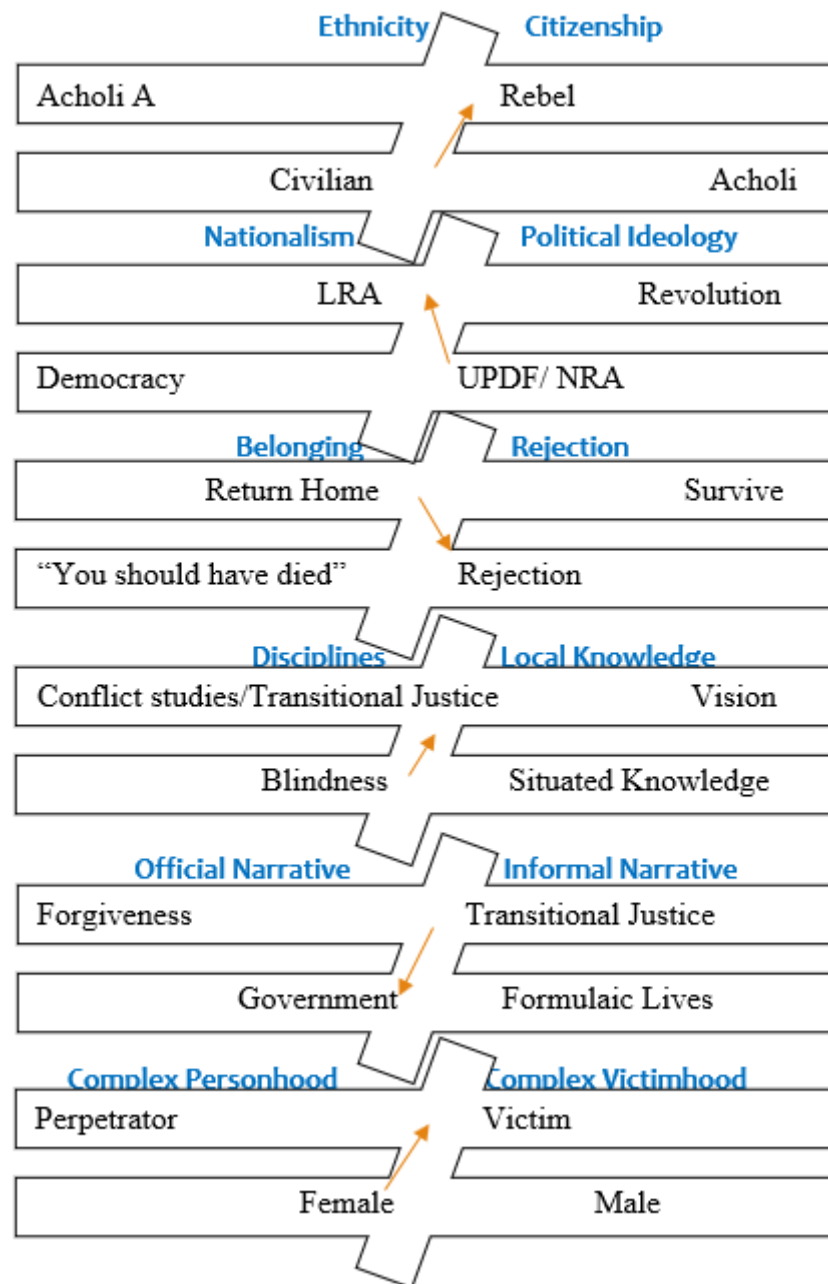
Figure 6.3: Intersectionality in In-between Spaces

A representation of a few critical in-between spaces, emerging from intersectionality for the Acholi due to the war and post-conflict period. These spaces are restrictive, contradictory, proving life is a continuous complex negotiation with different forms of power and structures. In-between spaces and intersectionality need to be challenged as temporal rather than permanent markings of complex lived life. This way the Acholi and Wanjiku can perform political resistance, of living with multiple forms of destructive, disheartening prejudices (Scott & Tuana, 2017) and refuse suppression of their paradigms and understanding of the world (Masaka, 2018).

The diagram reflects different in-between spaces related to the materiality of domination affecting the social-political expression of a marginalized identity. The illustration does not conclude that the outlined power experiences are linear and neither a causal relationship. Nevertheless, In-between and intersectionality accurately frame the difficulty of living within challenging intersections of oppression, discrimination and invisibility. There is an existing gap in finding studies that merge in- between spaces with Intersectionality, for either conceptual, theoretical, methodological or heuristic purposes. Therefore, the inclination towards this dual organization of knowledge is to widen the taken for granted ideas of personhood, power and social change (Collins P. H., 2017) from the undesirable threshold in post-conflict set-up. Additionally, intersectionality and In-between spaces contemporarily recognize different intersecting lines to be explored (Gail, 2013) and to interrogate endlessly blind spots as well as develop extraordinary generative critical analysis (Davis, 2008).

Intersectionality as studied by Grosfoguel (2014) using Fanon's scholarship of Zones of being, Zones of non-being and De Sousa Santos the abyssal line, expands how I have previously enunciated the Acholi's context from below. These locations, zones of non-being, below the abyssal line form a dialogue with landscapes from below. All of these locations have dehumanized people or non- human/sub-human whose lived experience in the local, national and global scale is of discrimination and oppression through capitalism/ imperialism/ colonialism/ heterosexual/ patriarchy/ (Grosfoguel, 2014). De Sousa Santos (2007, 2017) elucidates that humans below the abyssal line or the 'other' including those in-protracted conflicts are cut off from institutional systems, administration and management platforms for redress privileged to the 'I' identity.

To intervene in the hierarchical domination and subjectivities of the non-human, De Sousa Santos' arguments confirm this as exceptional. This is because their lives are contoured around the presence of "perpetual violence, overt appropriation/dispossession that aggravates their lived experience of class, gender, sexual, national/colonial oppressions" (Grosfoguel, 2014, p. 13-14). The use of institutions that serve the humans above the abyssal line is for the 'I' to claim their rights or to be part of an emancipation project (Grosfoguel, 2014). Humans in the zone of being, or above the abyssal line have the privilege to discourse their power oppression through emancipation, and regulation. Regulation allows them to claim their rights-civil/human/ women/labour and legal codes, while emancipation allows them to engage in the aspiration of liberty, autonomy, equality in the management of conflict (De Sousa Santos, 2007,

2010). Grosfoguel also reads intersectionality as the entanglement of the identity 'I' and 'other' who cannot exist independently from each other, for to exist is to be called in relation to an otherness, thus the need for mutual recognition (Fanon,1967). Intersectionality and In-between present a dialogue of complexity in need of wide generative transformative traction to deconstruct modern practices of governance. In the next section I explore the desire for third space as methodology for re-inscribing agency, democratic politics and public concern among the Acholi (Wood & Flinders , 2014).

6.4.4   Third Space of Desire

The representation of the self in a public space with less reliance on institutions, law, or ruling government by the 'I' opens up the question of how to reimagine new political spaces of the 'othered' (Arendt cited in William, 2005). Arendtian's writings prioritize this reflection given the lack of free and equal societies in modern politics. In-between spaces as studied in the Arendtian texts describe these spaces as being imperfect and fragile but having the ability to see the modern world (Arendt cited in William, 2005). To appear in the political space through in-between spaces is a human condition that supports the mechanism of speech: coming together to speak- to debate and discuss drawing a sense of rootedness in the world (William, 2005, p.203- 205). Erin Baines (2017) makes the connection of political space as an action of being in the world that constantly evokes change in the realm of the everyday.

The focus on political space as produced by the marginalized identities denotes their forms of dwelling and their commitment to the world (DiFruscia, 2010). The political space plots where they belong as marginalized, how they have been claimed by the world (DiFruscia, 2010) and what resistance has been made, to claim they qualify to be human in public political life (Baines, 2017). I refer to the experience of one of the massacres that happened in South Sudan, as narrated by Evelyn Amony, to describe appearance in political space.

> *The Ugandan military launched a large attack against us in a place called Katira, near the Isore Mountains, Where the Lutugu [an etnic group in South Sudan] tribe lived. The UPDF had mobilized civilians to attack us with bows and arrows. Others had guns. We defeated them and captured the entire village of Lutugu. The LRA herded the villagers together into one spot. There was a deep hole. LRA soldiers were ordered to throw each and every person into the deep hole. I have never seem so many corpses in my life. Even if someone had survived the fall, there was no escape from such a steep hole.*

We stayed in this position for several days before the dead began to smell and we had to shift to another place. As we moved along the way, we realized the UPDF soldiers were following us, ...We knew the UPDF soldiers had no food, and the LRA wanted them to starve to death. (pp 68-69)

The narrator draws us to an in- between space where there are multiple binaries. We can locate security organization at community level vs regional war context, of different identities (tribes, abducted, LRA, UPDF) of Ugandan nationals fighting in a foreign land, surviving hunger, death vs survival over the enemy. Evelyn in this public space portrays her ideal/desire of a political space. She is sad that fallen UPDF soldiers will never return home as their final resting place. We hardly read or sense an emotion of her surviving a massacre; it is the feeling of annoyance that grasps her in seeing the names of the dead Ugandan soldiers from the Acholi and Alur community. Her annoyance could be an interpretation of shame, inferiority, disposability, and disrespect of the complexity and messiness that surrounds the 'othered' from the landscape of below. Evelyn's annoyance can be read as resistance to have human life reduced to crisis and disorientation, and of the failure of doing politics of difference differently (Stiegler, 2013).

A different political space in the politics of the "rightless" (Hakli & Kallio, 2014, p. 183) where power is not violence, intimidation or the massacre experience that Evelyn shares. Arendt provides an inquest of how we can meet in modern society and place ourselves in the public political realm (Arendt cited in Williams, 2005). I decisively identify the third space theory as a central response, expansively developed by Homi Bhabha (1994). This theory is applicable to neglected or marginalized groups who have to transcend various dichotomous categories, in this study this is presented as the in-between spaces the Acholi find themselves in. The work recognizes the experience of being caught between what is original/ dominant culture that mirrors itself as integrated, open and expanding and kept alive through tradition (Bhabha, 1994). The marginalized or the "rightless" are obligated to continually negotiate the unequal, uneven forces of the cultural representation or the enduring and unchangeable in the dominant culture. Therefore, the third space emerges as a position that is new, a hybrid or a third language in which communication is possible (Bhabha, 1994).

The third space is applicable as a new enunciation of appearing in the political realm for the Acholi. Restating Arendt's question of how we meet in modern society because we lack spaces of equality of citizenship, right to contribute to debate, discussion and decision (Arendt, 2013) the third space validates the Acholi and 'rightless' identities to reveal their full selves as part

of a critical mass in their context of the everyday. This space allows them to present what Arendt (2013) describes as their idea of work- artifacts, art, writings, from the context of everyday. In this way they have entry into political life, which Arendt argues is a space of freedom, political action, equity, and speech (Arendt, 2013).

Third space dialogues in relation to *living archive as pedagogy,* I argue, positions the study to reflect its presence as a site for new meaning and negotiation (Karin 2009) rooted in two major national timelines. The first phase appears in the promise of democracy and revolution as forms of third space by both the LRA and the Government of Uganda, which epically fails, and war ensues. The second attempt for renewed national dialogue is post-conflict based, an ongoing process that remains challenged given the "rigorous and critical intra- African conversation about transitional justice that remains unfulfilled, overrated, and under-performing" (Okello, et al., 2012, p. xviii) and fails to be cohesive. Therefore, the third space of desire in the study takes the complex texture of, "people's participation in the political public as "a cry to awaken the shattered … humiliated … consciousness of their humanity and their unity to challenge colonialism [coloniality] and all forms of discrimination" (Odimegwu, 2008). The desire for dialogue is self-reflexive, where the Acholi have to look at themselves, know themselves through the eyes of the others and appear in public for dialogue as part of their radical consciousness. Figure five below is a representation of third space of desire as applicable to the Acholi and 'othered' identities excluded from national participation.

6.4.4.1   Third space of Desire
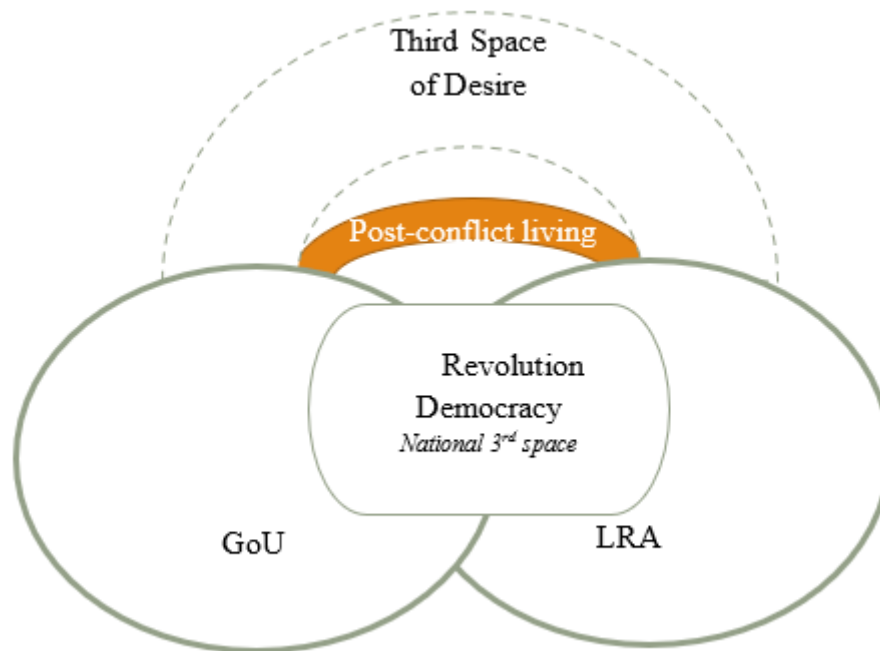
Figure 6.4: Third Space of Desire

The diagram illustrates third space of desire as a strategic form of appearance to reclaim and reimagine in dominant culture spaces. Through this space/s, it confirms the Acholi sharing learning that makes living archive as pedagogy a form of activism and consciousness. The diagram helps us see spaces of liminality or in-between confirming radical co-existence in "up againstness" and part of what the Acholi need to resist for matters of self-representation. I do not allude that the body is the only vessel for third space desire; lived experience, perspective and rhetorical performance are a compulsory interplay. They confirm third space of desire as a site of meaning making of everyday, and uncover other ways of knowing (Licona , 2005, p. 106) *and belonging.*

6.5   A RETURN: MAPPING OF OUR LIVES AND BODIES

The process of community re-integration for the EX-LRA combatants is ongoing; there is a vast pool of published material on how different organizations invest in this desire. Attached to their material are sketches made by the ex-combatants to give a sensory outlook of a life they lived, that was not accessible to the public for years. I pull two main categories of drawings, which I present for discussion. One, sketches that describe LRA's organization in imitating military effectiveness, mechanisms, and intelligence capacity while stationed in

different military bases[34] in Sudan- Khartoum. Early in the war, the LRA had been used as proxy force (Arieff , Blanchard , & Husted , 2015) for the former President Omar-al- Bashir to sew mayhem in Dafur and present day South Sudan (Norris, 2010). I observe that the war and the use of the LRA awkwardly feels familiar, I see this as the historical return to the 19th and 20th century, where the Nilotes are imperially trapped in North Africa as a martial tribe and slaves, this is discussed in chapter two.

In this war, the abducted Acholi and LRA are desired by the Arab North regime of Omal-al-Bashir as a martial tribe from a remote geography (Ejiogu , 2007), who could effectively suppress the Dafurians and black South Sudanese (Plaut, 2019) due to their detachment and lack of affinity with the locals. This imperial use of the Acholi shows us a form of military coloniality, an extension of strategic imperial power to affect the economic, political, cultural, and psychological consequences of Sudan in palpable content and form (wa Thiong'o, 1982). The drawings do not easily advance, what needs to be analyzed, and therefore the impulse to examine blindness as a self-preserving technique of what we want to silence (Hubbell, 2004). Two, in the second form of sketches we encounter individual life-size body maps symbolic of trauma and conflict experienced (Naidu, 2012) during the war, reflecting daily conversations with self and absences in everyday post-war.

6.5.1 Blindness

The attention towards military bases and its recollection through drawings, felt inauthentic, I had forejudged this as part of objectification [35]of geographies from below. What different theoretical impulse could this material offer, whilst, Western media, academia, GoU and other entities hegemonically continue to define certain geographies as 'Heart of Darkness' (Costa, 2009; De Grutyer 2010 & Casey 2012) as enthused by Joseph Conrad (1899) novel and in extension endorsing postcolonial Africa as a place of unfathomable chaos. Other analysis include the continent as an absent object (Mbembe, 2001) that is half-sketched, fractured, irrational and image shards (Walter , 2015). At the height of the war, the drawings did generate interest in matters of intelligence, re-investigations, confirming of facts, and understanding LRA's fighting techniques (Baines, 2017 & Amone, 2015). These illustrations are not of a

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[34] The bases include but are not limited to Aruu, Gong, Palateka, Nicitu and Jebelin,Luwudu, Torit (Baines, 2017, Amony, 2015).

[35] Objectification to make people a thing, see them as instruments, violable, owned and fungible (Nussbaum M. C., 1995, p. 261)

complex nature, we cannot claim there is a technological plus. They are similar too community mapping, an actual drawing method encouraging communities to participate in the development of their own local contexts, by identifying their assets, values, gaps and implementing collective action plans (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller , 2014).

