

Teaching for Freedom: A Case in Ghana

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Human Development

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December 2001
Falls Church, Virginia

Keywords: Human Rights, Human Rights Education, Africa, Ghana

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ABSTRACT

The United Nations declared the years 1995 to 2004 as the Decade for Human Rights Education. The principles of human rights education promote dignity, tolerance, and peace by educating individuals and groups to respect, defend, and advocate for their rights. These rights are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted in 1948 making human rights a global responsibility. During this decade nations are called upon to promote and implement human rights education in all sectors of their society.

In 1992 Amnesty International Norway developed a human rights education program called Teaching for Freedom (TFF). This program was implemented in 26 countries worldwide including all ten administrative regions in Ghana, West Africa. The purposes of the TFF program were to educate the youth and train final year teachers in the principles of human rights. These programs are based on the notion of universal human rights that are sometimes criticized as Western and non-applicable to the African context. Human rights education programs are tasked with not only making these universal principles meaningful and participatory in the lives of the people on the ground, but also implementing culturally legitimate programs in local contexts with few resources. This study attempted to understand how the Teaching for Freedom program accomplished these aims and the barriers that impeded it.

Using qualitative analysis and the grounded theory approach, I conducted a case study of one TFF program located in one school in one region of Ghana. This human rights education program operated as a club and was studied within the context of the school and society in which it operated. Grounded theory analysis revealed that the TFF club was a conflicted organization whose operation was greatly shaped by forces within the school that were also present in larger society. I describe the operation of the club in terms of awareness, empowerment, and implementation. Barriers to the operation of the TFF club were identified within these three areas of operation and were closely related to the conflicting cultural forces within the school and Ghanaian society.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge all those who made the writing of this dissertation possible and pleasurable. I give special thanks to God, and my family and friends who have been supportive and missed during the years of completing a life's dream. No longer will I be able to say that I cannot come, I'm too busy, or wait until I'm finished with this section. The day has come.

I offer special regards to my Virginia Tech and James Madison University advisors and supporting personnel. It has been their wisdom, their patience, and scholarly advice that helped bring this work to its fruition. Good luck and may you continue to prosper in your endeavors.

To my Ghanaian friends, thank you for taking in a stranger and welcoming her to your land. It will be a long time before I forget the hot steamy days and spicy fried fish. May all the blessings of good fortune rain upon Africa.

In closing, I dedicate this dissertation to my children and parents who are my inspiration.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	v
Chapter I: Introduction:	1
Background of the Problem	1
Cultural Legitimacy	1
Cross Cultural Approach to Human Rights	2
Implementation and Development	3
Implementation and Democracy	3
Statement of the Problem:	5
Purpose of the Study	7
Research Questions	7
Significance of the Study	7
Chapter II: Literature Review	8
Theological Conceptions of Human Rights	8
Philosophical Conceptions of Human Rights	11
Civil Society and Human Rights	13
Social Movements and Human Rights	14
The African Context	17
The Westphalian World Order	18
Humanitarian Intervention	18
Human Rights and Cultural Relativism in Africa	22
Historical Perspective on Human Rights in Africa	25
Human Rights and Democracy in Africa	29
The Ghanaian Context	30
Human Rights Education	36
Amnesty International	39
Conclusion	40
Chapter III: Methodology	41
Research Issue	41
Design of the Study	41
Unit of Analysis	42
Research Questions	42
Pilot Study	43
Data Collection	45
Storing and Coding and Analyzing Data	46
Data Verification	47
Analysis	47
Chapter IV: Case Background	49
Introduction	49
Summary of Data Gathered	49
Interviewee Background Data	50

Background Description of Ghanaian TFF Program	52
Cultural Conflict Within the TFF Program	53
Description of the Location of the School	54
Description of the School	55
Demographics of the School	56
The Education of Girls at Sec/Tech	56
Hierarchical Authority and Rank in the School and Club	58
Bullying	61
The Old Boys	62
Bullying Case	63
Mmarima Mma	65
School Life and Cultural Conflict	67
Religious Conflict in Campus and in Club	68
Description of the Teaching for Freedom Club	70
The Image of the TFF Club	72
Club Activities	74
Conclusion	77
 Chapter V: Conclusions and Implications	 78
Introduction	78
Research Procedures	78
Summary of Findings	79
Research Question One	81
Implementation	81
Awareness	81
Empowerment.	83
Research Question Two	85
Conclusion and Recommendations	87
Recommendations for Practice	89
Recommendations for Future Research	92
 References	 94
 Appendix A – Map of Ghana	 105
 Appendix B – Data Sampling for Chapter Four	 106
 Appendix C – TFF Club Demographics	 141
 Appendix D – Protocol 2000	 143
 Appendix E – Letter of Introduction	 145
 Vita	 146

List of Figures

Figure 1: Students are in class during instruction time at Sec/Tech	55
Figure 2. Students standing on the balconies of a dormitory at Sec/Tech	56
Figure 3. Hierarchy chart and bullying pattern	58
Figure 4. Form one students cutting grass with long blade cutlasses	58
Figure 5. Entire student body gathered on front lawn of school for assembly	69
Figure 6. The TFF club	73

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

In the wake of the carnage of World War II, the United Nations Charter in 1946 adopted the goal of observing and promoting human rights. Human rights are justified claims that individuals and groups can make based on their common humanity. Since that time the promotion and protection of human rights have played an increasingly important role in international relations and governmental affairs. On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (hereinafter Declaration). This Declaration guaranteed the rights of all people based on the inherent human dignity of every person. Inclusive in the Declaration are rights that encompass the civil, political, economic, social, and cultural domains of peoples' lives. These rights are considered universal, inalienable, and indivisible meaning that they are equally applicable to all people, at all times, and no right trumps another. Eleanor Roosevelt, the presiding chair over the Commission on Human Rights – the body from which this document was developed, described the Declaration as a common standard valid for all peoples and all nations (Roosevelt, 1948, p. 858). The preamble of the Declaration affirms the principles of equality and fundamental freedoms for all people:

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world, whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind and the advent of a world in which human beings, shall enjoy freedom of speech, belief, and freedom from want has been proclaimed as the highest aspirations of the common people (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948).

Cultural Legitimacy

The Declaration was adopted by 48 votes to none with eight abstentions. Many African and some Asian countries had no input in the making of this Declaration due to their status as colonized countries at the time. However, many of those countries now willingly accept the Declaration and use it to create their own human rights instruments and mechanisms of monitoring and enforcement. The rights contained within the Declaration are now legally binding to all signatories through the adoption of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights that was entered into force in 1976.

Even so, the Declaration has been criticized as lacking cultural legitimacy in nonwestern nations, especially Africa (An-na'im, 1990; Ibhawoh, 2000; Vincent, 1986). Many prominent thinkers in the human rights field admit that human rights bear an unmistakable "western stamp" (Donnelly, 1989; Leary, 1990). The rights set about in the Declaration are considered normative standards governments use to develop local and national instruments of protection and governance, such as local laws and national

constitutions. These universal standards are viewed by some as conflicting with local traditions and customs lacking the moral and cultural force needed for their adoption and protection.

Governments have sometime used claims of cultural relativism as a shield to protect and hide gross human rights violations. South Africa, with its stigma of apartheid along with several European socialist countries like Poland abstained from the signing of the Declaration citing their status as sovereign states with the right to regulate their own affairs within their borders (Lauren, 1998). Since that time these nations have pledged their support to the principles of the Declaration. However, when it is to their advantage, rogue nations have invoked the rhetoric of rights to support their causes and when it is to their disadvantage they invoke the rhetoric of sovereignty as a license to commit human rights violations under the guise of culture or borders or both (Amnesty International Report, 2000).

Cross Cultural Approach to Human Rights

An-na`im (1990) argues that cultural legitimacy for human rights cannot be garnered from the official recognition of human rights instruments and documents. Instead, their legitimacy is derived from an individual's internal values or norms made compatible with the varying conceptions of human dignity found within different cultures. This cross-cultural approach to human rights in Africa that An-na`im is suggesting would not be an either – or approach, but allow societies to broadly interpret the rights contained within the Declaration without going outside its universal boundaries. He bases this on the premise that cultures have already developed mechanisms that protect basic human rights, and within these mechanisms are channels for legitimizing other forms of human dignity.

The creation of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (hereinafter the Charter) in 1981 is an example of this cross-cultural approach. Developed as a reaffirmation of the universality of the rights and freedoms contained in the Declaration, the Charter is also supposed to be uniquely African. However, there is some question whether the Charter, sometimes referred to as the Banjul Charter, is a reaffirmation of the principles of the Declaration or in conflict with it (Mutua, 1999). The Charter has been called a largely promotional instrument that does not adequately protect the rights of women and contains clauses that limit rights based on the maximum extent of the law (Langley, 1987; Mutua, 1999). These clauses that give African states a way around human rights are called clawback clauses.

Even if some regional human rights charters are not entirely in line with the Declaration, the consensus is that the rights contained therein are universal, at least in principle (Donnelly, 1989; United Nations Department of Public Information, 1995). The World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993 that drew delegations from all over the world reaffirmed the universality of the Declaration. However, room was left for an individual and particular implementation of these rights in different contexts. Some scholars are suggesting that while the rights set about in the Declaration are universal, their implementation is relative (Alves, 2000; An-Na`im, 1990; Barbieri, 1999; Donnelly, 1989).

Implementation and Development

The relativeness of human rights implementation is based on the varying degrees of development within the society. The Vienna Conference not only reaffirmed the universality of human rights, but also their interconnectedness to development and democracy. This brings to bear a new and troubling aspect to implementation of human rights programs. In 1986 the Declaration to the Right to Development was adopted defining development as a “comprehensive economic and cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting there from (United Nations Department of Public Information, 1995, p. 75). This definition of development places empowered human beings at the center of development activity with development goals and practices in congruence with those of human rights. In essence, development is thought of as the right to choose and that choice is abrogated by poverty, lack of education, and the disregard for human rights (United Nations Development Programme, 2000). This places the state as the duty bearer to provide the infrastructure for the realization of development goals. Implementing human rights may be viewed as secondary to the primary task of development.

Under-development in Africa poses a major problem for implementation of human rights. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Report 2000 noted that 1.2 billion people in the world live on less than a one US dollar a day. Using indicators like life expectancy, literacy, and per capita income, the Human Development Index of the 35 countries in the lowest human development category, 28 were in Africa (UNDP, 2000 p. 149). Assimeng (1999) goes further to say that economic insecurity in Ghana, West Africa is a threat to the establishment of democracy and “political rights are meaningless unless they are backed by economic security” (p. 187). So how do you promote, monitor, enforce, protect, and educate about human rights in contexts that are undeveloped and politically unstable from having suffered years of military, colonialism and post colonialism rule?

Implementation and Democracy

Democratizing the society is one way. Developing cultural legitimacy for human rights implementation is frustrated even more with the process of democratization. A democratizing society is considered an optimal environment for the promotion and protection of human rights (Ambrose, 1995; Assimeng, 1999; Donnelly, 1999). Democratization is understood to be the process by which people based on their freely expressed will determine their own political, economic, social, and cultural systems thereby gaining full and equal participation in society and in all aspects of their lives (Donnelly, 1999). Article 21 of the Declaration declares that the will of the people should be the basis of rule.

Ambrose (1995) argues that in the wake of Africa’s dire economic crisis, liberal democracy, which requires a certain level of development, may not be the kind of democracy Africa needs for the protection of human rights. Yet, Baah (2000) argues in his study of human rights in Ghana, that liberal democracy is the most suitable

environment for the implementation of human rights. This does not deter Ambrose's or Baah's strong stance that democracy is important to human rights and to Africa, but Ambrose warns that a "hungry person is happy to sell his vote" (p. xix). An integration of democracy and development demands that economic, social, and cultural rights, such as the right to food, stand on equal footing with civil and political rights, such as the right to vote. Any implementation package of human rights must consider how these rights can be equilibrated.

This study seeks to understand what those resources and capabilities are by studying a program in operation. In many African countries democracy is viewed as simply being able to vote and that is sometimes usurped. Ghana, the country of focus for this study, was the first African country to free itself from colonial rule in 1957 under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. In this process of self-determination, Ghana's political system shifted from civilian rule to army rule with each successive administration throwing out the old constitution and writing a new one. These political upsets were accompanied by oppression and economic hardship and citizens enjoyed few rights. Countries engaged in nation building are not inhospitable environments to human rights as evidenced by the healthy and flourishing civil society in Ghana. However, the implementation and operation of human rights programs and practices require different resources and capabilities.

Statement of the Problem

Using a case study design, this study addressed how the Teaching for Freedom (TFF) program operated and the barriers that impeded that operation. Developing and implementing human rights education programs, which are considered more innocuous than enforcement or monitoring programs, become a much more complex undertaking in emerging democracies and underdeveloped countries (Ambrose, 1995). A key question was left unanswered by the final evaluation report of the TFF program. This question was: “How the concerns for control and streamlining have been balanced with the need to be flexible and responsive to local conditions” (AI, POL32/05/99, p. 2). This study aims to satisfy the gap in the research of how to implement human rights programs in local contexts with few resources in a culturally sensitive fashion.

Human Rights Education is defined by the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights (1997) as “training, dissemination, and information efforts aimed at the building of a universal culture of human rights through the imparting of knowledge, skills, and the molding of attitudes which are directed to:

1. The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
2. The full development of the human personality and the sense of dignity;
3. The promotion of understanding, respect, gender, equality, and friendship among nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups;
4. The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free society;
5. The furtherance of the activities of the United Nations for the Maintenance of Peace (Adapted from the Plan of Action from the United Nations Decade for Human Rights (1995-2004) paragraph 2).

The overall goal is to help people understand what their rights are, how to value their rights and protect them by respecting, defending, and promoting human rights in the home, workplace, and in greater society. Two important concepts are relevant in this United Nations framework of human rights: one is the concept of empowerment defined as the processes that enable individuals, communities, and institutions to increase control and decision-making over their own lives (Meintjes, 1997). The second concept is the ultimate goal of people working together to sustain a culture of peace. As part of this goal, The United Nations Educational Scientific Cooperative Organization (UNESCO) developed a Manifesto 2000.

The destabilizing processes of globalization, enculturation, and democratization create challenging environments and obstacles for human rights education programs. The obstacle is not the universality of human rights, although this is still a matter of debate in some circles and should be included in any discussion of developing legitimacy for human rights in local contexts. All nations generally agree that protecting human rights is a good thing, even though they systematically violate the human rights of their citizens. The Declaration has the support as the rights that are considered universal. The issue becomes, how do you make it work? How do you make human rights meaningful in the

lives of people surviving on less than a dollar a day? What special challenges do programs face operating in politically unstable or slowly democratizing societies? An even more important consideration is how do you empower the people to make the process work? As Ambrose states, “democratization and protection of human rights in Africa will be frustrated unless the struggle is waged by the oppressed people themselves” (p. xvii).

One way to do this is to actually study a program in place. This study focused on a human rights education program called Teaching for Freedom (TFF) that was operating as a human rights education club in one school in the eastern region of Ghana, Africa. Ghana is a developing country caught in the quagmire of Westernization and the erosion of traditional culture. The Norwegian Section of Amnesty International established the TFF program in 1989 using funds generated by Norwegian secondary school students in a campaign called Operation a Days Work (OD). The OD campaign raised 2.8 million pounds that was used to fund human rights education programs in 26 countries including Ghana. The TFF project ran for a period of six years from 1991 to 1998 with the hope that when funding ceased the projects would become self-sustaining. Most were not. This study focuses on a portion of the TFF program that is still operating as a human rights club in a secondary school in Ghana. The teacher-training arm of the Ghanaian program is also no longer in operation. The aims of the TFF program were to:

1. Build human rights awareness.
2. Prevent human rights violations.
3. Recruit a new generation of human rights activist.
4. Contribute to a society where basic human rights are respected (AI Index: POL 32/01/97, Amnesty International Publications, 1997).

Article 26 and 28 of the Declaration affirms that education about your rights is the foremost right that leads to the full and free development of the person. Recognizing the importance of human rights education, the United Nations declared the years 1995 to 2004 as the Decade for Human Rights Education. During this decade nations are called upon to promote and implement human rights education in all sectors of their society.

People are empowered through human rights education. Human rights education engages people at a deeper level than mere knowledge to the level of critical reflection and action that is required for social change (Freire, 1990; Mezirow, 1992; Tibbetts, 1996). In developing countries like Ghana where people need food, education and infrastructure, human rights may seem superfluous to other more pressing needs. Human rights education can also be threatening. Countries with authoritarian or colonial pasts may take conflicted or hostile positions to such education (Ambrose, 1995; Dias, 1997). Nevertheless, Dias (1997) describes the importance of human rights education to development in this way: “Human rights education thus becomes extremely important in ensuring that genuine development takes place. Such development in turns fosters empowerment and the realization of human rights (p. 52).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research was to better understand how the TFF human rights club at the school functioned in accordance to the stated aims of its Western sponsors and the examination of obstacles incurred in doing so. I was particularly interested in the “fit” of a Western sponsored human rights program implemented in a traditional, yet modernizing society. What rights and responsibilities were emphasized? What impact did local conditions have on the operation of the program? To what extent did the participants even understand the concept of human rights? According to Baah’s (2000) study of human rights among the Akan people in Ghana, (many of whom comprised this study), he concluded that they either did not understand the meaning of human rights or outright rejected the concept. Baah states that universality is not so much the issue as implementation. He argues that the push for human rights must include a larger development package that includes modernization, literacy, and liberal democracy.

Research Questions

This research focused on how a particular human rights education program operated within the context of a school and a developing country. The questions this study addresses are:

1. How did the TFF program operate in terms of the aims of the program and the aims of human rights education?
2. What were the major barriers that impeded that operation?

Significance of the Study

The goals of human rights education are to develop individuals and societies that respect, promote, defend and advocate for human rights. There is no society on earth that systematically practices what it preaches in terms of respecting the human rights of its citizens. The Human Rights Watch World Report 2000 reported that the scope of the world’s human rights problems far exceeded the capacity to address them. In Africa alone, at least 13 nations were engaged in protracted civil wars or ethnic strife at the opening of the twenty-first century. This is despite the fact that all nations are signatories to international treaties making the rights enshrined in the Declaration international law. Clearly there is gap between rhetoric and practice. We think we know what rights are universal, we know far less on how to implement them. Human rights education is not a panacea for the world’s ills. It is one tool in the tool bag designed to educate and empower individuals and groups to protect their rights, respect the rights of others, and hold their leaders accountable. Nations must address the larger issues of development and democracy in conjunction with human rights. This cannot happen in the absence of an enlightened and fed citizenry. Lessons learned from this study can help societies implement programs that bridge the gap between theory and the practice and make human rights meaningful in the lives of everyday people: Meaningful in ways that are mindful of context, but not overruled by culture. Human rights education is a long-term strategy toward the development of a peaceful and egalitarian society.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This literature review is meant to inform the Teaching for Freedom case in three ways. The first way is to use the literature to provide background information on the conceptualization and origins of human rights. The author examines how the various great religions of the world and key philosophers have influenced and contributed to our understanding of human rights. This acknowledgment is with the understanding that no particular religion or philosopher can lay claim to originating the concept of human rights.

The second way this literature review informs the Teaching for Freedom case study is by making application of the conceptualization of human rights to the African context in general and the Ghanaian context in specific.

Thirdly, this literature review informs the Teaching for Freedom case study by examining the role of human rights education contributing to a common understanding of human rights that is considerate of context and culture.

Theological Conceptions of Human Rights

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) recognized the importance of religion in creating a Culture of Peace. In Barcelona, Spain in 1994 UNESCO followed up on this by adopting the *Declaration on the Role of Religion in the Promotion of a Culture of Peace*. This declaration acknowledges the role of religion, both historically and present day, in helping to eradicate inequality and promote justice and a civil society. The declaration also acknowledges the role that religions have played in disseminating hate, fanaticism, and political subversion. In the final appeal of this declaration, all the world's religions are called upon to cooperate with each other and the institutions that make up civil society to spread the message of peace (Ishay, 1997).

Lauren (1998) provides a fairly comprehensive overview of the evolution of human rights. He states that the concept of human rights originated at no particular time with any particular culture, but was rather a diffusion of philosophical, religious, and sometimes contradictory thought across the globe (p. 5). Many examples of human rights discourse in early religious thought, was often elitist, inconsistent, and selectively applied (Donnelly, 1989). Ishay (1997) states that despite the dispute concerning the origins of human rights, that they are unquestionably grounded in religious humanism, Stoicism, and natural rights (p. xv). Whatever grounding this religious thought did take; it was not the rhetoric of the modern day discourse on human rights. Instead, themes like justice, dignity, duty, and responsibility, were common strands in all the major religions.

The theological foundations of human rights are based on the moral imperatives found in natural law. The moral imperative of human rights implies that human rights are based in laws that are essentially moral and supercede any earthly laws or secular law (Thompson, 1980). When Moses descended Mount Sinai in Exodus chapter 20 of the

Bible, he carried with him Ten Commandments that became the moral law of Israel. “Thou shall not kill” placed a duty on others to not take the life of another person and at the same time established the right to secure one’s life. These laws were to be obeyed, even if contradictory to secular laws. The moral imperative of these ethical laws stemmed from their transcendence from a higher authority. Even though called the Law of Moses, the Ten Commandments in Judeo-Christianity receive their impunity and universality from being God-breathed (Thompson 1980).

The other part of this theological grounding of human rights is the relationship of human rights to the doctrine of natural law and natural rights. Natural rights are guaranteed by natural laws that are neither written and are the dictates of man’s innate rationality and reason (Ishay, 1997). In Book I of Cicero’s *The Laws*, Cicero elevates man above beasts, because of man’s ability to reason what is right. This right reasoning is the highest form of law, because it is both immutable and universal and when fully perfected, Cicero refers to it as wisdom (Ishay, 1997).

Philosophers in western political philosophy like Locke and Hobbes both refer to the state of nature as governed by a universal law of nature and right reason when they define man’s relationship to the state and to civil society. Both Locke and Hobbes differ, however, on what the defining consensus is for man in this state. However, the important point here is that human rights are grounded in the intrinsic moral worth of the individual. This moral worth posits man’s transcendence either in the ability to reason what is right or to a higher God-like authority (Thompson, 1980).

In establishing the connection between religious thought and human rights, Lauren cites examples from all major religions that emphasize in one form or another rights, duty, justice, and responsibility to others. Again, like the early instruments and documents of human rights, such as the Declaration of Independence, all religions promoted rights, justice, morality, and peace on a selective, inconsistent, and elitist basis. Nevertheless, the potential of religion to help create a more humane and just society cannot be understated.

Hinduism is classified as one of the oldest religions of the world and the major religion of India. Hinduism is a polytheistic religion that worships many Gods and a host of living and dead saints. The religion has many sacred writings, which include the *Vedas*, the *Puranas*, the *Ramayana*, the *Manu Smriti* and the *Rig-Veda*, which is the oldest sacred book in Hinduism (World Book, 1993). The ancient texts of the Vedas among other texts stress the importance of religion as a way of life along with duty (dharma), responsibility, the sanctity of all life, including animal life (Lauren, 1998).

In cases where animal life is regarded higher than human life, it is result of Hinduism adopting a central tenet of India the life, the caste system. India has a strict caste system that segregates the population into social classes with strict rules of behavior. The result is the regarding of a large portion of the Indian society as “untouchable.” The untouchables occupy the space beneath the lowest rung of Sudras and are disallowed from certain occupations as well as restricted movement and contact

with other castes. Despite a lessening of this attitude among more educated Indians who intermarry and intermix between castes, India and its primary religion of Hinduism regularly segregate and discriminate on the basis of caste (Lauren 1998).

Buddhism is another major world religion that promotes egalitarian principles and a strict moral code of behavior. Buddhism has roots that recede into India, well before the coming of Christ. Buddhism began when the historical Buddha (Siddharta Gautama) left the palace, his wife and children, and his future destiny of becoming king to search for enlightenment. Upon finding it, Gautama returned preaching the continual cycle of life, death, rebirth, and misery could only be stopped by a complete renunciation of human desire and worldly pleasure. Included in this renunciation was a rebuking of the caste-like society in India. The ancient texts of the *Sangha* represented the model of a well-balanced community and the *Vinaya*, laid down a code of moral conduct for monks (Lauren, 1998).

Origins of early rights language were also an integral part of Confucius thought. Confucianism played an important role in shaping Chinese society and government around 100 B.C. (Lauren , 1988).

Confucius was born Kong Qiu in now Shandong Province of China. His greatest aspiration was to become an adviser to a wise ruler in the government. Confucius never received his royal appointment, but did receive minor ones in which he began to teach the importance of good moral conduct and character, compassion to one's fellow man and obedience to authority. This philosophy comprises the chief writings of Confucianism that are found in the sacred books of the *Analects* and *Doctrine of the Mean*: both highlight man's relationship with man versus man's relationship with any supreme being (Lauren, 1988).

In similar fashion, a wandering prophet with divine revelation by the name of Muhammad preached a religion called Islam. The inspired teachings of Muhammad are contained in the Koran, the holy text of Islam. Those who accept Muhammad as God's messenger and believe Muhammad's teachings are called Muslims.

Like other religions, the core of the Islamic faith emphasizes basic tenets of morality, justice, and human dignity that typify the early religious origins of human rights. In a speech to the Third Committee of the U.N. General Assembly in 1979, the representative of Oman stated, "The basic concepts of human rights have from the very beginning been embodied in Islamic law" (U.N. document A/C. 3/34/SR. 27). Ishaque (1974) argues along these same lines that while human rights as they are currently conceived cannot be directly traced back to the teachings of Muhammad, they however are important principles of Islamic law (p. 32).

Donnelly (1989) refutes Ishaque's claim by stating that rights in Islamic law are more "divine injunctions" and duty of rulers, than human rights based on nothing more than one's humanity (p. 51). The right to justice is cited as one of the five rights held be man in Islamic law, is more accurately interpreted as the duty of kings to administer

justice (Donnelly, 1989). Donnelly argues that in Islam, like other major religions, rights are more clearly articulated as duties and obedience with a tendency to serve a select group that is usually male and fellow believers, with ultimate authority from high (p. 52).

Traditional African religions and political systems were also instrumental in promoting equality and stable communities and governments, but not without the same tier of inequality and selectivity. The oral tradition found in much of rural Africa used proverbs as a way of passing down the customs and values of the group to succeeding generations. One particular proverb from the Akan tribe in Ghana warned that, "One should not oppress with one's size or might" (Lauren 1998, pg. 11).

Even though sporadic and inconsistent, modern day human rights discourse has been influenced by the major religions of the world (Ishay, 1997). Many religious traditions and doctrines advocate some common universal principles, such as justice, morality, and brotherhood (Lauren, 1998). The nature, the distribution, and intent of these principles vary from culture to culture and religion to religion and have been used to both promote and defeat human rights (Lauren, 1988).

Whether by divine right, rule of law, or through obedience to faith, the great religions of the world have attempted to define man's moral relationship to other men as well as defining man's secular relationship to the state. In his discussion of the evolution of human rights, Lauren reiterated that no one religious tradition can lay claim to having originated the concept of human rights and all have violated its precepts.

Philosophical Conceptions of Human Rights

Just as the various religious traditions have helped shape the current conception of human rights, so have key philosophers and philosophical traditions. Human rights are conceptualized in the liberal theories of John Locke, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Hobbes, and the moral and political philosophies of Immanuel Kant, and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Consistent throughout the literature these thinkers as well as others, such as David Hume, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill are cited with establishing some of the deep principles and founding values of the current conception of human rights. The contributions of these thinkers are important because they are also cited for contributing to the western individualistic notion of human rights. The western conception of human rights tends to emphasize rights over duties, civil and political rights over economic, cultural and social rights, and individual rights over collective rights (Vincent, 1986).

The idea of natural rights as an important founding notion is important in the argument of the universality of human rights as well as human rights being inalienable and indivisible. Nobody makes this argument better than Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes lived from 1588 to 1679 and believed that the fundamental condition of man was aggression of every man against every man. Hobbes calls this the fundamental law of nature whereby through natural rights every man as an individual is equally entitled to everything.

In the *Leviathan* (1652), Hobbes writes that men governed by reason “ought to endeavor peace, as far as he has hopes of obtaining; and when he cannot obtain it, that he may seek and use all helps and advantages of war” (Hobbes, 1652). Hobbes’s argument is that all men can claim natural rights (in Hobbes case more for self-preservation), because all men are endowed which all men can make and through reason understand that it is best to live in a society under a social contract where men agree to keep the peace versus the freedom of the state of nature, where life is “short, nasty, and brutish” (Baah, 2000, p. 14).

John Locke (1690) wrote *The Second Treatise of the State of Nature* as a reply to Hobbes’ *Leviathan*. Both pieces had important things to say about man’s relationship with the state and with each other as well as defining freedom in the state of nature and civil society. Locke agreed with Hobbes that in the “state of nature” man has perfect liberty to dispose of his property or exercise his rights without the interference of others. Locke disagreed with Hobbes that man’s inner instincts are to wage war one upon another. Locke states in his treatise that the law of nature governs this state of nature whereby men coexist equally, peacefully without the compelling urge to destroy himself. Nevertheless, civil government is needed as a remedy for what Locke calls the inconveniences of nature whereby men act as judge and jury. Locke also warns, unlike Hobbes, that civil government is not always civil and the people have a right to be protected from such a government.

Jean – Jacques Rousseau in 1762 penned the first draft of what he called the “*On the Geneva Manuscript or The Social Contract*.” Rousseau begins the second chapter “On the General Society of the Human Race” with inquiring why the necessity of political institutions. He answers this question by pointing to man’s primitive state and natural needs that require cooperation and the assistance of other men. The primary difference here is that Rousseau believes that man can live harmoniously in the state of nature and as a citizen of a state – as long as the state agrees to respect the rights of its citizens. Rousseau also highlights the reciprocal nature of these rights in that a slave is debased by the lack of his freedom, but holding the slave captive also debases the master. This reciprocal nature of human dignity marks the early underpinnings of rights with correlative duties.

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), James Mill (1773-1836), and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) are identified as utilitarian liberals who promoted the philosophy of “the greater good.” Central tenets to their thinking were 1) Happiness is the only fundamental value; 2) social institutions were only as good as their ability to promote happiness; 3) all men are equal in terms that an equal amount of happiness for any two people is the standard for equality; 4) men’s duty at large is to promote happiness; 5) and by nature men are inherently selfish and individualists in the goals they seek and institutions they promote. Society is a collection of self-interested individuals who are rational and reasoning (Bay, 1958, p. 36 – 38).

Through this philosophy the Benthamites promoted this doctrine through legislation which provided social incentives that maximized happiness, encouraged

democracy as a representative government that gives the voice to the largest amount of people and advocating universal education as the means to make it all work. However, if it did not work or caused more pain than pleasure, then its ultimate utility is in question and therefore its viability.

Although written hundreds of years ago, Locke, Hume, Rousseau, and the Benthamites made important statements about man's relationship to the state, to other men, and what it means to have a civil society and more importantly, what it means to be free. These are key elements of the human rights debate. What does it mean to have a civil society? Can a society be civil and humane in this perfect state of nature or must we have governments and armies to tame nature? Can governments interfere in another state's affairs? Is the greater good the ultimate objective that drives our foreign and domestic policy initiatives?

