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Cover Page Footnote

This paper was originally presented at the 2nd annual International Conference on African Culture and Development in Accra, Ghana, on November 17, 2009.

The Art of Creative Conflict Resolution: A Critical Evaluation of Approaches to Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Northern Uganda

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The Acholi of northern Uganda, whose cultural heritage is rich in literature and the performing arts, are emerging from more than two decades of war, and there is a desire and need to nurture a culture of peace. Over the last four years, numerous organizations and individuals in Uganda have incorporated the arts into conflict resolution, community reconciliation, and psycho-social healing. These creative approaches, designed to encourage reconciliation, have varied enormously, as have the degrees to which northern communities have accepted and taken ownership of them. A careful analysis of their resonance and impacts has been largely overlooked and underrepresented in scholarship. Therefore, based on research conducted in Uganda from 2007 to 2009, the influx of projects involving the creative arts are comparatively and critically evaluated by assessing what is global, what is local, and what is gender-, place-, and age-specific, as well as how the projects' funding sources affect their short- and long-term sustainability. This paper concludes with recommendations for future programs rooted in the arts and possible implications of this evaluation for other post-conflict reconstruction strategies in Africa today.

Introduction

According to art therapist and scholar Harriet Wadeson, "Life, Meaning, Creativity, Art. In the largest sense, they are all one" (Wadeson 1980:3).

The Acholi of northern Uganda, whose cultural heritage is rich in literature and the performing arts, are emerging from more than two decades of war, and there is a desire and need to nurture a culture of peace. From 2007 to 2009, research for this study was conducted on the role of the arts in peace building via a series of four visits to Uganda funded primarily by programs at the University of Tennessee. Additional funding was received in

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2009 through the Minority Health International Research Training Program (MHIRT) at Christian Brothers University, funded by the U.S. National Institutes of Health.

The methodology was largely participant observation, which included spending hours in a Gulu youth center, watching music and dance practices and implementing an art journal project in conjunction with the center's art teacher. During this period, informal interviews with leading figures in the peace talks, politicians, religious leaders, teachers, returnees, artists, child-mothers, youth, aid workers, and musicians were conducted, as was the attending of concerts, performances, radio interviews, and workshops. While working with MHIRT, an art therapy study was conducted at a Gulu primary school that included formal qualitative interviews with 39 youth participants and the administration of the "Impact of Events Scale — Revised" (Weiss and Marmar 1997) to measure levels of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. The research presented here draws from qualitative observations made during the 2009 MHIRT study.

For over two decades, the people of northern Uganda have suffered from severe persecution and marginalization both at the hands of the government of Uganda and through the brutality of rebel insurgencies, namely the Lord's Resistance Army, or LRA. The consequences of this instability are staggering. Millions were displaced by the violence, and an estimated 60,000 people were abducted by rebels (Anwar 2007). Furthermore, northern Uganda has some of the highest levels of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and depression recorded anywhere, with an estimated 54 percent of the population suffering from PTSD (Roberts, Bayard, et al. 2008:4). Although numerous ethnic groups suffered from this violence, this research focuses primarily on the Acholi, who are located at the heart of the conflict in northern Uganda.

The central question guiding my overarching research has been: Can art play a role in reversing the trauma and contribute to post-conflict reconstruction in the region? This topic can be somewhat controversial, as there is an ongoing debate in Africa over the appropriateness of forms of expression which do not have roots in the culture and history of the specific population, as well as over the cross-cultural applicability of Western concepts of suffering, trauma, and mental health (Roy 1999; Chilcote 2007; Dosamantes-Beaudry 1999).

This research encountered a wide variety of programs and individuals using the creative arts as tools of peace building, development, and reconciliation in northern Uganda. While all of these programs were very different in regards to target audience, creative media, and project implementation, they were unified in at least one thing: the ability to foster self-expression in individuals and/or communities. Through observation, this self-expression was found to be crucial to community building, and personal and collective healing.