An LRA military base in Palateka, Sudan.
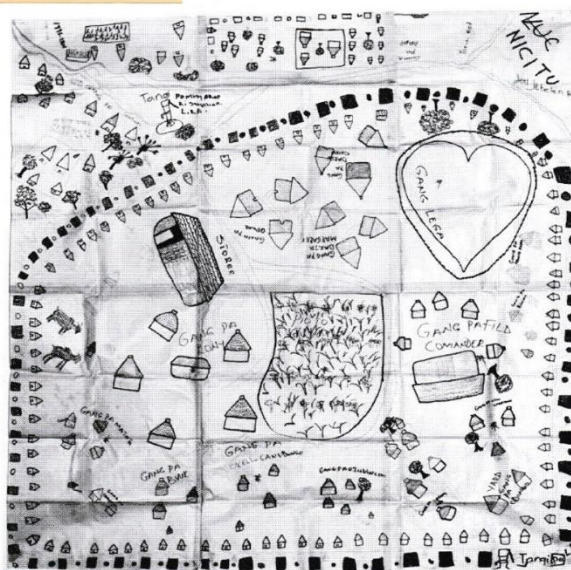
An LRA military base in Nicitu, Sudan.

Figure 6.5: Military Base Maps

LRA's different military bases during the war are similar to an archeological site. There is intense 'extraction' of information from diverse authority. How these sites articulate every day is an area needing more study to understand the small, often creative acts of people while manoeuvring power.

In viewing the maps, I recognize general blindness, the obvious gaze of these sites as state machinery in the reproduction, normalization, and legitimizing of LRA's violent brutality and suffering for decades. What other different expression could they offer on how we see the world, and how we use them as documentation of visual testimony? I argue that the sketches serve more than a cue to remember, they potentially appear in the study as "finding of ways to think, speak, and create that are not dominated by the ideology of the oppressor" (Tyson, 2006, p. 423), or symbolically resisting 'phallic tongues/ pens (Neimneh, 2014) of domination. To embrace this, I question who can see the images and has the ability to see them differently in everyday life post-conflict. I make several mentions of this concept 'everyday life' in all chapters of this study, while staying away from giving or borrowing a definition.

The term everyday life in this thesis alludes to living in 'up againstness"[36] and radical-co-existence in a landscape from below that you cannot detach from. In other scholarly work, everyday life is emphasized as a paradigm meant to offer new possibilities, a counter- tradition that goes beyond mere description of lived experience, but also demands transformation by elevating the understanding of everyday as the status for critical social and cultural theorizing (Gardiner, 2000). Why everyday life is significant in post- justice rests in its exclusion from official post-war mechanisms,[37] post-justice, and how this deters a different imagination of these structures and a better show of local agency in transforming the past of large-scale abuses.

How to see, what we see in everyday life is informed by blindness, Derrida (1993) argues this is a universal condition where the vision of certain traditions are more privileged and are considered intelligent. Philosophically the argument of blindness or vision in the reading of *memoirs of the blind* (Derrida, 1993), is associated with knowledge, the central claim being that western forms of knowledge, and interpretation are favoured over other traditions, due to the default of blindness causing a reproduction of epistemic coloniality for identities that cannot easily self-represent (Stoler, 2010). At the height of the LRA war, the sketches among other material sought after by celebrities, "journalists, politicians, humanitarian aid workers, researchers and altruists" (Baines, 2017, p.19) became profitable increasing commodification of humanitarianism in Africa (Daley, 2013). These multi-professionals in the period of the war,

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[36] "up againstness" the maneuver of delayed, denied and excluded process of being.

[37] Mechanisms of transitional justice, commissions of inquiry, judiciary, peace building, strengthening of institutions driven by local civil society and international community to transform regimes of past violence. However, these mechanisms in theory are desirable but often are insensitive to the survivor-victims' priorities (Macdonald, 2019).

similar to the early explorers of pre-colonial Africa, returned to the West with sketches, photographs and trophies of Africa's image as 'remote', enhancing themselves as the determined, courageous and gallant persons of moral worth, privileged to determine narratives of the continent (Daley, 2013).

De Sousa Santos (2001 argues that consciousness of our own blindness comes while unveiling the blindness of others. In the study, I do not find evidence of the Acholi being blind, on the contrary, there is the acknowledgement that the Western privileged position in determining narratives of post-war, results in the survivor-victims accentuating their victimization, and embracing blindness to avoid judgement of their active role in the war (Utas, 2005). It is reasonable to encounter military sketches as confronting a passive representation of post-war, which usually disconnects masses in ordering meaning and reconstructing inadequate theorizing (Koo, 2010). Consequently, an attitude of blindness in everyday life confirms a hegemonic tool that misrepresents and undermines the representation of truth in post-conflict. In hindsight, the drawings provoke the consequence of metaphorical blindness as well as a blindness regime in everyday life, a truth of how difficult it becomes for the Acholi/ Wanjiku to be a critical educator at all times, their loss of local sovereignty to transform, while still living in a failed peace and justice ethic (Richmond , 2009).

6.5.2 Body Maps

The second category of sketches fits the description of body maps, described as:

> *"life-size human body images created by drawing or painting to represent … art-based techniques to visually represent aspects of people's lives, their bodies and the world they live in. [This art is] symbolic has different meanings, but whose significance can only be understood in relation to the creators overall story and experience* (Gastaldo , Magalhaes , Carrasco , & Davy , 2012, p. 5).

The body maps in the study are a specific form of individual documentation, done by the female ex-combatants. These sketches in various scholarship acts as "methodology that allows the survivors of sexual violence to talk about the way violence had affected their bodies, but also to identify how they coped with the pain of violence and looked towards the future" (Baines, 2017, p.24). In the study, I encounter the sketches as an innermost-reflection of the body, intensely revealing an unhurried mono- dialogue giving the returnee an opportunity to speak/mumble/ sigh/ whisper about something specific, personal for a temporal period without

the judgement or gaze/blindness that 'others' them as 'killer, survivor, Kony's wife'. These drawings of themselves introduce them to an experience that cannot be uniform.

In other scholarly descriptions, the body maps are a site of learning for persons in varied support groups, designed to encourage critical reflection on the social context facing them. The maps reflect learning that includes political and socio-economic situations (Brett- MacLean, 2009). More accurately, the presence of these materials represents how our bodies are always mediated in everyday life as a place for inscription- social, cultural, rules, beliefs and norms (Stone , 1996). Various studies evoke the possibility of visually assessing the body maps and understanding them similarly, to how we engage with medical X-Rays (Cartwright 1995; Burgess 2002). This in my view is an accommodating approach for this study; given the surgical abandonment,[38] we have for geographies and bodies from the public arena- where everything is possible, and we do not need to know these lives and neither be responsible for them.

The presence of the body maps read as X-rays resist, the overall abandonment of post-war and the continent as places of skull, horrid death, expectation of queer self-disfiguration (Walter , 2015) or the "African abjection"(Grzyb, 2015). The methodology of body maps as X-rays resists the depoliticisation of the body; we can conform this from the online gallery exhibition of Bambani's Women Group, Cape Town in 2003 where the interlocutors presented their body maps publicly, at a time of heightened controversies and the stigmatization over the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Sub-Saharan Africa. In this event, one of the participants likens her body map to "My picture is like an X-ray" (MSF, 2003). This significantly withdraws the reduction of the body and body maps as solitary drawings on paper, floors, walls, blackboards or the ground. Instead, they rupture forms of blindness; the body becomes intellectually perched and from it confronts limits of archiving and pedagogy work that I review.

The integration of ex-combatants in the community customarily involves the returnees having psychosocial sessions, to address the challenge of social marginalization and psychological trauma from their abduction (Mederios, 2014). These maps created in the sessions, present an opportunity for the survivor/s to tell of an internal narrative of the body, which numerously

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[38] The term surgical abandonment reflects my own personal thinking on how society detaches or distances itself from the geographies and people of public arena. Possibly because they deserve it, they should have been more vocal, resisted more, fought more bravely, or be more educated, or not easily manipulated. This abandonment should be viewed as malpractice, but this is not so, there is a form of protection/ board that preserves the 'medic'.

survived the spectacle of mortality and carries the conditions through which the Acholi and Acholi A constitute a new sense of self. I explore four positions; the place of truth/ secrecy, authority, disability and Foucauldian staging that can be explained through body maps. One, the body maps illustrate the dilemma of whose truth counts and how it counts. For post-conflict Northern Uganda, documentation of an abducted Acholi body and its internal narrative does not incentivize truth representation. These bodies do not hold truth capital compared to *Madit* Kony and highly ranked LRA commanders, sought after by the ruling regime and the ICC. In more familiar politics, who can claim truth is determined by the truth regimes infrastructure; amnesty institutions, truth commissions, human rights commission and justice bodies to vet and validate what becomes individual and collective truth, and this system has its own shortcomings. A continuing impasse for the X-rayed body, archive and pedagogy; the presence of truth does not guarantee Acholi/Wanjiku's freedom, or freedom of speech. The takeaway from the body maps is the necessity to centralize resistance to counter disempowering, discriminating and unrecognized conditions of truth.

Two, the sanctioning of medical X-rays and their reading is a process involving specialists, various forms of technology to offer valuable interventions to treat the body. The specialist using science/knowledge sees an internal narrative of the body; that unchallenged or endorsed could frame its subjectivity. Critically the body maps bring to the fore the need to challenge forms of authority, specialization; knowledge that accentuate blindness. Wanjiku's or the Acholi's body under X-ray will always be understood in relation to the overall experience of where they come from. The body maps represent the difficulty of the subjectivity of post-war settings where multi-professional practitioners working with African bodies and geographies formalize the continent as intrinsically riddled with warlord politics, state failure, ethnic hatred, patrimonialism, greed and grievance (Wai, 2012). The placing of subjectivism as logic, or truth colossally undermines how we can ask anew-epistemological question or find new epistemologies in African conflicts (Wai, 2012).
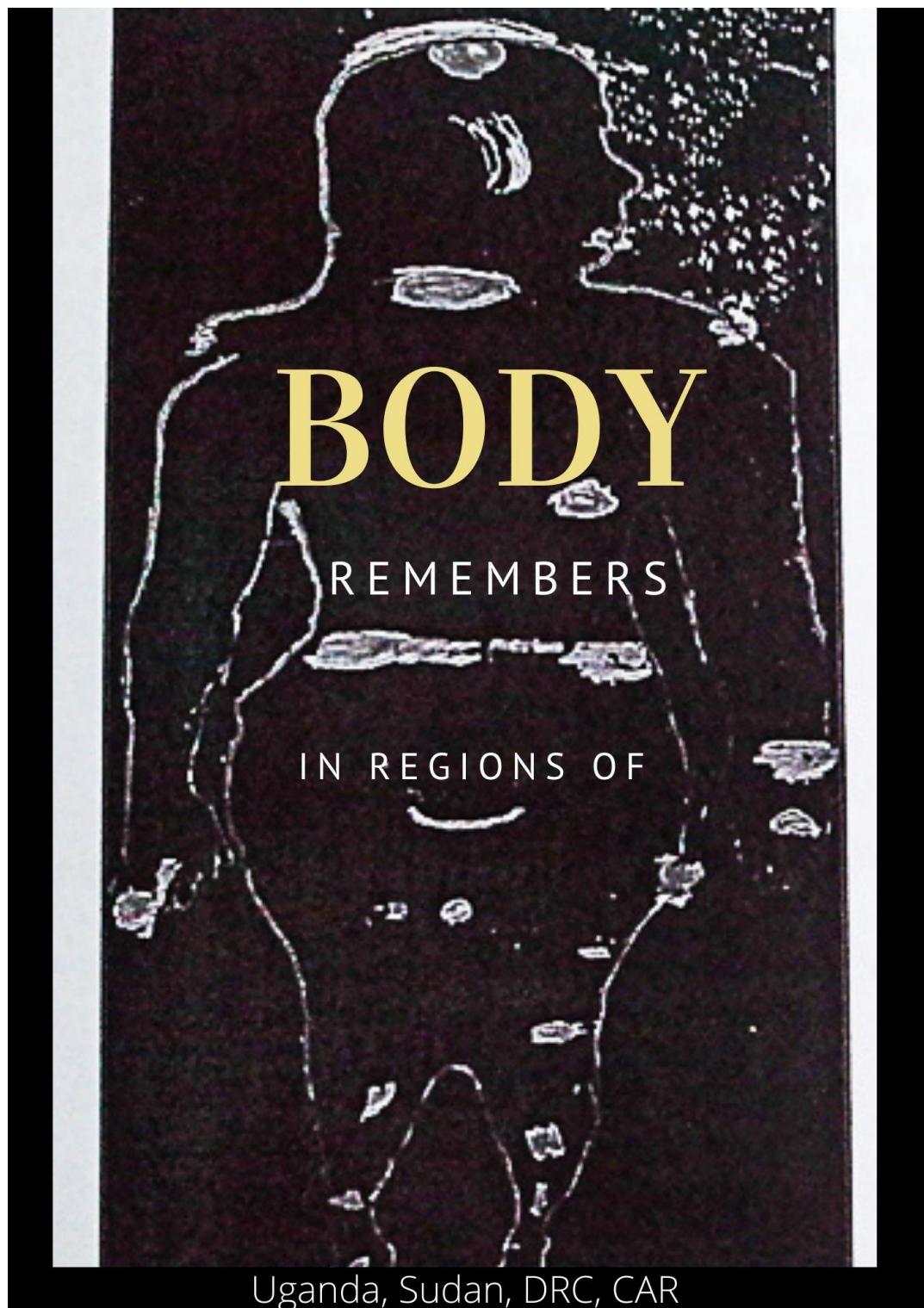
Figure 6.6: Body Maps

A body sketch of a returning abducted ex-LRA member, to her community. She draws parts of her internal body harmed, manipulated, shamed, deformed, amputated or lost (miscarriage). Through this form of 'X-ray', we see her truth, possibly hear her mono-dialogue, but how does such a body continually remind us to confront blindness?
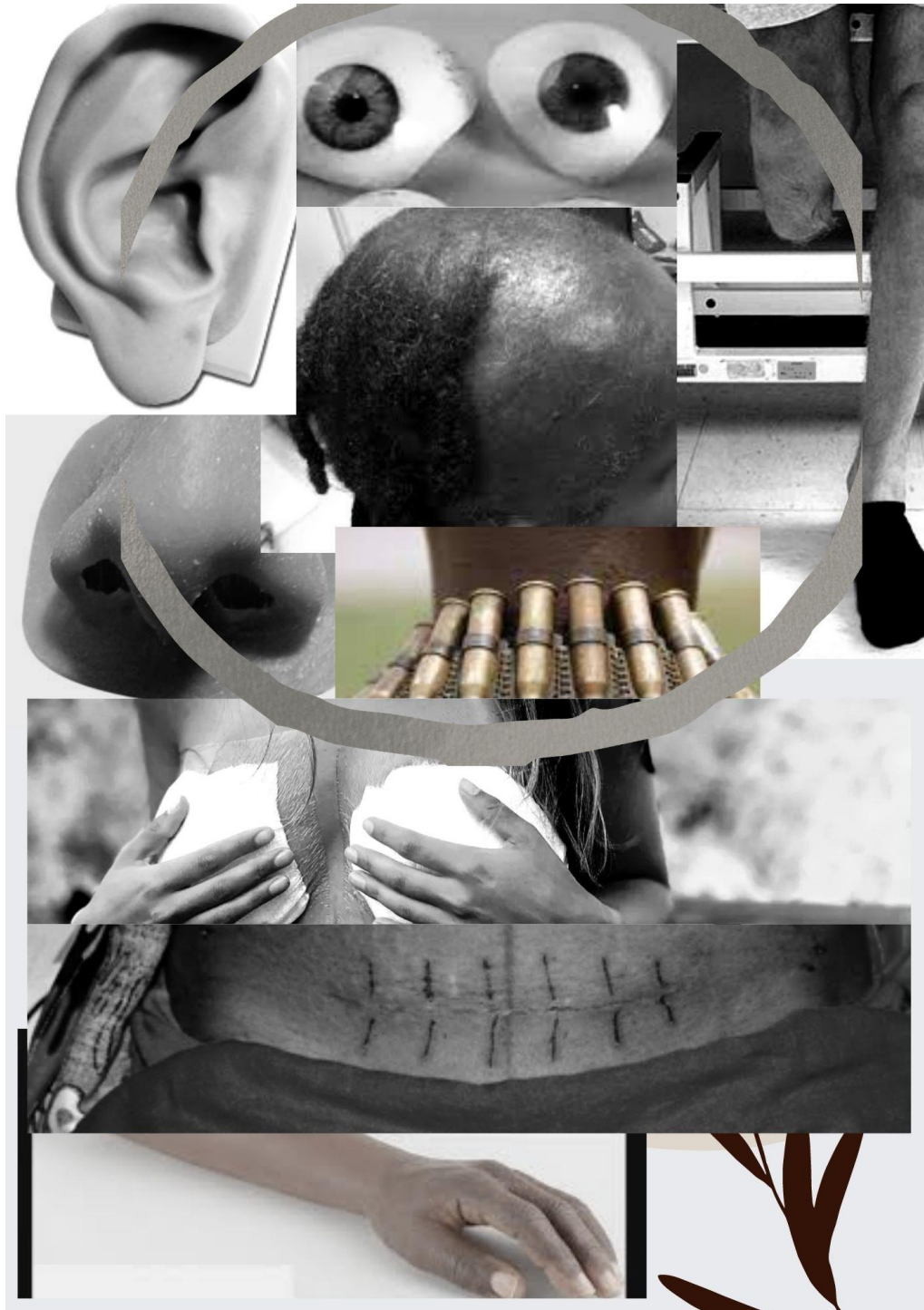
6.5.3   Incompleteness of Body

Three, a body map under an X-ray may show internal dislocations, broken bones and injury. For treatment surgery, casts and other obligatory interventions are prescribed. In this stage, we encounter body maps, as needing its owner's voice to verbalize the body's new experience. This newness is possibly living as disabled, terminally wounded, feeling robbed of parts of body or feeling less of a body (for this I consider hysterectomy surgeries), if attentively heard and seen shifts us to encountering survivors with incomplete bodies. I make the argument that the desire for the previous full functioning body, is not reasonable given the overwhelming intensities in adjusting to this new incompleteness; pain, abandonment, exclusion, loss of livelihood, disability stigmatization, invisibility, new routines to accommodate treatment if affordable and available. In relation to archiving and pedagogy, incompleteness opens up for thinking around developing archives and learning in limitations.