Civil Society and Human Rights

As indicated in the discussion of the key philosophers of human rights, the idea of civil society has reemerged as an important issue in democratization and foreign policy initiatives and therefore an important issue in human rights (Ndegwa, 1996; Donnelly, 1993).

The Reagan administration denounced former President Jimmy Carter's human rights policy as "moral crusade incompatible with our real national security interests" (Cohen, 1981, p. 13). The argument used was Carter's humanitarian intervention efforts in repressive regimes was nice, but did not serve our national interests (Cohen, 1981). Framing foreign policy decisions on human rights compliance is considered a form of moralism partly contributed by theological conceptions of rights (Thompson, p. 3).

Making human rights a condition for economic aid grew out a congressional mandate by the Ford administration. President Ford was a strong supporter of the Helsinki process, which produced the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 (Wall, 1981). The Helsinki Final Act grew out the human rights activities of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The Helsinki Act consists of three "baskets" with basket three dealing with human rights provisions and humanitarian assistance. Donnelly (1993) states the Helsinki process and resulting act was instrumental in the demise of the cold war and in articulating a greater focus on international human rights in foreign policy. He also states that the creation of local monitoring bodies for the Helsinki Final Act, such as the Africa, Asia, and Middle East Watch, serves as a source of support against repressive state regimes.

Christenson (1997) states that civil society in its broadest definition can act as a buffer between the state and the individual. Donnelly (1993) writes that as the state of nature evolved into a social contract of protection and cooperation of individuals within the state, the need for balance between the will of the state and the will of the individual arose. Tocqueville in his *Democracy in America* warned of the dangers of a too powerful

state encroaching on the freedoms and will of the individual, especially if such individuals were not organized for political purposes (Tocqueville, 1954).

Ndegwa (1996) refers to organizing for political purposes as “political opportunity” and says that it provides fertile soil for civil society to operate. Civil society actors, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), grassroots initiatives, and social movements are powerful and necessary allies in using political opportunity in challenging the state. However, Ndegwa’s case study of two local NGOs in Kenya reveals that civil society has the potential to challenge hegemony, “but this is an uneven and by no means an assured predisposition” (p. 116). Ndegwa concludes that civil society actors, such as NGOs respond to larger more compelling social movements like democratization, that really provides the political opportunity for change (p. 117).

In conclusion, while the emergence of civil society has generally been in response to totalitarianism, civil society does not always challenge the state (Ndegwa, 1996; Fatton 1993). In fact, Robert Fatton, (1993) a noted scholar African scholar, describes civil society in Africa [as] conflict – ridden and prone to Hobbesian wars of “all against all” and is a prime repository of ethnic hierarchies, conflicting class visions, patriarchal domination and irredentist identities that fuel deadly conflicts in many areas of the continent” (p. 24). While not downplaying the role of civil society actors in challenging the state, social movements provide impetus, political opportunity and the larger “playing field” for such a challenge to take place (Ndegwa, 1996).

Social Movements and Human Rights

Even though remnants of the modern day human rights discourse can be traced back throughout the major religions of the world and key philosophers, it is important to note the close alliance of the development of human rights with social movements as a challenge to hegemony. This explanation of the origins of human rights is a departure from conceptualizing human rights in theological terms or as the descendant of natural rights.

Social movements are defined by Stammers (1999) as groups of individuals who share a common interest in changing or challenging the status quo. These groups of organized collective actors use “mass mobilization or the threat of it” as their main political weapon (p. 3). Non-governmental organizations and other institutions of civil society like the United Nations are not social movements in and of themselves, but our important actors that are involved in the larger movement (p. 3). Social movements make up part of this socio-historic environment and are instrumental in constructing claims in the forms of rights as a challenge to hegemony.

Stammers argue that the social construction of human rights involves human actors in a network of power relations creating and developing human rights ideas and practices in a socio-historic environment. Within this network of power relations human rights practices can support the powers in place. Human rights in their institutionalized form are the most likely to sustain the powers in place. An example that Stammers gives

is of rights that are codified in liberal jurisprudence used by the elites to maintain the balance of power. He states that rights claims that arise from social movements are more likely to challenge hegemony. Stammers list four possibilities of how human rights challenge or sustain power.

1. Human rights challenge power, but not sustain it.
2. Human rights sustain power, while not challenging it.
3. Human rights simultaneously challenge and sustain power.
4. Human rights challenge and sustain power in different degrees, different ways, different places, and at different times (p. 19).

However, as Stammers warns, social movements run deeper than their overt status as political conscience raisers or social agitators. Social movements exhibit expressive and instrumental qualities that legitimize not only the right or claim to something, but also legitimize an alternative set of values and norms that under gird the right (p. 4). The economic and social right to an education is not only a claim to go to school, but may also be a claim to the kind of education one receives and the potential of that education within that society.

An example of the construction of human rights within larger social movements that Stammers cites is the development of economic and social rights as part of the labor and socialist movements of the nineteenth century. Economic and social rights include, but are not limited to, the right to health, the right to a fair wage and the right to adequate food.

Another example would be the anti-imperialist and de-colonization movements of the twentieth century. The anti-imperialist movement resulted in rapid de-colonization of Africa and was instrumental in constructing the right to self – determination. Article one of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights* defines the right to self-determination as people freely determining their own political status as well as freely pursuing their own economic, social, and cultural development (Hansen, 2000).

Indeed, the efforts toward self-rule were so rapid during this time, that Spruyt (2000) said this about it: “The speed and fracturedness of the de-colonization process demonstrates that this was not an isolated process relating only to the fortunes of individual powers” (p. 65). Spruyt was referring to what he called the “end of empire” and suggests that “broad systematic processes” were at work (p. 65). These broad systematic processes are the kinds of processes that make up and drive social movements (Stammers 1999). In the case of de-colonization, these processes include the decline in the benefits of colonization, opening up of world markets, and changing norms (a rising negative sentiment against colonization, similar to the rising sentiment in the 1800s against slavery). All these processes resulted in rapid de-colonization and the spread of the Westphalian order that created a system of territorially organized states that exercise sole right to rule within their borders (Spruyt, 2000).

At the time of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 only three African countries were members of the United Nations: Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa. Of these three, only two were not under colonial rule – Ethiopia and Liberia. Under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and his campaign for Positive Action, which he defined as “The adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we could attack the forces of imperialism in the country” (Nkrumah 1957). Ghana became the first country in Africa in 1957 to win its independence from Britain. Now Prime Minister, Nkrumah hosted the first known conference of independent African states in Accra, Ghana in 1958. Eight independent African States were in attendance: United Arab Republic (Egypt), Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Ghana, with the exception of the Union of South Africa, which refused to attend. A joint declaration of allegiance to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the right to self-determination, and African unity were some of the themes stressed at this conference (Howell and Rajasooria 1972).

Stammers make several concluding arguments concerning the significant impact of social movements on human rights developments: One is that social movements can help “foster or retard socio-historical change” (p. 3). Two is that social change and power are important determinants of how human rights are conceptualized. Thirdly, is the conceptualization of human rights as a “global human rights industry” that manufactures legal documents, covenants and declarations ignores the broader connections and trivializes the importance of human rights as a challenge to hegemony and power. Lastly, Stammers states that human rights are an extension of the natural rights claims, but originated from and is advanced by the following historical struggles: The American and French revolutionary movements, the worker’s and socialist movement, the anti-imperialist movement, the civil rights movement, and the new social movements, such as the women’s movement, the green movement, the gay movement, and the indigenous peoples movement (p. 5).

In sum, for the purposes of this paper, a right can be defined as a justified claim that consists of these five elements: a right holder, an object of a right (the claiming of something), the ability to exercise the right, the ability to hold an individual or nation-state as the duty bearer, and a justification of that right (Vincent, 1986).

Human rights can also be defined in the individual sense as claims that individuals can make that have corollary duties attached. These claims for individuals are based solely on their common humanity and are considered inalienable and indivisible (Lauren, 1998; Vincent, 1986). Human rights are inalienable in the sense that no matter how certain groups or individuals have tried to dehumanize others, a human being can never be reduced to anything other than a human being – and this does not mean an inferior one. Indivisibility of human rights is the notion that one cannot and should not be asked to choose between their inalienable rights, such as choosing between starvation and oppression (Donnelly, 1989). I feel that human rights are interdependent and interconnected in ways that make them difficult to rank. All humans have rights on which claims can be based and corresponding duties attached. For example, all humans have the right to life simply because they are human. Duties attached to this claim are the

responsibilities to uphold this claim and to not willfully endanger, torture or take the life of another.

Felice (1996) in his important work “Taking Suffering Seriously” states that rights can also be thought of in a collective sense, such as rights of social groups or ethnic groups. Felice argues that these conceptions of human rights are not competing conceptions, but interdependent ones. The individual right to join a trade group is interdependent on the trade union as a collective of having certain protected rights: the relationship is dialectal and one cannot exist without the other.

The African Context

The second part of the literature review focuses on the African context. The African context is discussed in terms of Africa as a whole and in the context of the international community. This is not without the understanding that Africa is often mistakenly viewed as one identifiable cultural system. In actuality, you have several, sometimes competing subsystems (Anda, 2000). Even so, there are some commonalities that characterize the continent as a whole. Uneven development, irregular governance, and fluctuating economies have characterized the continent from South Africa historically renowned Egypt (2000). These commonalities go without saying that “despite their common cultural configurations and parallel economic and political concerns, there is a considerable range of variability in terms of both constraints and capabilities among African states” (Anda, 2000, p. 47).

Another way to think of these constraints and capabilities among African states is to use the concept of facilitating and inhibiting forces that Boucouvalas (2000) sets out. Boucouvalas defines a facilitating force as historical and present day factors that have worked in favor of human rights (p. 11). Inhibiting forces are defined as historical or present forces that have restrained or retarded the development of human rights (p. 11). The concept of facilitating and inhibiting forces can be applied to individuals, groups, organizations, as well as nations.

In terms of human rights, this variability is important because some areas, such as Ghana, South Africa, and Botswana have made considerable progress on the human rights front largely due to the variation in inhibiting and facilitating forces along with the changing constraints and capabilities in terms of their governments, economies, and resources (Boucouvalas, 2000 ; Ottoway, 1999).

I begin by discussing the relationship of states to each other and to the larger international system, of which Africa is a part. This relationship can be described as a facilitating or inhibiting force in terms of the rules and norms that the states play by as well as the role of civil society. Donnelly (1993) calls this system of rules and norms the international regime. Rule number one of this international regime is the notion of the sovereign state. Understanding how this regime operates and the rules that compose it is important. International human rights law and the notion of sovereignty are theoretically

antithetical notions, and can operate as either a facilitating or inhibiting force to human rights (Lauren, 1998).

My rationale for preceding my discussion on human rights in Africa with a section on the international system is a simple one: Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, stated in the Millennium Report 2000 that: “The international public domain must be opened further to the participation of the many actors whose contributions are essential to managing the path of globalization” (p. 6). Increasingly human rights compliance is used as a condition for aid, which forces states and other actors to develop new ways of interacting and new ways of thinking (Donnelly, 1993). The rules and norms of this “Age of Rights” (Baxi, 1997, p. 142) are changing, and as Annan (2000) states, “Africa must not be a “passive victim” (Global Intelligence Report, p. 1).

The Westphalian World Order

The roots of the Westphalian world order originated in 1648 with the signing of the treaties of Munster and Osnabruck that ended the Thirty Years War. These treaties spelled out the conditions that brought peace, but also included language that gave states the right to exclusively control and rule within their own borders. In other words these treaties laid the parameters for what we now call the sovereign state. Mesquita (2000) suggests that the origins of sovereignty are traced back to the Concordat of Worms several centuries earlier. The Concordat of Worms established the right of European kings to collect revenue from a region whose boundaries were determined by the bishop in Worms in 1122. This right is thought to have helped end feudalism in the creation of the modern state. Keitner (2000) argues that the Westphalian model provides a framework for understanding relations between political and territorial units, but the French Revolution provided the framework of the modern nation-state.

Sovereignty is important in the implementation of human rights for several reasons. One reason is that it runs counter to the notion of international human rights and nonintervention (Donnelly 1993, p. 29). International human rights laws are agreements that states have made in the form of treaties and covenants that breach the rules of sovereignty. Examples would be the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights together with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol, entered into force in 1976, constitute a lawful binding agreement on states that sign on as signatories (Hansen, 2000). States are considered legitimate if they live up to these agreements (Donnelly, 1993; Forsythe, 1983). Other forms of legitimacy, such a cultural legitimacy must be considered when implementing human rights in cultures that lack the development and modernization of Western culture (An-na'im, 1990).

Humanitarian Intervention

What is the role of the international community when states do not live up to these agreements? The NATO bombing of Belgrade was justified by the United States on grounds of “moral and strategic disaster”; the United Kingdom justified the intervention on the premise of it being a “just war, based not on territorial ambitions, but

on values”; French president Jacques Chirac justified the intervention as a “battle for the rule of law and for human dignity” (Amnesty International Report 2000, p. 5).

As Amnesty International points out, the uprising in Turkey left 3,000 Kurdish villages homeless and displaced three million people, without any threat of humanitarian intervention by these same world powers (Amnesty International Report 2000, p. 6). The same can be said of Rwanda, when in 1994, the Rwandan government exterminated more than half a million Tutsi. During a reburial ceremony for the genocide victims, President Bizimungu asked all Hutus (even though some actually helped save some Tutsis) to offer a mass apology for the genocide. “Still burdened by guilt” for their inaction, the world powers dug deep in their pockets to help rebuild the country (Human Rights Watch World Report 2000, p. 67). The Human Rights Watch Report noted that the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands pledged a total of almost 90 million dollars in aid notwithstanding the 75 million dollars given by the World Bank for reconstruction (p. 67).

The Secretary General, Pierre Sane, of Amnesty International defines humanitarian intervention as “external military intervention in the name of human rights” and issued the following opinion concerning Amnesty’s stance on intervention: Amnesty International has long refused to take a position on whether or not foreign arm forces should be deployed in human rights crises. “We neither support nor oppose such interventions. Instead, we argue that human rights crises can, and should, be prevented. They are never inevitable” (Amnesty International Report 2000, p. 5).

Such was the case of Liberia. Africa had followed the lead of the rest of the world by adhering to the rule of nonintervention. African states did not interfere in the internal matters of other African states. This doctrine of nonintervention was included in important national documents, such as the African Charter and cooperative arrangements between states such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The OAU was forced to modify this policy when Charles Taylor, former procurement officer under impugned president Samuel Doe, led his of guerilla soldiers into Liberia and ultimately into a protracted civil war (Nanda, 1994).

The founding of the OAU is accredited to Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana, the first country in Africa to win its independence from Britain in 1957. One of Nkrumah’s ideals in the founding of the OAU was a “union of African states” that “would in no way interfere with the internal constitutional arrangements of any state” (Thompson, 1964, p. 317). Nkrumah proposed a common African brotherhood that would fight imperialism, as well as develop cooperative arrangements that promoted common African economic and political interests (p. 317).

The OAU stood true to its pledge of sovereignty until the devastating civil war broke out in Liberia in 1989. Liberia is a West African country settled by freed slaves from America in 1847. The United Nations and the rest of the world stood by while Charles Taylor and Samuel Doe led “one of the most corrupt and brutal regimes in the

history of Liberia” (Nanda, 1994, p. 66). The only intra-African arrangements that took action were the Economic Community of West African States known as ECOWAS.

ECOWAS consists of 16 sovereigns of West African states aligned to promote economic development (Anda, 2000). Member states of ECOWAS are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde Islands, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. The OAU represented ECOWAS in the United Nations and justified the military intervention of ECOWAS troops, known as ECOMOG (ECOWAS Monitoring Group) on humanitarian grounds (Nanda, 1994, p. 68). In terms of human rights protection, Nanda argues that this intervention marks a turning point among African states in their willingness to take action with one of their own in the face of gross human rights violations (p. 75).

On the basis of this intervention, Nanda suggests five criteria that would not compromise the political integrity of a sovereign state. These criteria are: a) The severity of the human rights violation (Necessary Criterion), b) The nature of the intervention (Proportionality criterion), c) The purpose of the intervention, d) Whether the action was collective or unilateral, and e) Whether alternatives and outcomes were balanced (p. 64). According to Nanda, ECOWAS intervention in Liberia satisfied all five criteria.

Even in the wake of clear human rights violations, the decision by a state to intervene or non-intervene is often influenced by economic or political opportunities. Hochstetler, Clark, and Friedman (2000) suggest sovereign prerogatives are often conflicting and complex with states bargaining one aspect of sovereignty for another (p. 593). While insisting through out much of the civil war in Liberia that the conflict was an internal matter, Taylor yielded to pressure from the United States that it would sever relations with Liberia entirely if a cease-fire agreement could not be reached (Nanda, 1994). States often bargain with key actors by trading of elements off their sovereignty.

Burch (2000) affirms this by stating that the rules of the Westphalian society, that is the rules that states operate by as independent sovereign actors in the international arena, will change because of technological innovation producing different economic conditions. This changing economic reality motivates states to seek partnerships and integration even though these agreements tend to diminish the sovereignty of the state. Burch states “The Westphalian system changes from a dominant state – centered arrangement to a prominent institution that coordinates and meshes with other non-state systems via diffuse heteronomous, collaborative rules (p. 199).

What does this meshing and collaborating with other systems mean for human rights for the South and for Africa in particular? Drawing again on the study of Hochstetler, Clark, and Friedman, who analyzed not only how states manage and manipulate sovereignty, but also what effect, this manipulation had on human rights claims? In other words, as states make tradeoffs of sovereignty, what do they give up or get in terms of human rights?

Hochstetler, Clark, and Friedman examined human rights claims at three United Nations world conferences. The authors note that international human rights conferences are good sites to evidence claims of sovereignty and associated alliances (p. 592). The authors examined three conferences of which the 1993 World conference on Human Rights in Vienna is of special interest. The focus of this mega-conference was to evaluate the past progress of human rights and align a new post cold war strategy for the promotion of human rights. The significance to legitimizing Africa's role in such a conference as an international economic and political player is important in legitimizing Africa's efforts on the local and global scene with respect to human rights (p. 594).

Hochstetler, Clark, and Friedman argue that the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights exposed alliances sharply divided along North and South and East and West lines. One of the priori claims made on human rights and sovereignty by Latin America and Africa was that these states wanted continued autonomy on how they interpreted and implemented human rights. Using their current state of development and unique culture to support their argument, most southern states felt human rights were relative to the culture and traditions of the people of that country. They argued on the grounds that they had the sovereign right as autonomous nations to decide how human rights were expressed in their culture. The authors noted that states that raised the more intense objections to the universality of human rights were states commonly accused of gross human rights violations. With intense pressure from Northern and Southern NGOs, and the United States for a universal interpretation of human rights, most Latin American and African countries "affirmed the principle of universality" (p. 601). However, many of these countries expressed "misgivings" about doing so in their regional statements (p.601).

It was more pressure than tradeoffs that resulted in the reluctant states agreeing to, at least on paper, the universality interpretation of human rights. However, the scrutiny of international politics and the NGO community helped. Ndegwa argues that NGOs as part of civil society are forceful agitators for human rights, but the level and direction of the agitation depends on the leadership style and commitment, and their autonomy from the state (p. 1).

In Ghana the government is organized around a system of checks and balances that includes the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) that assumed the position of Ombudsman. This commission is to be independent functioning autonomous of the government in the investigation and remedying of human rights violations. The CHRAJ has a network of offices around the country. The Human Rights Watch Report (2001) on human rights commission in Africa noted that of all the human rights commissions in Africa, "the CHRAJ has been an outspoken and independent protector of rights. It carries a high degree of respect and public confidence" (p. 163).

Risse, T. & Ropp, S.C. Sikkink, K. (1999) argue along the same lines that international power relations and transnational networks place repressive regimes on the defensive. Transnational networks provide resources and spotlight to NGOs and other

civil society actors that work to sway international and domestic opinion on human rights issues. So even though, continents like Africa, may agree in principle to the universality of human rights, the debate over content and implementation are far from over.

Human Rights and Cultural Relativism in Africa

According to Vincent (1986) the debate on relativity or universality of human rights has carried on with little relief for over two centuries. Odinkalu (2000) states that the human rights problems in Africa are “immense” and in a state of crisis (p. 1). He also claims that the human rights movement used to address these problems as one that not only does not speak to the needs of the African people, but neither do the African people speak in terms of human rights

Odinkalu thinks the reason is the growing distance between the rights rhetoric and the concerns and aspirations of the people on the ground. He states with the possible exception of the women’s movement and the faith – based social justice initiatives, human rights organizations have become elitist working to satisfy the aims of their overseas sponsor. Instead of being responsive to the needs of the local culture, these organizations get caught up in the bureaucratic demands of often-Western funders. He also states that in some African languages there is no direct equivalent for the term human rights, or the underlying notion of justice or experience associated with human rights. He argues that the usual answers of high illiteracy or little to no participation in the creation of the Declaration is only avoiding the problem. The more likely explanation Odinkalu argues is the Human Rights Box (p. 2). Odinkalu and Cox define the “human rights box” in the following manner:

A set of historical and structural circumstances that enables the human rights framework to gain currency among elites, while limiting advances, and even creating setbacks among the general population. Metaphorically, the box contains a universe of options for the few, while sealing off the vast majority (p. 2).

Vincent would agree that the African people do not use rights language, because this language has effectively excluded them. Instead, Vincent argues for an inclusion of a minimal content of universal human rights, such as the right to bread, but states that anything further is problematic. He states that the relativist and universal argument is based on three assertions.

The first assertion is that there is another world beyond the west. The encroaching westernization of what is left is due to the hegemonic tendencies of mega-powers like Europe and the United States. The second assertion is that nonwestern worlds have different values and beliefs from the western world. The third assertion is that the legitimacy of moral claims is born from the culture in which it resides (p. 37).

Vincent states that the African world - view is fundamentally different from a western world- view and those fundamental differences are echoed in the African

Charter. Mutua (1999) calls these differences “the African fingerprint” (p. 1). Vincent believes to disregard these differences and assume a universal morality smacks of an egalitarian perspective and ethnocentrism at its worst.

Tilley (2000) argues on the grounds of logic instead of hegemony in the case for a universal conception of human rights. He identifies at least twenty arguments for and against cultural relativism and their structural components and weaknesses. Included in his very thorough analysis of cultural relativism and universalism are what he terms as “neglected distinctions” in which he distinguishes relativism and universalism from liberalism, conservatism, and situationism. Tilley defines cultural relativism in this manner: “Although for every culture some moral judgments are valid, no moral judgment is universally valid. Every moral judgment is culturally relative” (p. 2). Conversely, universalism is defined in this manner: “Some moral judgments are universally valid” (p. 2). The short version states that the conceptual foundations of human rights (which includes moral judgments) are western in origin based on the concept of individualism and are not as applicable or sensitive to different cultural and historical contexts.

Shue (1980) argues like Vincent, although on different grounds, for what he calls a moral minimum of human rights no matter the culture. This moral minimum consists of basic rights that all people are entitled to and must have if they are to enjoy other rights. Shue identifies the three basic rights as: subsistence, security, and liberty – with subsistence being the most basic of all. Shue defines basic rights as “everyone’s minimum reasonable demands upon the rest of humanity” (p. 19).

Shue’s thesis of basic rights is relevant to the discussion of relativism, because of his emphasis on duties and the duty-bearer. Much like the African Charter, Shue emphasizes rights and responsibilities, while naming the government as the primary duty bearer of these basic rights. This does not say that Shue believes subsistence rights are universal. In fact he takes a middle of the road stance with his idea of “priority for compatriots” (p. 132). Individuals or collectives simply cannot ease the suffering for all of humanity, so compatriots, or those of common nationality receive priority. Shue states that this theory denies “any correlative duties to aid the suffering are universal, or even transnational” (p. 132).

Shue’s thesis differs from that of Vincent in that Shue feels basic rights are universal, but their implementation is regional. All people deserve food, but it is up to the state or other fellow nationals to come up with it. Vincent argues for relativity on the ground of culture and context. Rights are given validity by the culture. Both theses are making statements about the legitimacy of human rights in local or international contexts.

Immanuel Kant’s thesis of “perpetual peace” used a theory of international relations to help bring about peace and prosperity. Kant (1797) states in the metaphysics of morals “The mature of the state thus justifies the government in compelling prosperous citizens to provide the means of preserving those who are unable to provide themselves with even the most rudimentary necessities” (p. 163). He goes on, largely in the context

of war, and justifies how the conditions of right must be established in all three spheres of human social interaction, including the international.

Marilyn McMorrow (1994) uses Kant's theory of international relations to argue that subsistence rights are indeed universal and so is the call for an international response. She states that third world governments in some instances lack the capacity or the will to provide for their own. She resides that this does not negate the universality of these rights or the accountability of the international community. In many cases a relativistic conception of human rights is couched in the international community's non-response to serious human rights violations in Africa (Human Rights Watch World Report 2000). The mantra used that "African solutions for African problems" implies that the African context is different and what works for Africa, may not work for the rest of the world.

Harn Yawnghe, the first president of the Republic of the Union of Burma, argued against the notion of "Asian values" which was popularized by the former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore (Yawnghe, 2000, p. 147). Yew was referring to the countries of East Asia and their recent economic success. Yawnghe argues that the people of Asia "do not agree" that there is an Asian culture that sets it apart from the rest of the world. He states that Asia is so diverse in ethnicity and social class, who could say for sure what Asian values really are (p. 147).

Anthropologists have resisted joining this discussion, largely due to their consonant belief that a universal application of anything that approximates culture, values, or beliefs is inherently ethnocentric (Preis, 1996, p. 1). The American Anthropological Association came out with a statement that universal human rights were Western and Judeo-Christian (p. 1). As a result, a field that could badly use an anthropological re-conceptualization of culture will largely be lost (p. 2). George D. Spindler (1997) the founder of the field of educational anthropology stated that anthropologists "greatest strength" is their understanding of culture.

Too many times culture is presented as a complex, static, and uniform entity (Preis, 1996). In her anthropological critique of human rights as cultural practice, Pries states that culture is overlapping, dynamic and not easily defined. She gives as an example of the Basarwa of the Southern African Kalahari desert. This group was studied in isolation of the fact that the Basarwa's culture reflected a long history of interaction with other groups as well as showing signs of social construction from being integrated into the economies of Botswana and other neighboring territories. Preis says that these Bushmen's identity were literally "frozen in time" (p. 7). Her suggestions are that human rights needs to be conceptualized as cultural practice and deconstructed to better understand its parts and complexities. She argues that a better understanding of culture will lend a new perspective to the debate on cultural relativism and universality.

Ibhawoh (2000) states that African culture is no monolith either, but human rights must find legitimacy within it. He argues and quite persuasively that there must be a "marriage" of universal human rights and the culture of Africa (p. 2). While agreeing that there should be a uniform set of standards that all nations should aspire to, it is especially

important in Africa to reconcile the traditions of the people with universally accepted standards. He states that there are two paradigms that African states adopt in legitimizing and implementing human rights.

The first is the conservative paradigm that is characterized by a male – dominated society that emphasizes traditional gender roles and collectivism over individualism. The second is the dynamic paradigm characterized by an emerging civil society of NGOs and other organizations that agitate for an interpretation of human rights that is not based in traditions and culture. While, culture is a consideration, it is only one of many and is checked and balanced by forces in civil society.

A good example of the dynamic paradigm in operation is the case of Trokosi. Trokosi involves sending young girls as vestal virgins from their homes and villages into servitude as retribution for the sin of a family member. The Resolution adopted at the First National Workshop on Trokosi adopted in good faith to either abolish or transform the practice utilizing the collective support of the of the Queen Mothers, the Chiefs, and the Fetish Priests as well as the non-governmental organizations (NGO) and government and families and communities involved. Education, training, and development were targeted as well as working out local agreements with the priests and chiefs (The First National Workshop on Trokosi System in Ghana Report, 1995).

This combined effort was viewed as critical in that the Chiefs were deemed the natural and traditional leaders of the people. It was crucial that the Fetish Priests play a role because they benefit both economically and physically from the institution. The Queen Mothers were instrumental due to their early socialization and impact of the women in their communities. The government and the NGO sector provided leadership.

However, the main ingredient that was provided was cultural legitimacy. An-na`im (1990) argues that cultural legitimacy is necessary in the successful implementation and protection of human rights. He defines cultural legitimacy as the “quality or state of being in conformity with recognized principles or accepted rules and standards of a given culture” (p. 336). What underlies cultural legitimacy is the widespread recognition and observance by the culture that a practice or principle is given.

An-na`im argues that a culturally relative approach is needed. He also suggests that cross-cultural studies are needed that utilizes a dynamic conception of culture from a historical point of view.

Historical Perspective on Human Rights in Africa

Respect for human rights and individual liberties have not been consistently adhered to in Africa or any other place across the globe (Laurem, 1998). The notion of dictatorial chiefs and hereditary rulers over small and large kingdoms are characteristic of some parts of pre-colonial Africa as well other countries and cultures. Highly stratified and hierarchical political systems with clear demarcation between ruler and subject are scattered throughout the pages of history. Vincent (1998) lays out an impressive array of

politically governing systems that neither recognized nor respected human rights, and where inequality and domination were exacted on the poor and defenseless.

Examples of these hierarchical societies include the pharaohs of ancient Egypt, the Caesars of Rome, the kings of Cambodia, the Jarlar of Scandinavia, and the Aztec and Inca emperors to name a few. Further destabilizing attempts in establishing an early human rights governance strategy was the international recognition of the “doctrine of sovereignty” that gave the state and the ruler of the state supreme power. Vincent states, “from the time it was first enunciated to the present, no doctrine has served to thwart international human rights more severely than this one” (p. 27). U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan in a speech to the General Assembly on September 20 remarked “sovereignty must give way to the imperative of stopping crimes against humanity” (Human Rights Watch World Report 2000, p. xv). So adamant is his stance that this has been called the “Annan doctrine” (p. xv).

Vincent wraps up his discussion on the evolution of human rights with the sobering statement that “No place on earth by the end of the eighteenth century, therefore could claim that human rights for all were somehow broadly based or solidly founded in their histories or cultures” (p. 28).

This is not to say that some hierarchical rulers and kings, even though they yielded great power, did not rule over stable and secure societies where trade flourished and other levels of more traditional power checked the exhaustive rule of the kings. Owusu-Ansah (2000) in particular cites the examples of several West African kingdoms such as the Asante, Benin, Oyo, and Dahomey, although not democratic in the sense we know democracy, but were peaceful and had a recognized religious culture that offered some protection against the divine right of the kings and rulers.

One common description of human rights in pre-colonial Africa is that the society is primarily community based with little or no emphasis placed on the individual or individual rights. In an examination of the Ashanti political and legal system suggest that there was equal emphasis placed on the individual as well as the public domain.

The Ashanti people descended from the Twi- speaking group of the Akan people. The original name for the Ashanti people is Asante. The Asante Confederacy, long known for its historic stand against British Imperialism until defeated in 1901 had taken control over most of the area called the Gold Coast (Apter, 1955). Most of this territory was seized and alliances were developed under the reign of Chief Oti Akenten, who later became asantehene early in 1700. In doing so, the Asante had also defeated the Fanti Confederation, a group in which they shared a common heritage of being descendants of the Bona Kingdom (Owusu, 1995).

