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Adult Education at Makerere University College (1953-1962): Motivations and Provisions

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Abstract

Makerere University College opened in 1953, established the Department of Extra-Mural Studies following the recommendations of the 1945 Asquith Commission. The Asquith Commissioners hoped that university adult education offered through centres of extra-mural studies would serve the remote areas that were unreachable by the university colleges through offering adults opportunities for part-time study. The end of World war II and the subsequent creation of the United Nations (UN) Organisation led to pressure being mounted by the Organisation on its member states to enhance efforts to prepare colonies for self-government. Focused largely on foreign content delivered through weekend classes, public lectures, evening classes, one-day schools, and annual study vacations, extra-mural studies targeted English-speaking adults. This paper identifies some contradictions in the starting of extra-mural studies. Extra-mural studies promoted the Eurocentric lifestyle. It was disguised as preparation for self-government and yet the colonial officers became suspicious of the work of tutors as though worried that they might lead to increased nationalism. They seemed worried about the impending loss of empire and change of the status quo.

Keywords: Extra-mural studies; university adult education; Makerere University

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Introduction

This article examines the establishment of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Makerere University College in 1953. The guiding research questions for this article are: 'Why did the colonial authorities introduce extra-mural studies at Makerere University College in 1953?' and 'What extra-mural activities existed before Uganda's independence?'. The major theme in the 1950s in much of Africa was nationalism and the need for independence. Extra-mural Studies focused on preparing adults for such and other changes yet to come. The central argument of this article is that extra-mural studies were started at Makerere University College as a response to pressures agitating for the end of colonialism such as the call by the United Nations Organisation to its member states to end colonial rule in its territories. From the early years of Makerere as a College, the European influence was evident. Eric Ashby, described as the leading historian of colonial universities, is said to have wished that Makerere was not following the European model (Mills, 2006, p.250). Ashby criticised 'British cultural parochialism and elitism of the Asquith Commission which assumed that a university system appropriate for Europeans brought up in London and Manchester was also appropriate for Africans brought up in Lagos and Kumasi and Kampala (Mills, 2006, p.250). Ashby's criticism of the universities was based on its separation of the student from his family and village and the fact that it made the student obliged to behave in a Western way.

Methodology

Archives at Africana Section at Makerere University Main Library, and Bodleian Library of Oxford University were used. I accessed the Oxford University archives online through requesting the university for access by electronic email (e-mail), which was granted. Among other archival documents, the 1945 Asquith Commission Report was analysed as one of the influential colonial documents on the developments in higher education during colonial rule (Colonial Office, 1945). The other sources included newspapers, such as The *Uganda Herald,* and *Uganda Argus*; Makerere University College Calendars; Makerere University College Reports; and Annual Reports of the Education Department in Uganda. While most archival documents analysed were accessed at Makerere University Library, Africana Section, some were accessed online using Google Scholar, the search engine. I also used memoirs and other written recollections from Dr Ronald Francis Clarke and Professor Lalage Bown regarding their years in Africa, Uganda in particular. Most authors of the reviewed documents were former Makerere University staff, and a few current members of staff. An in-depth interview was conducted with Professor Lalage Bown on 22nd November 2021 online using Zoom

technology and it lasted one hour and 3 seconds.

Analysis of the findings was chronological; done following the years, while maintaining attention to themes as they unfolded over the years through the several events that took place. It was also thematic by looking through the collected data to identify common patterns that then guided the organisation of my writing. The common patterns or issues identified formed the themes and helped to organise the writing. The major theme in the 1950s was nationalism and the need for independence, with extra-mural activities focused on preparing adults for such and other changes yet to come. The central argument of this article is that extra-mural studies were started at Makerere University College in order to promote adoption of British socioe-conomic and political values, beliefs and practices, disguised under the notion of helping prepare the country for self-government. University adult education, like higher education generally, was a colonial innovation.

The theoretical framework that guided analysis of the findings was the theory by Bourdieu (1984) on taste. It argues that people with a high volume of cultural capital, the non-financial social assets, such as education, are most likely to determine what constitutes taste within society. On the other hand, those with a low volume of cultural capital will most likely accept the dominant forms of taste. Bourdieu argues that the acceptance of dominant forms of taste is a form of symbolic violence because it denies the dominated classes the means of defining their own world. As a result, the dominated people are constantly obliged to define themselves in terms of the dominant aesthetics of the ruling class or risk societal disapproval for lacking taste. In this theory, Bourdieu presents 'taste' as an example of cultural hegemony.