I refer to Bernard Okot's experience of traveling to Pader District in 2018, to identify persons requiring surgical attention at St Mary's Hospital Lacor, a decade after the silencing of guns. He explains that the patient's pain remained unbearable and that their flesh and bones did rot as if they had been bitten by poisonous snakes. Unable to get palliative care at the hospitals far off, there had been pleas for assisted death, which was denied on constitutional grounds. To remedy, the incompleteness of a body poorly cared for, suicide was prevalent "because they could not access proper treatment and appropriate social support" (Okot, 2018, para.3). This experience explains layers that are not apparent in understanding the extent of the body being incomplete or the impact of gazes and blindness. An interlocutor from Pader further illuminates this:

> *When I was still a healthy young boy, I used to laugh at dogs biting their skin and rubbing themselves on the grounds when they are being feasted by parasitic ticks but little did I even imagine that I will suffer a similar problem. The reality came to pass when I was shot by bullets and a bomb whose shells got retained all over my body. Constant pain and the itchy injury wounds and scars cannot allow me to have any breath. I scratch my body like an animal with multiple ticks on the body in order to attain some relief.* (Okot , 2018, para.15).

Figure 6.7: Incompleteness of Body

The above body map represents the discussion of incompleteness of body. This collage brings together different body parts shown as prosthesis, recovery from surgeries, and the living with amputations to show damage caused to body. Imagery of human genitals, tongue and lips that were slashed, padlocked are not depicted in this picture, and neither was it possible to get prosthesis of these. Which is useful in explaining, prosthesis as a language radically desiring plurality of bodies, thought and to unsettle what is privileged as norm or natural.

I liken incompleteness of body to ruins, this is profoundly discussed by Derrida in *Memoirs of the blind* (1993), and *Athens, Still Remains* (2010). The argument being the difficulty of self-representation of the 'othered' as explained in chapter three of this study. However, body maps allow for Okot's visit to Pader, to ground the gravity of incompleteness. In this visit, we understand a worst-case scenario of body in ruins, where survivors plea for mercy killing, contemplate suicide or actually kill themselves as way of removing the body in already disadvantaged conditions from below and "up againstness". While to die in ruins is not wished for, it excuses the authority from their failed responsibility. With incompleteness of body we are confronted with the sociological question of how we affirm such bodies in being in the world, intellectually or aesthetically. (Hancock & Garner , 2014).

I respond to incompleteness of body as needing prosthesis to resist the surrender of total ruin, to enable the post-conflict educator with this kind of body, to devote themselves to life again. The prosthesis response as affirming body would entail medically replacing missing body parts as needed. Additionally, prosthesis in the study is adapted as a conscious effort to radically conceive, divergence in body (Wills, 2008), and divergence in knowledge. The prosthesis juxtaposed to what is accepted body, brings to the fore confronting what we have privileged for representation (Cove, 2011). Prosthesis acutely shows why plurality in how we read the world, why plurality in how we reimagine archiving and pedagogy. Importantly too, the confronting of African life, its epistemologies as always in comparison or in duality to something else (N'Sengha, 2005).

6.5.4   Foucauldian Staging

Fourth, the examining of body maps through the additional lens of an X-ray does validate the thesis of this research that is, the Acholi and Wanjiku archive as living. The nature of all archives following Freudian ideology functions in respect of death drive. This is explained in Derrida's scholarship of archive, we archive to resist forgetting after the death of a person, in anticipation of death and the honouring of memory in the aftermath of death (Derrida, 1995). Therefore, archiving conceptualized or done when person/s are alive becomes an incongruity insolent of the death drive principal: death, aggression and destruction (Dacunto, 2013). This is similar to the x-ray technology that describes Foucauldian staging, "creating bodies that are alive-in- death rather than dead-in-life" (Cartwright, 1995, p. 131). I interpret this staging as being alive but also being dead concurrently, we see this when x-rays photographically freeze or re-surface (Doane , 1990) our ghostly/ skeletal form, that would appear if dead, buried and

fully decomposed. This skeleton/ghost is part of us, alive because it has been breathed too (the respiratory system), but well forgotten due to the covering of a complex functioning body system (renal, nervous, endocrine etc). This proves that we live in the duality of being alive - skeleton/ ghost.

The significance of Foucauldian staging as argued by Cartwright (1995) resists and disrupts the confining of bodies into the natural order, which continues to confirm what we understood from the past. Rather this staging is meant to elicit how we could powerfully rewrite body and experience it anew socially, culturally and perhaps even scarily physically (Burgess, 2002). The encounter of body maps in the study by the Acholi has been fundamental in showing us a specific geographical past, a great challenge to hear the internal dialogue of the body. In the appreciation of Foucauldian staging, the study's suggestion of living archive as perpetually living validates Wanjiku and Acholi's lives to exist in what affirms their lived experience most powerfully.

6.6   DISCUSSION

Living archive as pedagogy situated from the emerging themes, consistently echoes and recognizes typologies of living as follows. The Acholi living in exclusion due to hierarchical power structures, privilege, and discriminations. The encounter with the Acholi affirms living to include identities that define how they know themselves or what knowledge positions surround them. A few of these forms of knowing positions include; *I am What I am/ I am Who I am, I feel therefore, I can be (Lorde,2007), Where I appear, and How I appear/ Where I am placed*. The positions of who they are reaffirm them as educators in resistance, owning responsibility and truth. This validates *living archive as pedagogy* as an epistemic tool defining itself in- *I am what I am/ I am who I am,* as awareness of knowledge from excluded bodies existing in judgement and caveats of different authoritative bodies. *I feel therefore, I can be* is the intimate and delicate work of resistance, to enable the confronting of intentional dehumanization, wrongness and abandonment, and possibly construct a decolonial future. *How I appear*, as the recognition of prevalent privilege, discrimination that is structural, *where I appear*, as the recognition of speaking yourself into existence in places of intersectionality that are not free and equal. While Where *I am placed*, as the facing of incomprehensible tragic irony of life that remains unresolved, causing subjectivity and formulaic lives.

The four discussed themes of autobiographies of dailiness, awakening by salt, in- between spaces, and mapping of our lives collectively describe gazes of lived modernity. A modernity that has failed democratic- governance, nation building, and a fixation on post-conflict subjectivity. While the themes articulate the challenges in society, they are equally pathways of transformation. A transformation needing to happen through body and in relation to other bodies, Anzaldúa confirms this is the key to changing the world. *Living archive as pedagogy* potentially becomes a people-centric tool, one that is life affirming, and emphasizes an appreciation of coming from where you are (Leopold Senghor) as a creator of history (Nyeck, 2021; Hu, Yan, Tang, & Liu, 2020) and to revoke the instrumentalization of from below landscapes. This study in expressing itself as a people centric tool, has the potential to be part of epistemic modernity tasked in delinking Africa from the 'underside modernity' (Mingolo 1995, 2000 & 2011) of coloniality, neo-colonialism, colonialism and racism for a genuine postcolonial[39] world. The delinking from coloniality in this study is echoed as part of the Acholi and Wanjiku's desire for a second liberation in the aftermath of political failure and collapse post Africa's independence.

Intersectionality as discussed in the themes of the research, provides a theoretical tool for exploring dynamics of power and where this power intersects cross-lived realities (Andrews, Greenfield , Drever , & Redwood , 2019). Intersectionality unchallenged normalizes a perception of normality apart from the extreme and obvious forms of racism, gender and sexuality (Andrews, Greenfield, et.al, 2019). I differentiate intersectionality and in- between as follows; the latter describes liminal spaces or a space between two worlds where you are not this or that but where you are changing, and identity feels blurred (Anzaldúa. 1987). The multiple places of intersections, which I have discussed; in this study also appear as in- between spaces. While we may not find an immediate resolve to either intersections or in-between spaces, their presence confirms a double interlacing of theory, helpful in positioning *living archive as pedagogy* as "weaving complex emerging facets into workable and productive unfolding" (Iedema, Long, et.al, 2006) of valuable subjugated epistemology.

Lacking in the main discussion is the probability of linking how a third space of desire becomes useful to in-between, this can be reflected in the near future. I underscore third space as a realm that aids the Acholi and Wanjiku to appear and position anew in politics, or have a third

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[39] Postcolonial by Kwame Nkrumah to mean the practical implementation of a programme towards epistemic liberation (Ramose, 2020)

language (Bhabha, 1994) to appear in the political realm. This implies of this space as merely not being playful, with politically correct and woke sensitivities as we see with the reality of pop culture. The capacity for a third language, I suggest, is a practice meant to reclaim space from the dominant culture that 'others'. It also becomes philosophical practice to liberate self, and those that dominate.

6.7   CONCLUSION

The data analysis opens "up-againstness" lived life, to offer an interplay of philosophical thinking, vernaculars of feelings, practices and new imaginary of spaces that confirms complex textures of scholarship with transformative capability. The emerging themes animate a meaningful and impactful understanding that becomes a pillar to better elucidate a conceptualized *living archive as pedagogy*. In this chapter there is a concrete stamping of the Acholi as knowledge bearers in situatedness "I am where I think (Mingolo,1999), I think therefore I am (René Descartes). Forming an intentional political resistance for the purpose of self-representation, historicity and their positioning in unprivileged knowledge practice, that erases "who we are and from where we speak" (Moya, 2011, p.84).

The findings from the data are not final facts, this would limit *living archive as pedagogy* as an imagined desired and decolonial practice. That relies on a living body, that has rich interactions - institutional, cultural, traditional, African philosophical scholarship and transformation. As the researcher, with deep anxieties of what I would find from the body, I become more aware that my interaction with the secondary material triggered unreconciled spiritual encounters that questioned the limits of dismembering bodies. My grief and agony were in the limitation of offering a covering to this body (living Acholi, Wanjiku, those dead and properly buried as well as unsettled centres). Therefore, I too felt moments of being a naked body, gravely harmed and becoming ghostly, which I would rather see as an inner awakening that impacted the self.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS, AND KNOWING DIFFERENTLY

"It is not the tools but the ways the tools are used in relation with others that allows for deeper examination into dynamic process

(Showstack, Dugue , Woods , Lopez, & Chesser , 2021)

7.1   INTRODUCTION

Responses to the three-research questions guiding the study are discussed in this chapter, while relying on the analysis of the selected secondary data. The previous chapter presented the three main thematic findings from the research, which are an appropriate and necessary knowledge oeuvre towards shaping the specifics of a conceptualized *living archive as pedagogy*.

7.2   HOW CAN NORTHERN UGANDA'S DOCUMENTED LIVED EXPERIENCES OF THE ACHOLI BE UNDERSTOOD FOR THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF A LIVING ARCHIVE?

The discussion in the preceding chapters constantly formulates *living archive as pedagogy* as a different repository, through a living body inscribed with war mutilations, and in continual presence of oppression in a physical space that they cannot detach from. The scanning of literature, theoretical and the conceptual body of work as seen in chapter three of this study affirms living archives as a typology of archiving being an evolving genre of work, lacking singularity of definition and interpretation, as seen in the available archives closest to this study. The three forms of archive that claimed to be living at the time of doing this study were the Judy Chicago Art Exhibition Collection in New York 2015, The African Art Fair London Exhibition 2019 by Adebonmi Gbadebo and finally the *Vigagango* by the Mijikenda community from Kenya. A more descriptive grounding of these archives can be re-read in Chapter 3, 3.2 of the thesis. Within a post-conflict ambit I relied on the joint study of Northern Uganda and Northwest Colombia by Riaño- Alcalá and Baine (2011, p.412), who describe a living archive "as safe social space created by individual or survivor groups to give testimony and re-story past events of violence or resistance in settings of chronic insecurity".

Extensive reading and reflections of the Acholi in war and post-war Northern Uganda, makes it feasible to conclude that the act of living is high risk, highly 'abortive' given that death is a more prominent outcome in this setting. Consequently, the assembling of Acholi's living

archive is the narrative of how their living is undesirable, among themselves, by government, non-Acholi communities and by individual Acholi. Multiple dialogues can support this; I share Evelyn's conversation with her Mum on returning to the community, years after her abduction. "My child, I wish you had not returned. You should have died while still in the bush [place of war, place haunted by cen/ghosts]." (Amony, 2015, p.113). While those abducted by the LRA are disappointed that they survived and were part of dark history, death did not absolve them from the bottomless cruelty they caused.

In imagining from an abstract point, how a *living archive as pedagogy* appears, I introduced in Chapter three section 3.2,1 how I think of the archive being different to other forms of documentation, and what qualifies it to be living. Below I re-introduce how this thinking becomes more specific informed by the secondary material.

A moving / mobile archive that cannot be copied and does not get stored in designated public or private archive sites;

That catalogues through a living body inscribed with scars, injuries, mutilations; septic wounds, recurring trauma and terror;

An archive that has tangible pain and the loss of the past disproportionally disadvantages one's life today;

Relies on other live giving physical bodies for witnessing (rivers, mountains, salt, soil);

The living archive has transferable knowledge, and not seeking generalizability, that simplifies post- conflict lives;

An archive constantly appearing, failing to be perpetually stored; in storage, museum, graves, administration offices, can neither be cast as a statue, and challenges particular forms of memory;

It declines to be a read-only epistemic archival space.

Further, answering of the research questions prove this imagination.

7.2.1 Defining Living in Northern Uganda

Preliminary attempts to foreground the description of living archives, is dependent on how the term living is defined. Eric Ketelaar who has extensively studied post-conflict archives exemplifies a living archive as one that continues to be in the future, living because there is expansion, contestation, and challenges to it (Ketelaar, 2009). In examining documented first account narratives of Northern Uganda's war and post- war period, I specifically found that the term living emerges in relation to compulsion. The years of war and post-justice defines existence that has normalized perilous chronic insecurity, inhumane conditions, deeply divided ethnicities, and weaponized bodies. The ability to live as co-existing with self, nature, spirituality, governance, or other communities is withdrawn, therefore, living becomes a rather a tragic coercion into endless suffering and uselessness of the Acholi (Acan, 2017; Amony, 2015 & Apiyo, 2013).

The manifestation of living in Northern Uganda is innumerably voiced as life inside, life in, life in the bush, or to live as to leave, die or be alive (Acan, 2017; Amony 2015) and living with bad surroundings (Finnstrom, 2008). This positions living as an embodied deliberate act that refuses to diminish its existence in the face of coercion that dominantly threatens the entirety of human existence. If we consider living as the refusal to be diminished in existence- discussions on how to conceptualize living archive in the absence of a traditional post-conflict archiving process, lends us to read, and see differently of a post-conflict phenomenon, we know little of. The conceptualization in this study is cautious of insisting on a singular approach of how to develop an Acholi living archive. This is impractical given the several different narrations of why the war began, the unanswered questions of the unofficial end of the war, confirming layers upon layers of lost, denied and forgotten lived experiences.

7.2.2 Conceptualization of Living Archive

Riaño- Alcalá and Baines (2011) maintain that settings of chronic ongoing insecurity, relinquish safe keeping of written documents, human rights violations, medical records, and specific registries given that these records serve as evidence of history, resistance, memory and are life-threatening. While the logic of institutional archiving is dependent on documentation, and their preservation in public secure places, this conceptualized living archive is dependent on a body as "testimony of a place", knowledge and "has generous phenomenological insights to truthfulness that cannot be gleaned" (Riaño- Alcala & Baines,

2011, p. 417) compared to institutional archives. Conceptualizing of a living archive in coerced acts of every-day life, brings us close to Acholi's sites of ruin, experience, meaning and counter responses.

In the context of Northern Uganda Riaño- Alcala and Baines (2011) identify the acts of every-day to include landscapes of memory "(material markers of memory)", performativity "(poetry, song, drama dance)" and embodiment "(scars, emotions, injury and physical illness)" (p.414) as the critical positions to establish a living archiving. Dina Georgis (2013) study of the 1975 Lebanese civil war, through a living archive approach provides an aesthetic dimension to her work, that I borrow to conceptualize living archive acts. Using the thinking of the three authors as foundational steps, I propose an enlarged perspective of how a living archive appears. I identify six acts/ objects occurring in coerced every-day experiences for consideration. Namely; the *witness landscape*, which is comparable to the memoryscape, *performative, embodiment, cultural/ceremonial rituals, public politics and identities*. This appears in table format three, and each act shows the different forms of living under it. I offer that the witness landscape from below can be viewed as an act that explains what happened w/here? Performative as a space is indicative of how the Acholi were treated but also an expression of new forms of vernacular and desire. Ceremonies and cultural acts give the Acholi and Ugandans opportunities to renew themselves and become part of the society again. Embodied being the survival of near- death experiences, public politics as the platform for national debate and inclusion, lastly identities of responsibility needed in this archive. The six acts that I trace, introduce the conceptualization of living archive as a model represented below, emerging from a life where political and social conditions withdrew the right to life and living (Butler, 2009).