Busia (1994) makes the argument that the Ashanti legal system delineated between public and private offenses and uses as evidence the fact that lives of slaves were also protected in this legal system. Crimes against the individual was recognized and dealt with as a public offense with the individual penalized and not the group. Busia

suggests that this is evidence of the separation of the individual from the tribe in legal redress. He also states that this legal redress extended to a form of constitutional rights that was recognized at both the level of the group and the level of the individual. He uses as evidence that as a member of the Asante legal system, charges could be brought upon the king and if proven the king could be removed from office. If not proven, the act could be interpreted as an act of treason with punishment brought down on the individual, and not the tribe.

Apter (1955) makes the argument that in the traditional Asante system, there was a clear delineation of the office one holds and the separate identity of the office holder. The officeholder had a clear set of expectations and roles to play, which also involved the individual's removal if these expectations and roles were not lived up to. At the time of enstoolment, the chief's expected behavior was clearly laid out with the understanding that those who stooled a chief could also destool him by using an informal as well as a formal process through the elders and military groups called Asafo companies. The Golden Stool is a sacred symbol of the Asante people and is regarded as possessing the spirit and bravery of the entire nation. Apter states this system of stooling and destooling was disrupted by the British who used a system of indirect rule that utilized the chiefs as political instruments for colonization purposes.

The type of conduct frowned upon by the Asante confederacy that could result in a destoolment is described below:

The type of conduct complained of in this manner is usually excessive drinking, going after other men's wives, being overbearing in dealing with his subjects, neglecting the advice of the elders, or getting into a rage and flogging the young men (p. 113).

Busia also makes the claim that the rights of women were strongly respected within the Asante Kingdom. He cites the example of women holding important offices and social functions such as the office of Queen Mother. The Queen Mother is usually the sister of the Chief or the sister of his maternal uncle.

A Queen Mother plays such important roles as nominating a candidate to fill a vacant stool as well as being able to initiate a destoolment through a system of elders and military companies used to protect the confederacy. The Queen mother also advises the women of the village and is expected to exhibit the kinds of qualities that she expects from her subjects.

The Asante Confederacy represents a type of political structure with associated alliances that grew into a hierarchy of chiefs and councils and sovereign states. Busia also outlines four models of pre-colonial societies in Africa that have implications for human rights.

The first model is based upon man being in the total state of nature acting as individual sovereigns in tribes or wandering nomadic groups. Society was classless and

women were autonomous working alone while men were out hunting and fishing. Busia describes this source of autonomy as an early form of women's burgeoning independence. Land was communally owned and there was no concept for individual property or property rights. The Pygmies of Zaire are considered an example of this model of social structure. Busia considers human rights issues largely irrelevant based upon the loosely structured hunter and gatherer type of society based on horizontal relations.

The second model exhibits more social formation and structure, but without any centralized authority of sovereign states that characterized the Asante Confederacy. This model did exhibit political structure in the form of elders with lineage and family being the primary organizing units. Much emphasis is placed on what Busia refers to as "age grades" with the elders emerging with more power (p, 233). During this time such social formations and rituals began to be observed, such as marrying and burial rituals, common property, loosely structured systems of defense and protection, but without any associated centralized authority. The concept of human rights became relevant through a system of age grades and vertical relations, which Busia refers to as being more "gerontocratic than democratic" (p. 233).

The third model is representative of the Asante Confederacy is characterized by a semi-feudal society in the nation-state-building process. This model is still characterized by a strong system of kinship and lineage systems, but gives way to a more organized and centralized political structures, such as what you see with the Asante Confederacy. Roles and functions, such as that of the Queen Mother and the paramount chiefs with the King at the top of a vertical hierarchy are clearly delineated. During this time, trade flourished giving rise to the considerable amount of wealth and prosperity of some African kingdoms like the Asante. This system, unlike some systems of kings as absolute rulers, had an early system of checks and balances on the power of the kings as described in the destoolment process.

However, the Zulu kingdom represented the other end of the spectrum with a more feudal and repressive system. The more expanded these systems became, according to Busia, the more repressive they were to the people. Busia sums up the state of human rights in pre-colonial Africa using what he refers to as the universal dilemma. When the social formation became organized and centralized as in the nation-building process of the Zulu and Asante, some processes became more democratic, but generally at the expense of widespread oppression for others.

However, Owusu-Ansah (2000) argues the primary purpose of the traditional state as "ensur[ing] political/military stability for citizens to engage in their day-to-day affairs" (p. 4). He states that the construction of social and educational institutions today, like schools and hospitals are used as indicators of a state's willingness to provide basic human rights for its citizens. Traditional African states were not under that same obligation. However, they did provide stable governance that allowed the system to flourish, albeit some people in the system flourished more than others.

Human Rights and Democracy in Africa

Stable governance remains a key issue in the human rights debate. It is considered to be the underpinning issue for democratization and the protection of human rights in Africa (Ambrose, 1995; Boucouvalas, 2000; Donnelly, 1993; Ottoway, 1999). The connection between human rights and democracy is even made stronger by Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) that gives everyone the right to participate in their government, which is a central tenet of democracy (UNDHR).

In a speech on December 4, 2000 to the Fourth International Conference on New and Restored Democracies, Secretary General Kofi Annan stated that “There is a saying among my people in Ghana that one head is not enough to decide. I often think of that when I hear people say that democracy is alien to Africa or that Africans are not ready for democracy” (Global Intelligence Report, IIMCR, December, 6, 2000). Annan asserts that African communities have long exercised a consensus process where all points of view are given equal consideration.

According to America’s standards equal consideration and democracy may not mean the same thing. Ambrose (1995) goes as far as to suggest that what the American form of democracy – liberal democracy may not work for the African state at all. However, she counters this by arguing that stable governance “is not a novel idea to Africa” (p. 1). Ambrose defines governance as a “political process whereby those in authority make decisions for the benefit of the citizenry” (p. 1). She cites as evidence the Benin Kingdom, Mali Empire and the Zulu kingdom that exhibited stable governance, before colonization. However, stable governance does not equate democracy or even a respect for human rights. It is a necessary, but not sufficient for the democratization process to work.

Ambrose cites several reasons why a Western form of democracy may not work for Africa. The first reason she gives is the history of colonialism in Africa. She asserts that colonialism redistributed the wealth, sapped the natural resources, and left a legacy of interethnic conflict that continues today. A good example of this was the case of the Hutus and the Tutsis in Rwanda. Colonial masters elevated one ethnic group above the other that fed interethnic tensions that ultimately led to the genocide of more than a half million Tutsis (Human Rights World Report 2000).

Silk (1990) affirms that most scholars agree that the effects of colonialism were devastating to the African continent and more than anything else contributes to its poor human rights record. Silk states, “ it is not surprising that the greatest amount of agreement exists about the negative impact of colonialism” (p. 293).

Silk states that colonial rule destroyed traditional institutions and relationships that protected people and mitigated the power of the rulers. Such was the case in Ghana.

The British used the concept indirect rule using the chiefs and other traditional leaders to coordinate and carry out their regime that destroyed the trust of the people in their traditional leaders (Apter, 1955). When the British resumed control over the Gold Coast in 1843, they drew up the Bond of 1844. This Bond was described by Apter as “one of the most important documents in Gold Coast history” (p. 33). The Bond of 1844 defined the relationship between the British to the native people and their subsequent indirect rule. Article one stated:

Whereas power and jurisdiction have been exercised for and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, within divers countries and places adjacent to Her Majesty’s forts and settlements on the Gold Coast: we, chiefs of countries and places so referred to and adjacent to the said forts and settlements, do hereby acknowledge that power and jurisdiction, and declare that the first objects of law are the protection of individuals and property (p. 34).

Article three states that “Moulding the customs of the country to the general principles of British Law” gives credence to the argument that the intent of colonialism help destroy the traditional systems of authority that the African people had developed prior to colonization (p. 34).

Secondly Ambrose argues that a liberal form of democracy will not work for Africa, because of the lack of development and modernization that characterizes most of the continent. Ambrose also asserts the state is in such disarray that it is not capable of providing the level of development that is necessary for the democratization process. Democracies demand educated leadership and citizenry, which in turn calls for stable governance, the building of schools, proper health care and a host of amenities that the African state cannot provide in abundance for its people. Ambrose proposes that nation building may be a precursor to democracy for African state and says that many third world countries are in the same predicament.

Lastly, she argues that democratic experiment must move beyond multi-party elections. In order for this to happen, she suggests that not only does the state need reconstructing, but with an equal emphasis on economic, social, and cultural rights, as well as civil and political rights. She insists that viability of the African state is dependent on the people being endowed with the full spectrum of rights.

The Ghanaian Context

Ghana is a West African country bordered by the three French-speaking African nations of Burkina Faso to the north, C’ote d’ Ivoire to the west and Togo to the east (see Appendix A). The Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Guinea border the southern tip of Ghana. In land mass Ghana is approximately the size of Illinois and Indiana and covers approximately 239, 000 square kilometers of land.

Ghana is divided into ten administrative regions. The most populous of these regions are the Greater Accra region where the capital city of Accra is located. The next

most populated region is the Ashanti Lands located in the Kumasi region. The last official census in 1984 recorded 8.5 million people, and this figure is expected to swell to twenty million by the year 2000 (Owusu-Ansah 1994). Ghana has been increasingly become the home of many refugees. Approximately 110, 000 refugees fleeing political violence from Togo, Liberia, and Sierre Leone have fled to Ghana (Owusu-Ansah, 1994). This influx of people puts an additional strain on the natural and human resources of a country with an already ballooning population.

Portuguese explorers landing in 1471 in Ghana called the area the Gold Coast, because of the large amounts of gold they found. The Portuguese opened gold mines in 1492 and traded in gold dust at the now infamous site of Elmina castle located along the Cape Coast (Owusu, 1996). The Gold Coast was renamed the Republic of Ghana in 1957 after the nation gained its independence from Great Britain. Ghana was the first African nation to win its independence with Kwame Nkrumah as Prime Minister. The Black Star Square monument was erected in the capital city of Accra to mark Ghana's independence.

The long road toward independence, democratic governance, and human rights has been a rocky one for Africa and for Ghana. The *Human Rights Watch World Report 2000* reported that many African countries in the course of human rights had taken "two steps forward and one step back" (p. 5). This included some of Ghana's West African neighbors such as Sierre Leone, Liberia, and Senegal. The report noted that countries such as Benin, Mali, Tanzania, Botswana, South Africa, and Ghana had made "genuine strides" towards accountable governance and practices that promote human rights.

This is not to say that Ghana is without its share of human rights problems. In *the 1999 Country Report on Human Rights* (U.S. Department of State 2000) reported problems with breaches in civil and political rights, the rights of women and children, inhumane and harsh prison conditions, slavery and other abuses against women, the rights of racial and ethnic minorities, and labor rights. The *Amnesty International Report 2000* (Amnesty International Publications, 2000) reported similar breaches of human rights in Ghana paying particular attention to wrongful imprisonment, impunity, and the death penalty. Ghana has a mandatory death sentence for murder with the last known death sentence recorded in 1993 (p. 112).

Newly elected president, the Oxford trained John Agyekum Kufuor and the National Patriotic Party replaced Flight Lieutenant (ret.) Jerry John Rawlings and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) on July 1, 2001. The government has an executive branch headed by Kufuor, a parliament, and an independent judiciary, and several autonomous watchdog commissions such as the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ).

State-sponsored human rights commissions like the CHRAJ have been proliferating throughout Africa at an astonishing rate. In 1989 there was only one commission in Africa. By the beginning of 2000, there were 24 African countries that had commissions or were in the process of forming a commission (Human Rights Watch,

2001). This is in keeping with international law that requires governments to develop procedures to monitor, protect, and enforce human rights. In 1993 the United Nations General Assembly established a set of operating procedures for these commissions called the Paris Principles. These principles require that state sponsored human rights commissions operate autonomously from the government, have adequate funding, a broad mandate, and be vested in the constitution.

According to these requirements, many African commissions were reported to be a “mixed bag” (Human Rights Watch, 2001, p. 4). Some of the problems reported with the commissions were their formation under weak governments with poor human rights records and their lack of autonomy from these governments. Some of the commissions were even being used as shields to protect governments from international human rights criticism. Transparency of operations was emphasized as one of the most important factors for these commissions in the successful protection and enforcement of human rights

The CHRAJ, Ghana’s state mandated human rights commission, was created as a result of the end authoritarian rule by Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings when he was elected as the country’s civilian president in 1992. As part of the democratization process, a new constitution was drafted which mandated a separation of powers and the creation of three autonomous national institutions.

The other state mandated institutions were the National Media Commission (NMC) and the National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE). The NMC was empowered to maintain high standards in the media and deflect legal concerns brought against the media. Even though NMC has the necessary autonomy from the government, political maneuvering within the government resulted in a complete leadership and staffing change (Human Rights Watch, 2001). This resulted in a loss of credibility for the NMC.

In Ninsin’s (1998) study of Ghana’s transition to democracy, he identified the emerging independence of the press in Ghana as “the single most important force in the enormous task of keeping open and wider the frontiers of political freedom” (p. 183). However, this wasn’t always so. When Ghana was under colonial rule in 1948, a publisher named Abosi was reprimanded for printing the secreted laws of the colony (Yamoah, 1997). The next English governor banned the use of the printing press. The governor reasoned by stating: “Printing has encouraged them to learn and even to criticize the best governments. God keep us from free schools and printing!” (Yamoah, 1997, p. 14).

Even after independence, the problem with maintaining an objective free press plagued Ghana as it did in most post-colonial African countries. The Ghanaian press had been hampered by different newspaper licensing acts and laws that were repealed and restored by different governments over the years. When constitutional rule was restored in 1992, The Newspaper Licensing Law of 1985 was repealed, opening up new opportunities for a transparent and free press. The state – owned dailies, the *Daily*

Graphic and *Ghanaian Times* had been accused of giving more positive press coverage to the ruling government and marginalizing the rural populations and urban working classes. This began to change as readership increased and competition grew lively among the dailies in covering the issues.

The NCCE was another state sponsored commission whose role in the new government was to educate Ghanaian citizens about the Constitution and promote political awareness. The NCCE sponsored Constitution Week where copies of the Constitution are distributed and people are educated about its contents. There is a branch of the NCCE in every region in Ghana with the headquarters located in Accra.

Finally, the CHRAJ was created under Act 456 as a human rights commission with broad autonomy and complete constitutional independence from any branch of government. The CHRAJ has extensive investigative and enforcement powers as well as the task of implementing human rights education. Article 220 of the Constitution mandates that district and regional offices be created. This wide networking of smaller offices distinguishes the CHRAJ from any other state sponsored human rights commission in Africa. The CHRAJ has a staff of over 600 people with plans to increase staff by 200. In 1997, the CHRAJ had received 5, 876 mostly labor related complaints (Human Rights Watch, 2001). The CHRAJ has also been proactive in handling traditional human rights violations such as in the case of trokosi, female genital mutilation, and the banning of elderly women to witch-camps. The CHRAJ was cited by a Human Rights Watch assessment report as the most effective state human rights commission in Africa, and “represents the model of a national institution” (Human Rights Watch, 2001, p.165).

However, the *1999 Country Report on Human Rights* states that this system of checks and balances contains many loopholes that allow for breaches of human rights violations. This ineffectiveness of the checks and balances within the government along with certain traditional values and beliefs lead to the following human rights violations: police brutality, inhumane prison conditions, unlawful arrest, detention and exile, media censorship, and the enslavement of young girls for crimes committed by family members and banning suspected women as witches from their homes and villages. The NCCE, NCM, and CHRAJ are considered pro-democracy organizations that make up a pro-democracy civil society. However, Ninsin (1998) warns of former authoritarian governments like Ghana of installing alternative civil society organizations that are puppets of the government. This is another example of human rights practices developed to sustain the powers in place.

Areas that have been especially targeted for gross human rights violations are police brutality and the violation of the human rights of women and girls. The following two paragraphs will give examples of these violations and what is being done to address them.

For example, during a riot in 1999 a farmer was fatally shot and twelve policemen were injured in a melee in the Ashanti region near Kumasi. A similar incident took place in Konkomba, where policemen fired wantonly in a crowded market killing a fifteen-

year-old boy. The 1999 Country Report noted many other acts of police brutality and overzealous military personnel. The CHRAJ and the Inspector General of the Police has acknowledged these violations of human rights and are attempting to address them through human rights education and more humane practices in riot control, such as the use of rubber bullets and a special tribunal to try officers suspected of brutality.

An example of another human rights violations that Ghana is successfully confronting is called Trokosi. The institution of Trokosi predates the sudden meteoric attention that was paid to it in the late 1990s and even predates the legal and moral documents that it violates. The tradition has strong historical, cultural, and religious roots that dig deep in the African soil. So the question that Reverend Walter A. Pimpong, executive director of International Needs, poses to the audience at the First National Workshop on Trokosi System in Ghana seems paradoxical.

He asks “Why has the Trokosi system persisted in the face of the International Charter of Human Rights, which was adopted and proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948” (Report 1995, EG 299.6). The Women’s Health and Nutritional Security in Bangladesh are asking similar questions. Why are the numbers of girls who die before the age of five exceeds that of boys by 11 percent in Bangladesh? Or why the maternal mortality rates in Afghanistan are the highest in the world? (Novartis Foundation for Sustainable Development 1999)

Despite recent gains in educational equity for women and girls, there is still a disparity between the education enrollment of girls and that of boys in Ghana. The Education for All Year 2000 Assessment Report (EFA Forum UNESCO) report that a substantial number of boys participate more in schooling than girls. This enrollment gap is especially pronounced at the secondary level. Girls sometime drop out of school to marry, care for children, or go to work. There is a push for more female teachers because some families are uncomfortable with their daughters under the tutelage of a male teacher.

The adult education activities in Ghana have primarily centered on literacy education. In Ghana, a Country Study (1995) it was reported that 60 percent of the adult population in Ghana was illiterate and that 57 percent of this number were women (p. 125). To address this problem the National Functional Literacy Program (NFLP) was founded. By December 1997 the NFLP graduated approximately 900,000 learners literate in both numbers and letters. Over 60 percent of the participants were women coming from all regions of Ghana. The NFLP considers this literacy project as contributing to a new social order. This social order promotes lifelong learning that not only contributes to the educational rank of the individual, but to the social well being of the learner (EFA Forum UNESCO 2000).

Despite the success in adult literacy training, technical and vocational training have not met similar success. The access and participation for technical and vocational education in Ghana is limited, especially in the northern areas of Ghana. There are a total of 406 registered technical and vocational training institutions throughout Ghana. Of these 406, 156 are government owned and operated and 250 are private institutions, only

a third of those who do complete a program do not graduate with any form of qualification. The following deficiencies were noted as contributing to the ineffectiveness of the technical and vocational training:

- The absence of standard curricula for both public and private institutions
- Absence of a national certification system
- Inflexibility in the program designs
- Low investment in resources, staffing, and consumable materials needed by students to learn their craft (EFA Forum UNESCO 2000).

Due to these problems apprenticeship is primarily the means by which vocational and technical training is conducted. Many apprenticeships only recruit males with women apprenticing primarily in the food and garment sectors of the industry. Compounding this problem are the lack of regulation of this apprenticing which contributes to worker abuse, unpaid wages, and working under harsh conditions. Government initiatives involve the Vocational Skills and Informal Sector Support Project (VSP) that involves provided more support and resources, more training of master craft-man, provision of workplace subsidies for training, and a database and tracking system of trainees and graduates to establish a labor market data base system (EFA 2000 Forum UNESCO).

A recent study of attitudes about human rights in Ghana conducted by Baah (2000) was examined. This study is important because it examines key perceptions about human rights and human dignity, which are viewed as correlates according to Baah.

The respondents in this study are the Akan people from the key areas in Ghana where the Teaching for Freedom program is being implemented. Baah's principle argument, which is also a principal research area of this case study, is how does an admittedly western conception of human rights make itself applicable in a society that does not share western values and is not on the same developmental level as the west. According to Baah it is a question of implementation: According to this case study it is a question of universality and implementation. The key questions are how does this human rights education program work in a culture somewhat foreign to a western conception of "rights" and what are the barriers involved in its operation, and finally how are these barriers overcome?

Baah (2000) conducted an important study that examined the Ghanaian people's understanding and acceptance of human rights. Baah examines the Akans that constitute sixty percent of Ghana's population located in Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast, Sunyani, and Koforidua. Koforidua is the location of the Teaching for Freedom program case study. Baah (2000) chose the Akans to study due to their relative large population and the great influence of the Akan social outlook on Ghana's culture.

Baah employs the Guttman scaling technique on a questionnaire that was designed to assess the attitudes of respondents concerning their attitudes and knowledge of human rights. From a sample of 98 Baah found that on questions about the applicability of human rights in their culture, many took the neutral position of undecided. On other questions such as “Child labor should be prohibited and punishable by law, 87.7% were either undecided or disagreed with the statement. A majority of respondents agreed with the statement that different cultures practice human rights differently. However, when this question was put to them in a different way, conflicting responses arose. On a set of open-ended questions put to 80 respondents with ages ranging from 62 to 91, there was 100 percent agreement that there needs to be a minimum standard of human rights in every society.

Baah concludes that many Akans were ambivalent or unsure about many tenets of human rights due to conflicting scores on similar questions. The other conclusion was that on certain issues like child labor and community versus individualism, the Akans were in clear conflict with current human rights norms. Baah does state that more research is needed and the results need to be considered in the larger human rights context of Africa and Ghana.

Human Rights Education

The impetus for human rights education was first laid out in the 1946 United Nations Charter mandated to promote and emphasize human rights. This mandate was given greater clarity and emphasis with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. The preamble of the Declaration states that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms be advanced through teaching and education. The importance of human rights education was reinforced by the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights that called on States and institutions to implement human rights education within their formal and informal learning sectors. The International Congress on Education for Human Rights and Democracy adopted the World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy that called on States to develop specific program of action with special emphasis on the rights of women. In addition to the emphasis on gender, human rights education was to include the basic principles of peace, tolerance, social justice, development and democracy (United Nations Department of Public Information, 1995).

The Hamburg Declaration on Adult Education (1997) makes continual reference to lifelong learning as a “key to the twenty-first century... in developing the autonomy and sense of social responsibility of people and communities in reinforce[ing] the capacity to deal with transformations...” (p. 1). More specifically, article 14 in the Hamburg Declaration (1997) stresses the need for adult learning in the elimination of the culture of violence and in the construction of a culture of peace.

The United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) is providing fresh impetus into the urging and supporting of all member states to join in the fight to educate its citizenry concerning their natural inalienable rights. Human Rights Education is defined by the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights (1997)

as “training, dissemination, and information efforts aimed at the building of a universal culture of human rights through the imparting of knowledge, skills, and the molding of attitudes which are directed to:

1. The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
2. The full development of the human personality and the sense of dignity;
3. The promotion of understanding, respect, gender, equality, and friendship among nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups;
4. The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free society;
5. The furtherance of the activities of the United Nations for the Maintenance of Peace (Adapted from the Plan of Action from the United Nations Decade for Human Rights (1995-2004), paragraph 2).

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in conjunction with the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) undertook a mid-term global evaluation of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education. Nations were surveyed on the progress made toward implementing national human rights education.

The evaluation revealed that States had ratified treaties and proclaimed their support to human rights education, but few if any had developed or implemented national programs (United Nations General Assembly, 2000). Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) had played an increasingly important role in disseminating information about human rights and developing plans of action. The evaluation called for increased support and collaboration between NGOs and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and human rights commissions.

Obstacles and needs identified in the mid-term evaluation of the human rights education decade were mainly financial. The lack of financial resources prohibited the development and carrying out of education plans. Increase networking and collaboration were recommended as a way to increase resources and capacity building. Another obstacle identified was the lack of clarity and understanding of human rights issues within organizations that lead to their not being addressed.

The goals of human rights education are commonly misunderstood. The goals involve teaching about human rights as much as working for human rights. Examples of human rights education in practice are the education of law enforcement officers to respect the human rights of the citizens they are to protect. Other examples include human rights education for journalists, parents, students, community education, women’s

empowerment groups, labor organizations, and multinational organizations. Every group mentioned can also be classified under the broadly conceived notion of adult education. Providers of adult education include community education, four-year colleges and universities, community colleges, extension service, armed forces, correctional facilities, religious institutions and many more. Human rights education works to educate people about their rights

In the late 1800's The New England Women's clubs organized literary clubs for women that focused on self improvement by helping women with reading, studying and writing. These clubs eventually took on social issues that stimulated social change. Lindeman (1926) said that every adult education group is a social action group. If one agrees with Lindeman, the New England Women's club serves as example. These literary clubs began as self-improvement adult education groups that evolved into agents for social change. A human rights education interpretation might be that even though initially the clubs were no more than women gathering from the confines of their homes to appreciate fine literature – social change was in the making. In either instance the argument could be made that the New England Women's clubs were doing the work of human rights education by exposing the women to skills that would help them live their lives.

Human rights education works to educate people about their rights and empower them to stand up for them. Meinjtes (1997) talks about human rights in terms of education for empowerment. He defines empowerment as “a process by which people or communities increase their control or mastery of their own lives and the decisions that affect their lives. The Khmer women of Cambodia who traveled throughout the countryside making other women aware of their rights and how to protect them in the wake of the Pol Pot regime are human rights workers who are empowering the community through human rights education.

Human rights education provides the tools for advocacy and conflict resolution necessary for the maintenance of peace between nations and people. Teaching and learning about human rights as lofty ideals stowed away in documents that people in far-away places make and legalists and politicians enforce weakens the power of human rights education. Braman (1989) states “teaching peace to adults is key to personal change.... It requires becom[ing] aware of the assumptions underlying their views and being able to challenge these assumptions, and consider new ways of thinking” (p. 30).

The overall goal is to help people understand what their rights are, how to value their rights and protect them by respecting, defending, and promoting human rights in the home, workplace, and in greater society. Kilgore (1999) would be pleased that her utilization of the means of the group to effect social change is valued in this framework.

Two important concepts are relevant in this United Nations framework of human rights: one is the concept of empowerment defined as the processes that enable individuals, communities, and institutions to increase control and decision-making over their own lives. Learning about Martin Luther King, may or may not empower, acting on

his principle of non-violence to bring about social change is empowering through direct force of engagement. Baptiste's call for civic-minded engagement would be relevant here.

The second concept is the ultimate goal of people working together to sustain a culture of peace. As part of this goal, The United Nations Educational Scientific Cooperative Organization (UNESCO) developed a Manifesto 2000. This Manifesto affirms a culture of peace and prevention as its highest goals.

Lifelong learning aims to engender all means and ways of learning that one encompasses throughout life. The notion is a romantic one perfectly acceptable if access to the means of learning and resources were equitable. Even if this were so, the notion that learning alone will bring about a safer, more productive and equitable world has never been realized - not even in the democracy with supposed equal educational opportunity that we say we live.

A human rights framework is a step in the right direction to the realization of a more fairer, just, and productive world. It alone cannot do the whole job. How can a world be productive if the poorest 20% of the world's people, which just happen to be women and children, earn 1.4% of the world's income? This gross inequality of standards of living is a violation of article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that states that everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well being of himself and his family.

Human rights education must be the arm of action that supports learning throughout one's life in a more productive and equitable fashion. A human rights framework incorporates human rights education as a tool to accomplish this task.

Amnesty International

Amnesty International, the developer and organizer of the Teaching for Freedom program, was founded on meager beginnings in 1961. A concerned London lawyer by the name of Peter Benenson published an impassioned newspaper editorial for six forgotten prisoners who were jailed unjustly for their political or religious beliefs. The editorial was published worldwide and by 1964 political prisoners were released in Ireland, East Germany, and other countries. The emphasis of the Benenson editorial that became the subsequent emphasis in Amnesty's human rights work was; political impartiality, respect for human rights, and getting the facts (Clark, 2001).

Through these techniques, Amnesty gained consultative status as an NGO with the United Nations. Amnesty played a significant role in defining the collaborative strategies that have made NGOs very effective defenders of human rights. Amnesty has also helped shape the human rights norms that have been codified in international law and other legal mechanisms. For their outstanding work, Amnesty International was the recipient of the coveted Nobel Peace Prize in 1977. This prize came on the heels of Amnesty openly challenging and criticizing foreign governments, including the United States of their human rights violations.

Since its humble beginnings, Amnesty has broadened its mandate to include the following areas of human rights protection, monitoring, and education strategies:

1. Freeing all prisoners of conscience;
2. Ensuring due process of law for political prisoners and ensuring that governments refrain from unlawful killings of political prisoners;
3. Abolish death penalty and end political disappearances and torture;
4. Oppose abuse by armed political groups;
5. Assist asylum seekers;
6. Cooperate with other human rights bodies and organizations;
7. Ensure control of international military, security, and police relations to protect human rights;
8. Develop and implement human rights education and awareness campaigns, (Amnesty International report, 2000, p. 273).

Amnesty makes it clear in the Amnesty International Report 2000, that they neither support nor oppose armed or humanitarian intervention. Instead, Amnesty says that human rights catastrophes can and should be prevented. This prevention work supported by Amnesty is both long and short term and includes human rights education. Amnesty developed and helped support human rights education programs in more than 50 countries around the world. One of those programs developed in the early 1990s was the Teaching for Freedom program. This human rights education program targeted the youth and the training of teachers in human rights methodology.

Conclusion

This is the crux of the African debate on human rights. Closing the dichotomy between human rights and culture in Africa requires a consideration of the unique circumstances that characterize the continent. African democracy and human rights are now at critical juncture capable of being jeopardized by donor fatigue and the lessening of international support. It is imperative that the state be reconstructed and governments stabilize to provide fertile conditions for the growth of democracy and human rights.

Chapter III: Method

The present study examined a case called the Teaching for Freedom Program (TFF), which was managed by the Norwegian section of Amnesty International and funded by their solidarity campaign called Operation a Day's Work (OD). The central questions this research answered are; How does the Teaching for Freedom operate at Koforidua Secondary Technical School? What were the major barriers that impeded that operation?

Research Issue

The purpose of this project was not to extend the evaluation; however, the information obtained will do so despite the intentions of the researcher. This study contextually examined in an explanatory fashion an individual TFF project case in its natural environment. The Ghana project was never evaluated on the country level, or even mentioned specifically in the evaluation report. The purpose of this study was not replicating the findings of the completed evaluation. The only TFF project that was mentioned in Africa was the South Africa country report, which was not a detailed case analysis. Again, the purpose of this study was to examine the individual Ghana TFF project as a case study. This enables a better understanding of how the Ghana TFF project went about accomplishing its aims and in identifying the major barriers to the project in particular to the unique culture and characteristics of Ghana and the school in which the project took place.

Design of the Study

To successfully answer these questions a case study design was used. This qualitative design takes deliberate consideration of the context and the many uncontrollable factors contained therein. My questions were: 1) *How* did the Teaching for Freedom project go about accomplishing its aims? 2) *What* were the major barriers in implementing the project? The primary focus of this study was partly descriptive and primarily explanatory. I explained how the project worked in relation to the cultural and traditional contexts which it interfaced with. In order to develop a coherent explanation, some description of the club and the context in which it resides was necessary.