Aims and Goals of Extra-Mural Studies

In an interview with her, Professor Lalage Bown narrated that the basic philosophy that guided extra-mural work was related to the need to make the university not appear as meant for only those who needed degrees but for all, including adult students: 'The Oxford training imbued in me the conviction that everyone had the right to share in the knowledge a university has to offer, applicable, to their own lives/ community…' (Interview with Professor Lalage Bown, 22nd November 2021). In an interview with Dr Ronald Francis Clarke, he talked about the pre-occupation of the department of extra-mural studies as having been 'to prepare the middle leadership level of people working as teachers, as government officials, in areas like health, local government and to sort of raise their level of understanding; we used to call them the machinery of government. That's why there was concentration on language and communication skills plus some wider cultural

appreciations' (Interview with Dr Ronald Francis Clarke, 11th November 2021). Extra-mural activities were therefore educational activities for out-of-school adults who needed to enrich their knowledge on certain topics especially as provided by the resident tutors. On the other hand, however, the adults' choices were not wholly limited to the choices made by the resident tutors. There were times the adults influenced what was offered in the extra-mural activities. An instance was the December 1958 weekend conference in Teso region regarding the establishment of the museum in Soroti; the people in Teso region influenced the agenda at that conference because there was an interim committee of the Teso museum society comprised of the people from the Teso community. The focus of the conference was the history and culture of Teso district (Posnansky, 1963).

The influence of the British-dominated extra-mural studies curriculum was very powerful in determining what the adults were taught or exposed to, during the extra-mural activities before independence. The adults' choices were largely limited to what the resident tutors were able and willing to offer and this resonates with Bourdieu's notion of taste regarding how those with a high cultural capital most likely influence what constitutes taste in society.

On the other hand, the adults' choices seem not to have been totally limited to the choices by the resident tutors because there was a time when the people in Teso region also influenced the agenda. It was at the December 1958 weekend conference regarding the museum which was to be set up in Soroti. There was an interim committee of the Teso museum society regarding establishment of the museum and it comprised members of the Teso community. The focus here was on the history and culture of Teso district. So, it would be wrong to assume that at all circumstances, only those with more cultural power influence occurrences and taste.

In addition, Bourdieu's theory was criticised for assuming that all societies are class societies. More so, in the post-modern consumer society, tastes are less influenced by social structures but by what one finds pleasurable and affordable. The above criticisms aside, Bourdieu's theory on 'taste' offers an explanatory framework of extra-mural studies as it started in the late colonial era even though it might not explain many other instances.

Establishment of Extra-Mural Studies in 1953

The practice of extra-mural studies is historically credited to the British colonial anthropologist, James Stuart, who introduced it in 1867. He defined it as an extension of university-based learning to adults and communities who lived far from the university; located in the communities distant from the university premises (Slowey, 2011). In Britain, extra-mural studies were officially launched in 1873, with

its name as 'University Extension', and popularised by the work of inspirational figures, such as R.H. Tawney and G.D.H. Cole (Freeman, 2020a; Rogers, 2014; Atwaru, 1992). University extension work in England involved the provision of courses of study in towns throughout the country to offer an opportunity to adults whose chances of higher education were limited by class distinctions, such as the middle and the working classes (Atwaru, 1992; Rogers, 2014). James Stuart believed that social harmony could be created by adult education classes where the rich, poor, men and women learnt together, thus the social and equitable motivations that underpinned university involvement in extra-mural studies (Atwaru, 1992; Rogers, 2014).

Albert Mansbridge later carried on the efforts started by James Stuart by starting the Workers Education Association (WEA) in 1903, targeting the working class; to help workers obtain university education at Oxford as part of the class struggle for equal rights and democracy (Alfred, 2001; Bown, 1995). In Britain, the WEA later became the main provider of extra-mural studies. Through working with organised trade unions and universities, the WEA provided manual labourers with access to university education (Bowl, 2017). It was contradictory and ironical that the same kind of extra-mural studies was imported to the colonies for the elites, the English-speaking people who had some formal education yet it was meant for the lowly class in Britain and much of Europe. Nonetheless, between the 1940s and mid-1960s, there was increased establishment of university extra-mural departments in British colonies, with many colonial struggles and many colonies gaining independence in that period.

The 1945 Asquith Commission was influential in the establishment of extra-mural departments by strongly recommending that the university colleges in the colonies take a leading role in the development of adult education in each colony. The commission hoped that university adult education offered through centres for extra-mural studies would serve the remote areas not reached by the university colleges and provide opportunities for part time study (Omolewa, 1975). The majority of the first resident tutors were of British origin under a sort of 'special relationship' philosophy. Makerere College had entered a special relationship with the University of London in 1949 for it to be helped to grow into a full university, offering courses of its own (Sicherman, 2005). The following pre-independence tutors were of British origin: Mr W.A.J. Harris, the first resident tutor (1953-1957), Miss Lalage Bown 1955-1959, Miss Cherry Gertzel (1957-1958), Mr John Coleman (1957-1959), Dr Alan T.C. Slee (1960-1970s), Mr Gerald Moore (1960-1966), Mr Ronald Francis Clarke (1961-1970), and Mr Roger Levick (1961-62) (Atim, 2004; Edgington, 1964).