Table 7.1: Living Archive Conceptualization

Witness landscape from below	Embodied	Performativity
What happened w/here?	*Survived or near death experience* *Look Here!*	*How we were treated?*
Abductions	Survival of gunship attacks and foot soldiers	First person narratives
Attempts to escape	Poisonous fruits and tubers	Prophesy in LRA and Holy Spirt Movement (HSM)
Places of hiding	Miscarriages	Dances
Extreme beatings & torture	HIV/AIDS	Short skits
Crossing different community and national boundaries	Injuries & deformities	*Wangoo/* Story telling
Military training by LRA	Scorching of the earth	Poems
Forced marriages	Starvation	Mobile peace museums
Child birth in the bush	Salt	Hague Trials/ International Criminal Court (ICC)
Walking to Sudan/DRC/ CAR	Burnt alive	Social media
Burnt alive	Mutilations	Security vernacular
Massacres	Landmines	Third spaces of desire
Mass graves	Trauma and triggers	In-between spaces
Life Maps[40]	Mental illness	Autobiographies of dailiness
	Abusive relationships	Narrative pictorials[41]
	Public rejection and shame	
	Ebola pandemic	

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[40] Foot trails of where the abducted Acholi moved and lived during the war as rebels. Trails of befallen LRA, UPDF, SPLA and Arab soldiers, places where the surviving LRA nearly died.

[41] Art projects done by local and international artists to describe the war, a few of these appear in the annex of the study, selected in a manner to depict a visual story.

Table 7.2: Living Archive Conceptualization

Ceremonies/ Cultural Rituals	Public Politics	Identities
Conditions of mourning, renewal/ another chance	Places of inclusion	Acholi Archon responsibilities and forms of speech
LRA initiations for the newly abducted Observing of the 10 Commandments in LRA and Holy Spirit Movement (HSM)42 Cleansing ceremonies by Ajwaka43 Ceremonies/Cultural Rituals Conditions of mourning, renewal/another chance	Justice and national reconciliation dialogues Transitional Justice Policies Traditional justice mechanisms Amnesty declaration Truth telling Missing persons database Public Politics Places of inclusion	I am what I am I am whom I am I feel therefore I can be free Where I appear Where I am placed Whom am I Dano Adana Identities Acholi Archon responsibilities and forms of speech

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[42] Holy Spirit Movement (HSM) was a rebel and spiritual group led and formed by Alice Auma in Northern Uganda in 1986. Alice was a gifted spiritual medium and messenger ie (*Lakwena)* with several spirits and a prophet *(nebi).* Her presence in national politics was not peculiar, in the 1980's spirit mediums were the voice calling for the country's morality and social accountability due to the collapse of the state and lack of credibility (Allen, 1991). *Lakwena* Alice mainly used anointing oil, prayers, and insisted on sexual purity among her followers to dislodge the National Resistance Movement led by Yoweri Museveni. She had severally defeated groups that were anti- HSM. 6th August of 1986, the NRA defeated her less than 80 miles away from Kampala-city, which she had hoped to recapture. She and her followers (ex- service men from Uganda National Liberation Army) had marched from Northern Uganda to the city, without using any weapons on the government army (Kiyimba, 2017). *Lakwena* Alice was a cousin to Joseph Kony who was in HSM but at a later point expelled, and soon after, he formed the LRA. *Madit* Kony adopted HSM rituals, beliefs, and practices whose effectiveness depended on his personal sanctions (Kiyimba, 2017). The use of the biblical Ten Commandments was meant to address the widespread decadence in the country (Kiyimba, 2017).

[43] *Ajwaka* a traditional Acholi priest who cleansed people possessed from evil spirits (*jogi setani*) (Kiyamba, 2017). LRA returnees or generally Acholi haunted by the spirits of persons not properly buried during the war, often appear to people as tormenting ghosts. The *Ajwaka* are in a position to communicate with the ghosts/*Cen* who communicate how they want to be appeased through animal and blood offerings.

Ceremonies/ Cultural Rituals	Public Politics	Identities
Culo Kwor: paying for lost blood and bones compensation for the dead Mato Oput: compensation for the dead intentional or non-intentional killing Moyo Kum44: protection from ghosts	Reparations and Reintegration Reintegration of children born in war Medical and psychosocial rehabilitation National health policy to assist survivors Public apologies	Odoko dano

Ceremonies/ Cultural Rituals

Conditions of mourning, renewal/ another chance

Nyono Tongweno[45]: Stepping of the egg for LRA returnees as way of welcoming them to the community

Gumo Tong: Bending of the spears between warring communities/ clans for the purpose of dialogue and conflict resolution

Tingo Ali: Special committee of nine members from each of the 9 Acholi clans for local conflict mediation, reparations, forgiveness, truth-telling and compensation[46]

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[44] *Moyo Kum*: appeasing of the ghosts that haunt an individual for having killed them, through slaughtering of a goat or the use of herbs (Ogora, 2008).

[45] Nyono Tongweno is the stepping of an egg as a symbol to welcome a person who has been away from their home and community for a very long time. The egg symbolizes purity and innocence and stepping on it is meant to cleanse one from the crimes they have committed, and prevent bringing bad energy to the community (Ogora, 2008).

[46] Journal notes 29 May 2014 of a Transitional Justice Meeting in Kampala- Uganda
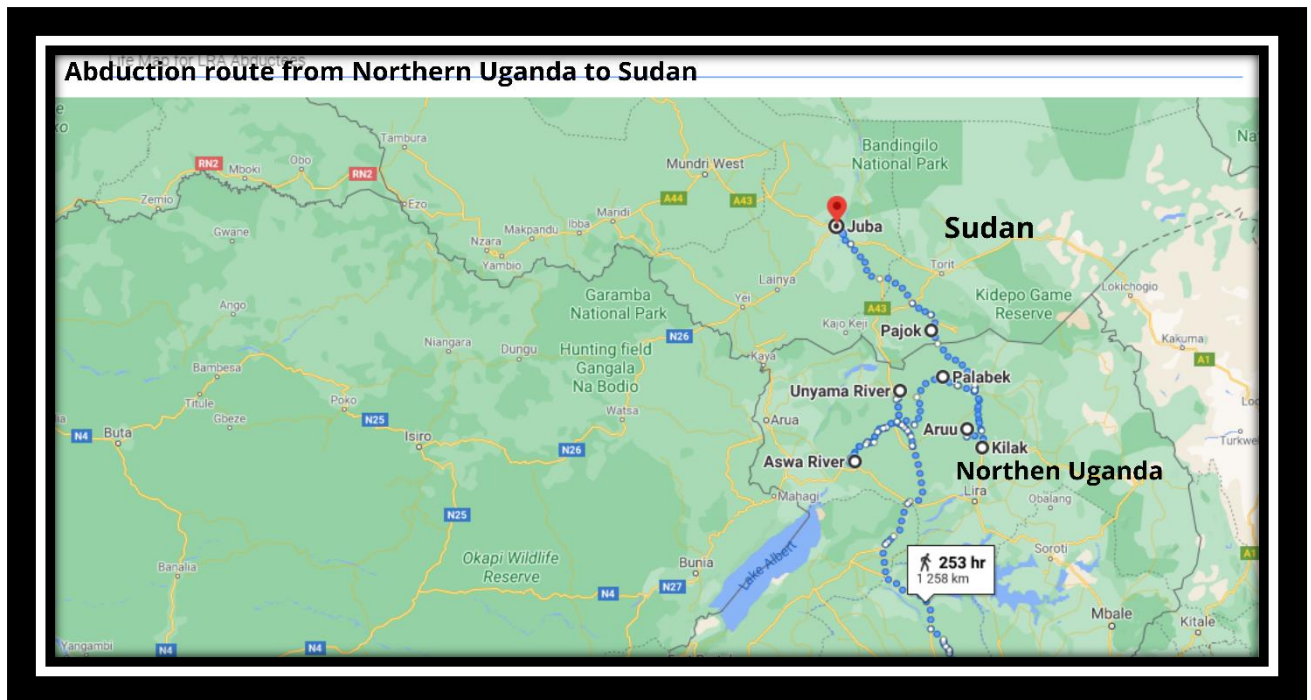
Figure 7.1: Life Maps

Life maps a representation of the foot trails, showing the abduction route from northern Uganda to Khartoum-Sudan. With the failed peace talks between LRA and GoU in 2010, the war moved to the DRC and CAR. This trail over time becomes a life map of where ethnic civilian communities died military and rebels. A trail that bears witness to the hundreds of LRA children born in war, from their abducted mothers. A trail that defines the bush/ the place of war where human living does not exist but

rather a place of disturbed ghosts. The life maps are part of the conceptualized living archive, they are a testimonial of living as a contradiction when it was more likely for one to die, and it was assumed that you would die.

The living archive as rooted in the different acts, allows us to reflect on the lived experiences of the Acholi from plural perspectives that I explain. One, we grasp the precarity that surrounds the Acholi, their context of traumatic experiences, exclusion of political freedom, social justice, and capabilities (Ahmed & Gassman, 2010; Kimhur, 2019) and overall cataclysmic loss -singular and collective. The acts introduce us to thought and practices of remaking social order among the Acholi in there every-day political life and being-in- the world. Two, the acts and the Acholi body are interrelated; without the acts you do not see or feel the body and vice versa. Therefore, the living archive is a representation of the Acholi invested in (Re) archiving, (Re) reading difficult and different knowledge,[47] reflecting and (Re) articulating (Agathangelou, 2017) meaning in multiple histories, and taking responsibility as archons of their archive. Three, the body and the living archive consistently defy a singular and standardized narration of lived experiences. The Acholi lives narrate of many tensions in politics, war, institutions and present-day social environ. Thus, locating the living archive is an extraction of a delicate living process of self-recreation from a damaged center (depleted, ruined, and hopeless) (Tuck, 2009).

7.3   IN WHICH WAYS MIGHT ONE ESTABLISH THE LINK BETWEEN LIVING ARCHIVE AND PEDAGOGY FOR TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION DISCOURSES?

I approach this question, in the new recognition that living archive is a description of a living process that documents deliberate diminished existence of the Acholi. I assume that the analysis of the material may have pedagogical work that would affirm an educational experience that brings about goals of freedom, self-actualization, and humanization work (hooks, 1994). The essence for these transformative goals is to stand in opposition to dominant culture, given that the learner and educator find themselves living in complex lives and experiences (hooks, 1994). The ends of transformative education are meant to structurally shift how we understand power, ourselves, our locations, and relationships with others (Baker , et al., 2019). The finding of transformative education paradigm and pedagogy in the Acholi

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[47] Difficult knowledge refers to knowing despite the impossibility of knowing (Agathangelou, 2017).

context, does not meet a blank canvas. The presence and scholarship of Okot p'Bitek (1931-1982) becomes the mediating work on how this section of the study develops.

Okot p'Bitek an Anthropologist, poet, cultural critic and thinker born from the Acholi community, has his writings as part of Africa postcolonial work, where he persistently emphasises any conceptual scheme or intellectual production (language, performance, documentation) relevant for African philosophy. His stance is not an outright rejection of western centric writing and thought (Baines, 2017.p12), but very close to Kwasi Wiredu's (1995, p.22) analysis of absorbing   " 'unexamined assimilation' of western conceptual frameworks in African life and thought". The thinking around pedagogy or transformative education is as a universal thought, Okot p'Bitek would question how this establishes an African perspective, is responsive to cultural dynamics, moral responsibility and shapes social comment (p'Bitek, 1973).

The understanding of how to do education within the Acholi cultural context, takes the format of; "where uncles, aunts, stepmothers, elder brothers and sisters all are members of [teaching] staff. Teaching takes place through teasing *(ngala)*, songs, educative stories *(ododo)*, and practical work" (Lijembe , Apoko, & Nzioki , 1967, p. 47). The terminology of pedagogy, education from a local perspective would be seen as teaching, in the Acholi context. Where one is surrounded by so many teachers, who are meant to guide you not to "exist alone but always in and through relationships, and responsibilities, to others that form his or her community" (Baines, 2017, p. 57). The teaching dynamic does not reveal the language to transform and neither does transformation happen in the teaching experience, the teaching tradition is meant to recognize and afford recognition to learners who contribute to doing good and the collective good (Baines,2017).

Transformation would then fit the context of social order, social repair as part of what he examined as capable of reconstructing societies a new (p'Bitek, 1984). To create new order, in his work reflects the appreciation of becoming, needing the individual to examine their person-hood. A process that reflects on "Who am I?" "Who is a person?" (Baines, 2017, p.13), this becomes the platform receptive to 'reconfigure' (Bayat, 2010, p. 5) and remake and always in relation to others (Baines, 2017). When the interior reconstructive –self is figured then the individual is capable of social comment; "a well-reasoned personal judgment, which could then be presented in society and discussed for matters of orientation" (Kresse, 2002, p. 225). This context paves the way for engagement with the posed research question.

7.3.1 Dano Adana of Living Archive

To link living archive and pedagogy, perhaps starts with the Acholi articulating who they think they are as part of negotiating their own self-hood (Lederer, 2015). Relying on the scholarship of Okot p'Bitek an Acholi anthropologist (1931-1982) who studied the concept "Who am I?"/ "Who is a person?" (p' Bitek, 1973) and whose work appears in the secondary material used in this research, in particular Erin Baines (2017), *Buried in the Heart: Women, Complex Victimhood and the War in Northern Uganda.* Okot's p'Bitek's work on who am I, reveals the sense of self, which is rooted in oral traditions and culture, that serve as the primary location of teaching and learning and is the backbone of the Acholi defining who they are in the universe (Gauvin, 2013).

"Who am I?" as interpreted by Okot p'Bitek unearths within the Acholi cultural and oral tradition, a human being referred and named as (*dano adana*) interconnected with others to do the work of making humanity *(odoko dano).* This is a significant take for the research; the willing hearer and learner is invited to an oral tradition and cultural learning. Important as a form of consciousness, where culture[48] is not abandoned, given the risk of isolation from our own social background, real meanings and significance that surrounds us. Who am I in the context of cultural life is partly addressed by the Sékou Touré, founding father of Guinea-Africa. A "human being … existing by creating material means of its existence through culture" (Touré, 1969, p.12).

According to p'Bitek being *dano adana/* human is a process, none of us can claim to have achieved, for it is a path in continuance. Therefore, it would be limiting to judge the context of Acholi's complicity in complex victimhood, of them being far removed from *odoko dano,* or having lost their core identity as human. An important implication, is to possibly see, while we articulate and study different forms of 'others'; marginalized, rightless, invisible, that perhaps it is a gaze, a complex form of blindness, none of us can register a complete process of humanization relying on Acholi cosmology. Essentially, acts of dehumanization around us indicate our incomplete process of humanization as espoused by Paulo Freire (1993).

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[48] Culture as the relationship between man/ woman and society... virtue of struggle for freedom from the hold of dominion of nature (Touré, 1969, p,12)

Delving into the technical process of Who am I as a *dano adana* who is becoming, there is the demand to participate in a socialization process of learning, knowing, and working that facilitates or models how we relate to others. The location of work happens in oral tradition/ indigenous ontology and epistemology because it reflects the reality of our societies (p'Bitek, 1963, 1973). "Oral traditions and literature represent and enact people's general approach to life, they are the main methods by which society interprets itself and its members relate to each other and the outside world" (p' Bitek, 1973, p.27). The existence of orality in the present-day supports the Acholi to return to their culture/ (tekwaro)[49] where *adano dano* can retrieve and assemble traditions, moral work, understanding and formations of their place in the universe (p'Bitek, 1962-1986).

Sekou Touré's understanding of an African culture, is an expression of using material and immaterial works of art and science, plus knowledge, manners, education, …thought, behaviour and attitudes accumulated by the people both through and by virtue of struggle for freedom from the hold and dominion of nature" (Touré, 1969, p.12).   The presence of orality in Acholi's culture has been more alive to what can be easily denied, forgotten or erased, as they   return to 'everyday life' for the purpose of 'social repair' or 'social reconstruction'(Gavin,2013). The return to culture and orality signifies persistent building of our traditions, and that our cultures are in dialogue with our expressions of modernism, since both arenas have a common denominator of beings create conditions for humanity *odoko dano* existence.

Dano adana's learning process, demands commitment in the work of social repair of 'everyday life'. Okot p'Bitek's study of Who am I coincides with the desire of *Uhuru*[50] in the African continent. Therefore, it is likely that Okot is having a conversation with *dano adana* urging the return to oral tradition, and cultural work as wisdom to resist isolating Africa from its legacy of complex, elaborate cultural practices, and rich histories (p. Bitek, 1963, 1973). This perspective is similar to Sekou Touré and Amílcar Cabral's (1973) high regard of Africa's culture as capable of supporting liberation from colonialism, and Cabral particularly asks for our return to the source, the return to humanity to reclaim our freedom. In his view, our

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[49] "*Tekwaro*- an Acholi word that generally refers to culture or tradition, but in English the word itself has a large sementic range that also includes history" (Gauvin, 2013, p.36).

[50] Political ideology in Africa's politics, describing the continent as not truly liberated despite independence from colonial rule.

engagement with culture shows responsibility in claiming historical, social, cultural and political liberation (BlackPast, 2009). *Dano adana* fits into the scholarship of African philosophy of hermeneutics, by embodying indigenous epistemic orientations (Balogun, 2013) traditions, cultural motifs and mode of life (Serequeberhan, 1994) as pathways towards the second liberation.

Rectifying war and post-conflict life in Northern Uganda constitute a double return; one to their cultural and oral tradition, two to contemporary oralities such as living archive or other acts for the purpose of reconciliation, conflict reconstruction and everyday social repair. The act of returning to culture becomes Acholi's learning and a socialization process that reflects the making of humanity *odoko dano.* There is evidence of an existing link between the living archive and pedagogy. I summarize it as follows; we are introduced to *dano adana* whose place of learning is from their indigenous epistemic orientation. The ultimate goal of learning and teaching is to pull towards humanity *odoko dano,* is achieved by doing multiple works of social repair or social construction of everyday life with others. The conceptualized Acholi living has six foundations, needing social repair from the Acholi. To do this work is to be amenably yoked to the process of learning using varied forms of knowledge, to transform our societies to more humanity *odoko dano*.