The Teaching for Freedom program was a contemporary case bounded by events and real-life context out of the investigators' control. The context was highly important in understanding how the project worked and identifying the major barriers in that particular regional context and school context. The context was also important in generalizing as a theoretical proposition versus being generalizable to a distinct population. Multiple sourcing of evidence such as direct observations, interviews, and document and archival analysis enabled triangulation of evidence, which was necessary to ensure construct validity

In this particular study, I chose the case study as a research tool to better understand one individual country (Ghana) TFF project out of the 26 that operated worldwide. Further delimiting the scope of the study, out of the 10 individual TFF projects that was piloted in each of Ghana's 10 administrative regions, I examined one

project in the Greater Accra region of Ghana. This project was selected on the basis that it was one of the few programs still operating since the funding ceased. This case study of one project allows a contextualized understanding of that case in that school. The evaluators of the overall TFF program admitted they had neither the time nor resources to carry out this “impossible task” (AI, POL32/05/99, p. 12).

Yin’s (1994) description of the case study inquiry deals with the complex real life situations that yield results that are generalizable to theoretical propositions versus a sample group. The local TFF project studies of South Africa, Brazil, and Tunisia, will certainly be relative to the understanding of the TFF at the program level. Considerations from these individual projects at the program included; the distribution of monies, the outcomes relative to cost, and general comparisons between examined projects (AI, POL32/05/99). The inability to examine the projects deeper as they occurred in each differing local context yielded the description of the results as tentative and impressionistic by the evaluators.

The diversity of regional TFF projects in Ghana alone delineates the need for a contextual understanding of an individual case. The previous discussion does not even include the different cultures and subcultures in the schools where the project was operating. Ghana’s secondary school system where the TFF programs were implemented are tiered into three levels: top achieving schools, middle achieving schools, and low achievement schools. These schools are differentiated by the quality of the teaching staff, resources, and the quality of the students. Like the bluebird and the red robin reading groups, everyone is aware of the rank of the school they attend (Shiman, 1970). So the context of this case study includes variables at the country level, the regional level, and the local level of the school where the TFF project operated.

Unit of Analysis

The object under investigation was a human rights education program called the Teaching for Freedom Program that operated as a human rights club in one secondary school in Koforidua. The program cannot be manipulated or varied, but must be studied in its natural context.

Research Questions

This research focused on how a particular human rights education program operated within the context of a school and a developing country. The questions this study addresses are:

1. How did the TFF program operate in terms of the aims of the program and the aims of human rights education?
2. What were the major barriers that impeded that operation?

Pilot Study

I conducted a pilot study that involved my traveling to Ghana in August of 2000 to do some preliminary investigation and fieldwork. A pilot case study is important in that it helps clarify or reveal weaknesses in the design and further prepares the investigator for a more refined data collection (Yin, 1994). A pilot helps in data collection by giving direction to the content of the data and procedures used to collect it as well as acting as a “laboratory” for the investigator (Yin, 1994, p. 75). The pilot tends to encompass a wide focus with the hope of clarifying and fine-tuning conceptualizations and methodological issues. A pilot study can help the investigator sharpen her focus to ask better questions, and help determine the feasibility of the overall case in the field.

In preparation for the pilot study, I constructed a case study protocol (see Appendix D). The case study protocol is helpful in the logistics of conducting field research. A good protocol should include a clear schedule of interviewees, guiding question, procedures in case of an emergency, list of needed resources, access information, and be flexible enough to allow the investigator to adapt to the interviewees schedule and environment (Yin, 1994).

To accompany the protocol, I developed a letter of introduction (see Appendix E). When possible, I sent the letter of introduction ahead of me so my interviewees would know who they were meeting and the general purpose of the interview. When sending the letter ahead was not possible, I offered the letter to the interviewee before I started the interview. I did this to give the interviewee a chance to feel comfortable and if inclined, to refuse to be interviewed.

In addition to this, I developed a rapport over email and phone with Amnesty International workers in the Ghana office, who were key to my gaining access to certain key informants, important documents, setting up and scheduling interviews and helping me make needed preparations for my stay and transportation. Their graciousness exceeded my expectations. Since my pilot study site was far away and my time was limited, I needed to have as much done before I arrived on the site as possible.

I found the protocol extremely helpful in staying organized and focused, in a foreign field site. Also, having materials listed and questions prepared help me focus while my range was still very broad. Leaving a section in the protocol for dual sources of data was my cue to remember to collect supporting and relevant documentation when possible. Due to this, I collected a wealth of physical documentation that I returned with.

However, I realized after transcribing the interviews, that some of my time with the interviewees was wasted on asking questions that could have been answered through the documentation. I also discovered that I needed to do more listening, list less questions on my protocol with more open space to jot down changes and utilize more open-ended questions. I also discovered that, while I could understand what my interviewees were saying despite heavy accents, it was not so easy to hear and transcribe later. Some of this was due to poor equipment and background interference. Along with better equipment, I

may occasionally, pause and stop to ask a clarifying question or summarize a statement that may be useful later, while transcribing. I think it was wise to let interviewees know prior to being interviewed, that the interviewer will be pausing and asking for occasional clarification. However, this did not disrupt the flow of the interview.

There were several relevant field questions and themes that emerged from a preliminary analysis of the pilot data. It came out in the interviews that the emphasis on human rights in the schools had caused some parents to stop paying for their children's tuition. In addition, one member of the Teaching for Freedom club in the school in Koforidua stated that many adults in Ghana felt that children became "arrogant" after learning their rights. This is a line of questioning that I wanted to pursue. Since, I wanted to understand how the clubs work as well as identify barriers, I thought it would be useful for me to do the following:

1. Interview more members of the clubs at the school in Koforidua
2. Interview members that might have dropped out or parents that might have stopped tuition payments because of club membership or some related human rights issue
3. Interview some parents of club members
4. Interview an administrator or the "head master or head mistress at the school". (One interviewee suggested that school authorities were a somewhat ambivalent about the clubs).

Another relevant line of questioning that emerged from the pilot data was the silencing of the girls in the school and the freedom of expression it offered both girls and boys. The school is composed of approximately of 1000 boys and only about 50 girls. Most of the girls at the school belong to the Teaching for Freedom club – this in itself makes a statement. I needed to find out the exact number. In the interviews the boys indicated that they were suppressing the girls. The two girls that I interviewed indicated that as a member of the club they felt free and open to express themselves. Overall, from the patron and students, the club seems to be functioning as a place where students can discuss their issues and problems. One student related an incident where he saw an elder severely beating a child. He went to the patron of the club to ask what could be done to help the child. Another student talked about being severely beaten by his father, but not letting his sister intervene on his behalf. This correlates with information received from an interview with an author who conducted a study bringing out the culturally condoned violence against women and children in Ghana.

With this information in mind, I interviewed more of the girls in the club to see if there might be some different interpretations for being a member. Also, I will want to interview some girls that aren't members of the TFF club. I think it would be informative to interview the parents of a girl who is a member of the club, since the school has such low enrollment of females. Also, I might want to target my questions more open-endedly, such as asking, "What is it that you like the best about being a student at this school or a member of this club?"

I think the pilot also informed some basic issues concerning the study itself, primarily issues that will need to be clarified upon return. One issue is the teacher-training arm of the TFF program. I interviewed some teachers who had been trained as final year inductees and now were actively teaching. I did not gain much from these interviews. I had just arrived from a long plane ride and really did not feel prepared to take on this massive interviewing opportunity, but did so anyway. More teachers that have undergone this training will have to be interviewed. The teacher-training portion of the TFF has trained at least 1500 teachers.

The purpose of the teacher-training portion of the TFF program is to multiply the effect of human rights training due to the fact that teachers touch many young lives. The other part of the program resides in the secondary school, such as the one that at Koforidua. It is not clear to me why the primary schools are not involved in this. I am unclear on the connection, other than the one noted, of the teacher-training arm of this program with that of the secondary school. I noted in my transcription notes that I did not ask that question to the patron who oversees the club at the school in Koforidua. My questions need to be more probing and less directive asking for information that can be easily obtained from other sources. However, in some cases copier or paper documentation is not feasible.

Another basic issue or line of questioning that emerged was an apparent conflict between the National Curriculum Director (CRDD) for the entire of country of Ghana and the Amnesty International people in Ghana. The CRDD director informed me that the Amnesty International people from Ghana wanted them to incorporate human rights education as a subject into the nation-wide curriculum. A goal of the TFF program was to have a permanent place in the curriculum. The CRDD people argued in the interview that human rights was already integrated throughout the curriculum and there was no need for integration. Interestingly, it was this same group of people that also informed of parents who had withdrew their children from school by stopping paying tuition, because of a conflict about this issues. I need to find out specifically from Amnesty and the CRDD director the nature of this conflict.

Data Collection

In preparation for data collection, a protocol was constructed that contained the general rules, procedures, questions, and plans for analysis (Appendix D). The protocol helped me focus on the actual case and unit of analysis. More specifically the protocol emphasized how I gained access to the secondary school in Koforidua and access to the people I interviewed. A set of guiding questions with the understanding that depending on what emerges from the data determined the direction of future questions and research. The first site acted as a pilot case to help me frame sharper questions or other formative changes in my protocol. I included a section in my protocol for logistical procedures for dealing with emergencies, calling for help, and a schedule for data collection along with flexible timelines.

Data was collected from multiple sources. To achieve triangulation, I used multiple sourcing of evidence such as, direct observations, interviews, physical artifacts and report documentation.

I made two visits to Ghana with site visits both to the school and the Amnesty International – Ghana sponsoring office and other nongovernmental organizations that were likely to have interacted with the program in general or school club in particular. During the site visits, structured and unstructured interviews were conducted with key actors in the TFF club or the school environment. The following individuals were interviewed: (1) TFF patrons of the club, (2) club members, (3) chief prefect of the school, (4) headmaster of the school, (5) Amnesty International – TFF Board Members, (6) nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and (7) professors at the University of Ghana.

Structured interview questions focused on the respondents' contact, role, and interaction with the club in particular, and with the school in general. Unstructured interviews or open-ended questions developed as the interview proceeded and as the researcher followed up on leads. All respondents were interviewed at least once and several key respondents, such as the club patrons were interviewed twice. The two club patrons, who are key actors in the clubs, were interviewed twice and reviewed the transcription of the interview to ensure accuracy and completeness. In addition to being interviewed, others were corresponded with through mail.

During site visits to the school and NGOs, documents were collected that had either direct or indirect bearing on the club, school, or Amnesty International (AI), or the human rights environment in Ghana. Documents collected and reviewed during site visits included the following: (1) TFF club attendance and offices, (2) training manual of club patrons, (3) training manual for club liaison officers, (4) AI progress reports of the club patrons and liaison officers, (5) school disciplinary policies and reports, (6) school newsletters and journals, (7) AI Norway and Ghana TFF evaluation and progress reports, (8) letters written by students, (9) minutes of student meetings, and (10) club curriculum items, (11) research reports from the Center for Democracy and Development (CDD) and Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ).

Data was collected from interviewing using a tape recorder and some written notes. Documentation will consist of minutes of meetings, personal records, written reports, memos, evaluations or progress reports and any other internal or external documents that shed light on perceptions, implementation, inner workings and progress of the project. Physical artifacts may include sample products from the Human Right Education clubs in the schools. For example, physical products might include, a copy of the Ghanaian Constitution and the literature supplied to the human rights clubs.

Storing, Coding, and Analyzing Data

Data was collected in the field using written notes and audiotape recordings. Data was transcribed, reviewed for accuracy by interviewee, when possible and entered into

word processing program with extra copies stored on diskettes for easy retrieval. Data was organized in the following manner:

- I Case Study Notes
 - A. Interviews
 - B. Observations
 - C. Document Analysis
- II. Documents: Annotated

Using *Ethnograph*, a software program specifically designed to help in the coding of data, I used the primary two analytic procedures in the coding process, asking questions and making continual comparisons. The basic questions to help open up the data to reveal potential categories are Who? What? Where? How? How Much? and Why? Theoretical sampling helped guide me toward the next question, the next source or site, or the next potential category. From there axial coding reunites the data in unique ways by making connections between the categories.

Selective coding systematically relates the categories, identifies gaps and areas for further development toward the development of a process that eventually leads to theory.

Data Verification

In the later stages of the analysis, I had one key informants review drafts of their transcription for accuracy as well as ensuring construct validity. It is important that the researchers possess good listening skills and be wary of preconceptions that can blind a researcher to possible links in the data. Preconceived notions can occur from data or the researchers own life experiences. Inferences need to corroborate with other data and the researcher must remain open to rival explanations and contrary findings.

Analysis

The topic under investigation was the Teaching for Freedom Project in one school in Ghana. The founding questions that guided my research and helped frame the propositions were, how did the Teaching for Freedom Project work toward and what were the major barriers?

One proposition that guided the research was that the human rights education program develops partnerships to better accomplish their aims. To pursue a conceptually founded explanation of the above how and why questions, I chose the single unit-case study analysis design. Due to resources a single case was selected located in one region of Ghana. My data collection strategies called for a triangulation of data collection methods that involved direct observations, interviews, documentation, and the collection of physical artifacts. My objective was to develop an explanation of how the project worked, and what barriers stood in its way. Relevant information toward answering these questions and guiding the research emerged during the data collection and analysis.

Theoretical sampling guided my direction and what questions and comparisons I made. Memos and diagrams were used as an analytical trail of how my thinking evolved throughout the project. This trail enhanced the likelihood of conceptually relevant categories emerging and their associated properties and dimensions.

Chapter IV: Case Background and Summary

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to understand how the Teaching for Freedom (TFF) program operated in Koforidua Secondary Technical School (Sec/Tech) and to identify barriers that affected the operation.

The primary reason for choosing the TFF project at Koforidua Sec/Tec to study was availability. The TFF club at Sec/Tech continues to operate under the guidance of one of the two originally trained patrons. The sister TFF project in the eastern region of Koforidua was located at Ofori Panin Secondary School and has not been in operation since 1997, a year after the project was initiated. According to a former member of the TFF club at Ofori Panin, the patron of the club was transferred and not replaced. The club simply fell apart after that. TFF Clubs in other regions of Ghana met with similar fates. Studying a functioning club allows the examination of an active program whereby observations and interviews of sessions and participants could be made.

Other factors making the TFF club at Koforidua Sec/Tech an interesting if not an unusual case was the fact that the club did survive and in one of the most notorious schools in the region. The school is a former all male school with a reputation for violence and competition that is known throughout the region. Other interesting factors of the school include its status as a boarding school drawing students from several surrounding areas and its recent, but stormy admittance of female students. Combined, the TFF club at Koforidua Sec/Tech proved to be not just a worthy case to study, but also one with great implications for human rights work in Ghana.

Chapter four begins with a background description of the interviewees and kinds of data used to support findings. Following the summary of the data gathered, an overview of the overall program is provided with the understanding that this study focuses on just one arm of a very large and extensive program that spanned several countries and all ten administrative regions in Ghana. Next, an extensive description of the school as the context in which the TFF club resides and shares characteristics is given. Lastly, I will describe how the TFF club operates in respect to the school and Ghanaian culture. Findings will be discussed in relation to their status as barriers or enablers in the work of the club. Conclusions and implications will be fully discussed in chapter five.

Summary of Data Gathered

The interviewees provided information concerning the school, the TFF program, and nongovernmental organization (NGO) affiliation. Interviewees closely connected to the TFF club or program at Koforidua Sec/Tech were interviewed much more extensively than those who could only talk about the school or the program in very general terms. Field notes and a field journal in the form of coded memoranda were also used. In

addition to the interviews and field notes, documents were also studied to better understand how the club operated, what was the curriculum, and to help uncover hidden school and club meanings. Documents included: school and club curriculum, reports of the Annual General Meeting of School Patrons, Training Manual for Patrons of Human Rights Clubs, Training Manual for Regional Liaison Officers that provided oversight of the work of the school club, minutes and notes taken from club meetings, internal letters and documents that addressed human rights issues and policies of the school and club, and school newspaper publications and other data. Background information for the eastern region and Koforidua was collected from the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress Handbook Series of *Ghana a Country Study*.

Interviewee Background Data

Headmaster of the School: The Headmaster acts as principal of the school assisted by an Assistant Headmaster. The Headmaster has been in this position for only four months and readily admits that his knowledge about the TFF club is limited. He offers ready access to school records and data in hopes of establishing a link with schools in America.

Senior Housemaster: The Masters and Mistresses share duties on a rotating schedule of maintaining discipline and order in each of the houses and at all school gatherings. The Master and Mistresses report to the Senior House Master who then reports directly to the Headmaster of the school. The Senior Housemaster has occupied this post for 12 years and occupies a pivotal role in the school as far as discipline and bullying among the students is concerned.

Master A: Teachers are referred to as *Masters* at Sec/Tech. Master A has been a teacher at Koforidua Sec/Tech for six years and teaches Technical Drawing, Woodworking, and Building Construction. He is also chairman of the Cadet Corp. Master A had little to say about the TFF club, but did provide some background information about the school in general.

Master B: Called an “old boy” of the school due to his former status as a student of Sec/Tech. Master B has taught visual arts and graphic design at Sec/Tech since 1998. He is also a co-patron or adviser of the TFF club taking over the co-patron ship from one of the originally trained female patrons, Master C. He is also an avid member of Amnesty International and a strong abolitionist of the death penalty. According to the female patron, this old boy of the school has participated in mounting a campaign against the girls by inciting the boys to attack and molest the girls.

Master C: Is one of three female teachers on a campus of 61 male teachers. Master C has taught science, physics, chemistry and biology at Sec/Tech for 11 years. She also holds status as one of the originally trained co-patrons of the TFF club. The co-patron ship of the TFF club was passed to Master C when she became regional director of Math, Science, and Technology Education (MSTE) for the eastern region. Master C

reports that she is physically abused by her husband and frequently refers to the subjugation of women and girls in Ghanaian society.

Master D: Is a soft-spoken Language Arts and Social Studies teacher at the school and has been at his work for 7 years. He is one of the original co-patrons of the TFF Club. Master D has consistently advised the TFF club since its inception in 1997. He also represented the TFF club at the Annual General Meeting of the Patrons that was held in July of 1998 at Wesley College in Kumasi. Master D and Master B are still actively serving as co-patrons to the TFF club.

Student A: This student occupies the most powerful student leadership position in the school as Chief Prefect. This student position is equivalent to the Headmaster of the school. Student A is 18 years old and is from Accra, the capital city of Ghana. He is also a final year student commonly referred to as a Form three or a senior. Student A is taking up building construction and is not a member of the TFF club. His input is vital in that, he is considered a student leader that exercises considerable influence throughout the school.

Student B: Student B has been President of the TFF Club for five months and a member of the club for three years. He is 18 years old and a senior taking up Electronic Engineering and hails from Accra. The TFF president holds the school office of Sickbay Prefect in which he is in charge of the sickbay when no master is present. He expresses empathy for the mistreatment of the juniors and for the plight of the girls on campus.

Student C: Student C is one of 5 girls in the TFF club and one of 54 girls in the school. She is 17-year-old senior taking up visual arts and graphic design. She is the treasurer of the TFF club and has been a member of the club for two years. Student C also holds the office of Assistant Dispensary Prefect in the school. She is a day student who returns to her home in Koforidua at the end of the school day.

Student D: Student D is an 18-year-old female senior student taking up visual arts and graphic design. She is the assistant treasurer in the club and has been a member for three years. She is a day student who returns home to her family in the evenings.

Student E: This student is one of the four Form one or junior students in the TFF club. He is 17 years old and has been a member of the club since he became a student in the school earlier this year. He is quiet and withdrawn.

Student F: Is a 19-year-old senior who holds the office of Dining Hall Prefect in the school. Student F is a Muslim and President of the Ghana Muslim Association (GMSA) in a predominantly Christian school. He frequently raises the issue of his Muslim identity on campus and wants the administration to allow them freedom of worship. He has been a member of the club for three years.

TFF Board Member: Amnesty International – Ghana: This individual served on the board that implemented the TFF program as well as serving as Amnesty Internationals Campaign Director at the site from where the program was implemented.

TFF Program Treasurer: The treasurer of the TFF Board was closely involved in all phases of the program serving as a TFF Board Member and a confidante of the TFF club at Koforidua Sec/Tech. He lived near the school and interacted with the club in the same way the liaison should have interacted. The treasurer attributes the long-life of the club to his close proximity to the school and his help.

TFF Consultant: The consultant is a Professor of Social Studies Education at the University of Cape Coast. He trained final year teachers in the teacher – training colleges. The consultant expresses his support of such practices as female genital cutting and trokosi, but says that he did not let his personal beliefs rise above his professional work with teachers on human rights.

Committee on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ): The (CHRAJ) is an intergovernmental organization vested by the Constitution of Ghana to promote, protect, and enforce fundamental human rights and administrative justice. The agency was praised by the United States based Human Rights Watch as the most effective human rights commission in all of Africa.

National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE): NCCE is an intergovernmental organization body that is mandated by the Constitution and is funded by and reports to Parliament. The NCCE is mandated to teach people the essence of constitutional democracy. TFF program treasurer states that NCCE was viewed as political puppet of the government and they chose not to interact with them during the previous administration. He states that since the latest presidential election, this view is no longer held.

Ghana Center for Democratic Development (GCDD): Formerly known as the Center for Democratic is a nongovernmental non- profit independent public policy organization. The mission of the CDD is to help consolidate democracy in Ghana through lobbying, research and publication. The CDD is primarily a think tank and recently published a very important study on the attitudes of Ghanaian people toward democracy.

Background Description of Ghanaian Teaching For Freedom Program

The implementation period of the Ghanaian program was from June 1996 to June 1999 when funding from the Norwegian section of Amnesty was depleted. However, the overall project has a much longer history beginning in 1991 with the establishment of projects in twenty-six countries from Argentina to Hong Kong to the West Bank/ Gaza Strip. It was the hope of the Norwegian section that individual country projects would become self-sustaining and continue functioning beyond the discontinuation date. This has not occurred with many of the projects. The TFF club at Koforidua Sec/Tech was part of a larger project in Ghana that has continued to function in the form of a human rights education club. This particular project was chosen for this important reason. Initially the TFF clubs were established in two secondary schools throughout all ten administrative

regions of Ghana. In addition to that phase of the program, human rights education induction courses for final year students of teacher – training colleges were also implemented. The teacher – training induction courses were discontinued in June 1999 when the program ended.

The overall TFF program in Ghana consisted of the piloting of human rights clubs in second – cycle schools as well as induction courses for final year teachers in teacher – training colleges. This study is limited to the examination of the operation and development of the TFF club at Sec/Tech in the eastern region of Ghana. With this in mind, particular attention is paid to the workings of the school as an important context in which the club is situated and operates. Henry (1993) defines school culture as a “...set of relationships, beliefs, and values, and feelings shared by those who make up the school” (p. 39). According to Henry the processes, content and rituals that comprise school culture have the potential to reveal when context is properly emphasized. In some cases, the beliefs, values, and relationships of the school were found operating in the club acting as a barrier.

Therefore, primary interviews and data collection were directed toward the club situated in a larger school community as the primary unit of analysis. A more broad understanding of the overall program and its relation to certain key human rights NGOs in Ghana is given as supplementary context interwoven throughout the text.

The overall aim of the development of human rights clubs in secondary schools was to foster an attitude of respect for human rights among the youth of Ghana, and to encourage them to act as agents of social change in larger society. This is in keeping with Article 35 Clause 4 of the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. This article states that the “State shall cultivate among all Ghanaians respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms and the dignity of the human person” (Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992, p. 35). Individual school clubs such as the one at Sec/Tech were to base club activities and curriculum on these aims and thus in keeping with the Constitution of Ghana. The stated aims of the TFF program will be used to understand how the club operated and to help identify enablers and barriers that impeded or aided the work of the club at Koforidua Sec/Tech.

Cultural Conflict Within the Teaching for Freedom Program

System and time inefficiency created problems for the TFF club in the school, but also between the Western more developed sponsor of the program and the less developed donor countries, like Ghana. A 1997 study on the impact of the TFF program by the Standing Committee for Research Action (SCRA) indicated that the geographical and cultural distance between Norway and programs in the South created unacceptable levels of bureaucracy and cultural insensitivity. The report concurred that the cultural context and capabilities of programs in developing countries need to be considered in terms of reporting and accounting requirements that are attached to grant funds totaling in the millions of dollars (AI Index: POL 32/01/97 Distr: SC). Norwegian secondary school students participating in community service projects called Operation A Day’s Work

(OD) generated funding for the program. The OD funds were released twice a year to Amnesty International for educational programs that involved children with strict auditing and reporting requirements attached.

Amnesty International in Ghana was one of 28 recipients of these funds and the requirements attached to them. Hierarchical bureaucracy within the Amnesty International Ghanaian section initially hampered monetary transactions and created mistrust and suspicion within the section. There was an embargo placed on project accounts that created outstanding bills associated with the TFF program. There were also differences between the incoming Amnesty council and the outgoing council that further aggravated internal conflict. Norway intervened to help resolve the conflict.

In addition to internal sources of conflict and inefficiencies, there were also external sources of conflict that hampered the TFF program. Differing expectations and capabilities created initial miscommunication and misunderstanding between Norway and Ghana with respect to the TFF program. Initially the Amnesty section in Ghana wanted to use the OD funds to work on issues like Trokosi and female genital mutilation. Norway turned this request down stating that the OD funds were raised by youth and were to be used to educate the youth. Norway also required reports at the end of June, which the treasurer stated, “we are not used to doing” (Appendix B: 1). The treasurer also stated that lack of communication between Norway and Ghana occurred because correspondence like emails, faxes, and telephoning are not as accessible in Ghana and are very expensive where accessible. Eventually he stated, they adjusted accordingly and fell in line with Norway’s requirements. The TFF project coordinator reported in an update for the first quarter of the TFF program that “peace and tranquility” had finally returned to the section (Report Update for the First Quarter of 1997, p.2). The final evaluation of the overall program concluded that Norway’s staff was too small and visits too few to adequately monitor local projects like Ghana. It was suggested that future human rights education programs be more responsive to local conditions balancing the need for control with flexibility (AI Index: POL 32/05/99, p. 10).

Description of the Location of the School

Koforidua is the name of the town where the school that houses the TFF club is located. The city of Koforidua is the regional capital of the Eastern Region of Ghana. Koforidua lies along the southern edge of the Kwahu Plateau as part of the Ashanti Uplands. The primary language group is Ga-Adangbe, with English as the official language in Ghana. The higher elevations and cooler temperatures along the Kwahu Plateau encouraged early European settlement that established several Missionary schools in the area. The town is also located just slightly north of more populous areas like Accra and Takoradi that lie south of the Kwahu Plateau.

Koforidua is primarily a farming community that is located in a heavy palm oil, timber and cocoa producing area of the country. Despite this, many of the inhabitants of the town are farmers and miscellaneous merchants. Development in Koforidua, like in most areas of Ghana, is uneven. The 1999 gross enrollment ratio (GRE) of children in

primary school including public and private schools in Koforidua was higher than the national average of 79.4% (EFA Year 2000 Assessment).

Despite the rainfall that ranges from 1,250 millimeters to 2,150 millimeters along the plateau, the town is constantly plagued by the lack of water and shortages in electricity. One half of the town is said to receive piped water one day while the other half receives the water the next day. To ameliorate this fluctuation in water, the school pays 500,000 cedis a day, roughly the equivalent of \$71 dollars a day in United States currency to pay for a holding tank of water. Students at Koforidua Secondary Technical School charged the school with not keeping the surface tank sufficiently filled causing them to have to compete with the town for water at nearby bore - holes. The school is equipped with a backup generator that maintains the flow of electricity during outages.

Description of the School

Koforidua Secondary Technical School is the name of the school in which the TFF club resides. This next section takes the reader through a journey that explores different aspects of the school and school culture. Context is very important in understanding how the TFF club operates and the barriers that impeded that operation. Aspects of school culture were found operating in the club and in some cases acting as barriers to the club achieving its aims.

Sec/Tech as the school is commonly called celebrated its 30th anniversary in January of 1997 and is now 34 years old. It is a public senior secondary school (SSS) where students study an array of academic, technical and visual arts and general core subjects. Figure 1 shows students in class during instruction time. [Click here to see Figure 1](#). The technical subjects include building construction, metalworking, general agricultural, technical drawing, auto mechanics, visual arts, and general arts. The school began admitting female students under storms of protest in 1995 in an effort by the government to increase female enrollment at all educational levels. There are no dormitories or other facilities to house female students on campus.

Prior to coming to SSS students spend three years (1-3 or grades 7-9) in junior secondary school (JSS) studying a combination of academic and technical subjects. About half the students nationally that are eligible for JSS do not attend. Prior to JSS students spend six years (grades 1 – 6) in primary school studying in their local vernacular with English taught as a second language. After primary school, English is the language of primary instruction. Primary and JSS are considered basic education in Ghana. After nine years of basic education, students may spend an additional three years in SSS moving from form one, form two, and form three. Students are considered juniors in form one and seniors in form two and form three. Form three seniors are required to successfully pass a series of examinations to complete their SSS tenure. This system of master (teacher) and forms is modeled after the English system of education.

Demographics of the School

Sec/Tech is primarily a boarding school with a current population of 1,382 students of which 950 are boarders. The student – teacher ratio in the Eastern Region where the school is located is one of the lowest in the country with 28.5:1 (EFA Year 2000 Assessment). Figure 2 shows boarding students standing on the balcony of a dormitory at Sec/Tech. [Click here to see Figure 2](#). Boarders return home on holidays and school breaks. Many of the boarding students are from the capital city of Accra seeking the specialty of technical subjects that the school offers.

The administration of the school consists of a headmaster and assistant headmaster and a litany of hierarchical offices that masters hold to supervise parts of the school body and compound. Faculty consists of 64 masters in the school of which only three are females. The Ministry of Education is trying to increase the number of female teachers in schools as an incentive for parents to send their daughters to school. Most of the girls at the school are day students and they are few in number. Master C is only one of the three female teachers in the school and was also a co-patron of the TFF club. According to some while Master C was a patron, more girls were members of the club. Master C relinquished her duties of advising the club to become the director of the Science, Math, and Technology Education (SMTE) initiative in the Eastern Region.

The Education of Girls at Sec/Tech

The treatment of women and girls in Ghanaian society was a significant factor operating in the school and club. While initiatives such as the SMTE were being initiated throughout Ghana, women and girls were still the victims of violence and prescribed to traditional roles. This created a very conflicting environment in the club as girls' participation and access to the club was limited due to cultural traditions. This stayed true even in the TFF club, an organization designed to give them greater access and greater freedoms.

Underscoring the SMTE initiative is the Girl's Education Unit (GEU) that was established by the Ministry of Education of Ghana in 1997. The SMTE initiative underscores the national effort by Ghana to raise mastery score levels in mathematics in which boys have consistently scored higher than girls, although this margin is narrowing. The GEU's goals are to increase the participation of women and girls at every level of the educational and socioeconomic ladder as well as improving women and girls' participation in science, math, and technology. Strategies to achieve these goals include increasing the number of female teachers, lowering education costs for parents while encouraging parental and community participation, and improving the gender sensitivity of teachers (EFA Year 2000 Assessment, p. 17).