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, several programs in northern Uganda, rooted in the creative arts, will be compared and evaluated for their cultural origins and resonance, community appeal, and sustainability. Second, based on this analysis, recommendations for future creative interventions in other conflicts in Africa will be made.

While not all of the events and programs mentioned were designed explicitly with peace building or reconciliation in mind, they are vital to the discussion because they have all, whether intentionally or not, helped to foster a sense of community and reconciliation in a social context that has been fragmented by war. Second, in this paper I purposefully chose to analyze the applicability of these programs in relation to Acholi appeal and resonance, rather than focus on the peace building work being done within these programs. While arguments can be made about the effects of these programs, the purpose of this paper is to focus primarily on the setting in which they were introduced.

Origins of Expression

Art interventions that increase healing and reconciliation can be analyzed for their cultural relevance, or resonance, within a society because of parallels with long-standing patterns of expression. In this section, *I will examine the cultural relevance of different types of creative expression in northern Uganda by exploring: 1) what is locally driven and based on indigenous or long-standing arts within the Acholi culture, 2) what is locally driven but explicitly integrated with forms of art understood to be foreign in origin, and 3) what is coming from non-Acholi customs and traditions, or the “global” context.* While these creative expressions have been categorized for ease of analysis, in reality and practice, there is overlap, and naturally, not every example fits within these groupings.

Indigenous Initiatives

For the purpose of this study, *indigenous initiatives* are defined as any creative expression that is locally driven and run and based on art forms associated with long-standing patterns of expression in northern Uganda. Among the Acholi, these indigenous initiatives often involve music and dance. Across the greater north, music, dance, and drama groups perform Acholi dances and songs for community events. At times, they participate in competitions at local, regional, and national levels. Primary school competitions may involve traditional dances such as the bwola and dingi-dingi, wedding processions often include dancing and singing, and musical performances in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps incorporate instruments made of local materials and foreign aid canisters. Performances involve both males and females close in age. In primary school, children begin learning how to craft and play the instruments, and to dance the routines, although there is a generation of men and women who came of age during the war and missed the opportunity to learn these indigenous performance arts due to the insecurity and instability. The indigenous creative initiatives most commonly practiced today in northern Uganda are communal in nature and join people together.

Although not as prevalent today as music and dance, poetry is a pre-war form of indigenous expression that gained the Acholi worldwide recognition. In the 1960s and 70s, Acholi poet and anthropologist Okot p'Bitek gained global fame for poems on African rural life and westernization. His best-known poem is titled *Song of Lawino*. This research did not encounter any individuals or initiatives attempting to reinvigorate this art of poetry and creative writing, but sources in Uganda have stated that there are still a number of adults who carry on this practice. Furthermore, the next section will discuss contemporary music in northern Uganda and how musical artists have adopted a contemporized version of poetry through their lyrics.

Hybrid Initiatives

The second grouping of creative expressions is categorized as *hybrid initiatives* and can be defined as any creative expression that is locally driven and run, but articulated with international, contemporary forms of art. Oftentimes, they are inspired by Western popular culture. For example, Acholi vocalists have adopted a reggae, rap, and R&B fusion style. They were inspired by American rappers of the 1990s like the Notorious B.I.G. and Tupac, as well as “freedom fighters” and liberation artists like South Africa’s Lucky Dube and Jamaica’s Bob Marley. When fused with Acholi beats, the result is often a high-energy dance hall genre with lyrics discussing social issues such as stigma, children’s rights, justice, and defilement. During the later years of the war, this music had the unique opportunity to reach vast audiences in northern Ugandan society through the radio, namely through

the station Mega FM. Through strategic programming, people in the IDP camps enjoyed the same music as the rebels in the bush and the government soldiers. This contemporary Acholi music had the effect of creating a common creative referent among groups that were otherwise engaged in conflict with one another.