7.4 HOW CAN *LIVING ARCHIVE AS PEDAGOGY* EXPLAIN SOCIETAL EXCLUSION FROM THE LANDSCAPE OF BELOW FOR THE PURPOSE OF TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION?

Engagement with the Acholi community as both educator and learner in representing the specific conditions of landscape from below and "up againstness" facilitates a non-reductionist approach of what is their everyday life. It indeed matters if the study has assiduously examined the main or overlapping spaces and circumstances of exclusion. I respond to the research question using the discussion of responsibility towards disposable inscribed body, an area not firmly defined in this study. I carefully note that the specific findings that I present, differ from the high-level process of responsibility in post-conflict assignments and interventions by regional bodies, state, international law, and humanitarian agencies for liberal peace and human security. Nevertheless, we experience the interpretation of responsibility from a local perspective, as a form of agency to establish better social relations, affirming that politics cannot function without responsibility (Lavin , 2008) and serving individual agency, and making meaning of responsibility (Hansen- Magnusson & Vetterlion , 2020).

7.4.1 Responsibility towards body

The proposal to address responsibility towards inscribed bodies/ excluded bodies/, also refers to lives made unliveable, and whose suffering is evidence of how distinct and distant (Butler & Athena, 2013) they are from the desired body. Responsibility through body positions us to contemplate what matters have been excluded from mattering (Bozalek & Zembylas , 2017) or the failure to materialize bodies that matter (Wilcox, 2015). The study of excluded bodies and those having a threshold of desirability are all within relational ontology, confirming that our bodies are all entangled and there is resistance of body being posited to a language of inferiority (Hickey-Moody, Palmer , & Sayers, 2016). Distancing ourselves from responsibility is reorientation of ethical thinking, that delays responsible practice, of human integrity (Brown & Dilley, 2012). If so, how are we responsible for excluded bodies, but how does this knowing push us forward for transformative pedagogical work?

I tap into one of Evelyn Amony's conversation in her autobiography of dailiness, as part of inquiring a way to navigate the capacity to respond to bodily integrity and inviolability as part of responsibility towards body.

> *...one of the boys, called Ociju[51], came to help me sew my daughter's clothes. He had lost a leg in battle long ago, and he would use a stick to move around. His hands were always bruised and swollen because of that stick. Despite this, he could sew clothes well. We sat together, and as he began to sew he said to me, Mego [mother][52], I am going home [planning to escape]. Look at how I am doing. My hands are rough. Look at the wounds on the small of my back. The small of his back was bruised because of his walking stick. I looked at him and said, Ociju, I wish you the best if you are going [escaping]. I will pray for you. I will niciru [fast/mortification] for you and pray that you reach home well. Ociju said, Ama [term of respect for a mother], I do not want you to remain behind. He proposed we escape together. I told him that if we left together, we would not make it, as I was pregnant and unable to move quickly. I knew that Lakati[53] would pursue us, as he would fear that Kony would punish him if I escaped, and that he would follow us until he found us.*

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[51] Ociju was an LRA rebel, his differently abled body was from injuries in the war. To note LRA did not abduct differently able-bodied children and neither children seen as chubby, this was an inconvenience for LRA's preference for walking agility.

[52] Both senior LRA officials and other LRA rebels refer to Evelyn Amony as mother. She is one of *Madit* Kony's wives, it is her awe standing bravery in protecting *Madit* Kony from UPDF soldiers single handedly from plane swoops and big bombs that led her to be called *Mego* [Acholi-Luo word for mother] at a tender age of 12-13(Amony, 2015).

[53] *Name of one of the LRA Captain's and leading this particular company.*

That night Ociju escaped together with a young boy. I prayed for them all night. He had written a letter to Lakati that said;

[I have] not escaped for any reason other than the fact [I] was suffering from [my] injuries. My hands and the small of my back are rough from bruises. It is as though a gun is shooting the small of my back daily. Won't you feel sorry for me? I know that I can limp and reach home [return to Northern Uganda]. If you want to kill me, you can follow me or you can come and kill me54, but I am suffering, and I do not know what else to do. That is why today I am going to leave your company. This is the time that I must leave. If God helps me and I escape, then that is it. If you catch me and kill me, than that is it. This is me Ociju. I have gone.

No one tried to follow Ociju to stop his escape. The next time I turned on the radio, the program Dwog Cen Paco [Come Back Home] …The show used to call to us [LRA rebels including senior LRA officials] to return home from the bush55 and featured those who had escaped. Ociju was speaking on the radio program – he had reached home! Ociju spoke directly to me,…He said, Mego think of how big your pregnancy has grown. I know that you cannot walk. When any soldiers attack, you will die. Mego you cannot even run: what will you do?(Amony, 2015, pp 96-97).

Ociju responds to the conditions of bare life within the LRA with copious bravery and liberality. He is in a place of complex and life-costing tragic irony; he wants to escape but feels heavily responsible for others. Affirming of the body meriting legitimacy to be known as a subject in co-agency with others (Brown & Dilley, 2012) because we are interconnected with others in a social, political and material process (Bozalek & Zembylas, 2017). He first risks having a secret conversation with Evelyn and the young boy about escape, which was punishable by death or extreme beatings. He offers to bring to safety Kony's unborn child, *Mego* the mother figure in LRA, who also happens to be *Madit* Kony's most respected and adored wife. His responsibility to the other is unfazed possibly, because his abduction, and painfully inscribed body lives in a history that they did not choose but they are formed nonetheless (Wilcox, 2015).

By casting body as material only relevant if they live or die, limits the ability of 'self' to speak for itself (Wilcox, 2015). Knowing through body and adopting responsibility amplifies the articulation that all "bodies require conditions to live a liveable life, for there is no such thing as the "right to life" itself; but conditions for sustaining life and creating social and political

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[54] LRA would punish defectors by going to their villages and killing them together with their relatives and village members

[55] The bush/ *(olum)* or wilderness, a place in Acholi culture that is considered a realm beyond humanity (Baines, 2017, p. 13).

conditions of liveable lives" (Butler, 2009. p.23). The practice of responsibility reinforces the need of all bodies to be part of the world (Haraway, 2016). The implication of responsibility in the context of *living archive as pedagogy* lends sharp focus on the bodily language of the Acholi or Wanjiku to achieve a flourishing of becoming- with the other (Haraway, 2016).

Responsibility in light of Ociju and Evelyn Amony's narrative, as argued by Bozalek and Zembylas (2017), probes us to think "what we know and how we know. What we would do in the context of what exists in the world that we are part of"(p.68), this is their framing of accountability or responsbility. Just consideration towards excluded bodies is an ongoing process that we cannot distance ourselves from or "assume innocence in our relationship with others" (p.68). Using Barad's apt elucidation of the same he notes;

> *What would it mean to acknowldge that the 'able-bodied' depend on the disabled for their very existence. What would it mean to take on that responsbility? What would it mean to deny one's responsbilty to the other once there is recognition that one's very embodiment is integrally entangled with the other* (Barad, 2007, p. 158).

In sharing the final thought for this section, responsibility emerging from entanglement of bodies is analysis that is obscured, when societal exclusion is addressed from legal, or reparation means. These measures also provide already very specific forms of transformation. Thus, bringing the practice of responsibility was to position an acceptance that we have distanced ourselves from knowing through bodies, that relational ontology has the capacity to respond and support transformative education, for all bodies if we enlarge each other's thinking and become "a complex world of living and dying" (Bozalek & Zembylas, 2017,p. 69).

7.5   LIVING ARCHIVE AS PEDAGOGY: SELF-HOOD PRACTICE FOR AFRICA

According to the findings of this study *Living archive as pedagogy* corroborates Derrida's refusal of narrow and limiting typologies of archives, given that archives are part of a symbolic system to fulfil the political function of preserving power and knowledge regimes (Bourdieu, 1993). The study's conceptualization and findings do affirm a newness of thought, connections, practice, and representation that was evidently missing in the course of this research. However, I shift to a few critical questions asked by scholars in the mid 1980's, surrounding the authenticity of Africa's intellectual project. Chiek Diop (1984) then asked, Have African philosophers participated in the construction of a new knowledge, the most advanced and most

exciting in our time? Kwasi Wiredu (1980, p.11), also asked does African philosophy content fit truth is opinion? Or have we arrived at "the logical principle of truth is a matter unknowable".

While the study is rooted in pedagogical aspiration, the Acholi and Wanjiku presence in complex "up againstness" consistently confirm how they know, a form of epistemology in post-atrocity settings. Answering the questions above, is not obligatory, but they center the concealed work of intellectual responsibility to the people. This means, there is an attached ethics to knowledge formation, "knowledge is simply not a right but a responsibility to care for others…the world" (N'Sengha, 2005, p.44). Martin Heidegger (1933/34) analyses intellectual responsibility as the responsibility to speak truth, which makes people certain, clear and strong in their action of knowledge. A crucial achievement of intellectual responsibility is for disciplines to have conversations with people and be of social and psychological significance (Jost, 2006).

The dissertation writing is done at a time when there is a move of African's fleeing extreme poverty, environment degradation, war, terrorism and poor governance in worst hit parts. These fleeing on foot, in dingy sea vessels, poor road networks to Europe, the Gulf and North America, signifies another emerging epistemological and archiving process from below. Wanjiku and the Acholi stand out as unique epistemological bearers, whose archive and pedagogy is a form of intellectual responsibility, urging authentic selfhood for the continent.

7.6   CONCLUSION

The chapter is a response to the three guiding research questions for the study, with the intent to know how to conceptualize a living archive, how to link the living archive and pedagogy for transformative education, and finally how living archive as pedagogy becomes a framing to explain Acholi's societal exclusion from the landscape of below. The chapter illustrates that the experience of living in Acholi's specific context of "up-againstness", is a tragic coercion of entering into infinite life threatening situations during the war and endless uselessness post-war (Acan, 2017; Amony 2015 & Apiyo, 2013). There exists in this context the desire to do social repair or reconstruction after the war, but this mandate is more useful if the Acholi in individual capacity have done self-reflexive work. A process of introspection, where their personhood "who am I", becomes more conscious of what re-organization, judgement would benefit a postcolonial (p'Bitek, 1973) Northern Uganda environ. This identity of 'Who am I"

in the study appears as *Dano adana*, an identity interconnected with others and working for humanity (*odoko dano*). So while transformative education paradigms, give goals of transforming our society to places of freedom, self-actualization, humanness. *Odoko dano* embodies all of these aspirations. Finally, the chapter alludes to the importance of responsibility, an area of great contention in post-conflict intervention and transformation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

IMPLICATIONS, POSSIBILITIES AND CONCLUSION

"I will return a stronger man [Acholi, Wanjiku]. This land is still my home".

(MR MAKHADO @rikyrickworld, 2022)

8.1   INTRODUCTION

To study at length what began as an abstract idea for research, the conceptualization of *living archive as pedagogy,* a form of knowledge shaped by debilitating and vicious history of war (Atkinson, 2009) opens up crucial re-entry to African philosophical work where Acholi and Wanjiku additionally become educators of philosophy done from the landscape of below, to give a new look to enduring pre-independence and post-colonial difficulties. As the study draws to a conclusion there has been a broad introspection of African life and thought. The structure of this chapter provides four areas of what I would consider as my ruminating arising from questioning how I would view the Acholi and Wanjiku differently were they temporarily in a form of stillness. Similar to the childhood game 'statue'! Where your playmates command you to be as still as a statue, they then proceed to make funny faces, tickle you, make jokes, pinch and poke. The winner of the game was the person whose stillness did not show any body language of trying so hard not to laugh, being in pain, getting irritated, or able to stay in frozen balance without falling to the sides for a couple of minutes.

I am not persuading any form of disrespect towards the Acholi and Wanjiku person/s, but rather respectively commanding for a short moment of deep stillness on their side, with no expressions and for a short while, they become a living statue that we can get close too. How differently would we encounter them in this transition? I argue that our seeing them is not from the perspective of a gaze or blindness, for this short time our focus would be to look at them, and in giving attention to the living statue, we will be likely pulled to look at some areas more than others, as if the living statue is whispering *look here*! The persuasion to *look here* is the framing I use to build on the closing possibilities and implications of the study. Through *look here!* I briefly revisit the tradition of archiving in an African context, and collectively the chapter can be read as directing us to more places of consciousness, seeing gaps, areas needing new speech, redescription or transformation.

8.2   LOOK HERE!

Look Here! In *living archive as pedagogy*, is the supposition that the Acholi and Wanjiku body is temporarily a living statue in stillness. We are likely to view the body from what is not familiar, or what makes the body look different. For instance, in looking at the living statue we will see the gorged eye/s, nose, missing limbs, or open wounds with heavy pus, that immediately capture our attention to *look here!* This shortens our separation (geographic location, time, distance) from Wanjiku and the Acholi; I assume in this deep stillness the *willing hearer* with an ethic of responsibility, opens up to more compassion, compulsion, and some form of rich connection- mercy, hope, anger, not in my name! Or, never again! *Look here* revisits human responses of hope, mercy among others as choices that are radical, that form part of critical pedagogy espoused in posttraumatic (Zembylas, 2013) and post-conflict contexts allowing for the Acholi, Wanjiku and the *willing hearer* to return to the place of precarity, terrible dilemma, and for a temporal while for humanity to know better and consistently do better.

Look here as a mode of learning from a still marked body, allows for a different conversation with Archive *Fever: A Freudian Impression* by Jacque Derrida (1994). In his work, he describes the running of the archive as the duty of a trusted archon, with vast knowledge of the law to interpret and protect documentation. His imagination of the archon is desirous of an able-bodied person, this is not his fault; the heir of the Eurocentric archive is not described as lacking in fullness and this applies to the original hijacked Greek archive. There is surgical tidiness of how to run the archive, as a historic public institution and one with direct influence and giving expectations how to do democracy or be democratic. Considering that, the archive symbolizes democratic spaces and institutions. Derrida's assumption of archiving and forms of learning from the archives as happening within democratic leadership may signal for a learning process that happens from a majority perspective. This is misleading, given that a differently abled archon in not so democratic spaces could possibly lead to non-popular opinions, and possibly antagonism. *Look here* sharply points to a reality of what is missed, denied, delayed in furthering different collaborations in archival work. Look here sharply gives us the impetus to rethink the authorization of certain bodies as archives, as institutional bodies and to be found in the heap of what is considered voiceless, but central in how society can have plural forms of people's living.

Derrida's theorization through the lens of *look here* is absent from the messiness of *living archive as pedagogy a* landscape of atrocities, sites for rituals or burials for a severed arm, leg, gorged out eye. The intersection between life and death, I elaborate as being alive, but parts of their missing body is buried, or lost in the bush where *cen* spirits dominate, and may harm or haunt the living body. It is extremely difficult to know if any individual or the living statue can reconcile with such loss. It also becomes difficult to explain this intersection, that may resemble "biopolitics" as theorized   by Agamben (1998) or Foucault (2008) both fail to show living in the form of death, neither does the theory of bare life adequately capture this dilemma from *look here*. Therefore, *look here* becomes symbolic of critical work in archiving and pedagogy, positions more firmly the *living archive as pedagogy* responsive in situations of incompleteness, in disability, in unfamiliarity rather than the abandonment of what is not desired.

8.3   GAZE/ BLINDNESS

Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and other ruins by Derrida (1990), problematizes our difficulty to see through blindness, and questions how we return to self and do a soul-search without sight (Derrida, 1990). To have sight in this context is to claim the position of being "the master of truth, the one who sees …guides the other towards the light" (Derrida, 1990, p.6). Using *look here* with compassion to see the temporal living statue, opens for Wanjiku and the Acholi to reclaim authentic self-hood and validate richer conceptual vocabularies of their empirical reality. However, it is not a guarantee that we can hear or read different expressions from below, given the normativity of blindness or monocular vision (Viatte &Michel, 1990, p.x) that renders knowing of the periphery as intelligible and part of residual category (Macamo,2021). Hence, *living archive as pedagogy*, is part of teaching and resisting epistemic injustice, through concepts and theorizing that persistently re-describe, and draw agency to building institutions informed by our own culture and history (Macamo, 2021).

Living archive as pedagogy, in addressing a knowledge gaze beyond archival work, deliberately communicates knowledge as a construction from where we speak (Acholi, Wanjiku, *willing hearers*) and we are seeking conditions to create a critical edge of truth, in this study it is through an archiving body. Knowledge concepts and theorizations need those in the periphery to position themselves as spokespersons of cultural and political entities existing by the strength of the world (Macamo, 2021). To challenge the gaze of epistemology and its consequent injustices, Macamo (2021) argues, that we need to shift from being interpreters of

the world; it sustains a hierarchy of being excluded as makers of the world. The shift from interpretation catalyzes and expands our speech, spaces of where we think into a realm of necessary possibilities of building together with others (Macamo, 2021). In finally addressing blindness as limiting Wanjiku and the Acholi as knowledge- bearers and pedagogues, their presence deeply confirms that we are all needing to do the work of what we do not know. Macamo (2021) argues it is what that we can no longer know, because of what we know that locks us in ignorance, a gaze intimately linked into our ways of knowing.