The goals of the GEU are particularly relevant at Koforidua Sec/Tech. The school has a substantially low number of females compared to male students with a female teacher population of less than 5%. The school has a total of 1, 382 students of which 54

are female. Female students are all day students and non-boarders due to the lack of appropriate facilities on campus. Day students return to their homes in Koforidua or surrounding area after classes each day. Even though day students are primarily females at Sec/Tech, there are a few male day students. The EFA Year 2000 Assessment concluded that schools without adequate boarding or restroom facilities for girls contribute to their poor participation and attendance. Similarly, girls are burdened with domestic chores of gathering firewood, carrying water and caring for younger siblings.

I noticed many girls arriving well after classes tending to chores upon their arrival at school. Sometimes senior girls take junior girls out of class to finish sweeping or other duties that were not preformed before coming to class. Two senior form three girls describe their life of relative ease compared to their form one counterpart, male or female.

In Form three you are given the freedom to study without doing any work in the compound. In form one you work; you sweep your plots in the morning. When it comes to weeding you take part. In form three you don't do all these things (Appendix B: 2).

These responsibilities create hardships for punctual and regular school attendance and serve as barriers to girls' participation in the TFF club. Most clubs meet after classes or in the evening when girls are home tending chores. Day students of any sex usually walk long distances back and forth to school exacerbating the problems of late and irregular attendance and decreased participation. The report also cited harassment by boys and male teachers as contributing to poor participation and attendance of girls.

Master C, the female former co-patron had a strong interest in the rights of girls and women and that was reflected in how the club operated. While she was co-patron she states that the abuse of girls on campus was discussed. She feels that relations between the sexes in club and off campus had improved. She stated that the "...boys learnt (sic) that certain things done to the girls are violations on their human rights" (Appendix B: 3). She attributed part of this improvement to the better treatment of the girls by boys in the TFF club and its spreading effect to the school. She also attributed the better relations between the sexes to the administration taking a stand against male students, masters and the old boys protesting females in the school.

Despite this, Master D, the male co-patron of the club observed that the number of girls in the TFF club had "reduced dramatically" (Appendix: B: 4). When asked about the drop in the of girls' participation in the club, the two TFF girl members interviewed felt that it was because the girls' were day students and weren't always aware of when and where the meetings were to be held. They said that many girls had to go home after classes to help their mothers. They concluded that the form three girls and boarders were the only students who had time to spare from their studies, and were the only ones who could attend club meetings.

Hierarchical Authority and Rank in the School and Club

Despite the protests that everybody is equal in the sight of the club, hierarchical rank and authority is evident in the school and club. This traditional system of power and authority also proved to serve as a barrier to the functioning of the club. The membership is composed mostly of form three seniors who are free from the burden of work. Their privileged status and majority presence in the club makes an intimidating environment for form one juniors. Day students of either sex have difficulty participating because meetings are held after classes at 3:00 p.m. or in the evening. Day students, of whom the majority are girls, walk long distances to school each morning and long distances back home after classes. This creates special challenges for girls and other day students in attending the TFF club meetings and participating in club activities. These same obstacles exist for all form ones, because of the heavy workload required of junior students.

Form three students male or female hold considerable rank over form one juniors. Male form three students hold rank over females of similar status. Form two students are considered senior to form ones, but do not hold as much rank and authority as form three students. Form two students sometimes team up with form three seniors to benefit from their privileged status or in retaliation against a form one student. This relationship is diagrammed in Figure 3.

Form one students of any sex are burdened with most of the work of maintaining the compound. Figure 4 shows junior students that are cutting grass with long blade cutlasses. [Click here to see Figure 4.](#) This work includes cleaning plots, cutting high grass with the long bladed cutlasses, sweeping, and serving seniors. This continuous cycle of work keeps form one students from their academic studies and from fully participating in extracurricular activities like clubs. The patron of the TFF club describes the duties of the form one student as “doing all the odd jobs” (Appendix B: 5). He describes a typical morning of a form one day student, which is usually the girl: “...[T] he form one student have to come early before 6:15 [a.m.] and maybe they can finish sweeping and go to classes at 7:00. Student C and Student D suggest that the relatively “free range” existence of the senior to the “many duties of the juniors” as the reason they believe the club’s membership is composed primarily of form threes (Appendix B: 6).

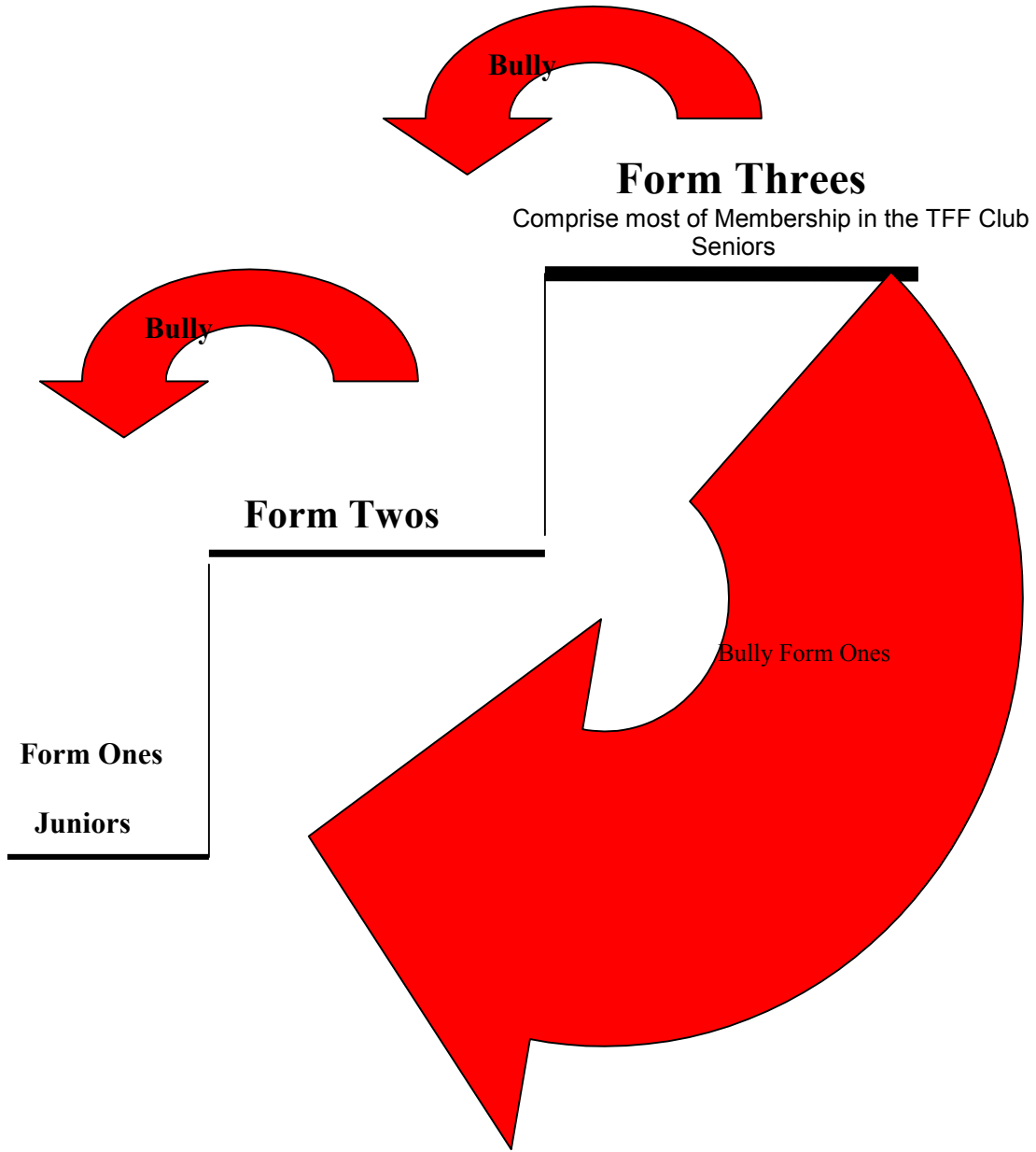


Figure 3. Hierarchy chart and bullying pattern at Sec/Tech.

Besides labor, the high cost of tuition limits access to Koforidua Sec/Tech and therefore to participation in clubs like the TFF club. The tuition for boarders is between 350,000 and 450,000 cedis a year depending on whom you ask. First year boarders are expected to come equipped with kits containing uniforms, trunks, books, cutlasses (machete like objects used for cutting grass and cleaning plots), and clothes for church service. The kits of non-boarders are similar, but exclude items used in dormitory living like trunks and clothes for church service. This is a huge expense for many parents on minimum wage salaries of 5,500 cedis or less a day, which in American dollars is less than a dollar a day. Sometimes students are delayed in attending school due to unpaid fees or partially furnished kits. The government bears most of the cost of basic education at the primary and junior secondary school (JSS) level with parents contributing as much as 23 percent of the total cost of their child's education (EFA Assessment Year 2000). This does not include such as expenses as books and school fees.

Sec/Tech has a series of hierarchical positions flowing from the headmaster designed to supervise students and various parts of the compound. This kind of hierarchy is very prevalent in Ghanaian society. The TFF final evaluation reported that the hierarchical structures within the police system hampered TFF human rights education in country programs that included the police as a target group. Ghana was not one of those countries that included police education programs. The evaluation stated that human rights education needed to perforate all levels of the hierarchical structure to be effective (AI Index: POL 32/05/99).

At Sec/Tech the hierarchy exists on several levels that includes gender, form, and position. This same hierarchy was evident in the TFF club, with almost half the membership of the club holding some kind of position of authority. For example, there are housemasters for each of the houses or dormitories. The housemasters' duties are to be in charge of meals and discipline during meals. They are to assure punctuality and presence of all students during meals. When a master is not present, a student elected position called the Dining Hall Prefect and the Assistant Dining Hall Prefect assumes this authority. Some masters live in campus-supplied housing and are available off duty hours in the evening and weekend to supervise students. However, this responsibility is generally shifted to student prefects to supervise all aspects and areas of the compound during the evening and weekend hours.

There is also a hierarchy among school prefects. The "Big Six" is referred to as the Chief Prefect and his assistant, the General Prefect and his assistant, and the Dining Hall Prefect and his assistant. Girls do not have an equivalent of the Big Six, but do have a girls prefect and assistant and a general prefect and assistant, with much less power and visibility. The TFF club president also holds status as the sickbay prefect. He attributes his election to president of the human rights club partly to his status as a prefect.

There were so many levels of elected and presumed authority positions within the school that it was disruptive to the egalitarian operation of the club and the understanding

of human rights. The club membership was formed around the power center of form threes, who invited junior students based on their service to them. Prefects and male form threes wielded great power outside the club that was not expected to show it inside the club. This stepladder of authority formed the basis of abuse of those occupying the lower rungs and blurred the students understanding that human rights were not granted on the basis of authority or power, but on the basis on one's common humanity.

Bullying

There is no better example of how this stepladder of authority skewed relations between the forms resulting in severe abuse of those on the lower rungs, than bullying. Bullying is a pervasive problem in the school that also surfaced in the TFF club. A member of the club was involved in a bullying case. Bullying generally occurs between the more powerful form threes and the junior form one students. The membership of the club is primarily composed of form three seniors who contribute to a hostile and fearful environment within the school by the power they yield over form one and two students. This makes for an intimidating environment within the club for those same students. The former female club patron described the situation on campus in this manner.

Seniors treat juniors with so much wickedness that the juniors are not even comfortable in the school. The authorities should have heard of this wickedness, but the juniors don't report. They only complain when they are severely maltreated to the point where they fall sick before they will report. The juniors feel that when they report the seniors will be sacked and also the harsh treatment is to toughen them. They also have the plan to do the same things when they get to the senior forms. They are lashed, made to carry heavy loads for long hours, and monies are collected from them (Appendix B: 7).

A disgruntled student attempted to burn the school down in 1996 (Asante, 1996). It is not known what form this student was in at the time. The first attempt at arson was during a church service. The second attempt at arson was during night studies, commonly called prep time. This resulted in the school being closed for a short period. The attempted arson made headlines of the school's journal with a picture of the arsonist caught with a gallon of petrol in hand.

Trying to burn the school down is one of the more brazen events that have tarnished the reputation of the school, but it is the bullying behavior of form three seniors that continues the legacy. Published student violations for 2000 at Koforidua Sec/Tech were comprised of students' thievery and senior students caning and abusing junior students, usually on their genitals. A form one student detailed in a letter to the housemaster how a group of form two and three seniors attacked him one night in the dormitory. They accused him of not working and sleeping where he was supposed to, even though the student's mattress had been stolen. He details the attack as "...using the cane on my stomach, penis, my back, and my buttocks. When he gave me about 50 lashes he stopped and the others came to continue" (Appendix B: 8). This and other incidents of

unruly behavior have stigmatized the school as being violent and uncontrollable and create an intimidating climate in the school and club for these students.

The administration of the school repeatedly states that they do not condone bullying and encourage juniors to report abuse. In several cases the administration have expelled students for bullying behavior. However when students report they are subject to retaliation and referred to as a “chook” or one who reports. There is only one sentence in the disciplinary rules and regulation for students concerning bullying. Line 16 states, “Bullys [sic] shall be withdraw [sic] from school (Koforidua Secondary Technical School, 2000, p. 9). However, as one master told me, for every ten students withdrawn from the school, one teacher has to go.

Master D, the patron that has worked with the club from its inception, describes the effects of this hierarchical system on form ones in the club. He begins by stating that “...initially the form ones have difficulty coming to the club”, because of “...sitting in the same classroom with my senior. When we go back he may not be friendly or may like to bully me, or to punish me ” (Appendix B: 9). The patron says once the juniors become seniors you see them come back to the club.

The Old Boys

The reputation of the school as violent was enhanced by the response of the school community to girls being allowed to attend the school. Girls began to be admitted to Sec/Tech around 1995 under storms of protest. One of the protestors was The Old Boys Association of the school. The Old Boys are former students of the school and are very active in school affairs. They meet once a month raising money and campaigning for the school. According to Master C, former female co-patron of the club, many were outspoken opponents of admitting girls to a formerly all male school. One of those outspoken opponents is now a master at the school and the co-patron of the club. According to Master C, this Old Boy and now co-patron of the TFF club was involved in “inciting the boys to attack the girls” (Appendix B: 10). She also described how he tried to shove past her in line while she was waiting to see the headmaster of the school. This same Old Boy would not leave the room after I politely requested privacy while interviewing two female members of the club.

Master C says the Old Boys’ plan of using the boys as a weapon to drive out the girls backfired. As the boys were incited against the girls they became increasingly insolent and unruly on campus. Girls were being slapped, masters were being openly challenged and the chief prefect, the most powerful and respected student leader on campus joined the mutiny. The campaign against the girls did not wane until a female student was hit in the spine with a sharp object that resulted in her hospitalization for several months. Master C says this incident made the school authorities and the Old Boys rethink their position.

Master B, the Old Boy now co-patron of the club has a paradoxical view of the treatment of boys and girls in the school and club. He agrees that there is a disparity in the treatment of boys and girls at the school. However, he says this disparity no longer

exists in the club. However, what disparity does exist he lays at the feet of the girls by using the boys as the standard that the girls must meet.

Master B says he was motivated to become a patron of the TFF club because of his membership and affiliation with Amnesty. However, his affiliation with the club as co- patron may be having deleterious effect on the club. He has strong beliefs about the meaning of human rights as a form of discipline and how the lines of authority and hierarchy define what he calls the traditional and formal sector. He believes the traditional lines of authority are both age and gender related. He also believes there is a strong link to the home where the traditional lines of authority and tradition spill over into the formal sector or the educational system. He describes the cultural conflict between human rights and the traditional and formal sector in this manner:

You see traditionally culture runs into our educational system up a little. You can't easily tell the adult; no I won't do that because it goes against my rights. You see it will be the traditional norm that you have to obey the adult because of age (Appendix B: 11).

To some degree, I think Master B has superimposed his conception of human rights as discipline and authority onto the club. He later discusses how the formal and informal are starting to wedge apart. I have a hunch that the club is also caught between these two opposing forces. He has a strong and biding interest in the death penalty that was the subject of a debate in the club. Master B says that he cannot quickly bring in his ideas into the club, but he will slowly.

Bullying Case

The Chief Prefect of the school described the school's reputation as being "violent" and "ruthless" (Appendix B: 12). He states that he believes the school has changed, but the reputation persists negatively affecting the school and students. A form two student writes an article in the school journal lamenting the persistence of this stigma. It is interesting that this is one of the few times Sec/Tech is referred to as "Mother Sec/Tech. He writes:

Sec/Tech has been known throughout this nation as one of the famous schools, which people consider as undisciplined school, which is untrue. We will like to acknowledge the general public that Mother Koforidua Sec/Tech was born to educate for service, be responsible and teach people on how to service the nation with all their heart, soul and mind (Randolph, 2000, p. 26).

Master D, one of the club patrons states there are "inhumane activities that go daily in the dormitories" and this is one of the issues that the club is trying to solve (Appendix B: 13) question Master D about the resolution of a system of hierarchy and rank in the school that allows form one students to be overburdened with work and serve form three students. The system seems to encourage or at least allow the opportunity for

severe abuse of authority. Master D admits that the hierarchical system is a form of convention that makes it difficult to get juniors to report. Many juniors, he states, plan to do the same once they reach rank. He describes the bullying as a form of “convention” that is “entrenched in the system secretly”, and no matter what the school seems to do the abuse persists. (Appendix B: 14).

The club patron does not specifically state how the club addresses the issue. From my observations and data, it does little to address issues that may undermine the authority of the school officials or accepted practices. The club is primarily composed of form three students. The patron admits that the juniors are not comfortable in the presence of their seniors. None of the activities or discussion I observed addressed the issue. The topic of debates and discussions were somewhat removed from the daily lives of the students, such as a debate on capital punishment. The death penalty is an interest of Master B, co-patron of the club. He says he took an informal survey of students’ attitudes toward the death penalty on campus, with many opposing it. Capital punishment is not an issue of great political concern in Ghana, but it is an issue of great concern to Amnesty International the sponsoring organization of the club. Even with more participatory activities like dialogue or group discussions on more relevant topics as conflict within society, the issues raised were discussed in the abstract and never personalized to the students’ lives.

This weakness was also cited in the 1998 Annual General Meeting (AGM) Report of School Club Patrons that was held in Kumasi, Ghana. The report stated that students in the club needed their awareness raised on human rights activities in their own communities (Amnesty International – Ghanaian Section, 1998, p. 3). The Report on the Annual Review Meeting of Regional Liaison Officers held in Sunyani in 1997 cited a similar weakness. The liaison officers have direct oversight of the clubs and are instrumental in their effective operation. The report stated that the clubs had gaps in their knowledge concerning outdated traditional and customary practices, like Trokosi and widowhood rites and the empowering of deprived girls (Amnesty International – Ghanaian Section. (1997, p. 8). Even though the report was referencing the clubs in general throughout Ghana, I found this to be true of the TFF club at Sec/Tech.

Master D does recall an incident when the subject of bullying was vividly discussed in the club, but in defense of a fellow member that was involved in a bullying case. Two form three senior students, one a member of the club, was charged with bullying a form one junior in the dormitory. The offending senior took off his belt and beat the junior unmercifully drawing blood. According to the patron, the club member stood by laughing and “taking delight” in the abuse (Appendix B: 15). The beaten form one student reported the incident, the parents were infuriated and both students were expelled indefinitely. The club members were upset with the patron for not defending the rights of the expelled member of the club. They argued on the grounds that he did not participate in the beating and should not have been expelled. The patron refuted this by telling them, that even though their colleague did not raise a hand, he participated by encouraging and not reporting the beating.

If neither the patron nor the club took this convention directly on, the president of the TFF club did. He says he has “thought a lot about the situation” and was always “...dreaming of a chance to do something about it” (Appendix B: 16). His dream came true when he was elected president of the TFF club. The newly elected president wrote a letter to the administration as well as requesting the secretary of the club to write a letter to the administration protesting the abuse of form one students. There is an important distinction to be made here. The letter was not protesting the hierarchical system of authority that ranks the lower forms in servitude to the upper forms that create opportunities for abuse of authority. The club president felt it was unfair that form ones had much of the work to do, but seniors needed time to study and write their exams. The letters were written in protest of the physical abuse of form ones at the hands of their seniors. Another important distinction is to be made here. I asked the president if this letter writing activity was an outgrowth of the collective action of the club or was it an individual act of dissent on the part of the president. The TFF president states that that the form ones have complained in the club of their mistreatment and as club president he wrote the letter, but not at the urgings of the club. He states “...I did it on my own” (Appendix B: 17).

Mmarima Mma

This unruly reputation of the school is captured in the term “Mmarima Mma”. Mmarima Mma is an Akan word with no direct translation in English. In Akan it means strong men and children of men with connotations of meaning such as bravery, competitiveness, strength, and maleness. The Mmarima Mma perception discouraged abused students to report and helped develop a climate for the mistreatment of females in a male-dominated school and club.

Students and faculty of the school use the term in describing the nature and spirit of the school and it is referred to often. The term is emblazoned on school documents and other literature such as the school’s journal that is published biannually. The *Voice of Eastern Varsity* has Mmarima Mma inscribed on every page and features school activities, club reports, masters’ and students’ essays, poems, and fiction. Students write poetry and stories referencing the term and every student interviewed was instantly familiar with what it meant. All described it in terms of either competitive excellence, or children of strong men. The TFF club president says the term is really meaningful to him. He describes it in the following manner: “...[T]he students are brave and always prepared to defend the school in terms of debate, quiz competition with other schools and sports” (Appendix B: 18.) .

The President of the Old Boys Association (former students of Sec/Tech) would like to retain the competitive spirit of the school, but in a disciplined orderly fashion and until recently – without girls. He does this by penning a special plea in the school journal reminding the school and community of the true meaning of Mmarima Mma. He writes:

The old boys would like to see the academic competitive spirit rekindled so that one will be proud to call himself an old boy of Eastern Varsity and your parents will be proud of you to justify the huge sums of money being spent on your

education. Mmarima Mma means excellence, discipline, hard work, bravery, obedient, and sociable. Remember our motto, educate for service (Adu-Adane, K. (1997, p. 27).

The school has worked to change its image and in some respects have succeeded. Students hold democratic type class meetings in which grievances are brought forth and put in writing to the headmaster. These grievances include such complaints as netting against mosquitoes for open aired classrooms and dormitories, better quality and quantity of food, the problem of bullying, student charges and fees, and ideas to increase the academic and instructional quality of the courses offered. The only complaint against bullying in the class minutes that I obtained was that the form twos had started caning the form ones. Concerning academics, students requested that the administration not reduce the number of courses they take, but to actually increase the number of difficult subjects such as chemistry and technical drawing and provide more encouraging remarks on graded assignments. The grievances are then brought to the attention of the academic department heads and discussed in lengthy staff meetings. However, the students want to air their grievances face to face with the administration.

Another democratic practice the school engages in is the representation of the lead prefects in school decision-making. The prefect body, especially the “Big Six” (chief, general, and dining hall prefects and their assistants) are part of the school disciplinary committee and have input on disciplinary decisions. With bullying is a rampant problem, these students have input on the problem and solution.

Part of the school’s effort to change its image change involves improving the academic achievement of the students. In the year 2000 in form 3 C section, only 23.3% of students passed physics, only 11.6% passed chemistry, and only 34.9% passed math. In 1993, 63% of all students at Sec/Tech that took physics passed. In 2000, this score had dropped to 48.4%. However, from 1993 to 2000 in other core subject areas like integrated science and math the total percentage passed had risen.

In 1999 the Deputy Minister of Education of Ghana took an exclusive tour through the Eastern Region in which Sec/Tech was the only school that he and his party chose to visit. During a speech, the Deputy Minister told the school the reason for his visit was to see with his own eyes the dramatic change in the school. He encouraged the students to enforce and maintain a high level of discipline that would result in a high level of academics. He added that “discipline created the right atmosphere for learning” (Doe, 1999, p. 19).

This prompted the line of questioning of why this particular school was chosen to pilot a human rights education program? It was unclear on exactly how a school was chosen to host a TFF Club in a particular region. The regional liaison officer for the particular region played a role in the selection of the school, as did local school authorities. Many students told me that Koforidua Sec/Tech was chosen as the site for what many called “experiments”. The week that I was on campus, the school was hosting a standardized testing program. Students attributed this to the relative good facilities of

the school in comparison with other schools in the area. Some masters at the school felt the school was chosen as the site for a human rights club due to its rowdy reputation. Also, many students and masters felt girls were introduced into the school as a calming effect on the boys. I thought it was interesting that the other school in the Eastern Region chosen to host the TFF club had a much higher percentage of girls in attendance, whereas Sec/Tech had a much higher percentage of boys. Both schools were only 20 – 25 miles from each other and did cooperate on a few projects. However, the partnering program to the TFF club at Sec/Tech folded after one year when the trained patron left to further his education in Accra.

School Life and Cultural Conflict

The school day and week is very structured and regimented at Sec/Tech. Within this very regimented schedule the TFF club had to find time to meet. However adherence to punctuality and time is much more relaxed in Africa than in Western culture and this would sometimes interfere with clubs meeting at reasonable hours and using their time wisely.

Classes are primarily held during the day, with extracurricular activities like clubs held after classes. A required prep time or study time takes place from 7:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. in the evening. Bedtime is between 9:00 and 9:30 p.m. The Chief Prefect expresses that mismanagement of time is one thing he would like to change about the school and feels it would improve the academic performance of students. He notes that he would like to have one time for everything in which all students would be present with dormitories locked. (Appendix B: 19).

However, as regimented the school is in paper, it is not in practice. The academic heads of the department regularly hold lengthy staff meetings that cut into instructional and club time. I observed one of these meetings that delayed the onset of the TFF club meeting by several hours. The English department head, which is also a club patron was in attendance at the meeting that was held in the library where the TFF club meeting was also to be held. Students were left idle in the classrooms or roaming the grounds and had to be gathered to attend the meeting. This delay resulted in reduced attendance, participation, and confusion.

I attended the department staff meeting that began late morning extending throughout early afternoon with Pepsi and meat pies served for lunch. The food seemed to bolster the longevity of the discussion. There were no female department heads, even though Master C, former patron of the club, heads the SMTE Initiative for the entire region. Unlike the findings in the EFA 2000 Year Assessment report, the issues discussed were pertinent to students' academic progress at Sec/Tech. The department heads discussed students' lackadaisical attitudes toward their studies, low performance in physics, and a letter written by a master to the headmaster complaining about the production of "lopsided physic students". It was not what was discussed, but how it was discussed. The rhetorical style used at the meeting was much more relaxed than Western meetings that tend to be agenda oriented and performance driven. The men were enjoying

the art of the discussion. Time was immaterial. In my field notes, I made the following observation concerning the staff meeting:

During all of this the men are still discussing. I get the distinct feeling that they are thoroughly enjoying themselves and don't have a care in the world and that includes teaching (Appendix B: 20).

According to the American Peace Corp teacher, mismanagement of time was a normal occurrence at the school and it was not unusual to find teachers lounging under a tree or visiting a nearby pub during class. There were many fiction and nonfiction pieces written by students published in the school journal warning of the dangers of skipping school and mismanagement of time. One boy wrote a fictional piece of the perils of a student skipping school and taxiing to town at night only to discover the driver was a ghost and he was on his way to the cemetery instead of a night out.

The patron of the club expressed time management as a major problem hampering the performance of the TFF club. The reason given was the academic year had been shortened due to the educational reforms resulting in student's schedules being intensified. The 1998 Report of the Annual General Meeting of School Club Patrons and Representatives (AGM) concluded that time management and late attendance was a weakness of the clubs, especially with respect to the day students. The report also noted that a threat to the club was "patrons opting for more rewarding past-times" (p. 4). The AGM report suggested that club meetings should be short, but meaningful and urged that they are run democratically.

Inefficiency and the mismanagement of time is also linked to poor academic performance in schools in Ghana. The EFA 2000 Year Assessment of Education concluded that the inefficiency in the management of schools resulted in low levels of productivity of teacher and student. Teachers were noted to spend an inordinate amount of official time in staff meetings that did not directly concern their work (p. 37). The Students were noted as spending excess time in nonacademic activities causing low performance and low productivity. Extracurricular activities like clubs run the risk of being viewed by school officials as extracurricular activities to the real work of academics, especially if the school is performing poorly. Koforidua Sec/Tech students have performed extremely poorly in the sciences, especially physics and chemistry with only 48.4% of students passing physics and only 34.8% passing chemistry. One TFF club member reported that her mother was initially reticent concerning her involvement in the TFF club feeling that her academic work was more important. This sentiment may contribute to the club activities becoming overly academic and less relevant to the real lives of its members.

Religious Conflict on Campus and in Club

Flexibility and control were not the only sources of conflict within the Ghanaian TFF program and the school club. A growing Muslim faction in the school has tested the effectiveness and impact of the TFF club in responding to what the president of the

Ghana Muslim Student Association (GMSA) and member of the TFF club calls unfair treatment.

Christianity is the predominant religion in the southern areas of Ghana with the northern section of Ghana predominantly Muslim. Religious groups have relatively coexisted peacefully over the years. However, a simmering religious conflict broke out in Accra during my stay. Traditionalists who worship idols and call themselves Gas placed a ban on drumming and noisemaking that is a common practice in Christian churches in Ghana. This ban erupted in violence with the Gas stoning Christians and their cars as they exited the church. The ban on drumming by the Gas is an attempt to give their Gods peace and quiet as a prelude to their Homowo festival. According to the club patron, Homowo means “hooting at hunger” with the Gas appeasing their Gods by sprinkling mashed yams throughout the city as a way to avert hunger. The club patron describes a similar outbreak that occurred a year ago that necessitated the Committee on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) - Ghana’s intergovernmental human rights commission to intervene. A truce was drawn up between both sides with the agreement that Christian churches would restrict drumming and dancing to inside the Church building instead of taking their noisemaking to the parks and streets. The truce held for about a year when the Gas reneged saying that the land belonged to them and the Christians would have to obey. I was in attendance at a Christian service the Sunday of the day of the ban and noticed things much quieter than the previous Sunday.

While Sec/Tech does not have a problem with Traditionalists demanding peace and quiet, they are having a problem with a growing Muslim community on campus demanding their religious freedom. There is a growing Muslim population at Sec/Tech placing demands on the Headmaster to be released from Christian services to conduct their own. The president of the Ghana Muslim Student’s Association (GMSA) at Sec/Tech is a long-term member of the TFF club. The GMSA collective demands for rights have important implications for the work of the TFF club.

At Sec/Tech there is a Christian morning devotion that takes place at 7:05 a.m. every Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. There is also a Sunday evening service at 7:00 p.m. Housemasters punish students who are late or absent themselves from services. The growing Muslim population in the school has appealed to the headmaster to be released from these predominantly Christian services on the grounds that they have a right to worship according to the dictates of their religion. This request has been repeatedly denied. The assistant headmaster announced to a gathered student body in front of the school that students breaking off into religious factions would not be tolerated. The school assembly where this announcement was made is pictured in Figure 5. [Click here to see Figure 5.](#) As members of the school, the assistant headmaster asked that everyone participate in the school’s religious services. Privately the assistant headmaster admitted that they were concerned that if they let the Muslims have their own services, other religious groups might surface with similar demands. According to the club patron, no particular religion is favored and a Muslim minister was invited to hold service. I could not determine if he ever came. The headmaster states that the school does not officially endorse any religion, and sees this issue as an impending problem.