Another hybrid form of expression that gained momentum in recent months is break dancing. A group of men based in central Uganda formed a group called *Break Dance Project, Uganda* that travels around the country and teaches vulnerable youth how to break dance for social change. Like the contemporary Acholi music, break dancing allows people to participate in a Western style of expression that is so popular among the youth in Uganda, all while attaching positive messages. These new styles in northern Uganda have both individualistic and communal qualities. With singing, often, it is a single performer composing the songs and performing on stage, but he or she excites the crowd during the show and creates a communal setting in which everyone is engaged with the music. These styles are different than local, Acholi styles of dance and music because they offer performers more flexibility to create new routines and write lyrics with messages relevant to contemporary issues.

Transplanted Initiatives

The third grouping of creative expressions is categorized as *transplanted initiatives*. They are based on non-Acholi customs and traditions and introduced and run by Westerners often hoping to foster reconciliation and healing after the war. More frequently, these initiatives involve the visual arts. While there certainly are some Acholi who paint and draw and sculpt, it is not generally a very common form of art in the region. According to informal interviews conducted with youth in a primary school and at a youth center, visual art requires a certain “God-given talent,” and if they feel as though they do not possess the talent for it, they do not try to improve. This is coupled by the fact that materials for making visual art are expensive and inaccessible to most. In 2008, I co-designed a small art journal program for children at a Gulu youth center, and witnessed the students encounter a large degree of difficulty using materials such as paint, crayons, and glue. Although, in addition to dance and music programs, the center did run a small visual arts program staffed by Acholi, most of the students had little exposure to the materials introduced for the journals. Similar observations were made between June and August of 2009 during an art therapy study at a primary school in Gulu. This school also had an art department staffed by Acholi, but it was reserved for students with a demonstrated natural ability in visual art. Consequently, most of the participants in the art therapy study had never used the materials presented to them.

Furthermore, transplanted initiatives sometimes lack necessary sensitivity to societal norms of coping with trauma and war. For example, in the West, a drawing of a violent encounter in war, or perhaps life as a child soldier, quickly and effectively resonates with an audience otherwise unfamiliar with such circumstances. The drawing also holds added emotional appeal having been created by a child. However, in Uganda and arguably anywhere, it is highly insensitive to expect a person to immediately share a traumatic experience, just because a pen or pencil is in front of him or her. Experiences in Uganda have shown that the transplanted visual art initiatives are most likely to breach Acholi norms pertaining to expression, especially of traumatic events, and prematurely request and expect visual depictions of such events.

Despite the observed predominance of transplanted projects involving the visual arts, there are also foreign-initiated programs that focus on performance art. For example, in 2008, the National Theatre in Uganda’s capital of Kampala presented a play titled

"Butterflies of Uganda." The production was written and developed by Westerners and first performed in the U.S. in California. The plot centered on the conflict in the north and one young girl's experience as an abducted child soldier. The cast was Ugandan, although there were very few performers native to the north. To my knowledge, the play was not performed elsewhere in the country.

Community Resonance & Appeal

The activities in these three categories of creative expression appeal differently to people in northern Uganda. Although there are no absolutes in talking about individual preferences, this analysis provides general observations about the appeal of creative expression according to gender, age, and residential location in the north.

Gender

First, men and women show different interests in methods of creative expression, although there are certainly forms of art that have widespread appeal among both genders. For example, long-standing forms of Acholi dance seem to be enjoyed equally among males and females, whereas observations in schools and youth centers showed that boys are more apt to demonstrate an interest in drawing than girls. While conducting the aforementioned art therapy study in Gulu, the girls expressed much more enthusiasm for drama skits involving the acting of northern folktales, and requested more activities involving drama. The boys also seemed to enjoy the dramas, but had a much longer attention span for activities involving drawing and painting than did the girls. Both boys and girls enjoyed a break dancing workshop, and both showed relatively equal levels of frustration when they failed to learn the steps.