8.4   MISSING ARCHONS AND RESPONSIBILITY

Archiving structure as a modern institution of power is rarely placed as a site of loss or death, the alternate of a mausoleum is approved. This is so, because institutions convey the want to account for context, or frame lives, and shape the meaning of our actions (Burns, 2002) continually. Customarily the nature of loss in the archive is in the altered form of death drive, associated with the visibility or withdrawal of documents dependent on the archon's decision. The archive as a place of death is not a debate or possibility we encounter, and this prominently differentiates archiving done through Acholi and Wanjiku who will inescapably face permanent death in congruence with the cycle of life. This elevates possibilities to read archives as the loss of critical archons, who guide us to the return to traumatic experiences of social death, political interiority, capitalism, and racism within and from an African and diasporic archive(Mbembe, 2019). I defend the loss of an archon as activating our right to know/ remember or the right to forget a moral dilemma. I briefly explain this with the movement of #BlackLivesMatter, and in particular using the experience of George Floyd, whose death on May 25 2020 provoked protests around the world (Economist,2020). Derrida's reading of the archive as a place of moral dilemma, feels absent, giving that archiving is a copied tradition of civilization, or western modernity and their proclivity is to situate themselves as heirs (Gordon, 2014 & Derrida 1995). If the heir of these archives do not die, what happens to archives that look like George Floyd, how do we navigate not to forget and do the duty to remember.

Logically archon/s representing the willingness to forget frames "rewriting of history in ways that impoverish … insights not only anecdotal lives but also in the larger trends of history" (Baets , 2016, p. 57).   While an archon, representing remembrance, uses this position to remember what should not be forgotten (Mersky, 2016). The right to know or forget goes beyond the expectation of memorialization, trials, punishments, statues, but a revisit to troubled sites of genocides, massacres, wars or 'dark side' of modernity. These locations depending on

the undesirability of certain person-hoods fail to be epistemic sites, rendering erasure, de-membering, and lost archives, which effectively supports coloniality of knowledge (Falola, 2017).The contention of this particular section, is that a misising archon not actively remembered, opens us up to epistemicide, where indigenous cultures of Africa are totally erased (Ramose,2004). The *willing hearers* useful responsibility is one that should democratize the knowledge of the disqualified and unthinking (Kumalo, 2020).

Using Fricker's espousal of ethical intuition, my suggestion is for the *willing hearer* to connect with a forgotten archon in a manner, actively making their speech audible. I am cautious of the *willing hearer*, responding to a missing archon, by shifting their archives to heritage status, minimizing speech and knowledge to elite communities, centers, cities and modern cultures. For instance, the 1930 African Studies Library in the University of Cape Town that recently got burnt down in March 2021 (Stoltz, 2021). I use Fricker's (2007) tools of examination to read how we distance ourselves from an archon. She sharply identifies *hearers* counter evidence, that affects testimonial and hermeneutical injustices against the speaker, attributor, and other interlocutors (Dunne , 2020). In testimonial injustice the speaker is not believed, "or at very least a negligible credence is affixed to their words due to the *hearers* betraying a deep-seated prejudice, to reduce" (Dunne, 2020,p.2) "the speaker to a degraded qua knower and symbolically a degraded qua human" (Fricker, 2007, p.44). With these, the speaker is introduced to the status of sub-knower where accompanying micro-aggressions of disbelief, inattentiveness, doubt, and strips the speaker of agency. Hermeneutically, the worst possibility is "epistemic death" (Medina, 2017), when the speaker is radically denied of "conceptualization, interpretation, which is a form of self-worth, agency, meaning- making and meaning –sharing capacities" (Dunne, 2020, p.6).

8.5   THE PAST OF ARCHIVING AND THE ARCHIVE TODAY

Archival work in the continent has four major phases. One, the imperial archives, that exists as correspondence material of the colonial government in the shape of, administration reports, legislature, finance, lands, railway, police and the like. Uganda has one of these earliest archives from 1906 in the continent. The second phase was the African cradled archive, propelled by the decolonization wave of the rise of African nationalism (Curtin , The Archives of Tropical Africa: A Reconaissance , 1960). These archives were written by Africa's first historians serves as the preservation of national history, affirm "Africa's objectivity, … African history alongside European history and to make independent African states coequal members

of an international community" (Peterson & Macola , 2009, p. 4). Eurocentric lens and colonialism interpreted the absence of written archives, or existing archives without their sanctioned methodology as a dark continent, a place without history, and not existing (Roper, 1963).

Third, archiving through the soi-distant historian, who wrote in vernacular language and confronted colonial government literacy (Peterson & Macola, 2009). Their archive exuded liberalism; they had become the subaltern intellectuals shaping Africa's modern political history and intellect (Glassman , 2010), while invoking the decolonization ideology to restore autonomy to the Africans (Afolayan , 2012). Fourth, a generation of homespun archivists and non-historian professionals who tapped into the orality of their communities and were intent to connect with the citizens of the newly independent states. They used patriotic performances of songs, riddles, revised short stories, creative theatre plays and writings to shape the behaviour and expectation of a patriotic citizen, who demonstrates moral respectability, observes stern discipline, and where women need to appear as decent wives with obedient children (Peterson & Macola, 2009). Their content built the repository of "collective consciousness and patriotic truth" (Platt, 2012, p. 23) useful in creating the image of the patriae [father of the nation/ founding father], which is the representation of patriarchies (Peterson & Macola, 2009), and patriarchal hegemony in private and public space.

Living archive as pedagogy has in it layers of how the four archiving generations dialogue with the Acholi and Wanjiku, and largely there still exists, complex- sensitive political work, undone, delayed, incomplete and silenced. The presence of African oral archives and their impact on this study, prove the burden of validating the "continent as having respectable precolonial history, and redeeming themselves from being perceived as undisciplined, rebellious and irresponsible child of documentary history" (Moss & Mazikana, 1986, p. 2). With every oral African tradition, there lies a specific kind of speech; which I establish briefly. The West African *griot*, 13th Century Malinke Empire (Senegal, Timbuktu, Mali and Côte d' Ivoire) (de Souza , 2016), is the teller of truth and the archive of mankind's memory (Stennet, 2019). Sankofa archive among the Akan's people in Ghana, calls for the fetching the good in the past, or to fetch what you have forgotten, as not being taboo (Doaks, 2013). South Africa's Credo Mutwa a high *Isanuse/* a new age Shaman who created esthetic archives with authentic religious work by reformulating enduring motifs of human, mythical, alien and reptile forms.

His archives were a representation of African indigenous and religious authenticity (Chidester , 2002).

I offer that Wanjku and the Acholi be possibly considered as additional descriptors, speaking to a dual body of victim and oppressor through the 'quest for health'. The latter is explained by Tabensky, to be against violent oppression and the exploitation from exploration (2008, p.291). The confrontation of this gaze through the quest for health possibly provides direction towards re-configuring of the body to be clear and strong in the speech of political pain, guilt, human misery, and consequences of justice (Hart, 2000) as part of archive obligation to the society. This possibility expands ethical care of the archive (Derrida, 2002), where Wanjiku as a conceptualization becomes part of mainstream transformation discourse (Harris, 2002). Whose life through the lens of quest of health impacts on *living archive as pedagogy*, as a preparation for an important journey of facing 'death', closure and the return to life to enlighten (Mbembe, 2002) our times.

8.6 LIMITATIONS

Living archive as pedagogy draws us close to the body of the Acholi and Wanjiku in their context of living from below and "up-againstness". Through the study, we experience their commanding negotiation of self-hood as a form of liberation, agency, human dignity, and historization taking place through body that serves as a version of their archive. To sustain this, their practically needs engagement with various social institutions to reduce the production of difference- that undermines them in the forms of discrimination, inequality, conflict, exclusion among other social material conditions (Febvre, 2008). The scope of the study separates itself from examining issues of governance, institutionalism, and civil society procedures. Consequently, the study is unable to respond to the pressing questions and politically sensitive issues of reconciliation, reparations, truth regimes, delayed implementation of transitional justice and de-politicization of opposition politics.

This research is limited, the study explores a particular intimate war (Maliti, 2017), and further conceptualizes Wanjiku who exists within a given geographical and political context. The experiences of the Acholi, Wanjiku may resonate more for studies done within the post-conflict

Grate Lakes region[56], however these different contexts and the reliance of interpretive hermeneutics limits wholesome generalizations of findings, to other contexts. Nevertheless, there are certain parallels or transferable ideas that can be borrowed from this study, as part of extending dialogue or new horizons that link pedagogy and archiving in post atrocity.

8.7   CONCLUSION OF STUDY

The study *Living archive as pedagogy:* A Case Study of Northern Uganda is a body of work with three designated possibilities. One, to situate itself as a conceptualization, two, to link archiving and pedagogy and three, elucidate how identities of exclusion, in this case the Acholi and Wanjiku use their context of landscape from below and "up-againstness" for transformative education. The choice for a conceptual approach addresses the normative bias made by post-war disciplines in excluding from below identities in dominant knowledge formation. This is through misrepresentation, omission, non-recognition, and reduction of their being (Taylor, 1995). The study is an engagement with an epistemically delinked Acholi/Wanjiku, whose humanity is disengaged, institutionally neglected and distorted (Kim, 2017).

The research builds itself from a place of difficult and different knowledge. Difficult to imply trying to know despite the impossibility (Agathangelou, 2017) or engaging with traumatic experiences and their consequences (Zembylas & Bekerman, 2018). I position the study as different, due to the foregrounding of a living body to become an archive that tells conditions for resisting oppression, self-understanding, representation and the desire to liberate themselves in the "unspeakable, forbidden and dangerous" (Casper & Wertheimer, 206, p.56). Through this archiving process, we encounter the Acholi as they name and interpret their experiences (Kozel, 2017; Baumgramer, 2018) as new types of archons, with undesirable political body and threshold, resisting political conditions that deny them liveable lives or the right to life (Butler, 2009).

The Acholi's archive is mobile, revisiting active experiences from the landscape from below; the Acholi become a different archon who disrupts the tradition of archiving as mainly document based sieved through a credibility measure as determined by the judgment of a

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[56]Great Lakes region maps countries that have almost faced total collapse of the state due to violence. The countries include Uganda, Western Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and Northeast of Democratic Republic of Congo.

professional body, institution, government or academic discipline. The *living archive as pedagogy* enacts critical engagement on how we come to terms with knowledge that is difficult to recognize or to come to terms with (Sandlin, Schultz, & Burdick, 2010) but also provides an opportunity to have knowledge about ourselves (Falola, 2017) within our places of struggle.

The study's immersion in pedagogy of revolution by Amílcar Cabral accentuates the aspiration to achieve a second liberation post- independence; a reality desired by many excluded and invisible identities of the global south. Through this theorization, the second liberation becomes an emancipatory ideal (Darder, Baltodgno, & Torres, 2003) giving radical impetus for the marginalized to return to humanity (Pataskeva, 2019), to re- read and rehistoricise themselves. From an Acholi epistemic orientation, pedagogy is the dome that explains the sense of self/ who I am? Consequently, contemporary forms of learning and teaching need not be isolated from Acholi's orality and cultural work (p'Bitek, 1973). This is because *who I am*, connects too, from *where I think* (Mignolo, 2009) *and from where we speak* (Moya, 2011). Collectively this makes Acholi's pedagogy part of the broader critical revision work needed to diminish hegemonic normativity that "reveal antagonist and ambivalent moments of modernity" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 171).

Living archive as pedagogy, confirms the notion of transformation on a number of different accounts. For instance, the expression *I am what I am* from Autobiographies of Dailiness, and part of the studies conceptualized archiving demonstrates Acholi's acknowledgement of grievous body, physiological, emotional and environmental harm in the public arena, while trying to preserve themselves. To achieve any transformative work and learning, within the lens of this study, the Acholi invite us to their cultural socialization process, to do the joint work of making humanity *(odoko dano)* and for the individual to strive to be human *(dano adana)*. Acholi and Wanjiku encounter us, as a willing *'hearer'* open to hear new forms of dialogue and horizon. Through the study, they center the agency of the willing reader and hearer to be part of transformative work. Epistemic closure is part of this call, where we depart from moments of presumable complete knowledge of them, that legitimizes our speaking about them and at best ordering them (Gordon, 2015). This transformative mandate necessitates that we do the work of having knowledge about ourselves by ourselves (Falola, 2017), and for society to be in dialogue with itself (Okeja, 2019).

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ADDENDUM 1: LIFE MAPS[57]

Where we walked and what happened	
Place	**Narrative**
Northern Uganda	
Te-Kilak/ Kilak Hills	Main LRA sick bay
Atiak	Food looting from the trading centers
Position	"LRA term to refer to temporary permanent base where LRA rested" (Amony, 2015, p.19). This place had an established defense and hospital in the bush
Kilak- River Aswa	Walked in hiding for 171 Km[58]
River Aswa	Drowning place A lot of LRA abducted persons drowned
Palabek	People looked like dead rats in reference to LRA members due to hunger and thirst. "*You moved in brigades- in straight line called rail-24* *If you had to relieve yourself, you had to ask permission from the officer, and he had to accompany you. If you tried to relieve yourself without permission, you were beaten and sometimes killed.* *At times, I could hear people being beaten to death in the bush as I passed them on the rail-24.* *Most of the children I moved along the rail with died of cholera, hunger, or thirst. Others died when they fell behind on the rail. In the morning, you could wake up and find your friend had died in the night. They would look as if they were asleep. They resembled edible rats that had died from poison*". (Amony, 2015, p.24- 25). "*People in Uganda said that the LRA abducted their children and exchanged them with guns in Sudan, but the truth is they died of cholera. Many children died*" (Amony, 2015, p. 25).

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[57] **Life Maps**: This comes from the data where the researcher notes every geographical place mentioned by the abductees and what happened in this place. This is map representing where they appear, the consequence of a formulaic life, and other complex in-betweens as discussed in the data and analysis chapter six.
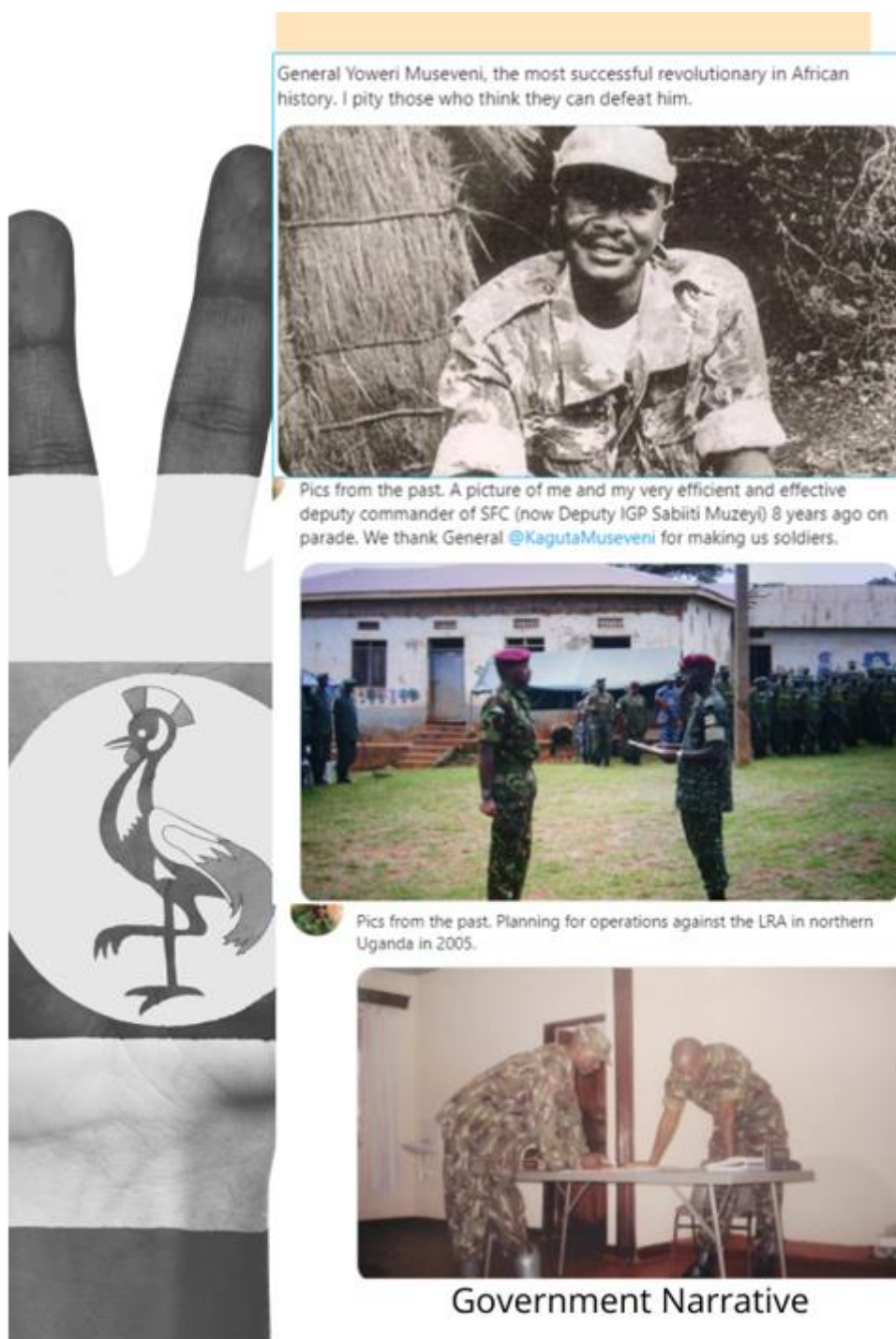
[58] Distance estimation from Google Maps, source of information from various secondary data read