However, in the 1998 Chapel Prefect's Report, the Chaplain Prefect described the school as a "Christian one... that continues to teach people the Christian virtues" (Philemon, 1999, p. 8). The Chapel Prefect also reported that the school had attended services in town "to tell the outside world how changed we are because we are now in Christ" (p. 8). The change he was referring to was the school's notorious reputation as undisciplined and rowdy. Despite rumors of a growing Muslim resistance on campus, the Chaplain Prefect's report noted only a few problems with "some bad nuts" not dressing properly, some students running to town during services and some discipline problems (p. 8). Nothing was specifically reported about the growing Muslim dissatisfaction, unless it was categorized under discipline problems. The TFF club president made the observation that the Muslims and Christian both attend services, but the Muslims resist by not participating. He states, "They don't participate in anything. They just stand there" (Appendix B: 21).

The president of the Ghana Muslim Student Association (GMSA) at Sec/Tech says that he has been a member of the club for three years and joined, "...to know about my rights and to educate my fellow brothers about their rights and responsibilities" (Appendix B: 22). He feels that the school is treating them "unfairly" by forcing them to attend Christian services "which was against our religion" (Appendix B: 23). He states that when he came to the school he found that this was going on. He says at the time he couldn't do anything, but when he reached rank as a form three, "I stood up for my rights and that of my brothers and sisters on campus" (Appendix B: 23). No indication was given that the Muslim – Christian issue had been discussed in the club or that the GMSA president utilized the club as a means to voice his discontent. Rather he joined the club as a way to learn about his rights, not as a mechanism to exercise them. He opted to use the conventional hierarchy already in place - his form three status as a senior to voice his dissent.

Description of the Teaching for Freedom Club

The TFF club is a microcosm of the school in which it resides, lives and breathes. Oppression of Muslim students existed within the school as well as the club. The abuse and exclusion of form one students and girls as well as a reputation and spirit derived from Mmarima Mma have roots that extend to the larger society, the school, and the club. To better answer the case study questions, I will discuss the organizational oversight of the club that resulted in a weak link and how that weakness was compensated for. From there I will address the club's operation, function, and structure in relation to the school and aims of the program.

The Teaching for Freedom Program established human rights clubs in second – cycle schools in 1997 for the primary purpose of educating students concerning their human rights. Two clubs were established in each administrative region that was to be overseen by the regional liaison officer. The officer is given a stipend or allowance for his/her work and must arrange these supplementary duties around his regular employment.

There were ten regional liaison officers: one for each administrative region in Ghana. The regional liaison officers occupied a critical role as contact persons in their respective regions. Their role was critical for the well functioning of the clubs in that the officers were tasked with selecting pilot schools, appointing club patrons in consultation with school heads, supervising and motivating clubs and club patrons, providing quarterly reports, attending half- year review meetings with Coordinator, distributing materials and monies to the club, and developing links with regional education bodies.

In addition to overseeing the school clubs, the regional liaison officers were given additional responsibilities associated with the human rights induction courses for teacher-trainees. These new responsibilities were initiated in November 1997 not quite a year after the officers were into their work of overseeing the clubs. The new duties involved providing linkage to the teacher-training portion of the program. These duties were in excess of the duties to oversee the clubs in their respective regions.

The regional liaison officers were given three days of extensive training in Accra in January of 1997. Training included; briefing on overall TFF program, basic concepts of human rights education, definition of roles, supervising and reporting techniques, and animation and motivational techniques. Project consultants and resource persons that included an attorney conducted the training providing the opportunity for the officers to liaise with the TFF Project Management Board and Project Coordinator.

The Regional Liaison Officer is a vital link in the sustainability of the school clubs and was missing from the TFF club at Koforidua Sec/Tech. Master D, the originally trained patron and advisor of the club, could not even remember the name of the liaison officer assigned to his club. He did remember that he was a teacher and it was his responsibility to coordinate my coming. Instead the Amnesty office in Koforidua acted in his place. Master D stated "...for some time we have not seen him" and that "... if Fred would have been here he would have been in the position to tell us his whereabouts" (Appendix B: 24).

The club patron is referring to the TFF program treasurer who lived near the school, but was currently away pursuing further studies. When I interviewed the TFF treasurer, he corroborated this by attributing the long-life of the club at Sec/Tech to his involvement. He also admitted that the clubs did not function as envisioned, but feels the club at Sec/Tech was a performing club. He states:

Our school clubs did not function the way that we wanted them to function. ...And then the regional liaison officers who we picked from the regional offices and districts, we relied mostly on them for the expedition of those things. Also they didn't perform the way that we wanted them even though we were giving them some token of money. They didn't perform to our satisfaction. I think this was some of the shortfalls of the school clubs (Appendix B: 25).

Club patrons work directly with the clubs. Each club is to have a minimum of two patrons. A female math and science teacher and a male language arts teacher were chosen from Sec/Tech by the headmaster to function as patrons of the club and to attend the three-day training for patrons in Accra. Patrons from other regions such as Greater Accra, Volta, Eastern, Central, and Western regions were included in the Southern zonal training section. When asked why these two masters from Sec/Tech were chosen to attend the training to become club patrons, the female patron replied that they chose teachers who were hardworking and interested in helping the students.

The training consisted of basic human rights education concepts and values, human rights charters and agreements, motivational techniques, group dynamics, and campaigning techniques. One of the responsibilities of the patrons was to ensure the teaching and quality of the curriculum designed for the clubs. Other duties of the patrons include club leadership, direction, education, and providing linkage to the administration of the school. Patrons report directly to the liaison officer, which in turn reports directly to the TFF project coordinator.

The Image of the TFF Club

The TFF club is one of many clubs at the school. Students are required to belong to at least one club, but many belong to several. The choice of which club to become a member is voluntary as long as you are member of at least one club, but the competition for active members is stiff. Other clubs include; the Wildlife Club, Ghana Muslim Student Association, Pentecostal Association, Ghana Association of Adventist Students, Green Earth Association, Scripture Union, Drama Club, and the Family Life Club. According to the Senior Housemaster, the Wildlife Club and Green Earth Club are the most popular clubs among students. According to the 1999 Wildlife Club report published in the Voice of Eastern Varsity the club members organized clean up exercises, sporting activities and games between the Green Earth and Wildlife Club, and debating teams with other schools. Interestingly one of the topics of the debate concerned girls being responsible for the increase in rape cases.

All the TFF club patrons expressed that a human rights club at Sec/Tech had an image problem. Part of the problem stemmed from the club's association with Amnesty International and students viewing Amnesty as anti-government. The former female co-patron of the club stated that Amnesty factored this into their decision when they titled the program Teaching for Freedom versus using the name of Amnesty. She also stated during training, the patrons were directed to not involve students in the letter writing or other political activities that Amnesty is associated with. Other image problems occur with students not directly connecting, what many call on campus the human rights club with a visible tangible asset or focus like preserving the wildlife or the environment. Some ask upon being invited to the "human rights club" what are human rights and what does a human rights club do? The answer generally given is that you can learn your rights and protect yourself. One of the senior female members of the TFF club responds in this way after a girl she invites asks her about the club:

When I told some of the juniors, the girls, to come and join human rights, one girl asked me what is the meaning of human rights or what am I going to do? I said oh, you have to understand the word human rights. The right to join the club, the right to know if in case you are in trouble. You can defend yourself. Then you have the right, maybe, to do some things that maybe you're not forced to do. So she told me maybe she will [sic] come, maybe she will not. She is not here today (Appendix B: 26).

Besides competition for members and a lack of understanding of what the club is about, the TFF club has a problem with resources. Members and patrons of the TFF club frequently express dissatisfaction with not having the name badges, certificates, and trinkets that other sponsors provided their membership. Some clubs frequently traveled off campus to seminars and other sites making these clubs more popular with the students. Amnesty International in Norway did provide T- Shirts for the patrons as an incentive, but nothing to the members. Amnesty International in Ghana provided some resource teaching material. The entire second meeting of the club I observed was spent on how to raise money to purchase certificates of membership for TFF club members. Many of the suggested activities had nothing to do with human rights at all. Other clubs charged membership fees and according to the club patron, members would show up if nothing but to find out how their money was being used. The AGM report stated that the TFF clubs had difficulty collecting fees. The TFF club at Sec/Tech did not charge fees and it is not clear why. Little if no fundraising activities have been conducted even though one of the stated aims of the program were that the club would become self-sustaining and self-sufficient.

The TFF club meets twice a month on a Tuesday afternoon at 3:00 P.M. in different locations around the school. Occasionally the club meets late in the evening. The membership of the club fluctuates with some members more active than others. Membership at the meetings I attended fluctuated between 20 – 35 students of which the majority were from three seniors. The TFF club is pictured in Figure 6. [Click here to see Figure 6.](#) I took the attendance list of the two meetings I attended and combined it to come up with a membership list complete with club offices. I felt the second meeting that was held before the two-week time limit was for my benefit. The discussions by the patrons were aimed in the direction of issues that were raised by myself in interviews with the patrons, such as fundraising and recruitment of students.

Apparently students drop in to visit the club, usually at the request of a friend. Several from three seniors including the president of the TFF club, mentioned that if a junior served them well they would invite him or her to a club meeting. This demonstrates how ingrained the hierarchical conventions and values of the school have become in the club. The membership is a concrete example of these operatives at work in the club. The TFF club consists of 34 members of which 29 are boys and 4 are girls. There are very few from ones or twos that belong to the club. The TFF club offices and membership demographics are contained in full in Appendix C.

Club offices are very hierarchical and include president, vice-president, secretary, assistant secretary, financial secretary, assistant financial secretary, and organizer, vice - organizer, electoral commissioner, treasurer, assistant treasurer, chaplain, porter, and adviser. Elections for club offices are held once a year with a member nominating and another member seconding the nomination. The rest of the club then votes for or against that nominee.

The TFF club president remarked that qualities such as active membership, participation in club activities and “ the way you speak, how you express yourself” (Appendix B: 27) made him stand out as a potential nominee for club president. The club president also noted that his visible leadership position on campus as sickbay prefect also helped.

Club Activities

The 1998 Annual General Meeting of School Club Patrons (AGM) (Amnesty International – Ghanaian Section, 1997) met at Wesley College in Kumasi, Ghana just a little over a year after the clubs had been in operation. Master D represented the club from Koforidua Sec/Tech. The Patrons and some students that were present reported that the TFF clubs from their area participated in the following club activities:

- Sporting and Games with other clubs
- Debating Competitions
- Excursions to places of high interest
- Lectures and discussions of outmoded cultural practices such as female genital mutilation, trokosi
- Dramas
- Quizzes
- Clean up campaigns
- Periodic mounting of placards
- Celebration of Universal Declaration of Human Rights Day
- Bulletin Board for posting of information about human rights

When compared against the requirement for clubs as stated in the Patrons’ Handbook, the following activities were noted as not being conducted in the clubs or needing substantial improvement. There were 15 different school clubs represented at the Annual General Meeting, with the TFF club at Sec/Tech being one of them.

- Educational Awareness program on human rights activities in the communities
- Publicity through newspapers, FM radio stations
- Fundraising activities
- Network and exchange among other clubs
- Membership drive campaigns
- Organization of leadership training

The AGM report noted that the strengths of the clubs in general seem to be their high enthusiasm and team spirit, increased awareness of human rights and broad outlook, and the active involvement of patrons along with the support of headmasters. The weaknesses noted were: the poor financial base of many of the clubs coupled with the reluctance of members to pay dues, poor attendance, inadequate timing preventing day student attendance, students over committed in several clubs resulting in reduced levels of participation, absence of identity cards and badges, and inadequate education on human rights issues.

Threats noted in the AGM report were prejudices and misconceptions of the activities by certain sections of the community, abuse of human rights terminologies by students against school authorities, clubs competing for active membership with other clubs in the same school, and the transfer of trained patrons to other schools.

The TFF club in Koforidua Sec/Tech exhibited much of the strengths and weakness noted in the AGM report. In the first club meeting that I observed, many of the activities seem scripted, competitive, and overly academic. The patron of the club emphasizes that even though some students present are missing their classes, because of this special meeting the students are “always learning, learning, learning” (Appendix B: 28). The students began with spellings and quizzes that posited the boys against the girls, even though the girls were heavily out numbered in the club. The club meeting begins in the following manner.

Jim: Two will be here and two will be here. (*Students are organizing themselves and forming two opposite groups -- boys and girls- only four girls in a group of 23 boys*). So will you tell us the rules? We're basing our quiz on human rights. The first part is a quiz and the second aspect is spellings. We will start with the first aspect, which is the quiz. The first question goes to the boys. Give one right that is denied to you at school or at home.

(*Answer-boys*) -- Right to education.

Jim -- This is correct. (*Handclap*)

V. P.: Now girls, give us one right you have to that your parents don't.

Girls: My parents have the right to discipline me when I go home and I don't have that right. (*Handclap*)

V. P. -- They can discipline you, but you cannot discipline your parents.

Jim -- So, your parents have the right to discipline you and you don't have the right to discipline. So it's 1 -- 1, good.

Jim: Next question goes to the boys (Appendix B: 29).

The second part of the quiz ensues with a spelling match that posited the boys against the girls. Teams spell words like “responsibility, “human rights”, and “security.” The quiz ends with the boys’ accumulating 18 points winning over the girls’ 15 points.

In the second part of the meeting, students participated in a debate. Again, the sexes were competitively edged against each other. The four girls were put on a team against the 23 boys. The debate focused on the merits of abolishing the death penalty. Choosing to debate an issue that is political and somewhat removed from the every day experience of the students gives credence to the findings of the AGM report and the 1997 Annual Review Meeting of Liaison Officers. The liaison officer’s report specifically indicated a weakness or a gap in knowledge on outmoded customary practices, such as widow’s rites and empowering deprived girls, and the use of participatory, creative and innovative techniques in the teaching methods of the clubs. The AGM report indicated that to address this weakness patrons should utilize topics that were relevant and interesting to students’ experience.

Apparently, a foiled attempt to do this was made by the TFF club and the Ghana United Nations Association (GUNSA). GUNSA is connected to the Ghana United Nations Student Youth Association, which is reported to be the largest organization of its kind in Ghana (Quarcoopome, 2000). The school branch of GUNSA organized clean-up programs at a local clinic and a lecture by its patron on the United Nations. The two clubs share similar aims in that the United Nations are also interested and support campaigns on human rights. The clubs organized a debate on the relevant issue of whether co-education should be encouraged at Sec/Tech. Co-education is the educating of boys and girls together in one school. With the introduction of girls into the school about five years ago, the topic of co-education would be a much more relevant topic to both clubs and certainly a human rights focus. This debate never happened.

The club activities consist of a mixture of academically focused activities and occasional educational trips off campus. Academic focused activities of the club included spelling bees and quizzes, in which students spelled words like “human rights” and answer quiz questions on books and films about human rights. Discussions and debates centered on the causes of conflicts and capital punishment. Students also conducted library research on human rights issues that complemented their debates and discussions.

In 1999 the president of the club wrote in the school journal that the club had visited the Cape Coast Castle, and Elmina Castle to learn about the slave trade. He also reported that the club had visited the Kakum National Park to “refresh their minds” (Tawaih, 1999, p. 10). Visits were also reported to the local township of Koforidua for Amnesty sponsored activities like the launching of Amnesty’s annual report. Despite this, the president urged that even though the club had done much to improve the behavior of the students that more needed to be done.

This was one of several instances in which members of the club or club patrons referred to the heavy emphasis in the club on discipline and teaching students their rights

and responsibilities as students in the school. Master C, the female club patron remarked that during her tenure they focused on student rights and responsibilities because of the rowdy nature of the students. She stated, "...we were told to mainly let them know what they should do in schools as students" (Appendix B: 30).

Conclusion

The Teaching for Freedom club was a conflicted organization whose operation was greatly shaped by forces within the school that were also present in larger society. While the club espoused the rhetoric of human rights, its operation was not consistent with what its rhetoric. For example, all students did not have equal access in membership or participation in the club. The delineations of hierarchy and power in the school were operating in the club much in the same way they were operating in the school. The overall gender inequality present in Ghanaian society limited girls' participation in school, which in turn limited their participation in extracurricular activities connected with schooling, such as participation in the TFF club. Even more importantly, the club concentrated on the knowledge component of human rights downplaying the more participatory and empowering aspect of human rights education. While members stated that everyone had the right to life, a right that students told me they had frequently learned, their fellow junior and female colleagues were being abused. This overly academic treatment of human rights and lack of action was in response to the conflicting messages from a society in transition.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

Presented in this chapter are conclusions and implications as they relate to the literature and research questions. Based on the findings presented in chapter four, implications and lessons learned for existing and future human rights education programs are provided. Lastly, recommendations for future research are given.

The purpose of this study was to describe the Teaching for Freedom (TFF) program and how it operated as well as any barriers that impacted the program. Wilson (1997) states that the universality and applicability of human rights everywhere really becomes a question of implementation and context. He states that a situational analysis is required and that “local interpretations of human rights draw on personal biographies, community histories, and on expressions of power relations between interest groups (p. 12). How the Teaching for Freedom club was operating and if that operation was according to the stated aims of its western sponsors, is primarily drawn out by peeling back contextual layers of key actors and context in understanding the interaction between the program (club) and the context in which it sits.

The final evaluation of the entire TFF program stated that future human rights education programs needed to be aware and sensitive to the local conditions in which the program resides and operates (AI Index: POL 32/05/99 Distr: SC). Lessons learned from case studies of human rights education programs and their local contexts are important in minimizing impediments making these programs more effective and culturally sensitive.

Research Procedures

This study addressed the following research questions: How does the Teaching for Freedom program operate and what are the barriers to that operation? These questions were answered by utilizing a qualitative case study methodology. Several methods were used to collect data: (1) site visits, (2) structured and unstructured interview questions, (3) observations, and (4) document review and analysis.

The researcher made two visits to Ghana with site visits both to the school and the Amnesty International – Ghana sponsoring office and other nongovernmental organizations that were likely to have interacted with the program in general or school club in particular. During the site visits, structured and unstructured interviews were conducted with key actors in the TFF club or the school environment. The following individuals were interviewed: (1) TFF patrons of the club, (2) club members, (3) chief prefect of the school, (4) headmaster of the school, (5) Amnesty International – TFF Board Members, (6) nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and (7) professors at the University of Ghana.

Summary of Findings

Results revealed that the Teaching for Freedom club at Koforidua Sec/Tech was not fully operating according to the stated aims of the program or the fundamental principles of human rights education. One Ghanaian TFF board member and close confidante of the club at Sec/Tech stated that the school clubs never worked the way they were intended to work. However, it was not the purpose of this study to determine if the program achieved the objectives of its sponsor. The focus of this study was how the TFF club at Sec/Tech functioned in relation to the program's stated aims and the identification of barriers that impeded that function. The principles of human rights education help to clarify the club's function in relation to those aims and also helped with the identification of barriers.

The stated aims of the TFF program were to build a human rights awareness, to prevent human rights violations, to recruit a new generation of human rights activists and to contribute to a society where basic human rights are respected (AI Index: POL 32/05/95 Distr: SC/GR). These aims were to be used as guiding objectives by individual country programs. The overall aim of the development of human rights clubs in secondary schools was to foster an attitude of respect for human rights among the youth of Ghana to act as agents of social change in larger society. The aims of the TFF program are similar to the principles of human rights education, which makes sense because the TFF program is a human rights education program. The principles of human rights education are: strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, the full development of the human personality, the promotion of gender equality, empathy and equality among all peoples and the enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free and peaceful society (Adapted from the Plan of Action from the United Nations Decade for Human Rights 1995-2004, paragraph 2).

To operate in accordance to these objectives are a tall order for any human rights education program. Especially in a context that Assimeng (1999) refers to as a "traditional society ... engulfed in a whirlwind of transformations" (p. 236). Ghana has been greatly impacted by forces of westernization, modernization and globalization. Assimeng's study of persistence and change in Ghana revealed that the impact of these forces on Ghanaian society in the last century was "beyond belief" (p. 236). Despite this, he states that some traditional aspects of Ghanaian culture, such as gender relations and hierarchy have been "markedly persistent" as demonstrated in their operation in the TFF club (p. 140). This persistence of traditional values in the face of great change created a complex environment for the club to operate in and greatly influenced how it functioned.

As a result of operating in a society in flux, the TFF club functioned in the safest mode possible - as an academic extension of the classroom. In this way it challenged neither status quo nor power, it exonerated its existence in a school that was performing marginally, and could actually serve the powers it was designed to check. In some ways the TFF club reinforced the hierarchical power positions in the school. The membership was egalitarian and hierarchical with some students having more access and participation in the club than others. Human rights were dealt with in the abstract and made

unmeaningful to the lives of the members. Instead of working to challenge human rights violations and power relations within the school, the club in some ways tended to sustain them. For example, form three students dominated club membership. Students from lower forms were accepted into the club only if they had a history of acceptable personal service to current from three seniors. Therefore, a senior inviting a junior student to visit the club may not be construed as an invitation, but more of an order. In this way the hierarchical structure of the student body was replicated and sustained in the club membership.

A consequence of this replication of power was the support given by the club to a form three member who was accused of bullying a lower form student. Despite the clear understanding that bullying was not only against school rules, but also a violation of that student's rights, the club rallied in defense of the accused member. In this way human rights practices can work to sustain the power structures already in place (Donnelly, 1999; Lukes, 1993; Stammers, 1999).

Despite this, the TFF club did manage to have limited impact at the school. This was demonstrated by individual acts of members promoting respect for human rights in the school. Also, the relationship between the girls and boys improved somewhat in the club and to some extent in the greater school environment. This was in part due to the leadership of the former female patron of the club and in part to a girl being seriously injured at school.

This impact could have been greater with more financial resources and the support of other human rights organizations. Despite the minimal financial support the club received from its sponsor, it remained operational, while other clubs operating under similar conditions failed to survive. One of the aims of the TFF program was that the clubs would become financially self-sustaining. Besides fundraising, collaborating with other human rights organizations could have augmented the clubs lack of funds and helped the club become self-sustaining. For example, the Committee on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) in Ghana is very active in promoting human rights education as well as adjudicating violations. More interaction with this and other NGOs would have widened the club's impact.

Another problem in the club was the lack of a clear understanding of the fundamental principles of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasizes the importance of a like understanding of human rights as necessary to the full realization of one's rights and responsibilities. Article 26 and 28 of the UNDHR affirms education about one's rights as the first and foremost right that leads to the free and full development of the person within the community (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). The literature on transformative education emphasizes the need for education to have a participatory and liberationist posture and this is especially true for human rights education (Dias, 1997; Dorsey, 1997; Freire, 1969; Meintjes, 1997; Mezirow, 1992; Paul, 1990; Sano, 2000; Udombana, 2000). This posture empowers, transforms, and moves individuals or groups to recognize and act on their own agency. Without this empowering transformative aspect, social change is unlikely. One way this

like understanding and empowering stance is to be achieved is through human rights education.

Research Question 1: How Did the TFF Club Operate?

The data analysis suggests that the operation and work of the TFF club at Sec/Tech is greatly influenced and shaped by the school culture. School culture, defined as the beliefs, attitudes, actions, and rituals of the school reflects, in turn, the culture of the wider of the society (Henry, 1993). Thus, the club functioned as an expression of the larger society and showed little evidence of functioning as an agent of social change in that society. This is demonstrated in the operation of the club. The operation of the club will be discussed in terms of implementation, awareness, and empowerment.

Implementation

The implementation of the human rights clubs in secondary schools involved locating a school that was willing and able to sponsor it, finding and training teachers from the selected school to patron the club, and facilitating a membership. As mentioned earlier, clubs in other regions were implemented fairly uniformly and operated under similar conditions with many not surviving. Even though the club at Sec/Tech was found not to be totally operating according to the stated aims of the TFF program, it still has a school willing and able to sponsor it under the guidance of trained patrons. The club still regularly meets and has a membership, albeit an egalitarian and fluctuating one. It does engage in certain activities that are largely academic that may promote awareness, but not action. However, the true work of the club is being stunted by certain school practices, conventions, and beliefs that not only exist in the school, but wider society. For example, gender inequality is very prevalent in Ghana and was found to be working in the school and the TFF club in Koforidua. Therefore, the operation and sustainability of programs like the TFF club is not one of whether human rights are applicable in the African context, but one of implementation (Donnelly, 1999). How can programs like the TFF club be implemented and made to work according to the stated aims within a given context? How can the operating procedures of the club be construed to work in a certain environment or a certain culture? The operation of the TFF club at Sec/Tech was as much about how the school and society operated as the club. This was found to the case with the level of awareness and source of empowerment.

Awareness

The club functioned as if it were an academic class. The goal of club meetings seems to be to learn how to spell the words in human rights documents and to understand the definitions and properties of human rights and to be able to name certain rights. The emphasis seems to be on the knowledge component of human rights education with less emphasis on the affective or empathy building aspect that is necessary in the creation of social change agents. Many of the activities were competitive with the boys against the girls, even though the girls were heavily outnumbered in the club. When the opportunity did arise for more participatory and cooperative learning, the focus was on human rights

issues that were abstract and somewhat removed from the experience of the members. This prevented any real application of human rights in the lives of the members of the club. The club seemed to be very interested in taking field trips to visit slave exhibits, and inviting speakers, but due to limited funding could not afford these much sought after off campus excursions. This club could spell human rights, identify books on human rights, debate the pros and cons of human rights, and even identify sources and causes of conflict, without lifting a finger to collectively denounce or challenge the abuse of girls, form one students, and Muslims' right to worship on campus.

Despite the emphasis on the abstract knowledge component of human rights, the patron admitted that members still held incorrect notions about the meaning of human rights and the purpose of the club. The abstractness of the treatment of human rights in the club made it difficult to recruit new members each year to fill the membership vacuum that seniors members left when they completed. Other clubs were associated with a certain tangible practice or activity that was directly related to the name of the club. The Environmental Protection Club protected the environment. You can feel or touch the environment; you can't feel or touch human rights or freedom. The patrons frequently complained that students wanted certificates or other trinkets that other clubs' sponsors provided. A human rights club, which is what the TFF club was frequently called, had no immediate concrete benefits, material or otherwise, to draw and keep members.

The misrepresentation of human rights as abstract issues was dealt with in the training of the patrons. In the TFF training manual for patrons, human rights issues as just political or antigovernment issues, ethnic issues, or class issues were highlighted as misperceptions to be avoided. The manual was based on the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Ghanaian Constitution, and other key documents. Members and patrons' conflicting and ambivalent notions concerning human rights were in part a result of conflicting cultural forces in Ghana that resulted in their academic treatment in the club. This is consistent with the literature that states that perceptions of human rights is affected by a host of socioeconomic and political factors; some being tradition, level of education and the level of economic development within the society (Human Development Report, 2000; Sano, 2000).

Despite all of this, the TFF club did raise a level of awareness of human rights among members of the club. To some degree this penetrated the greater campus environment. How much is debatable. On occasion individual students called on the president of the TFF club to mediate disputes that involved rights in some way. The treatment of girls improved on campus partially as a result of raised awareness in the club, especially during the leadership of the female co-patron. Some of this effect was lost, when the female co-patron as the club changed hands to an Old Boy who was opposed to coeducation and was accused of inciting violence between the boys and girls. The female co-patron was appointed to head a special science and math initiative and her replacement seems to be chosen because of his membership and close ties with the Amnesty International in Accra. Despite this slight raised awareness of human rights

issues, neither the chief prefect nor the headmaster of the school was even aware that the club existed. This may be a result of the inertness of the club as a change agent on campus. To accomplish the aims of the TFF program and the goals of human rights education, programs like the TFF program must move beyond awareness to helping people assert their rights in everyday life (Osler and Starkey, 1994; Ross, & Gupta, 1998; Udombana, 2000). As Freire (1969) suggests,

Knowing, whatever its level, is not the act by which a subject transformed into an object docilely and passively accepts the contents others give or impose on him or her ... In the learning process, the only person who really learns is s/he who is able to apply the appropriate learning to concrete existential situations (p. 88)

Empowerment

As Freire suggests in the above quote, applying learning to real life situations distinguishes between the active and passive learner and those who learn and those who do not. I would argue that the patrons' abstract representation of human rights stifled any real meaningful learning. Just knowing what your rights are doesn't teach you how to protect them or respect others or recognize your own agency. Even though the club raised awareness of human rights, they weren't made meaningful in the lives of the members. Members did not utilize the club as an instrument of empowerment that is necessary in the creation of social change agents. Meintjes (1997) defines empowerment as a "process through which people and or communities increase their mastery and control of their own lives and the decisions that affect their own lives. Empowerment is considered fundamental to the right of development (Donnelly, 1999; Sano, 2000; United Nations Development Programme, 2000). The right to development is a human right secured by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and further strengthened by the 1986 Declaration of the Right to Development and the Vienna Declaration of Human Rights in 1993. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) broadly defines development as a "process of enhancing human capabilities – to expand choices and opportunities so that each person can lead a life of respect and value" (p. 2). Even though these terms are not directly used in the stated aims and objectives for the TFF clubs, empowerment and development are both essential to their realization.

The disempowerment of the TFF club was expressed in two ways. The club primarily addressed the knowledge component of human rights leaving out the affective and ethical domain that leads to the development of empathy and moral reasoning. Osler and Starkey (1994) state:

Human rights issues are invariably ones to which people respond on an emotional as well intellectual level...they should have the opportunity to experience human rights in a positive way. In other words, the course should incorporate the affective dimension as well as those as knowledge and skills (p. 358).

The club also took little or no action on human rights violations that were occurring in its own backyard. Violations such as the abuse of girls and form ones or

denying Muslims their right to worship were blatantly obvious at the school and could have provided an excellent laboratory for social change. The curriculum or pedagogical strategies used to teach did not include the tactics of social change Paulo Freire's (1990) "banking" form of human rights education was used in the club that rendered members as passive receptacles for safe human rights knowledge, such as spelling key terms in human rights documents. This is in contrast to Freire's problem – posing education that situates learners in the more powerful role as critical thinkers who actively question and reconstruct their own knowledge. As Freire and other liberationist writers like Meizrow (1992) suggest, education is never neutral.

Nevertheless, the human rights education the members were receiving was neutralized by making the learning abstract and not focusing enough on outdated traditional practices or issues that were occurring at the school. Learning your rights and responsibilities and how to assert and protect them is a potentially powerful form of knowledge that can induce social change under the right conditions. For a society in transition like Ghana, social change may be threatening to the stability of the culture. Therefore this potentially transformative form of education was essentially neutralized by the club, in response to a society whose culture demanded that they satisfy the living as well as the dead, socialize their children when the traditional means of socialization were being uprooted, engage in democratic reconstruction in a nation who had lived under military rule for 22 ½ years and whose level of development was not sufficient for the enjoyment of even basic human rights. As the co-patron of the TFF club stated, "What good does it do to tell the children that they have the right to an education, when their parents cannot afford to pay their school fees" (Appendix B: 31).

Despite this neutralized education, some transformation among the members did take place. The TFF president demonstrated an individual act of empowerment. He wrote a letter and instructed the secretary of the club to write a letter protesting the abuse of form ones, but he did not criticize the system of servitude that perpetuated it. This is an important distinction. So strong was the persistence of traditional concepts of authority, the TFF club president was able to recognize the beatings of form ones as abuse, but was blind to the powerful hierarchy that allows the subjugation of junior students to their seniors. The newly elected president stated that he remembered what it was like as a form one and was always dreaming of a time when he could do something about it, not the system that sustained it. The source of his empowerment was his own sense of empathy, his form three status as a senior, and his position as president of the human rights education club. He did not act as a leader of social change movement by organizing a collective and systematic reaction to abuse. Rather he acted as an individual, angered by a singly abusive act.