The above-mentioned art journal project at a Gulu youth center revealed similar trends regarding interest in visual art. The group started with an equal number of boys and girls, but it was only the boys that continued with the voluntary program until the end and showed genuine enjoyment during the activities. In both the art therapy and the art journals, the girls participating often became discouraged and abandoned the directives, instead drawing flowers and other items of their own choosing.

While both sexes may appreciate a particular form of expression, one may dominate the profession. For example, in Acholi music, there are fewer female performers than male performers, and it is readily acknowledged to be a male-dominated industry. During personal communication with Ugandan youth, no girls were encountered who aspired to be well-known performing artists, whereas it was common for boys to think of top performers as their role models and aspire to perform and record albums like them. However, at performances, relatively equal numbers of males and females compose the audience. Both men and women listen to the radio programs, as well, although it is often men in the camps who have the most time to gather around a radio.

Many social factors in Acholi society can help us in understanding these patterns. Extensive research has been done by Jeannie Annan, et. al. (2008) on the status of women after the war; there was, however, little to no mention of how Acholi social norms affect girls' behavior. Acholi women and young girls are often encouraged and sometimes forced to assume roles as wives and mothers at a young age at the expense of a career or vocation, and may view a career in the arts as interfering with domestic duties. In addition, in schools it is often the boys who are encouraged in the arts. Like math and science, visual art is a male-dominated study in Uganda. Girls' affinity to drama can possibly be traced to

long-standing Acholi patterns in which grandmothers were the storytellers of a family and were responsible for telling folktales to the children. This practice has been largely lost because of the war and mass displacement.

Age

In addition to gender affecting preferences of creative expression, age also influences how one chooses to self-express in northern Uganda. As might be expected, older people tend to hold fast to older, indigenous forms of dance and music, while youth embrace and fuel artistic movements attuned to external influences. Projects such as *Break Dance Project, Uganda* have faced some criticism for encouraging youth to pursue this new dance style, fearing that it will be learned at the expense of indigenous dances.

The war has heavily affected the transmitting of indigenous, Acholi forms of knowledge to the younger generations, and many of the older populations died during the conflict. Camp life also disrupted Acholi patterns of expression, many of which involved the arts, like storytelling mentioned above. Now with the accessibility and appeal of Western-originated art and music, both through media and the multitude of foreign aid workers present in the major towns, youth in towns are exposed to pre-existing Acholi forms and those derived from foreign sources. For example, the same youth center in Gulu where the break dancers from the capital come to teach also offers children lessons in Acholi styles of dance and music.

Place

In Acholi society, one's physical location, or locality, also factors into preferences on creative expression. In rural areas, there is less exposure to foreign-originated styles and less influence by foreign programs and aid workers; however, radio stations can now reach everyone, even in the most remote of locations, and radio features contemporary Acholi music as well as indigenous Acholi styles. In contrast, most performances of the contemporary and hybridized styles of expression are limited to Gulu, Lira, and Kitgum towns.

Christian churches are another haven for creative expression in northern Uganda, and unlike the dance halls of the towns, churches are found in all communities, rural and urban. Church groups were very active in the peace process and have been large proponents of indigenous justice mechanisms, namely *mato oput*. Several youth and women reported that church is a place to go and forget about the past, particularly through music and dance. In Uganda, the worship portion of the service, complete with music, dance, and song, is often very emotional and animated. Some churches offer multiple services, offering the local language and English. At Christ Church in Gulu, the English service is more subdued and features hymns. The local language service, and the Christ Church Luo Choir, offers a more colorful worship experience by incorporating northern instruments and Acholi-style songs. Observations have shown that churches are rooted in the communities and provide a venue for self-expression.

Project Sustainability

The funding sources of these projects affect their short and long-term sustainability. In recent years, northern Uganda has received an outpouring of foreign assistance and financial aid from both governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In recent months, with the worldwide economic recession and the international community's short attention span for conflicts and war, emergency relief and humanitarian efforts in northern

Uganda have been downsized or terminated altogether. The sustainability of post-conflict arts programs varies, and the cessation of foreign funding forces a discontinuation of many initiatives.