Former Sudan	
Where we walked and what happened	
Luwudu	LRA base in Sudan
	People died like nothing
	LRA military training (cleaning guns, fire guns, dismantle, re-assemble) this was mandatory training for LRA
	Monday – Thursday Marching drills
	Friday gun training (clean, fire, dismantle, assemble)
Torit	Carry ammunition/ tin to Torit
	LRA military supplies and food provided by the Khartoum government to destabilize SPLA
Gong	"Flat place with no food" (Amony, 2015, p.27).
Palutaka	LRA captured this base from SPLA. It had hospitals, streets, airfield and houses with iron roofs
River Kinte	
Atebi River	"I removed his guns, gumboots and clothing. You know in order to prove to LRA commanders that you have fought, you have to charge" (take items belonging to the soldiers you killed) (Amony, 2015, p. 29-30).
	Evelyn Amony's recollection of how she got her first military fatigue in the battle of Owiny- Ki-Bul, it was a revenge attack from SPLA who had lost their military base to LRA.
Owiny-ki-Bul	"Dogs carried parts of dead people…
	You can't eat if you are not strong" (Amony, 2015, p.30)
Katusa *	Katusa is the weapon used for shooting an airplane
	Gun training from the mine
	Air bombs that killed more than 300 people
	Mass graves for Arab private soldiers and LRA the Khartoum government accidently dropped the antinobs on their own military and LRA proxy.
Katusa – Kitgum in Uganda	Walked 180km
Aruu Uganda – Juba in Sudan	Walked 345km

Aruu, Gong, Palutaka, Nicitu, Juba, Hematong and other places in Sudan	"When you were abducted it was not nice to be a woman," (Apiyo, 2013,p.9)
Juba	*"Sr. Rakelle in 1996 came looking for Aboke Girls* *After Sister Rakelle left, some us begin to think. We wondered if we were not important because the Sister looked only for Aboke girls, not us. All of us were abducted, but no one followed us up to Sudan to find us. Why were the Aboke girls followed? Were they the only who were useful? Who had blood in their veins? We talked a lot about this afterward, about why no one looked for us. We concluded that children who had some education were more important than us"* (Amony, 2015, p.45).
Isore Mt- Agore	Farm work/farm fields The abducted would sow plants in large fields during the night to avoid being killed by UPDF
Agoro- Anyima	Walked
Rubangatek	The wild fire that killed Kony's first wife Fatima and favourite son Kony "A wildfire had spread so fast it had burned everyone in its path (Amony, 2015, p 72). Python kept entering the tent they were attracted by the smell. Their wounds had began to rote. For alternative treatment, python fats were used by the LRA as ointment for wounds and body swelling.
Imatong	One of the highest mountains in South Sudan
Koo	Children in the LRA fell to their death, their bodies remain at the bottom forever 78
Birinyang	Abduction of Kony's children by UPDF end July 2004

Northern Uganda	
Where we walked and what happened	
Palabek	This was the receiving area set-up by local and international NGO's welcoming and integrating LRA members who had escaped.
	UPDF also set- up to get intel from the LRA members who had escaped.
	Evelyn Amony escaped from LRA in 2004
	Culturally there were cleansing ceremonies for the returning LRA to appease spirits of the people they had killed, and for general protection.
Ayuwai River	Kony was shot and one of his wife died later from a gun shot
Paludar	Interrogation by the UPDF for intel
Democratic Republic of Congo	
Where we walked and what happened	
Garamba –Congo	"LRA had left Sudan and were now in Garamba
	If I remained in the Congo, I would die as many mothers had" (Amony, 2015, p.116).
	July, September & November 2006 peace negotiation

ADDENDUM 2: Recreating Pictorial Archive Understanding different Narratives [59]

General Yoweri Museveni, the most successful revolutionary in African history. I pity those who think they can defeat him.

Pics from the past. A picture of me and my very efficient and effective deputy commander of SFC (now Deputy IGP Sabiiti Muzeyi) 8 years ago on parade. We thank General @KagutaMuseveni for making us soldiers.

Pics from the past. Planning for operations against the LRA in northern Uganda in 2005.

Government Narrative

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[59] 3 Tweet messages posted in Feb- March 2020, from a soldier who fought LRA since 1986.

ADDENDUM 3: How I appear, where I am placed

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61

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[60] Picture taken from attending a mobile museum in Kampala, 2015, during the International African Transitional Justice 4. Artist unknown, a few paint modifications done by the researcher.

[61]The Lukodi Painting (2000) was done by Alit Ambara an international artist from Indonesia, his global paintings are both social advocacy and political statements calling for freedom of expression in extreme political crisis.

ADDENDUM 4: Am I Desired in Third Public Spaces [62]

Sep 9
"YOU CAN HAVE OUR STORIES, THEN WHAT.."? War reparation questions, one you can't fail to come across when engaging Ugandan victims of political violence in Uganda. Now documenting Estate Village, UNLA Massacre, Arua.

· Nov 12
"The war is not over because Kony is still alive in the jungles of C.A.R, economic livelihoods of war survivors and Victims hasn't been adiguately

May 27, 2020
Justice delayed is justice denied #TransitionalJusticeUg

May 27, 2020
In the context of Uganda, not much has been done to respo victims' needs and they continue to wait which is frustrating victims have lost their lives in the process of waiting. #TransitionalJusticeUg twitter.com/RosebellK/stat...

Aug 11, 2020
Uganda is deeply wounded by injustice, fear,war, prejudice,hatred & falsification of its history by successive regimes. For national unity, stability and reconciliation, appropriate TJ process that includes acknowledgement of sources of past injustices is vital now!
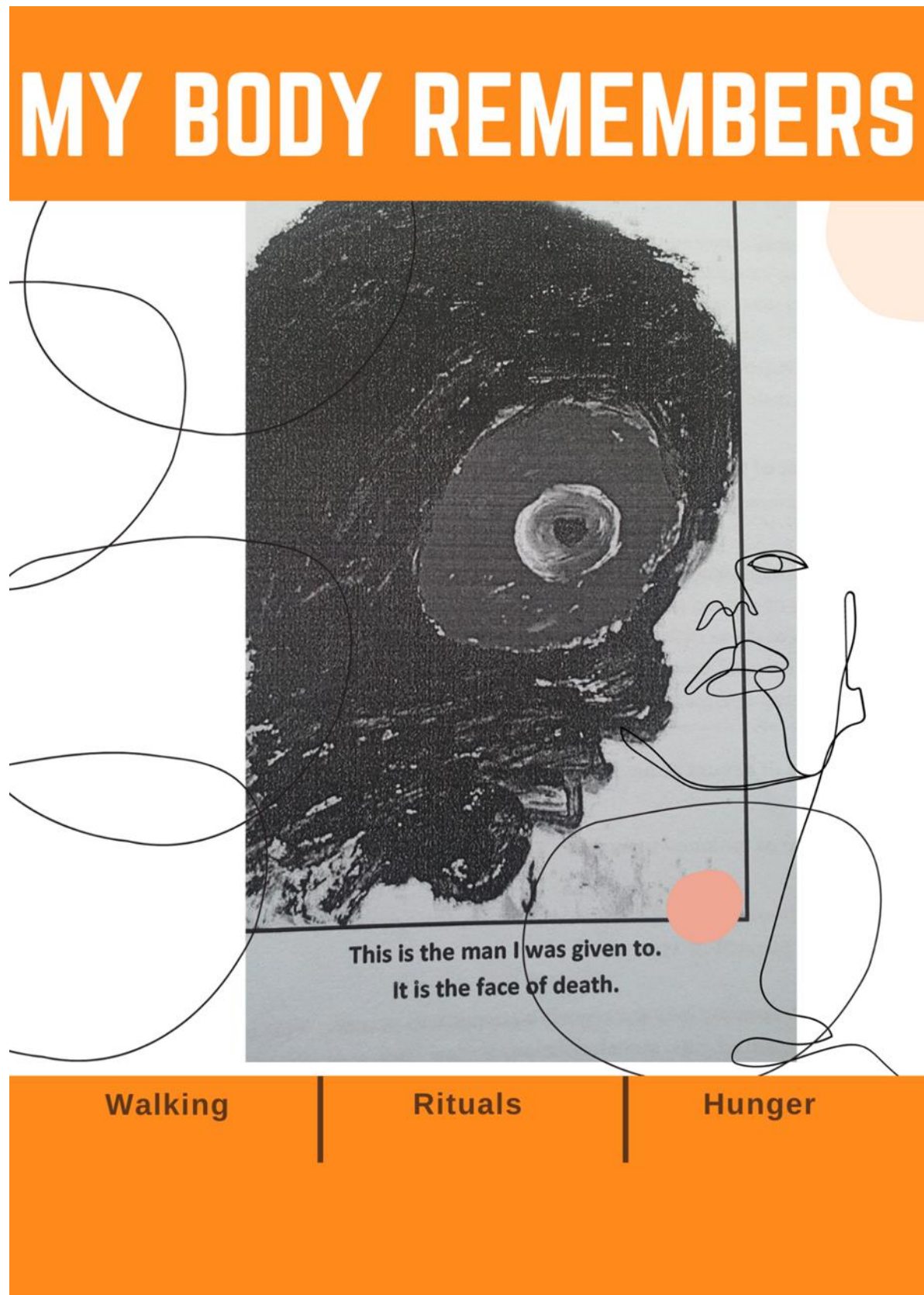
Oct 24
"Never detach yourself from history, or it will catch-up with you unpleasantly" A personal motivation, 10 years works Preserving Uganda's National Triumphs and Violent History supported by the living past with us!

· May 27, 2020
Through my work I have interacted with people who look at TJ as a northern Uganda issue because of LRA conflict and thus look at the policy in the same way.
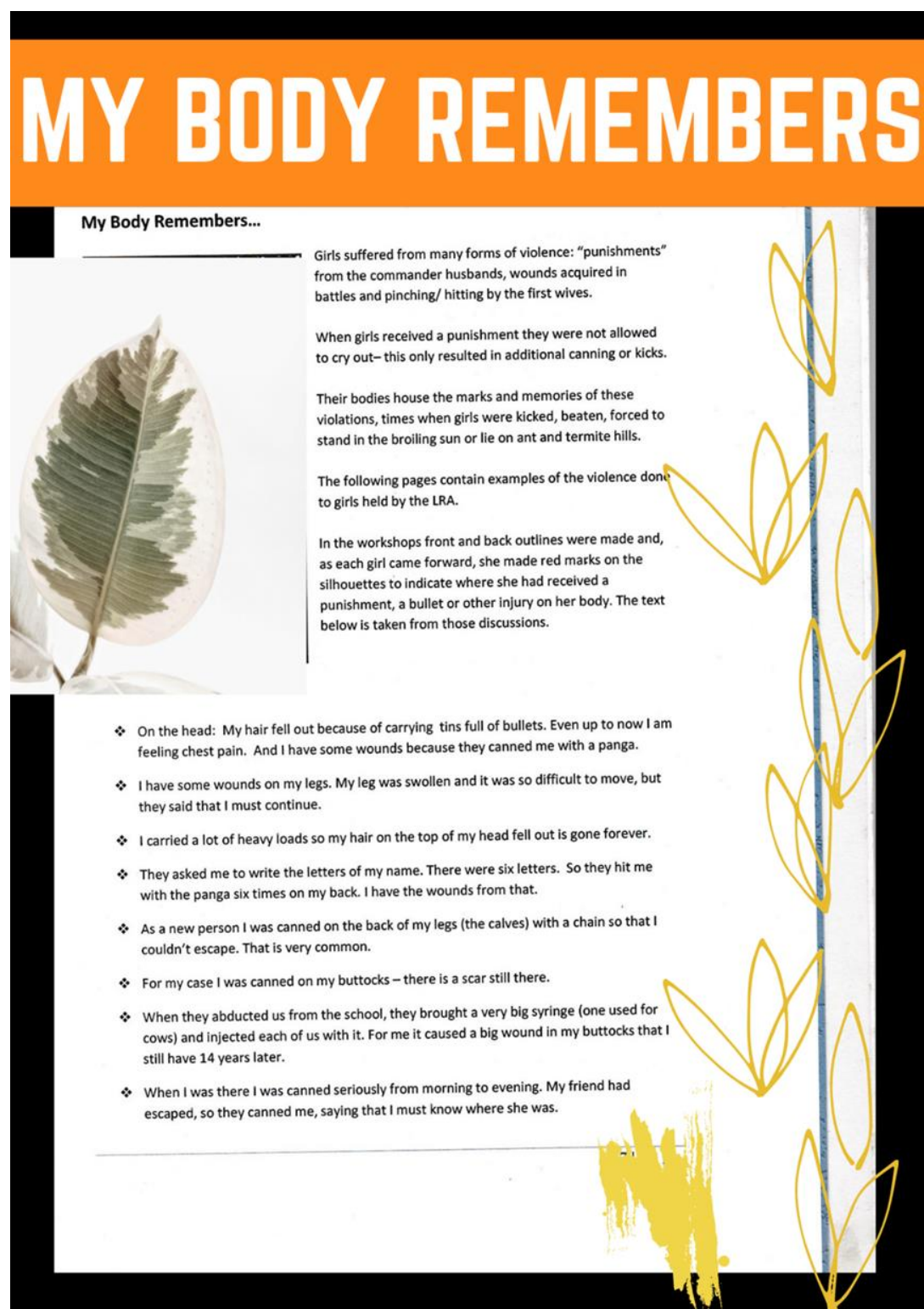
Public Questions and Feelings

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[62] Above are twitter messages posted in 2020 that actively discuss the impact of the war in present day.

ADDENDUM 5: Portraits of Wounding[63]

ADDENDUM 6 Portrait of Wounding and How it Remembers[64]

MY BODY REMEMBERS

My Body Remembers...

Girls suffered from many forms of violence: "punishments" from the commander husbands, wounds acquired in battles and pinching/ hitting by the first wives.

When girls received a punishment they were not allowed to cry out– this only resulted in additional canning or kicks.

Their bodies house the marks and memories of these violations, times when girls were kicked, beaten, forced to stand in the broiling sun or lie on ant and termite hills.

The following pages contain examples of the violence done to girls held by the LRA.

In the workshops front and back outlines were made and, as each girl came forward, she made red marks on the silhouettes to indicate where she had received a punishment, a bullet or other injury on her body. The text below is taken from those discussions.

❖ On the head: My hair fell out because of carrying tins full of bullets. Even up to now I am feeling chest pain. And I have some wounds because they canned me with a panga.

❖ I have some wounds on my legs. My leg was swollen and it was so difficult to move, but they said that I must continue.

❖ I carried a lot of heavy loads so my hair on the top of my head fell out is gone forever.

❖ They asked me to write the letters of my name. There were six letters. So they hit me with the panga six times on my back. I have the wounds from that.

❖ As a new person I was canned on the back of my legs (the calves) with a chain so that I couldn't escape. That is very common.

❖ For my case I was canned on my buttocks – there is a scar still there.

❖ When they abducted us from the school, they brought a very big syringe (one used for cows) and injected each of us with it. For me it caused a big wound in my buttocks that I still have 14 years later.

❖ When I was there I was canned seriously from morning to evening. My friend had escaped, so they canned me, saying that I must know where she was.

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[63] Portrait done by an LRA returnee during a training session in 2012 facilitated by Watye Ki Gen & CAP International (Watye Ki Gen & CAP International, 2012, p.19).

[64] Notes from LRA returnees as documented in a training session facilitated by Watye Ki Gen & CAP International, (Watye Ki Gen & CAP International, 2012, p. 67).

ADDENDUM 7: Portrait of Wounding and How it Remembers in Regions of East Africa [65]

BODY

REMEMBERS

IN REGIONS OF

Uganda, Sudan, DRC, CAR

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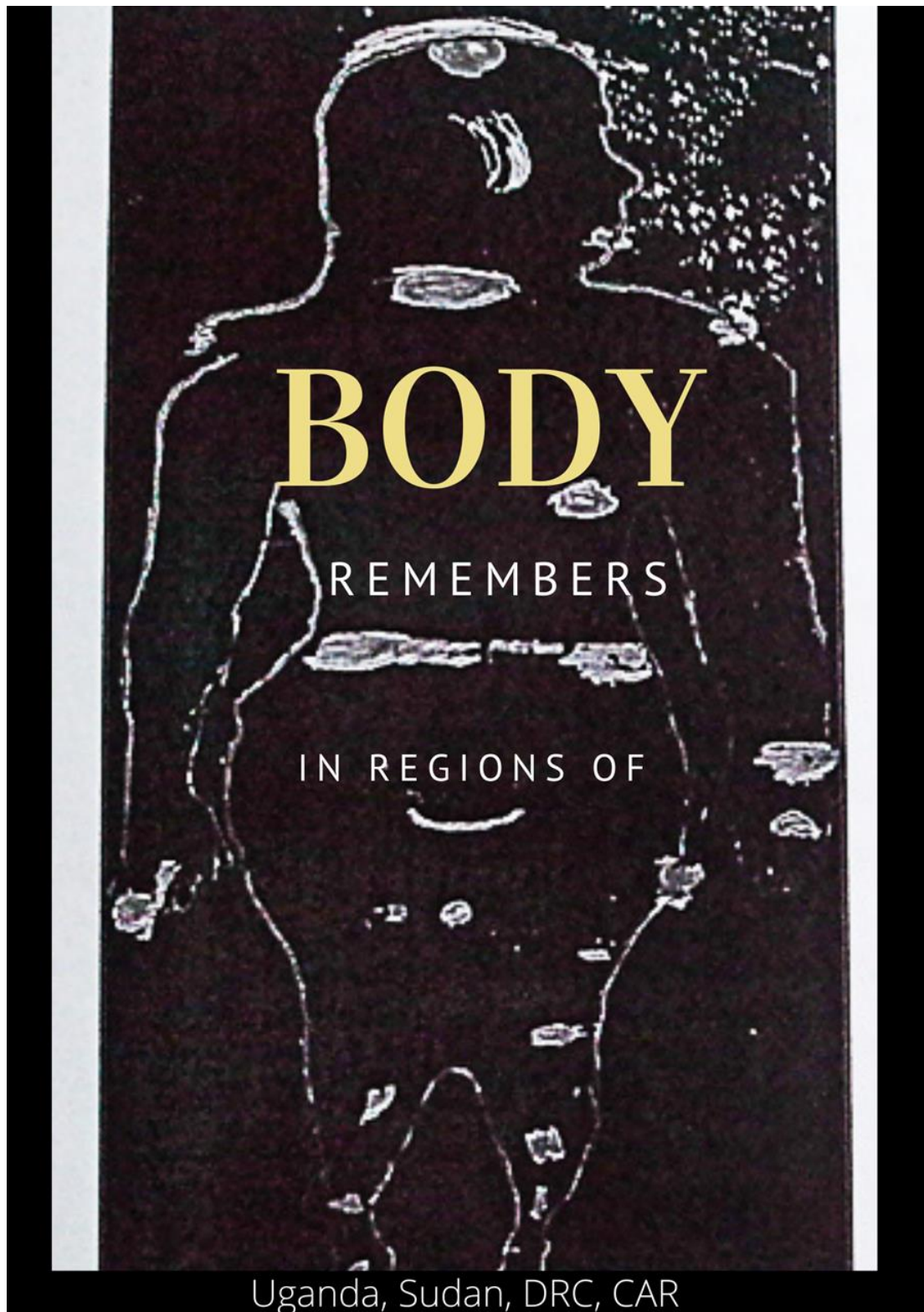
[65] Portrait by LRA returnee during a training session in 2012 facilitated by Watye Ki Gen & CAP International (Watye Ki Gen & CAP International, 2012, p.67).