Such was the case of the president of Sec/Tech's Ghana Muslim Student Association (GMSA). A member of the TFF club for three years and a president of a club in his own right, he states he joined the TFF club to learn about his rights. Yet, the club was not the medium he chose to exercise them. When challenging the administration for separate religious services, the GMSA president and long time member of the TFF club acted through a separate and independent association of Muslims of which he is

president. Another source of his agency was the hierarchical power structures in place at the school. The GMSA president stated that he couldn't do anything at the time, but when he got to form three, he would stand up for his rights and that of his fellow Muslim brothers and sisters on campus. I would argue that the club played a role in increasing his awareness that he had rights to fight for. I would also argue that this same club was not viewed as the appropriate medium to assert them.

The view of the TFF club president and the GMSA president was fixed upon making the situation of the oppressed more humane, not uprooting the source of oppression. However, the GMSA president wanted more change than the TFF president, because the change he desired was systematic and long term and not driven by a single act. Asserting the religious rights of Muslims, who are primarily from the undeveloped northern part of Ghana in a majority Christian country, has political and economic implications that extend beyond the school. The TFF president was responding to single oppressive acts by individuals perpetrated on other individuals without acknowledging the hierarchical power relations between the forms that gives birth to the oppression in the first place. This is referred to as static empowerment (Meintjes, 1997). Static empowerment ignores the role of the oppressor, while trying to help the oppressed. This is opposite from the dynamic conception of empowerment that places the oppressor in a historical sociopolitical context with the understanding that the lines between the oppressed and oppressor are blurred and arbitrarily drawn. The oppressed and oppressor are likely occupying simultaneous roles and in need of human rights education. Form threes are both oppressed and oppressors in that they reap benefits from their privileged status on which they exact punishment on those who are beneath them. Both presidents tried to help those they perceived as being oppressed by using this same privileged oppressor status. Both used their form three status as one platform to voice dissent. And yet this very platform contributes to what they are trying to rid. Form ones and form twos wait to become form threes so that they can switch roles in a cycle from oppressed to oppressor. Girls operate in a similar cycle, but outside the privileged status of male oppressor. An act of empowerment in one direction is an act of disempowerment in another. Again, this is consistent with the literature that states human rights rhetoric can be used for and against human rights in the hands of the oppressed as well as the oppressor (Stammers, 1999).

Research Question 2: What Were the Barriers that Impeded the Operation of the Club?

Three barriers were identified as impeding the operation of the club, hierarchical power relations, unequal access and participation, and gender inequality. For the purposes of this study I am defining hierarchy as a culturally defined ranking of persons, groups or positions. Whether in the administration with its system of a master and assistant for every part of the school, or in the long list of student prefect positions, the school is organized along strict lines of hierarchy. This is also evident in the club. Fourteen positions in the club, almost half the membership holds an office beginning with president and ending with porter. This hierarchy is imbued with a set of expectations and assumptions that rank people or the positions they hold.

Hierarchy based on position or rank in the school is evident in the school and spills over into the club. Club patrons feel juniors are not comfortable in the presence of the seniors knowing that when they leave club they could be punished or beaten. Most everyone agreed that the juniors' workload prevented them from attending club activities and even cut into their study and leisure time. Students indicated that the patrons were encouraging them to make friends and invite juniors to the club meetings. Yet a form one that was a member was having difficulty getting his friends to come. A criterion for invitation seems to be how well one serves. The Mid-term Decade Review of Human Rights Education (2000) cited hierarchy and existing power relations as a threat to effective human rights education.

The lead patron of the club discussed the difficulty that when seniors left the club, he would have to recruit virtually a new club from scratch the next year. Barrier number two was an egalitarian and fluctuating membership that created unequal access and a membership and leadership vacuum that was difficult to fill. A club membership that consisted primarily of form three seniors leaves the club without a steady membership base to continue its work for one year to the next. This creates a vacuum each year in the club that requires an almost fresh start in recruiting members. This flux in membership also creates a leadership vacuum where few juniors have participated enough in the club to be culled as a future leaders. Two of the stated aims of the club were to recruit a new generation of human rights activists and to prevent human rights violations and encourage a respect for human rights. This flux in membership and inequity in opportunity and treatment of the lower forms, girls, and day students to participate and not be violated is an inhibiting factor to the development of these aims and to the overall work of the club.

Another barrier was the inequitable treatment of women and girls on campus that was reflected in the club. Many student club members felt that the form distinctions of junior and senior were irrelevant to the club. The two female form three-club members stated that the form ones had the right to join the club and that everyone in the club cooperated like equally. The two senior girls felt the low junior participation was due to the heavy workload required of them on campus.

However, they discussed their experience on campus and in the club in conflicting ways. They observed that the club operates as one, yet they acknowledged their mistreatment in the school and club. They tell stories of how they were shouted down when they tried to answer and told to sit down. However, they did affirm that the form one junior girls have a much harder time in school and the club because of her even lower status as a junior. The fact that the Old Boy co-patron was present during much of this interview may have impacted their responses to me.

Master C, the female former patron does acknowledge that while she was patron mistreatment of the girls was discussed and she felt that relations between the sexes in club and off campus had improved. She attributed part of this improvement to the better treatment of the girls by boys in the TFF club and its spreading effect to the school. She also attributed the better relations between the sexes to the administration taking a stand

against students and the Old Boys (former students of the school) who were encouraging violence against the girls, especially after a girl was hospitalized from being hit on the spine with a sharp object.

Despite this, the male co-patron of the club observed that the number of girls in the TFF club had reduced dramatically. When asked about the drop in the of girls' participation in the club, the two TFF girl members interviewed felt that it was because the girls were day students and weren't always aware of when and where the meetings were to be held. They said that many girls had to go home after classes to help their mothers. They concluded that the form three girls and boarders were the only students who had time to spare from their studies, and were the only ones who could attend club meetings.

It became apparent through the data gathered that the TFF club shared many of the same cultural characteristics and conflicts of the larger school community. This only makes sense. The club is situated and operates within the school, which operates in a larger town and the town in a larger country and so forth. The club shares physical space within the school. The patrons of the club are also teachers who interact and teach in the larger school community and therefore subject to the same influences and assumptions of that community, as well as other communities in which they belong to. The club members are also students. When students leave the club they re-enter the larger school community and home communities, which in all likelihood exists a realm of smaller subset communities. All have their influences, expectations and assumptions that are brought to bear on the individual in a community as well as society. Therefore the conclusions and recommendations must involve the TFF program, the school, and Ghanaian society.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Globalization, war, genocide, poverty, and discrimination are some of the reasons we need human rights. The basic premise of human rights is that they are entitlements that protect human dignity that all individuals and groups possess based on their common humanity. Underscoring these rights are norms by which nations, states, groups, and individuals determine how to live together and be secure in one's person, community, and world. Human rights are not unique to any one culture, but their conception and implementation is enhanced, but not guaranteed, by a democratic and developed society. Human rights education is meant to teach people and groups what these norms or rights are and how to protect them to help bring about their realization. Cultural conflict occurs when these norms conflict with the values and beliefs of a culture or when war, poverty, and disease - the very things these norms are meant to rid, obstruct their implementation and thus realization.

Such was the case with the Teaching for Freedom program. Two countries, Ghana and Norway, miles apart in distance and development, partnered a program to bridge the gap between human rights and a non-Western culture. So far was the distance, so precarious the bridge, the gap was not only left for the most part un-bridged, but it

exposed a gaping hole in the implementation of human rights education programs in developing countries. This is not so bad. It is better to know that there are holes in the bridge and where they are, than to walk unaware of an impending fall. While gains were certainly made by the TFF program in creating an awareness of human rights, there is much to be learned about how to make human rights education programs more meaningful, sustainable, and legitimate in local undeveloped contexts. It is better to know how to patch the holes and sturdy the bridge. Based on the research conducted on the TFF program at Koforidua Secondary Technical School in Ghana, the following conclusions were reached:

1. The TFF club was a conflicted structure that intellectualized the handling of human rights in response to the transitioning and conflicted nature of Ghanaian society.
2. The TFF club was partially successful in creating an academic awareness of human rights amongst its members and to a much lesser degree the school body.
3. Members of the TFF club held varying understandings of human rights that did not result in an overall empowering posture on the part of the club in acting on these understandings. The club under utilized more empowering pedagogies and ignored issues of social change and the strategies necessary to create social change agents.
4. Access and participation in the TFF club was more limited to some students and groups than others serving as a barrier to the democratic functioning of the club.
5. Hierarchy and power structures operating in the school also operated in the TFF club serving as a barrier to the realization of the aims of the program.
6. The TFF club's lack of funding, relative self-imposed invisibility within the school, and limited collaboration with other human rights organizations limited its impact.
7. The expectations of the Western sponsors of the TFF program at times exceeded the capabilities of the Ghanaian based program.
8. The continuing oversight of the TFF club by a trained patron or patrons and a school willing to host the club was important to its implementation and sustainability. This did not guarantee its effective functioning, as was the case with club at Sec/Tech.
9. The club patron's personal interests, convictions, and understanding of human rights affected the operation of the club in terms of the direction and curriculum of the program and to some extent the membership.

10. The context in which the TFF program operated was both enabling and disabling to the implementation and operation of the program. The pro-democracy civil society in Ghana provided an open and forward-looking atmosphere for a human rights education program to operate. At the same time the persistence of traditional and out - dated cultural practices and the lack of development created a difficult and challenging environment for the club to fully realize its potential. These conflicting forces neutralized the work of the club.

Recommendations for Practice

Clearly the context in which a human rights education program operates affects the ability of the program to carry out its tasks. In addition to affecting how the program works, the context also determines what will be needed to make it work in terms of restraints and capabilities, and even what the primary focus of the program should be. The Western sponsors of the TFF program determined the initial aims of the programs with leeway for local programs to adjust to surrounding conditions. In the case of the TFF program in Koforidua adjustments were made, but not always for the good of the program and sometimes stretched thin the resources and capabilities of the operating office of Amnesty International in Ghana. Amnesty International - Norway dispersed the money to be used for human rights education and it was up to Amnesty International in Ghana to figure out how to use it within guidelines. Certainly Norway did not intend the money to be used for a human rights education program for youth that was exclusionary, abstract, and sanitized to the point of ineffectiveness. Certainly Ghana did not expect nor have the capabilities to report, fax, email, and churn out social change agents in a largely tribal, semi- literate former authoritarian government. Nor was the human rights education experienced in the club intended to create social change agents. None of these issues that have been brought forth were discussed in the club. Magendzo (1997) in his article on planning human rights education in reemerging democracies asks the question whether human rights education is possible at all in these contexts.

Not only is human rights education possible, as Magendzo goes on to point out, but also desperately needed. As stated in Chapter One, the universal nature of human rights is not the primary issue here, but more research is needed in this area and the debate over cultural relativism should not be considered moot. Proceeding from the premise that for the most part the rights espoused in the Declaration are universal, the aim of the following recommendations is on implementation. The focus is on bridging the cultural and socioeconomic gap when doing human rights education in non-Western contexts.

But first, a brief metaphorical description of the relationship between implementation and context is given, followed by seven research-based recommendations. Metaphorical descriptions are not absolutes and may oversimplify, but help bridge the gap between theory and practice by making abstract principles more concrete (Lakoff, 1980).

Implementing human rights education is like planting a tree. If the tree is planted in good soil and properly fertilized it will grow. The kind of fruit it bears is telling of its treatment and conditions. If human rights education, properly done, is infused into a developed society that is rich in democracy and strong in civil society, the chances are much higher of it reinforcing these norms and bearing fruit that sustains the society. In turn, human rights education also acts as fertilizer to the soil. It enriches the soil by helping create a developed society that is strong in democracy and civil society and therefore a better bed for growth.

If the tree is planted in poor soil starved of sunlight and rain, the sapling will either die or bear fruit that tastes much like the society that orcharded it. If human rights education is infused into an undeveloped post colonial economy among illiterate hungry people its growth is stunted unless special care is given. This care must come from international, national, regional and local actors. The TFF club, although planted in richer soil than just described, the soil was still a mixed bag of competing cultures that bore fruit that looked an awful lot like the school and power structures that sustained it. The tree needed alternative levels of support and while its growth will be slow and at times may even retard, a seed may generate.

Based on the previous conclusions, the following recommendations concerning implementing human rights education (HRE) seem tenable:

1. *HRE needs strong roots.* Human rights needs to be properly defined and grounded in a proper understanding of the fundamental principles. There was evidence that neither patrons nor members had a good understanding of human rights. The pool of trained patrons in the school was also limited to two people. Education needs to be ongoing, and include evaluation techniques, and also pedagogical and andragogical principles that are more empowering. Role-plays, theater, debates and campaigns on human rights issues of importance should be included in the training. Particular emphasis needs to be placed on gender issues and exposure to democratic governments. A one-time training session for patrons of the club was insufficient. The lack of a consistent pool of trained patrons was a threat to the sustainability of the TFF club and was the cause of the closure of other TFF clubs in other regions. Proper grounding and consistent training and oversight by a committed regional liaison officer, which was a weak link in the Koforidua TFF program, could have strengthened the commitment and resolve of the patrons and club in producing social change.
2. *HRE needs rich soil and the soil needs HRE.* And if the soil is not rich, it can be enriched by the support of pro-democracy organizations and in turn human rights education. The tree is in need of the soil and the soil is in need of the tree. The TFF club needed to take stock of and utilize local resources by collaborating with the rich and resourceful human rights community at its fingertips. If NGOs and intergovernmental organizations like the CHRAJ have been consistently involved in the training and work of the club, the patrons are more likely to have a better understanding and more commitment to the social change aspect of human rights

- education. In turn, this will help both the club and NGOs seek out each other for support. This collaboration helps move HRE beyond mere knowledge to actually experiencing positive human rights action and provides opportunities for nonformal and informal learning. The school was located within a few miles of the National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE), the Commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and a local branch of Amnesty International.
3. *HRE needs a proper planting.* HRE needs a higher level of integration in the school through its curriculum, the training of school personnel, and other information dissemination efforts. This would have given more broadband support and visibility to the TFF club's efforts within the school. The Eastern Varsity, the school's journal could have been utilized more in highlighting the club's efforts. In more supportive environments, HRE needs to be integrated through all levels of the formal education sector. In less supportive environments with fewer resources a gradual approach is recommended. A proper understanding of human rights, increased involvement with human rights organizations, more local oversight of the patrons by the regional liaison officer and the program administration in general, would have helped strengthened the resolve and political will to increase the integration of HRE across the board.
 4. *HRE needs to bear fruit.* HRE needs to be problem focused and results oriented. In developing countries where human rights may take a back seat to more pressing needs, human rights education must be applied to basic needs or issues that people care about that can deliver results or the prospect of results in relatively short period of time. This list may be short, but it is absolutely essential in making human rights in third world contexts real and making the connection between economic, social, and cultural rights and civil and political rights. Due to the conflicted nature of Ghanaian society the work of the TFF club was ambivalent and therefore diluted. The club needed to have focused on a particular human rights concern at the school or community that was meaningful in members' lives, but not overly threatening to authorities as a first step.
 5. *HRE needs a forest.* HRE needs a community. Ghanaian culture is still community oriented and HRE needs to take advantage of that shared sense of collective purpose. The problem approach discussed in recommendation four, could center on a shared concern of the community. Part of the conceptual misunderstanding of HRE is identifying what constitutes a human rights educator and human rights education. Every teacher in the school was a human rights educator due to the nature of the work. Just being identified as a human rights educator doesn't necessarily imbue one with those sensibilities, but it does help provide a shared sense of community and may help in gaining cooperation.
 6. *HRE needs water and sunlight.* HRE needs equal access and participation. The club needs to reorganize in terms of its meeting and membership to ensure equal access and participation. There are some existing democratic structures in the

school, like the class meetings that the club could utilize as a starting point for reorganization. A female co-patron is needed to achieve the kind of gender balance and increase female participation. The TFF club at Sec/Tech demonstrated some success at improving gender relations when a female was a co-patron of the club. Also, only hardworking and fair minded teachers should be selected to oversee the club and its activities. This will help the club achieve a more balanced membership of junior and senior students and the rearrangement of club offices to reflect more balanced leadership. As recommended earlier, this is more easily done if the club has a higher level of visibility within the school and school personnel are knowledgeable and supportive of human rights. Teachers and school authorities are more likely to be cooperative in making some fundamental changes in power structures if they see themselves as part of a human rights community.

7. *HRE needs strong branches.* HRE needs financial support. Collaboration and fundraising are key, but with a keen eye on the level of expectations from foreign sponsors. Fund-raising for a good cause, could give TFF members a sense of their own collective agency and not be viewed as overtly threatening or political, especially if the cause is community oriented. Members can pay dues, patrons can be taught to write grants and how to collaborate with NGOs. This can increase the resources as well as the social change agency aspect of the club. However, fundraising is very difficult in communities that are poverty-stricken and can take over the real purpose of human rights education. A key resource in the Sec/Tech school community could be the Old Boys club. Coalescing on a mutual issue with their support, if only slightly, could yield real gains in financial support and future collaboration. Leadership and political skills are necessary.

Recommendations for Future Research

Future research is needed on the long-term impact of human rights education to develop and disseminate best practices. This was cited as a direction for future study in the United Nations High Commissioner mid-term global human rights evaluation of the decade (2000, A/55/360). Not enough evaluation research is being conducted to determine the effectiveness of certain practices under particular cultural conditions.

Another area of future research is the creation of an enabling human rights community and discipline. Conducting human rights education in third world contexts requires many more resources and a higher level of collaboration from international to local actors and other disciplines. In some instances, human rights education efforts become synonymous with capacity building and working to sustain a community that is supportive of its efforts. It is like constructing the bridge as you attempt to cross it. This involves a better conceptualization of the field as a discipline and considerable more understanding of comparable fields, such as peace education, civic education, conflict resolution, and multicultural education, and adult education.

Thirdly, research needs to continue on the relationship between human rights and culture. Despite consensus on the universal nature of human rights, we need to learn more

about the dynamics of culture in relation to these universal principles. What is it that we know or would like to know about culture that can inform our understanding of human rights? How do cultures change, evolve, emerge, absorb and adapt in the face of globalization and great change? I believe that the more we learn about culture, the more we will understand about human rights. Was it more important to understand the day-to-day workings of the TFF club, or the day-to-day workings of the people? The TFF program was a product of a greater need than to just teach people about their human rights. The Declaration is more than a collection of articles in terms of rights. Both are instruments of human creation that spell out the necessary conditions for a well-ordered society or as John Rawls states, “Respect for human rights is one of the conditions ... to be admissible as a member in good standing into a just political society of people” (p. 78). Cultural and educational anthropologists, whose greatest strength is their understanding of culture, can make a great contribution to our understanding of human rights.

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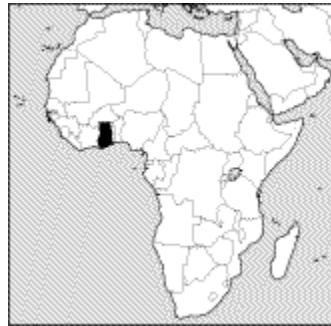
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Appendix A: Map of Ghana, West Africa



Appendix B: Data Sampling Background of School Context

Appendix B consists of samples of interviewers' questions and interviewees' responses placed in context of the interview. Interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and raw data were regenerated through Ethnograph software 5.2. The results were defined and coded data used to substantiate findings and support conclusions. Codes are defined in Code Book that is contained in Appendix E.

Appendix B: 1

The TFF Treasurer and board member played an active role in all levels of the TFF program describes the difficulty in communicating with Norway with limited access to regular modes of communication common in more developed countries. The cultural misunderstanding occurred as the Ghanaian section wanted to concentrate the money on problems particular with their culture, while OD requirements stipulating the money to be used with for educating the youth. He also describes the problems with accounting and bookkeeping and with the ingoing and outgoing council in the Amnesty section. I also probe very deeply about accounting and auditing problems within the section that resulting in mismanagement or the suspected mismanagement of funds. I don't ever feel I get the whole story.

#-BUREAUCRAC #-CCONFLICT

Interviewer: On some of the internal	83	-#
documents, Norway indicated that one	84	
of the problems was the bureaucracy	85	
between two distant countries that	86	
are far way from each other. What	87	
were they referring to?	88	
Fred: Thank you, Helen. The problem	90	

with bureaucracy was, initially we 91 |
wanted to work with Trokosi. But 92 |
that did not fall in line with the 93 |
Norwegian, the teaching for freedom 94 |
program . It was later that we had 95 |
the teaching for freedom program in 96 |
the secondary schools and teacher 97 |
training colleges approved in 1996. 98 |
And when you talk about bureaucracy, 99 |
that getting of information from 100 |
people in Africa, is very difficult. 101 |

I was talking about earlier, it is 138 |
not as effective as you have in 139 |
Europe or America. You are able to 140 |
send e-mails, fax, telephone calls, 141 |
the distance is very expensive in 142 |
Ghana. Even where information that 143 |
you might be able to get on phone, in 144 |
America or in Europe, somebody may 145 |
tell you, I need to seek clearance 146 |
from my boss before he gives such 147 |
information. And when you come to 148 |
documents, you might have to talk to 149 |
the head of the department before you 150 |
have documents that you want to 151 |
liaison. This is some of the 152 |
bureaucracy that we have in Africa, 153 |
that initially hampered our 154 |
activities.

-#

Interviewer: You've talked about the	162
bureaucracy in the general sense, can	163
you give me some more specific	164
examples of how the bureaucracy	165
hampered the program initially?	166
Didn't also hampered the	167
communication between Norway and	168
Ghana concerning the T. F. F.	169
program?	170

#-MISCOMMUNI

Fred: Yes in did initially. But when	172	-#
the program started, we got to know	173	
what really Norway wanted. And we	174	
realized how they wanted it . We	175	
adjusted a program and started going	176	
effectively. For example, initially	177	
they ask you by the end of June, by	178	
June ending give us a half-year	179	
report. Which in Ghana, we are not	180	
used to. So there was nothing like	181	
that. When they give us the	182	
guidelines of what you have to do,	183	
you have to meet the deadline. If	184	
you don't meet the deadline, we don't	185	
give you money for the next	186	
half-year. And we were able to	187	
comply and the money was coming.	188	

|

Appendix B: 2

I am asking two form three senior girls who are members of the TFF club what life is like as a form three on campus. They describe a life of relative ease and luxury on campus compared with their form one counterpart, especially if she is a girl. They state that all abide by the rules of arriving to class on time, but that the form one has some additional rules. They speak very matter of fact about this without a hint of complicity that this might be a violation of the student's right to an education.

#-F3-LIFE

Interviewer: Both of you are Form 3s.	148	-#
What is it like being a Form 3?	149	
Jane: Being in Form three is very nice	151	
and interesting. When you are in	152	
Form three you have the freedom to enjoy	153	
the fresh air on campus. Because you	154	
don't do any of the donkey jobs any	155	
difficult job and you are given the	156	
liberty to study from morning to	157	
evening without any trouble.	158	
Interviewer: Are things different if	160	
you're a girl Form three versus being a	161	
girl Form one or two?	162	
Jane: Yes, there is [sic] a lot of	164	
difference. In Form three you are given	165	
the freedom to study without doing	166	
any work in the compound. In form one	167	
you work, you sweep your plots in	168	

the morning. When it comes to	169
weeding you take part. In form three	170
you don't do all these things.	171

Appendix B: 3

The former female patron of the club discusses the improved relations between the sexes in the club and on campus as related to the work of the club on this issue.

Interviewer: Did you discuss issues	37
that pertain the rights of girls and	38
women in Ghana or at the school?	39
JK: The boys learned that certain	41
things done to the girls are	42
violations of their human rights.	43
The members were encouraged to bring	44
out some of the violations going on	45
in the school and at home against	46
both girls and boys. After the	47
realization then they were all	48
advised not to violate the rights of	49
each other. The boys understood the	50
issues at stake and they started	51
behaving more friendly toward the	52
girls. The girls also knew their	53
rights and became aware of the	54
violations and stood up against their	55
mates. The girls freely talked [in	56
the club] about how the boys shout at	57
them when they want to answer	58
questions in class and how they	59

threaten to beat them whenever they	60
refuse their amorous approaches.	61
This change in the treatment of girls	63
by boys from the club really had a	64
positive effect on even the boys who	65
are not in the club so it improved	66
the relationship of the interactions	67
between the opposite sexes.	68

Appendix B: 4

Master D, one of the original co-patrons of the club makes the observation that the number of girls has reduced drastically in the club. He attributes this to the reduced number of girls in the school overall and the loss of senior influential girls encouraging the others. Incidentally, he does not make any reference to the change of patrons from a female to one that is considered an “old boy” who the former female co-patron describes as inciting violence against the girls.

Interviewer: I'd like to talk about	742
the girls in the club. I noticed	743
about 5 or 6 in the club yesterday.	744
What has it been like for the girls	745
in the club?	746

#-GIRLINCLUB

Jim: The ladies don't want to come to	748M -#
our club. They are moving on to	749
other clubs. we used to have so many	750
girls dominating the club. They were	751
more than the boys. But now it has	752 -#
reduced drastically. But it is	753

because this time we don't have many 754
 girls in the school generally. We 755
 don't have many of them. So they seem 756
 to like the club. For a long time 757
 the ladies feel that their rights 758
 have been trampled upon. Now they 759
 want to fight back. So, they find a 760
 club that is prepared to fight for 761
 their rights. But the number has gone 762
 down this year. 763

Interviewer; So, why has the number of 765
 girls gone down drastically in the 766
 club? 767

#-GIRLINCLUB

Jim: But basically, because the number 769 -#
 of girls has gone down in the school. 770 |
 We didn't get many girls in the 771 |
 school - it has reduced. It could be 772 |
 related to the girls that left. You 773 |
 see the girls that we used to have in 774 |
 the club, were so influential that 775 |
 were able to convince their 776 |
 colleagues, they were able to educate 777 |
 their colleagues to take active 778 |
 interest. But the girls we have now 779 |
 are not so influential, so they are 780 |
 not able to convince their 781 -#
 colleagues. 782

Appendix B: 5

The patron of the TFF club describes the many duties of the form one or junior students. This includes day students, of whom many are females, who have to start out much earlier by walking to school to arrive by 6:15 a.m. These duties extend throughout the day and interfere with these students opportunity to participate in the TFF club and other clubs and extracurricular activities on campus.

#-F1 DUTIES

Jim: Yes. They do certain things.	909M -#
They send them around on their rounds	910 #
to their dormitories. They do all	911 #
the odd jobs.	912 #
Interviewer: You're saying that Form	914 #
1s do all the odd jobs in the school?	915 #
Jim: Yes. They do all the odd jobs	918 -#

Appendix B: 6

The two female form three members of the TFF club compare the many duties of form one life with that of the comparative free range of the senior. They reason that this heavy workload inhibits form one's participation in the TFF club.

Interviewer: Do you know why the club	298
is mostly composed of form 3s?	299
#-F1WORK	
J: Yes -- The form 1s and the work	301 !-#
on the compound --like I said in the	302
beginning the form one whether a boy	303
or girl has many things to do on the	304 -#
#-F3-LIFE	
compound. But a form 3 girl or a boy	305 -#
doesn't have any of the work. You	306
-You have free range -- you can move	307

around. But a form one girl or boy-	308
when after class you have to go to	309
the dining hall -then go from the	310
dining hall to clean his plot. But	311
you a form 3 girl or boy you don't	312
have any plot to clean. So this	313 -#
sometimes it gives us the time	

Appendix B: 7

Master C, the female teacher and former patron of the club describe the system of violence perpetrated against the form one junior students. Earlier in the second interview, Master C also characterizes it as a human rights violation. She feels that they should report, but students are called “chooks” if they report and are even harassed more after reporting. The club’s membership is thought to be composed of form threes for two reasons: juniors are uncomfortable in the presence of their senior in a club format where the social situation tends to be more relaxed. This is the view of the patrons. The students seem to think it is because the form ones have so much work to do and are so tired that they can’t fit attending club in their schedules.

#-F1SUNCOMFO #-F1F3OBEDIE #-F1WORK

Interviewer: Why do you think the club	13 -#
is composed of mainly form three	14
seniors? Do you think it has	15
anything to do with their status as	16
form ones on campus?	17

JK: Seniors treat juniors with so much	19
wickedness that the juniors are not	20
even comfortable in the school. The	21
authorities should have heard of this	22
wickedness, but the juniors don't	23

report. They only complain when they	24	
are severely maltreated to the point	25	
where they fall sick	26	
before they will report. The juniors	27	
feel that when they report the	28	
seniors will be sacked and also the	29	
harsh treatment is to toughen	30	
them. They also have the plan to do	31	
the same things when they get to the	32	
senior forms. They are lashed, made	33	
to carry heavy loads for long hours,	34	
and monies are collected from them.	35	
		-#

Appendix B: 8

This is a letter I obtained from the Senior Housemaster who is in charge of disciplinary infractions in the dormitories. A form one student details the assault by a group of form three and two students. Apparently, someone has stolen his mattress and the perpetrators accuse him of not working and sleeping where he is supposed.

Dear Housemaster,	1	
#-BULLYING \$-HARASSMENT		
I am very sad to write this letter	4	-#-\$
because of what happened yesterday	5	
night.	6	
Sir, there were seven seniors	8	
calledDerick Akyea (3F), Peter (3F),	9	
Maxwel (3B), Joel (3A), Dela (2H),	10	
Mawali (3G) and Atiemo (2F). They	11	
came to my class to called whilst	12	
learning. I took my bag and	13	

notebooks and follow them. because I 14 ||
don't know what has happened. When I 15 ||
reached or entered the room, Maxwell 16 ||
started slapping me roughly. I asked 17 ||
him why was he beating and slapping 18 ||
me. He said I don't work and sleep 19 ||
in the dormitory [sic]. I told him 20 ||
that I had been sleeping, but because 21 ||
Peter has seized the mattress, that's 22 ||
why I don't sleep early. 23 |-\$

#-BULLYING

Maxwell, started using the cane on my 25 -#
stomach, my penis, my back, and my 26 |
buttocks. When he gave me about 27 |
fifty lashes he stopped and the 28 |
others came to continue. Peter went 29 |
for my trunk and broke it and removed 30 |
the bucket and left the trunk 31 |
unlocked. 32 |
When they were beating my stomach all 34 |
the room members locked the door and 35 |
started again, but that time they used 36 |
the belt and cane to hit my stomach 37 |
and penis only saying that unless I 38 |
die before they will leave me. I 39 |
found a mean or a way to run away, 40 |
but I couldn't. One of the form two 41 |
students decided to go out, where I 42 |
ran very fast to bypass him and all 43 |
of them were chasing. When I reached 44 |
Mr. Afusah house they return to the 45 |

dormitory [sic].	46	
Now they are saying they will beat me until	48	
I die or until they moved away from	49	
the school.	50	
Sir, these are what I can say about them	52	
and I even have a witness. Thank you.	53	-#

Appendix B: 9

Master D has been patron of the club since its start in 1997. He says he is now realizing that the juniors are uncomfortable with their seniors in the club. He tries to encourage more form one participation by encouraging the form threes – the very students who bully or have the potential to, to invite form ones or twos to the club.