While the local initiatives may lack the large financial-backing of the foreign projects, their programs often have the highest degree of ownership and resonance within the communities. Even if every foreign organization and funding source leaves tomorrow, the Acholi will still be dancing and singing songs handed down through generations. The artists singing in contemporary genres will continue singing and the break dancers breaking, although if they lose funding from the NGOs to perform at events or go on tours around the community, their dynamics in the community will certainly change. However, for transplanted initiatives, without strong community backing and belief in their ability to benefit society, there is little chance for them to prevail. Yet, with little or no operating budget, as is the case for many local initiatives, the indigenous arts often operate in more localized ways than transplanted or even hybrid programs. Transplanted and hybrid organizations often put on large competitions, exhibitions, or shows for which local initiatives do not have the funding. (An exception is school music, dance, and drama competitions that attract students from across the regions.) However, because the indigenous arts are so ingrained into Acholi patterns of expression, there is little reason to believe they will not continue even at the micro-level in the community.

Two dynamics are at work within the issue of sustainability. The first is the financial support granted to foreign initiatives and the fact that many foreign initiatives vanish when the international community decides to put money into resolving other conflicts and wars. With money, transplanted initiatives have the funding to branch out across communities and towns and reach more people. This funding offers a financial sustainability that many of the Ugandan initiatives do not have. Therefore, the indigenous organizations cannot expand at the same rate as the hybrid or transplanted programs. Second, community ownership of the form of expression affects its ability to persevere even without funding or when the foreign-implementers abandon the programs and leave the region.

This analysis is based on the assumption that foreign funding is primarily supporting transplanted initiatives. While there are indigenous organizations that receive grants from foreign sources, as a whole transplanted programs have resonance within foreign funding sources, and therefore indigenous initiatives are less likely to receive the large sums that hybrid or transplanted programs receive.

Recommendations

What can we take away from these insights on creative expression in post-conflict northern Uganda? I offer the following recommendations when applying these observations to other situations across the continent.

First and foremost, long-standing, indigenous norms and patterns of communication and expression influence all facets of life. Without understanding the worldview and historical context of a particular people, it is difficult to understand the impact that a particular form of self-expression has or will have on healing and reconciliation of the community and of individuals. So, first, I recommend that existing norms and patterns are recognized as central to the identity of a people, and that organizations take local resonance into consideration when implementing programs or designing peace building interventions. This can be done by involving community members in project development, by conducting

assessments, or by hiring community members for program implementation. Some may consider this point trite, but many transplanted initiatives have been observed implementing programs with little to no regard for Acholi norms of expression.

Second, the appropriateness of a particular intervention can be measured by identifying a target audience and sufficiently researching what appeals to them and what best achieves the goals of the initiative. This can be as simple as interviewing potential participants to see what creative forms interest them the most. Using examples from northern Uganda, this research shows that age, gender, and location affect the resonance of a particular art form. In northern Uganda, older populations as well as rural populations have historically had more exposure to indigenous creative expression than those in the towns. Although this is not to say that more contemporary or hybridized forms should not be used with rural populations, one must remember that rural populations may not have had the same level of exposure to outside influence as towns, and therefore, initiatives outside of cultural patterns of expression may not resonate as much as those within long-standing patterns.

Third, locally-rooted initiatives are generally the most sustainable. While they often lack the major funding of the foreign aid-backed programs, they tend to have more resonance within the community, and therefore remain even when the outside funding disappears. In addition to their financial sustainability, they often take into account how a community will relate to a form of expression and know best what appeals to what sectors of society. I suggest that more funding be directed toward these indigenous initiatives.