ADDENDUM 8: LRA Presence in Northern Uganda and other Neighboring Districts 1986- 2008

The map shows Acholiland (Gulu, Kitgum, Pader) and other non-Acholi districts affected by the war.

From the map there are two groups of Acholi those in Acholiland but also the Acholi in Sudan separated by the national boundaries. With the dire war situation in South Sudan, many of the Acholi in Sudan informally reintegrate with the Acholi of Uganda[66].

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[66] Map sourced from Wikipedia. Retrieved 25 November 2021 from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Acholi_people

ADDENDUM 9: LRA's Presence in the Pole of Inaccessibility
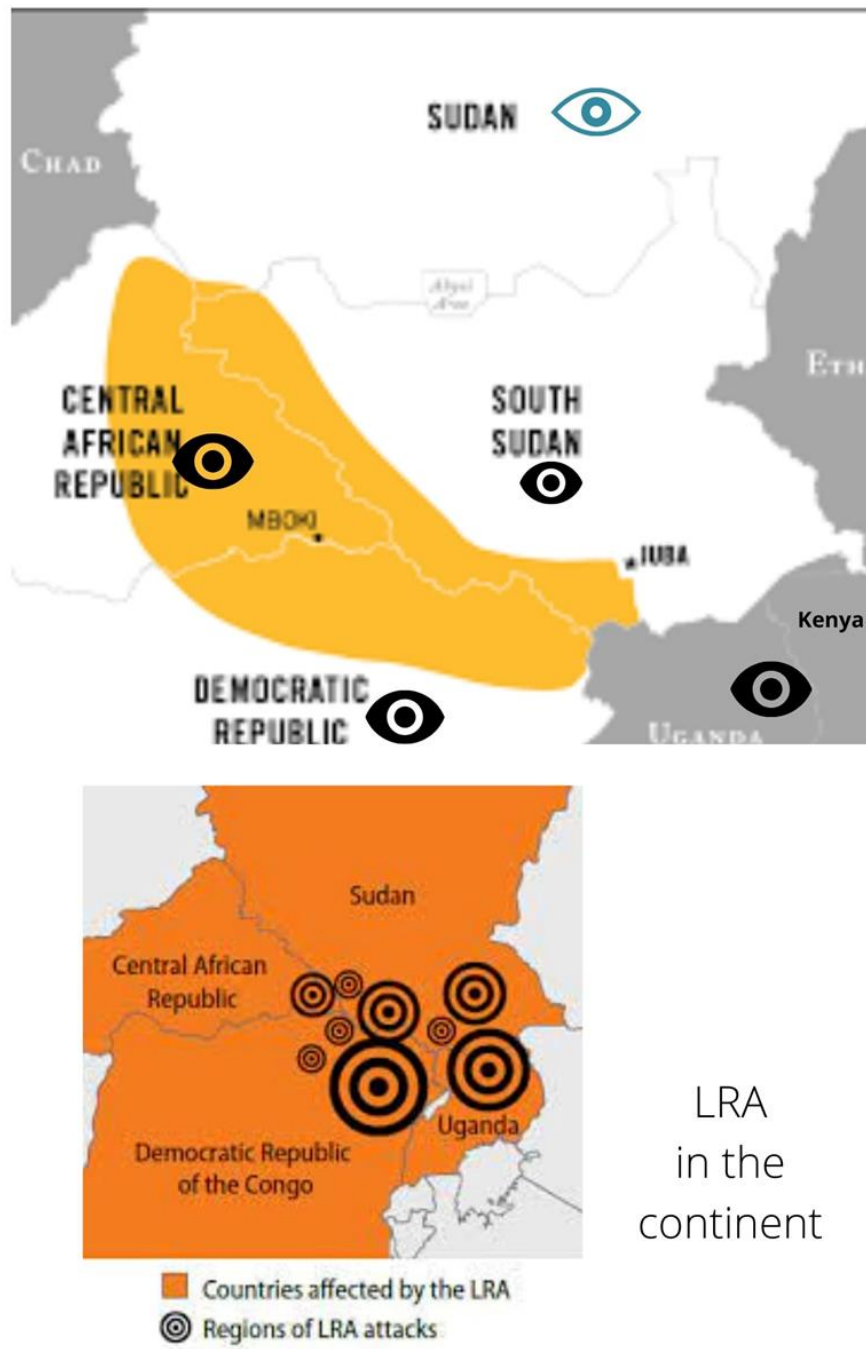
The LRA over the years has retreated to the Africa's pole of inaccessibility, areas that remain extensively remote and challenging to reach in South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Central African Republic. However, they still make attacks, and abductions in their areas of interest. Their last reported attack was in the DRC in May of 2020.

ADDENDUM 10: Key Political Timelines

Year	Details
1843	Arab traders arrive in Buganda for ivory and slave trade Introduction of guns
1875	Arrival of British Explorer H.M. Stanley to Buganda and the Nile, later advocates for the abolishing of slavery in the Nile and East Coast, mainly to favor the British Empire interests
1899-1884	Anglo- Egyptian Sudan Empire *An- loco-li*
1893-1962	Buganda becomes a protectorate of the British Empire
9 October 1962	Uganda becomes a member of Commonwealth of Nations Uganda's independence from Britain through ballot box First Prime Minister Dr Milton Apollo Obote
November 1963	Sir Edward Mutesa II elected first ceremonial president Was the Kabaka/ King of Buganda, the largest historic kingdom
15 April 1966	Dr Milton Obote self-appoints himself as president of Uganda and abolishes all historic kingdoms Uganda is declared a republic
21 November 1969	Sir Edward Mutesa II first president of Uganda dies in London, He had been in exile for three years and 6 months for his critic over Milton Obote's regime
January 1971	Military coup by Idi Amin Dada
1971- 1979 1972,74, 75, 76 & 79	Idi Amin Dada rule referred to as the reign of terror 300, 000 Ugandans lost their lives through indiscriminate and extrajudicial killings Mutinies in the army All Asian people especially the Indian were expelled from the country
1978-1979	Uganda Tanzania war, Idi Amin wanted to expand Uganda territorially by infringing on Tanzania's sovereignty
1979	Uganda- Tanzania war, Idi Amin is ousted and goes to exile in Libya, he later moved to Saudia Arabia

1980	Dr Milton Obote reinstated as president
	500,000 Ugandan people died through an ongoing liberation in Luwero and insecurity by government
1981-1986	Ugandan Bush War/ Uganda Civil War/ Luwero War
	Yoweri Museveni involved in this combat as a military person
27 July 1985	Dr Milton Obote toppled over by Juanta Military
1985- 1986	Tito Okello as president, return of military rule in Uganda
January 1986	The National Resistance Army capture Kampala city
January 1986	Tito Okello ousted by National Resistance Army
29 January 1986	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni is inaugurated as president of Uganda
March 1986	NRA captures Gulu, Kitgum and defeats the Acholi soldiers
	Gulu is the main city of Northern Uganda
1993	Yoweri Museveni restores traditional kingdoms in the country, on condition that they are without political power
1993	Arrival of LRA into Sudan to seek refuge from the fighting in Northern Uganda
1994 – 2002	LRA as proxy force to Khartoum Government to destabilize Southern Sudan and fight Sudan People's Liberation Army(SPLA)
1994	LRA receives military training in Juba with emphasis on jungle and anti-ambush tactics
3 June 1996	Tito Okello dies, he had been granted amnesty by Yoweri Museveni which enabled him to return to Uganda from exile
2000	Uganda Amnesty Act
	• Provides blanket amnesty to rebels or any Ugandan citizen who renounces rebellion and give up arms, from 16 January 196-2000
	• Institutional support in reconciliation, reintegration and resettlement
2002	SPLA, UPDF & UNMIS (joint military offence) against LRA
2002	Operation Iron Fist I
	Agreement signed in both Kampala and Khartoum to authorize UPDF to pursue and attack LRA in Aru Junction
16 August 2003	Death of Idi Amin in Saudi Arabia

29 January 2004	Yoweri Museveni asks International Criminal Court (ICC) to investigate LRA crimes against humanity
2005	LRA moved to Democratic Republic of Congo
27 September 2005	ICC issues warrant of arrests for Joseph Kony and other top four LRA officials
10 October 2005	Death of Dr Milton Apollo Obote in South Africa, he had been in exile in Kenya and Zambia after his ousting in 1985
4 December 2006	Joaquim Chissano former president of Mozambique (1985-2006) appointed by the UN Secretary- General Kofi Annan to represent him in Northern Uganda and South Sudan
2006- 2008	Juba Peace Talks to end longest insurgency in Africa
April 2008	Joseph Kony refuses to sign the final Juba Peace talk agreement
14 December 2008	Operation Lightening Thunder begins attacks in Garamba-DRC Troops from Uganda, South Sudan and DRC
2008	LRA has been on the run in CAR, DRC and South Sudan since
2009 March	Thomas Kwoyelo a Senior LRA commander abducted as a child by LRA, is captured in active battle in Garamba Hills in DRC by UPDF. His trial by Uganda's International Crime Division (ICD) is far from conclusion, due to lack of funding and COVID-19 lockdowns. He has 93 charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity under the Uganda penal code. This includes willful killing, enslavement, torture, taking hostages, sexual violence and extensive destruction of property in Gulu and Amuru. His custody is in Gulu- Northern Uganda (Lubowa, 2018).
2008-2010	Operation Lightening Thunder joint military forces of Uganda, DRC, South Sudan to fight LRA
9 July 2011	Independence of South Sudan
22 November 2011	African Union (AU) Peace and Security Council establish Regional Cooperation Initiative for the elimination of LRA (RCI-LRA)
24 March 2012	AU launched RCI-LRA military component troops 5,000 from Uganda, South Sudan, DRC, CAR
18 September 2012	2,000 Ugandan troops and 500 South Sudan troops added to RCI-LRA
21 May 2013	Uganda becomes the first African state to publish a comprehensive Transitional Justice Policy Draft

2015	Dominic Ongwen surrenders himself to the US Special Forces after a fractious relationship with Joseph Kony in CAR. He was abducted as a child by LRA and become one of the top five commanders in LRA.
6 December 2016	LRA commander Dominic Ongwen Trial by ICC starts
2017	Parliament removes the age limit for presidential candidates
19 April 2017	Ugandan government announces withdrawal of its 2,500 troops from CAR
February 2019	Adoption of the African Union Transitional Justice Policy (AUTJP) a model and mechanism for AU member states to deal with legacies of overt conflict
	Authorizes AU to intervene in case of mass atrocities, grave human rights abuses, crimes against humanity and genocide in member states (African Union , 2019).
17 June 2019	Uganda's official adoption of the National Transitional Justice Policy(NTJP)
August 2020	55 attacks and 163 abductions in villages of CAR, Congo and South Sudan
18 November 2020	The arrest of opposition leader Bobbi Wine causes deadly protests in Kampala, police use extreme force on civilians where dozens are wounded and several die.
	The violence on this day, felt to local civilians a day of massacre. Regulation of local media by government is tightened.
January 2021	Severe oppression of opposition political leaders by government
14 January 2021	Uganda's General Election (Election is every five years)
6 May 2021	The ICC sentences Dominic Ongwen to 25 years of imprisonment, for a litany of war crimes against humanity in Uganda. The 45 year old was found guilty of 61 charges including murders, rapes, sexual enslavement and reign of terror in the early 2000's. In his defense he said,
	"*I am before this International Court with so many charges, and yet Iam the first victim of child abduction. What happened to me I do not believe happened to Jesus Christ*". (Agencies, 2021)
12 May 2021	Inauguration of Yoweri Museveni for his sixth term since 1986
April 2021	UN Human Rights sounds alarm over widespread kidnappings, missing people, murders and brutal crackdown of opposition parties and their supporters since January. In particular supporters of Bobbi

	Wine, the President is of the view that the missing people are 'terrorists' planning anarchy in the country (Tih, 2021).
	The UN agency has asked for immediate thorough investigation and prosecution of human rights violations.

ADDENDUM 11: Immersion and Peer Engagement Webinars/ Seminars [67]

Date	Session	Facilitator/ Guest Speaker	Institution
2 March 2021	Poetry of the Rwandan Genocide	Juliane Okot Bitek	Simon Fraser University
11 March 2021	"We have always been there"; African Women, Agency and Resistance	Yolande Bouka	Queen University
18 March 2021	Lived Justice: Women's Senses of Justice and Reparations After Wartime Sexual Violence and Forced Marriage in Northern Uganda	Ketty Anyeko	University of British Columbia
24 March 2021	Film Discussion of LA Sierra, The Daily Life of War in Colombian Barrio	Margarita Martinez	
29 March 2021	Aesthetics of Memory, Narratives of Repair and Why Remorse Matters	Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela	Harvard Radcliffe Institute
1 April 2021	Narrating Victimhood: Ethical and Methodological Dilemmas	Roxani Krystalli	University of St Andrews
8 April 2021	Un/ Knowing War: Reflection on Lives Experiences	Erin Baines	University of British Columbia
27 May 2021	Remaining Human: Dignity and Repair in the Face of Trauma and Violence	Tsitsi Dangarembga	Stellenbosch University
8 June 2021	Africanizing/ Decolonizing	André Keet	Global Decolonial Centre
23 June 2021	Intimate Archives: Writing with Feminist Archives	Barbara Boswell Grace A Musila Pumla Dineo Gqola Makhosazana Xaba	

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[67] All the sessions were virtual.

ADDENDUM 12: Invitation Letter to Northern Uganda

Ms Munene Anne

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Republiek Van Suid-Afrika

16th May 2017

Dear Ms Munene,

With this letter kindly receive our extended invitation to The Justice and Reconciliation Project (JRP) in Gulu- Northern Uganda. We would be glad to enrich your doctoral academic work, ██

████████████████████.

The 14 days (19th- 30th June 2017) of your exploratory research visit is meant to induct you the work environ that would involve project visits, workshop attendance, involvement in the research desk, documentation of our work through JRP's periodicals, exchange to other civil society organizations within the network.

Kindly let us know of the materialization of your travel plans. We look forward to having you at JRP.

Yours Sincerely,

Isaac Okwiri
Team leader- Justice and Reconciliation Project

Exploratory Research Visit: 18th – 30th June 2017 in Gulu– Northern Uganda

I.   Preamble

Northern Uganda in Eastern Africa represents a significant spatial space with complexities of how to address grave atrocities committed by government and rebel groups since 1986– 2008. Further the experience of this war foregrounds thematic academic debates and multi–layered concerns of democratization, transitional justice, post–conflict recovery, political reconciliation, or ethnicity often interpreted by the lens of a dominant external conceptual frame.

The Justice and Reconciliation Project is a non– governmental working at the grassroots level since 2005 to date.

II.   Research Subject and Site

The Justice and Reconciliation Project (JRP) serves as the research subject for the study. The organization is based in the outskirts of Gulu town the main business center of Northern Uganda. Its geographical positioning is in the midst of the Acholi people and community who suffered the brunt of war largely. Gulu is also about 150km from the border of Uganda and South Sudan an entry and exist point for the Lords Resistance Army.

III.   Motivation for Exploratory Visit

My work experience as a ███████████ officer in 2013–2014 In Kampala– Uganda. Exposed me to the frustration of Civil Society in failing to lobby parliament to commit in having the National Transitional Justice Act endorsed into a Bill after its drafting in 2009. On the other hand, victims and survivors of Uganda's numerous prolonged conflict spread out in the country felt that the government had failed to recognize their existence and plight. While working in the city with Human Rights Network Uganda, an organization building the capacity and skills of most CSO in the country, I briefly interacted with organizations working in the transitional justice area. This two–week insertion will be a helpful immersion.

IV. Daily Schedule

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thur	Fri	Sat
		13 **Depart** BFN- JKIA	14 o 75km Nairobi-Thika o Book Bus Ticket to Kampala	15 o Travel Arrangement o Immigration	16 **Depart** o 654.69 km Nairobi-Kampala o Sleep over in Kampala	17 **Depart** o 334.7km Kampala – Uganda o Sleep over at Host
18 *Acclimatize Prep for JRP*	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	1 July Depart Gulu-Kampala
2 *Depart Kampala-Nairobi*	3 Depart Nairobi-Thika	4	5	6	7	8
9	10 Depart JKIA- BFN					