#-MENOTIRNG #-PROBLMATIC

Interviewer: You're saying that when	831M	-#
new forms come in - they are to make	832	
friends with younger forms to invite	833	
them in.	834	

Jim: Yes. But the problem with the	836	
Juniors is - if you look at the club	837	
membership, most of them are in the	838	
final year (Form 3). So when they go,	839	
we have to go back and pick new	840	
people. And since I am beginning to	841	
realize that the Form 1s find it	842	
difficult to interact with the	843	-#
seniors. The TFF classroom is for	844	
everybody - we are all equal. We have	845	
all letters - we all have to answer	846	
questions - you all have to	847	

#-BARRIER #-FORM1S

contribute. I'm beginning to realize 848 -#
that initially the form ones has 849 |
difficulty coming to the club, 850 |
because I am sitting in the same 851 |
classroom with my senior. And then 852 |
he answering questions that he may 853 |
not be able to answer the questions. 854 |
When we go back, he may not be 855 |
friendly or may like to bully me, or 856 |
to punish me. So when they come, 857 |
they don't normally want to be part 858 |
of the TFF club. But when you move 859 |
forward to being a senior - you see 860 |
them coming. So last year we have 861 -#
many in our club that are Form 3s.

Appendix B: 10

An old boy and master at the school replace Master C, the former female co-patron of the club. I am asking her about the Old Boys Association resistance to girls being educated at Sec/Tech. She replies by describing the new co-patron of the club and old boy as an active opponent of girls integrating Sec/Tech. However the plan backfires as the boys become even more unruly causing the old boys and school authorities to rethink their position.

-RESISTANCE #-OLE BOYS

HP: So you're saying that even now 604 -#
some of the masters or teachers have 605 |
not totally accepted girls' being 606 |
here. 607 |

JK: OH Yes. Especially, the old boys 609 |
 who have passed through the school – 610 |
 like Ernest, the co-patron of the 611 |
 club. They were inciting the boys to 612 |
 attack the girls. 613 |

-#

#-BACKFIRE #-HARRASSMEN #-GIRLSCHOOL

HP: Was the purpose so that the 615 -#
 girls wouldn't come back? 616 |

|

JK: Yes, so they did this for some 618 |
 time. And then they realized that 619 |
 what they were doing wasn't helping. 620 |
 Because in their bid to let the boys 621 |
 molest the girls, the boys were 622 |
 becoming very very rude. When one boy 623 |
 slapped a girl and I asked him why – 624 |
 he was very very rude. Then it didn't 625 |
 stop there. He went ahead and 626 |
 insulted the headmaster. It 627 |
 backfired. I was just laughing at 628 |
 them. You think you are attacking 629 |
 women – these old boys . They come 630 |
 to the students without the knowledge 631 |
 of the administration and counsel 632 |
 them. Then, when the Chief Prefect 633 |
 started misbehaving and started 634 |
 beating the girls, I started my own 635 |
 investigation. Then they saw that 636 |
 what they were doing wasn't good 637 |
 Then they started to realize that the 638 |

girls did better than the boys in	639
their class work.	640

Appendix B: 11

Master B, Old Boy and now co-patron of the club is describing the cultural conflict between human rights and the traditional and formal culture. He describes the traditional culture as the norms and values of the more traditional society that was working until colonization disrupted the African's way of life. The formal sector is the educational sector that he feels is more progressive. He urges that the overlap of the system and the passing away of the traditional will take time due to the high levels of illiteracy in the Ghanaian population.

-A-HOME-SCO

Ernest: Sometimes, sometimes, even if	253M -#
if it abuses your rights. You can't	254
easily, you see traditionally	255
culture runs into our educational	256
system up a little. You can't easily	257
tell the adult; no I won't do that	258
because it doesn't against my rights.	259
You see it will be the traditional	260
norm that you have to obey the adult	261
because of age. Am I'm making	262 -#

#-TRADVFORM

sense? If you want to explain human	263M -#
rights in terms of the formal	264
educational sector -- then you are	265
going to lose a lot of information.	266

Appendix B: 12

The Chief Prefect of the school speaks frankly about the reputation of the school and his belief that this reputation affects the school today. He also laments that that even though he believes the school has changed, people have not changed their beliefs about the school.

Interviewer: What is the schools motto?	124	
	125	
Hope: Come again?	127	
%-MMARIM MMA		
Interviewer: you have a name for the school that means manpower - boy power?	129	-%
	130	
	131	
#-REPUTATION \$-E.VARSITY		
Hope: Actually we call the school -- previously it was being called the Eastern Varsity. Actually then outside -- just because what some of the previous years students did -- so violent -- they were ruthless. So in the view of that, this school has been considered to be a very bad school and it affects us. People have not changed their mentality about this school even though the school has changed.	133	#\$
	134	
	135	
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	137	
	138	
	139	
	140	
	141	
	142	
	143	
	144	-\$-#
		-\$-%
#-REPUTATION #-MMARIM MMA		
Interviewer: what do you mean when you say this school was violent and the reputation affects us?	146	-\$
	147	
	148	
Hope: sometime ago when I came here I	150	

learned that the ones went for	151
sporting activities and there was a	152
fight. And it happened that one of	153
our students cut their masters leg or	154
the student's leg. And there has been	155
so many things to bring down the	156
school. Yes they are very ruthless	157
and those kind of violent acts.	158

Appendix B: 13

Master D, the original co-patron of the club is describing the seemingly intractable problem of form three seniors bullying the form one students and inhuman activities taking place in the dorms. He states that the club is trying to solve the problem, but I see no evidence of that. The club is composed primarily of form three students and the activities and discussions seem to be overly academic and issues discussed somewhat removed from members' experiences.

Interviewer: You're saying that Form	914
1s do all the odd jobs in the school?	915
#-BULLYING	
Jim: Yes. They do all the odd jobs	918 -#
in the school. And one problem that	919 -#
we are trying to solve through the	920
club is this bullying. Generally	921
when the Form 1s come, they are	922
bullied by Form 3s or the seniors.	923
Also, we have inhuman activities that	924
go on daily in the dormitories. So,	925
when they come, we are able to	926
educate them. We tell them your	927
rights - you don't let somebody	928

trample on you rights. If somebody	929	
tramples on your rights you have to	930	
report it to the proper authorities.	931	
Those who do that -come to our club,	932	
generally report to the authorities.	933	
This man has done - this man has	934	-#
done this.		

Appendix B: 14

I am asking Master D, the original co-patron of the club about the system of hierarchy and convention in the school that seems to almost encourage this kind of behavior. He replies that it is so entrenched that no matter what they do, the behavior persists.

Interviewer: Isn't bullying kind of	1102
built into the system with the	1103
forms able to make other forms do	1104
certain things because of rank?	1105

#-CONVENTION \$-BULLYING

Jim: Yes, I think it is form of	1108	-\$-\$
convention. He went through when he	1109	
was a Junior and he didn't complain	1110	
When he gets to Form two, he	1111	
would like to retaliate. You see he	1112	
went through and didn't complain	1113	
waiting until he gets to form two. And	1114	
then he will also take his chance and	1115	
do that. And so, it is entrenched in	1116	
the system secretly. They know it,	1117	
but it is not accepted by the school	1118	
authorities. If you are caught by	1119	

the school authorities, you will be	1120	
sent home. As soon as they are alone	1121	
in their dormitories they do this.	1122	
A form three student can bully a Form	1123	
two student and bully a Form one.	1124	
student. A form two student can bully	1125	-#
a form one student.	1126	

Appendix B: 15

Master D is describing a bullying case that involved a member of the TFF club.

We had a case last term.	935	-#
One of our members was involved with	936	
In discipline according to some of the	937	
students he was not actively	938	
involved, but he was present when	939	
another student bullied one of the	940	
juniors. And it was reported	941	
and that student was dismissed.	942	
And our TFF student was	943	
also dismissed.		
Now the friends are	1018	
telling me to go to see the	1019	
headmaster. They feel as a club that	1020	
boy has got his rights. And because	1021	
he didn't take part he shouldn't have	1022	
been expelled. There are different	1023	
forms of condoning and conniving. But	1024	
if somebody has committed a crime and	1025	
you know that it is wrong, you either	1026	
come and report, or you restrain the	1027	

person from doing so. If he doesn't	1028	
agree, you come and report. If you	1029	
don't come and report, let's just	1030	
assume that the person died. You have	1031	
contributed to his death. You were	1032	
there. You were present and we have	1033	
been teaching you about all these	1034	
things. You took delight in it - you	1035	
were laughing. You were encouraging	1036	
him. He did not know his rights, but	1037	
you are aware of his rights. The	1038	
parent of the boy comes to the	1039	-#
school. They were furious.	1040	

Appendix B: 16

The TFF club president is responding to my question about how he feels about the mistreatment of the form one juniors. He is expressing what I heard no one else express for these students and that was a sense of empathy. He says he remembers what life was like as a form one student and was dreaming of a chance to do something about it. He describes what he did once he became president of the club.

Interviewer: Daniel, you are the	287
president of the human rights club,	288
what do you think about the treatment	289
of the form ones?	290

Daniel: Okay, in this aspect of form	292
threes mistreating form ones, I	293
think, as of now, I have thought a	294
lot about it. Because, honestly	295
speaking the campus is very big and a	296

#-EMPATHY

lot of burden on the form ones. Also 297M -#
know, when I was also in form one, 298 |
the system was still happening. I 299 -#
didn't like it. So when I came to 300
form three and became the president, 301
I wanted to do something about the 302
situation and to see to it that form 303
ones were not being mal- treated. 304
Interviewer: For clarification, you 329
said that you wrote a letter? 330

#-F1LETTERS #-SECRETARY

Daniel: Yes I wrote a letter and the 332 -#
secretary wrote a letter - I asked 333 |
him to write it a letter to the 334 |
administration. So there were two 335 |
letters written. And the headmaster 336 -#
paid head to it.

Appendix B: 17

The TFF club president is responding to my question of whether his very important action was an outgrowth of the club in response to a clear human rights violation or was it a personal concern of his and he used his position as president to do something. It turns out that it was an individual action and not a club directive.

Interviewer: So this was not a club 501 |
decision for you to write the letter? 502 |
Daniel: No no-no. I did it on my own. 505

Appendix B: 18

The TFF club President is describing what Mmarima Mma means to him.

Interviewer: what does Mmarima Mma	193M	
mean to you?	194	
Daniel: Mmarima Mma really means a lot	196	
to me. It tells me that the students	197	
are very brave and they are always	198	
prepared to to defend this school in	199	
terms of debates quizzes competition	200	
with other schools and sporting	201	-\$
events.	202	

Appendix B: 19

The Chief Prefect is describing his vision of the school as operating as one with a time for everything. Apparently due to the large numbers of students and the relative poor academic performance of the school, he feels his plan for total conformity can deliver his campaign promise of eight A's of distinction.

\$-TIME	\$-CONFORMITY	
Interviewer: If there was one thing	543M	-\$
you could change about this school	544	
what would it be?	545	
Hope: Well before I became a school	547	
prefect I planned so many things.	548	
Yeah, in my manifesto I wrote	549	
when I come into office	550	
I will insure we have one time for	551	
everything. For instance, when we	552	
are all supposed to be in class the	553	
dormitories would be locked. Or when	554	
it is prep time we all have to be at	555	
prep time and the dormitories would	556	
be locked. Or when it is time to	557	

wash we all have to go to the laundry	558	
and wash and the dormitories would be	559	
locked and we would all go in and	560	
wash and come out at the same time.	561	
All this would be done at the same	562	
time. It means that it would save	563	
time it will keep people from going	564	
about chatting with their friends.	565	

Appendix B: 20

These field notes are taken from my observation of a staff meeting that delayed the onset of an earlier scheduled TFF club meeting by several hours. No one is bother, but me. I am told to be patient. According to the patron, who is attending the meeting, time is a major problem with club meetings. The men are simply enjoying the art of the discussion.

#-GENDERDISP

#-MTG

The men are discussing that the students	413	-#
are lackadaisical, not sufficiently	414	
interested in their studies. They	415	
then drift into a discussion on the	419	
teaching of physics, when the letter	420	
is read about creating lopsided	421	
physics students. A teacher at the	422	
school has written the letter and it	423	
is discussed at length The men continue	429	
the discussion well into the day with	430	
no let up insight. The time quickly	431	
passes the 10:30 AM limit when the	432	
TFF club meeting was supposed to take	433	
place in the library. It seems long gone.	434	

#-TIME MTG

During all of this the	483	-#
men are still discussing. I get the	484	
distinct feeling that they are	485	
thoroughly enjoying themselves and	486	
don't have a care in the world	487	
and that includes teaching.	488	

Appendix B: 21

The TFF club president alludes that the Muslim population has a problem with the administration and not the students. He observes that they come to services, but they resist by not participating.

CONFLICT #-MUSLIM

Interviewer: Do you think there might	866	
be a growing problem between	867	
Christians and Muslims on this	868	
campus?	869	
Daniel: Not actually but, the Muslims	871	
have some problems, not with the	872	
students, but with the	873	
administration. Let's say, during	874	
Sunday's church service for instance,	875	
every body must attend. But they	876	
don't really like it. It infringes	877	
upon their rights. But when you see	878	
them at church service, they don't	879	
participate in anything. They just	880	
stand there/ sit down until the	881	
service comes to an end. Still I	882	

think that it is a hard time for the	883
administration to deal with such	884 -#
people.	885

Appendix B: 22

The president of the Ghana Muslim Association (GMSA) states why he joined the TFF club. Even though he is a three-year member of the TFF club, his source of empowerment when he challenges the administration on Muslim rights, was his form three status – not his membership to a club that teaches rights and responsibilities.

#-WHY MEMBER

Interviewer: You have been a member	43
for 3 years of the TFF club. What	44
prompted your joining?	45
Gazali: To know about my rights and to	47
educate my fellow brothers about	48
their rights and responsibilities?	49 -#

-MUSLIM

Appendix B: 23

The president of the Ghana Muslim Student Association (GMSA) and a member of the TFF club speak out against the school as not being sensitive to their needs to worship. The GMSA president said the administration was now respecting their rights, but did not specify what agreement was reached. The former female patron of the club stated that the administration had convinced them to join the Sunday worship since it was a school program.

Interviewer: Does this have anything	51 -#
with your religious affiliation –	52
Muslim. Are Muslims treated fairly	53

in this school?	54
Gazali: No, Muslim students are not	56
treated fairly. When I came to this	57
school, I found out that Muslims in	58
this school was forced to attend	59
Sunday services to precise church,	60
which was against our religion. I	61
couldn't do anything at that time,	62
but when I got to Form three, I stood	63
up from rights and that of my	64
brothers and sisters on campus.	65 -#
#-MUSLIM #-BEHAVIORCH	
Interviewer: How did you stand up and	67 -#
what resulted from it?	68
Gazali: Our rights are now being	70
respected and I hope the	71
administration will come out and	72
officially announce to the whole	73
school that Muslims in this school	74
are no more going to attend the	75
Sunday Services.	76

Appendix B: 24

Master D, one of the originally trained TFF club patrons is describing the absence of the regional liaison officer that was assigned to the Eastern Region and therefore to Sec/Tech. He states that the Amnesty Office in Koforidua coordinated my coming taking on the duties of the absent officer. Apparently the officer was active at the start of the program bringing the TFF project coordinator, visitors from Amnesty International, Norway and Britain to visit the program. More importantly, Master D points to the dual importance that the TFF treasurer who just happen to live in the same town as the school, was to the club.

\$-BARRIER %-RLO DUTIES

Interview; who was the Liaison 29 -\$-%
Officer? 30 ||
Jim: I don't actually know, but he was 32 ||
a teacher. He came here with Fred 33 ||
and for some time we haven't seen 34 ||
him. He has not been coming. I don't 35 ||
know if he has been transferred to 36 ||
another place. If Fred would have 37 -# ||
been here he would have been in the 38 -# ||
position to tell us his whereabouts. 39 ||
Interviewer: As a patron did you get a 41 ||
chance to interact with the liaison 42 ||
officer concerning the Club and could 43 ||
you describe those interactions? 44 ||

#-BARRIER

Jim: When he comes to visit us he would 46 -# |
talk to us. Normally he brings 47 | |
information about program or 48 | |
activities for the club, about when 49 | |
we are going to the have meetings. 50 | |
When we going to have visitors like 51 | |
you coming. He should have brought 52 |-\$ |
the message when it was relayed to 53 |||
him. Probably he is not around that 54 |||
is why they're using the Amnesty 55 |||
International man in town. He should 56 |||
have done all these things. He 57 |||
normally comes to brings information 58 |-\$ |

and interact with us. But for some	59 -#
time we have not seen him.	60

Appendix B: 25

The TFF Treasurer was involved in all aspects of the program and especially in the club at Sec/Tech. I purposely asked how the clubs function knowing that he could give me a management perspective. He cites his involvement as crucial to the club surviving. He admits rather wearily that the school clubs did not function as envisioned because of competition from other clubs, inactivity of the liaison officer, and lack of monetary rewards.

#-BARRIERS #-CLUBACTIVI

Interviewer: How did the school clubs	708 -#
function?	709
Fred: Our school clubs did not	711
function the way that we wanted them	712
to function. You realize that the	713
teachers that were using -- already	714
there were other clubs in the school	715
before the human clubs also came. So	716
most of the students already belong	717
to other clubs. And then there were	718
other NGOs that formed other clubs in	719
the schools to. Like the green earth	720
club and the environmental clubs.	721
Some of those clothes, some of those	722
NGOs, enticing the students with	723
monetary incentives. Unfortunately	724

our program was not able to get 725 |
 monetary incentives. So immediate 726 |
 attention was not given. And then 727 |
 the regional liaison officers who we 728 |
 picked from the regional offices and 729 |
 district's, we relied mostly on 730 |
 them for the expedition of those 731 |
 things. . .Also they didn't perform 732 |
 the way that we wanted them even 733 |
 though we were giving them some token 734 |
 of money. They didn't perform to our 735 |
 satisfaction. I think this was some 736 |
 of the shortfalls of the school clubs 737 |

#-FRED #-MENTORING

Interviewer: what do you know about 740 -#
 the performance of the clubs in 741 |
 Koforidua? 742 |

Fred: The club in Koforidua, was one 744 |
 of the examples of a performing club. 745 -#
 The fact is, the credit goes to me and 746 |
 others , because I was residing in 747 |
 Koforidua. I was always on them, I 748 |
 go there to monitor their activities. 749 |
 I think that is why the Koforidua 750 |
 club is a success 751 -#

Appendix B: 26

I'm asking one of the senior TFF female members about the drop in the girls' participation in the club. Her answer reflects that students don't connect a "human rights

club” with a visible or tangible mission or function. Students generally state the function in a protective or educative mode, such as you can learn your rights and thus protect yourself.

#-INVITES

Interviewer: You don't have as many girls this year in the club. Why do you think you don't have as many girl members this year?	400M -# 401 402 403
Fedelia: Okay -- When I told some of the juniors-the girls to come and join human rights, one girl asked me, what is the meaning of human rights or what am I going to do? I said oh, you have to understand the word human rights. The right to join the club, the right to know if in case you are in trouble. You can defend your self. Then you have the right, maybe, to do some things that maybe you're not forced to do . So she told me maybe she will come, maybe she will not. She wants to join the GUNSA club. The Gunsa club is mostly for the boys. It's better to come to the human rights club, because we meet during the day and she told me she will come. I hope she will come. Today I do not see her.	405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 -# 424

Appendix B: 27

The TFF club president describes the process of how members are elected and the qualities that are desirable for president of a human rights club.

#-TFFELECTIO

Interviewer: What kinds of qualities	41	
do they look for any human rights	42	
education president?	43	
Daniel: You have to be an active	45	
member, if participate in club	46	
activities, contribute to the	47	
lecturing that is going on, the way	48	
you speak, how you express your self.	49	
Interviewer: What do you mean by how	52	
you express your self?	53	
	54	
Daniel: Curry to speak in front of	55	
people. Also if you're a prefect --	56	
dispensary prefect so many people	57	
know me. When programs are held the	58	
way you talk or not panic and that	59	-#
sort of thing.	60	

Appendix B: 28

Master D begins the club meeting by introducing me as a guest and assuring students that missing a class to come to this special meeting will not be a problem,

because you are still learning. I wonder how out-of-ordinary this special meeting will be. So far the minutes of the TFF meetings have been made unavailable to me.

#-ACADEMIC #-COMPETITIV

Jim: Normally we meet on Tuesday, at	11	-#
3:00. We meet every other Tuesday,	12	
but today is a special day because we	13	
have a visitor. You know we normally	14	
meet on Tuesday after classes. But	15	
we had to reschedule our meeting	16	
today. I know some of you are	17	
missing your classes, but this is	18	
another class. You know with human	19	
rights class you are always learning,	20	
learning, learning, learning. So	21	
don't feel sorry that you left your	22	
classes to come to the club. This is	23	
all that I have for you		

Appendix B: 29

The TFF club meeting begins with the very staid and academic focus of quizzing students on their knowledge of human rights and spelling of the word human rights and responsibility.

-CHILDRIGHT \$-CONFLICT \$-DEF HRS

Jim: Next question goes to the boys.	67	-#-\$
V. P.: Give us a right that all	69	
children have been common?	70	
Boys -- All children have been common	72	
-- the right to life.	73	
V. P. -- I said all children have in	75	

common. (<i>He restates this</i>) All	76	
children have in common.	77	
Boys -- All children have been common,	79	
okay, the right education.	80	
V. P. -- The right to education, yes	82	-#
the right to education. (<i>Hand clap</i>)	83	-\$

#-HRS BOX #-ACADEMIC #-DEF HRS

V. P. -- sell the word responsibility	124	
- responsibility.	125	
Girls -- R. E. S. P. O. N. B. S. I. B.	127	
T. Y.	128	
VP: no	130	
Girls -- R. E. S. P. O. N. S. I. B. I.	132	
L. I. T. Y.		

Appendix B: 30

The former female club patron discusses how the club emphasis during her tenure seems to be on student rights and responsibilities. She attributes this to the school being a primarily all male school and the undisciplined nature of the students

P: What rights did you highlight in	408
the club the most?	409
JK: Well we concentrated more on	410
their educational rights and the	411

#-STUDENT \$-RESPONSIBI

social aspect. Well, we told them	412	-\$
they have the right to go to school	413	
and their parents have to look after	414	
them, and then also, the things they	415	
should do. The things that should do	416	
in school- we were told to		
mainly let	417	
them know what they should do	418	
in schools as students. Like you have	429	
to be aware of the rules of the	420	-#
schools.	421	

Appendix B: 31

I am talking with the Old Boy co-patron of the club about why he seems fearful about telling the children what their rights are. He makes an argument often heard in the developing world and not without merit, that then they come to expect something that the parents can't give them.

#-DEVEL&RIGH

Interviewer: Why can't a child learn	1041	-\$
that he has the right to education --	1042	
the right to development -- the right	1043	
not to be beaten or abused?	1044	
Ernest: The child has come to learn	1046	
that he has the right to an	1047	
education. The parents know that	1048	
the child has a right to education.	1049	
The parent hasn't got the money to	1050	
support the child's education. That	1051	

is not a right - that is the parents 1052 |
responsibility to see that the child 1053 |
is educated. But the parent doesn't 1054 |
have the sound financial educational 1055 |
background to educate the child -- so 1056 |
what does [sic] they do? So unfortunately 1057 |
the child's right to education has 1058 |
been trampled upon -- unfortunately. 1059 |
You see what I'm saying?

Appendix C: TFF Club Demographics

NAME	OFFICE	FORM
1.	President	3
2.	Vice-President	3
<u>3.</u>	Secretary	3
4.	Assistant Secretary	3
5.	Financial Secretary	3
6.	Organiser	3
7.	Assistant Financial Secretary	3
8.	Vice Organiser	3
9.	Electoral Commissioner	3
10. (F)	Assistant Treasurer	3
11. (F)	Treasurer	3
12.	Chaplain	3
13.	Porter	3
14.	Adviser	3
14.	Member	3
15.	Member	3
16.	Member	3
17.	Member	3
	141	

18.	Member	3
19.	Member	3
20.	Member	3

Appendix C: TFF Club Demographics

NAME		OFFICE	FORM
22.		Member	2
23.	(F)	Member	3
24.	(F)	Member	1
25.	(F)	Member	1
26.		Member	2
27.		Member	1
28.		Member	1
29.		Member	2
30.		Member	3
31.		Member	3
32.		Member	3
33.		Member	3
34.		Member	3
Females	5	Koforidua Sec/ Tech Students	1,382(950 boarders)
Males	29	Masters (Teachers)	64 Total
Forms One	4	Female Masters	3
Forms Two	3	Male Masters	61
Forms Three	27	Female Students	54 F1 (14)
		142	

Offices 14

Male Students (1328)

F2 (23)

Ages 15 – 20 yrs of age

F3 (17)

Appendix D: Protocol 2000

How did the TFF project go about accomplishing the aims of the program?			
Source of Data Approach	Data Collection	(Level 1) Questions	Schedule
Five Member Management Board -Amnesty Ghana Office	Interview 1. Documents (Reports, assessments observations	1.What were the objectives of the local project? 2. When and how were the objectives assessed and evaluated? 3. Who oversaw the daily activities? 4. What were your individual duties in relation to the TFF project? 5. What was the nature and schedule of contact between you and the administrative board in Norway in *Create an organizational chart 6. What obstacles did you encounter? How were the obstacles dealt with?	Thursday (Aug. 3)
Access Amnesty Int'l-Ghana *Fred Kpoor	Resources <i>Batteries</i> Paper, pencils Audiotape Large Folders or <i>envelopes</i>		
Agents -Trained Regional Officers who Work to promote The activities of The TFF in Each region	Interview Documents	1. How do you work to promote the activities of the TFF in this region? 2. Do you share information between region and if "yes" how? 3. What resistance/obstacles have you incurred? How is this managed? 4. In what ways has your promotion Been successful or unsuccessful? 5. What has contributed to the success or nonsuccess of your promotion?	Friday (Aug. 4)
Access Amnestv	Resources Paper Pencils Audiotape Folders/Envelope		
Patrons (Tutors and Advisors of the School TFF) Location – School in Accra And)	Documents	<i>Interviews</i> <i>1. How do you tutor/advise the TFF</i> <i>Friday</i> project in this school? 2. How were students recruited to the project? 3. Who developed and implemented the curriculum? (Copy) 4. Were teachers trained or you trained about the TFF in general before you took on your present role? 5. How was the project received by the principals, teachers, and students? 6. Was their resistance to the project and what kind? 7. Were parents involved and if "yes" how so? 8. Success/Failure? 9. Did the project improve the functioning or climate of the school? 10. What sort of problems did this school have prior to the project?	(Aug. 4)
Access Amnesty			

Appendix D: Protocol 2000

How did the TFF project go about accomplishing the aims of the program? What were the major barriers and how were they dealt with? Why was there a need for a human rights education project in (Ghana) (Accra)?			
Source of Data	Collection	Questions	
Students	Interview Direct Observation Document	1. Grade, Age, (Demographics) 2. How were you involved in the TFF? 3. What kind of curriculum or materials used? 4. What kinds of activities were you involved in? 5. What did you learn or gain from these activities? 6. What do you think the TFF program is trying to accomplish? 7. In your opinion is the TFF accomplishing what it set out to do? How so? 8. What differences have you noticed in this school in regards to the program? 9. Is your parents or the people you live with involved in the TFF program in any way? 10. Are your parents or the people you live with supportive of your involvement? 11. In what way is the principal or administration of the school involved in the TFF program? Supportive? 12. Did the activities involve equal treatment of boys and girls? Tribal groups? Urban-Rural? Slavery? Trokowsi? 13. Describe? 14. Why do you think this school was picked to be involved in the TFF project? 15. Is the project viewed favorably by your friends or fellow students? How so? 16. What topics or issues should the project cover that it presently does not? 17. Would you like to continue to be involved in the TFF if given an opportunity?	Saturday (August 5)
	Resources Batteries Paper-pencils Large envelopes Camera & film		

Appendix E: Letter of Introduction

7054 Haycock Road
Falls Church, Virginia 22043

August 3, 2000

To Who it May Concern:

Please accept this letter as an introduction to a doctoral student in the Department of Human Development at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Falls Church, Virginia in the United States of America. The student's name is Helen Bond Peters and she is conducting research for her dissertation on human rights education in Ghana, Africa.

Ms. Peters is highly qualified individual with experience in primary, secondary, and higher education at the university level. Ms. Peters is also a former teacher and currently educates and trains teachers for Shepherd College. In addition to her work as an educator, she has done much work in the area of multicultural education and human rights. The research she is doing is required for successful completion of her dissertation. Please allow her reasonable access to unrestricted files, documents, and willing individuals that may be helpful to her work.

Ms. Peter's work involves the examination of a human rights education program called *Teaching for Freedom (TFF)* that was sponsored by Amnesty International – Ghana and Amnesty International – Norway. The TFF project was piloted in secondary schools paired with a teacher-training institution in all ten regions of Ghana. This letter is directed to all that may be involved or connected to the TFF program or to any individual or organization involved in the work of human rights or peace education or that may be able to shed light on these issues.

On behalf of Ms. Peter's committee and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, I wish to express our gratitude for your assistance in extending a helping hand to this able student. Should you wish to be informed of the progress of this research or to receive a copy of the finished study, Ms. Peters will be happy to make the necessary arrangements. If you have questions, comments, or suggestions that Ms. Peters cannot help you with, please feel free to call me at (703) 538-8468. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Dr. Wiswell,
Chair of Dissertation Committee
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

VITA

Helen Bond
112 Secret Oak Court
Inwood, WV 25428

Graduated from the Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, with a B.S. degree in Elementary Education and a minor in Educational Anthropology in 1992. This was followed by a M.A. degree from West Virginia University in Communications in 1995.

Taught public school with a special emphasis on middle school education beginning in Ohio and then in West Virginia. Worked as a consultant with the Berkeley County Board of Education in West Virginia and the Center for Professional Development in Charleston, West Virginia on special projects.

Was hired as an adjunct first, then junior professor in the Department of Education at Shepherd College in Shepherdstown, West Virginia in 1997. Taught freshman Seminar in Education courses and the Social Foundation courses for pre-service teachers, as well as supervise student teachers. Worked as a consultant, curriculum designer and program evaluator to Project Excel, a college – school – community based program at Shepherd College.

Awarded the Southern Regional Doctoral Scholars Fellowship with the Compact for Faculty Diversity in 1998. This fellowship is awarded to promising minority doctoral students to complete the doctorate and subsequently teach and conduct research in higher education.

Presented “Multicultural Teacher Education: A Comparative Analysis of Six Programs” at the Sixth Seminar of Cuban Educators and North American Educators in Havana, Cuba in 1999.

Awarded first place winner in the Phi Beta Delta (PBD) International Essay Contest, from the University Office of International Programs at Virginia Tech in Blacksburg. This award carried with it \$100 in cash, a plaque, and online publication in the PBD Newsletter.

Studied for the doctoral degree at Virginia Polytechnic and State University's Northern Virginia campus from August 1998 to December 2001. Completed the doctoral dissertation and earned a Ph.D. degree in December 2001.