Fourth, one must exercise sensitivity when engaging in any of these programs that may bring up painful reminders of the past. For example, it would be insensitive to give someone a pencil and ask him or her to draw a scene of life in the bush. Creative expression can induce dialogue on these issues, but should not be expected to be immediate channels into someone's psyche. A respect for a society's method of coping with war and violence must be considered, as well. In northern Uganda, people are often instructed to "forget and forgive" by local counselors. Because this has been a widespread approach to peace building, one cannot expect people to immediately and openly express their feelings about the past, nor that self-expression will take the form of reliving or revealing the past.

Fifth, a fusion of pre-existing cultural patterns, and more recently introduced ones, can be successful, especially in appealing to youth culture. As evidenced by the youths' admiration of both break dance and bwola dance, projects that include both foreign-originated forms of expression and Acholi styles can have a wide appeal. However, it is worth noting again that in northern Uganda, performance arts, whether in the form of music, dance, or drama, have much more resonance and mass appeal than the visual arts. In other societies, where the legacy of visual arts or crafts is richer, this may not be the same.

Sixth, all of this is contextual. Each of the circumstances of reconciliation and peace building are different, as are the specific patterns of expression and communication in any location. Therefore, we must not assign universal assumptions about the specifics of creative expression as a force for peace building.

Lastly, the arts do matter. While each situation is different, and while this paper does not delve into the individual and community impacts of these initiatives pertaining to peace building and conflict resolution, we can agree that the arts and creative expression play a large role in African societies, as they do globally, and that they historically have been used as tools of peace building and conflict resolution because of their ability to unify people within their own societies, as well as cross-culturally.

Conclusions

This research analyzes the origins, resonance, appeal, and sustainability of post-conflict creative arts programs in northern Uganda and urges for added recognition of the role of culture and tradition when implementing such programs. In a globalized world, long-standing patterns of expression come into contact with foreign-originated forms of art and create new dynamics of creative expression. In conflict and post-conflict situations, understanding and noting these dynamics can result in better-equipped and more successful interventions and initiatives.

Analysis of this nature and other dialogue on the role of the arts in conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction need to increase not just in Uganda, but also worldwide. Although communities have been using the arts to aid in reconciliation and healing for centuries, the topic is largely overlooked and underrepresented in scholarship.

As a whole, I call for more quantifiable data on the power of art in community and individual reconciliation and healing. I also urge the international community to better support local initiatives and local forms of creative expression, for they best represent the values and beliefs of a society. While we cannot ignore the changes to societies that globalization brings, programs that come from within a society are best able to identify its needs.

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About the Author

Lindsay McClain is a 2009 graduate of the College Scholars Honors Program at the University of Tennessee, where she studied creative approaches to peace building and development in Africa. In 2008, she was awarded UT's prestigious "Volunteer of the Year" award for her commitment to service both on her campus and in war-affected northern Uganda. She is a core leader of the Jazz for Justice Project, an organization that promotes music and the arts for psycho-social healing in conflict zones. Lindsay has traveled extensively and recently relocated to Gulu, Uganda to pursue employment in the non-profit sector. Since 2007, she has traveled five times to Uganda, where she noticed how instrumental the arts are in encouraging peace and unity among a population traumatized by over two decades of war. Last year, she finished a book called *Bed Ki Gen: Northern Uganda's Creative Approaches to Peace and Healing* that explores the power of the creative arts in conflict and post-conflict zones.

About the Advisor

Dr. Rosalind I. J. Hackett is professor and head of the Department of Religious Studies and an adjunct/associate in anthropology, Africana studies, and at the Howard H. Baker, Jr. Center for Public Policy. She has published widely on religion in Africa, notably on new religious movements, as well as on art, media, gender, conflict, and religious freedom in the African context. Following a visit to the war-torn north of Uganda in 2004, she began organizing jazz concerts, talks, and conferences to raise funds for and awareness of this neglected region. With the help of many talented UT undergraduates and local musicians, the Jazz for Justice Project took shape, spawning a number of peace and community-building activities in Northern Uganda. Professor Hackett received the Lorayne W. Lester Award for Outstanding Service from the College of Arts and Sciences in 2008.