In December 1950, the colonial secretary at the time, Mr J. Griffiths, reiterated that the British government aimed at East African territories obtaining self-government within the commonwealth (Ingham, 1958). Mandating the new nations to stay within the commonwealth was to keep control over the former colonies. The United Nations had required that colonies be enabled to get on the path to independence (Cherifa, 1991). That requirement was equally influential in the establishment of extra-mural studies at Makerere University College. Extra-mural studies establishment seems to have been partly to show that a country, such as Uganda was abiding by the United Nations Organisation. British post-World War II policy was adjusted to assume a humane face, including efforts to ensure that colonial territories got a fair standard of living and freedom from oppression of any kind (Colonial Office, 1948).

The second World War left Britain defeated. After the British forces in Singapore had in February 1942 surrendered to the Japanese, making the loss of the Asian territories, Margery Perham, a renown intellectual, in a 1942 article emphasised British failure to meet the social and political needs of its colonies; she criticised the violence of colonial racism (Perham, 1942). Perham argued for 'a new and more intimate and generous relationship with the colonial peoples' (Oliver, 1991, p.24). The British government then embarked on reforms within the empire focused on improving the welfare of colonial populations and dealing with racism, using education for the acculturation of the colonies to reduce racial tendencies (Charton, 2020). Universities were set up in various regions, in special relationship with the University of London to help them develop to the required standard and universities were to lead the process of acculturation, of spreading British culture in the colonies as part of cultural imperialism; the intellectual colonisation of the colonies (Oliver, 1991). There were several other reforms following the end of World War II, with the Community Development and Welfare Act as the main policy guide at the end of World War II (Charton, 2020). The United States of America and the Soviet Union had made clear their anti-colonialist intentions. In particular, the United States extended a lot of support through grants and technical assistance to the colonies as efforts to help them towards independence. This assistance included scholarships to study overseas especially in Britain, the Soviet Union, and America. Studying abroad meant exposure to more acculturation. Several of the funders of adult education were American such as Rockfeller Foundation, Carnegie Cooperation of New York, and Ford Foundation which was the biggest philanthropic organisation in the United States, (Ferguson, 2013).

After World War II, Arthur Creech Jones, the Secretary of State then, with an interest in education for self-government, invited George Wigg, the Labour member of parliament at the time, to join a sub-committee on 'Education for citizenship in Africa'. The committee reported in 1948 calling on colonial policy to create a citizenship training programme for colonies (Summers, 2014). Hodgkin was the secretary of the Oxford Extra-Mural Delegacy in 1945 and supported the establishment of extra-mural studies in the colonies. In 1948, Ghana became the first country to establish extra-mural studies in colonial Africa under the Oxford Extra-Mural Delegacy, subsequently, becoming the first sub-Saharan country to get her independence in 1957. Extra-mural centres were later established in Ibadan and Fourah Bay, Makerere, and Salisbury (Edgington, 1964).

Whereas the history of Makerere University started in 1922 with the establishment of the technical school at Makerere (Chilver, 1957; Macpherson, 1964; Sicherman, 2005), the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Makerere University College was only introduced in November 1953, on a pattern similar to the English extension services in England which were organised as public lectures, evening classes, weekend classes and discussions (Makerere, 1954b, 1959; Parkes, 1963). The extra-mural centre at Makerere University College was the first one to be established in East Africa and it served Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. The department was set up at a time of heightened anti-colonial struggles. India and Pakistan had achieved independence in 1947 while there were agitations in the Gold Coast; and a Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya had started in 1952 (Newsinger, 1981). The multiple struggles for independence signalled to the colonial office that independence was inevitable although some individual colonial officers remained uncooperative in efforts to prepare colonies for self-government. The problem of British settlers had led to the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya because British official policy encouraged the whites to occupy the best farming land and enjoy tax advantages while majority indigenous Kenyans were relegated to labour exploited to meet the needs of the capitalists to produce for export (Titmus & Steele, 1995). The year 1953 was the same year the Kabaka (King) of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa, was exiled by Governor Sir Andrew Cohen for defying the British orders and claiming that his kingdom had a privileged relationship with Britain and an independent status granted by the 1900 Buganda Agreement. He later returned from exile following demands by Baganda nationalists (de Bunsen, 1995; Ingham, 1958).

The Uganda Herald of May 13th 1954 reported that the Department of Extra-Mural Studies offered a variety of non-vocational subjects

(Editor, 1954b). Subjects ran for twelve to twenty weeks or twenty-four weeks sometimes (Editor, 1954a, 1954b; Makerere, 1954b). Some would run for six months with regular classes once a week (Colman, 1958a). The department had a library and it lent out books to the students, while radio talks were also arranged in Kampala (Makerere, 1954b). Student enrolments for daily physical classes increased and exceeded nine hundred people by the end of 1954 (Makerere, 1954b, 1954a). In 1954, activities were restricted to Kampala because there was only one resident tutor, Mr. Harris, until the second resident tutor, Miss Lalage Bown, joined in 1955 as the tutor for Mbale, eastern Uganda (Editor, 1955). The work of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies continued to grow and in 1955, there were 28 part time tutors and about 30-40 university lecturers who participated in residential courses, extension, and administrative work (Makerere, 1955).

In the same year 1954, the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, in collaboration with staff from other departments at Makerere University College, such as the Department of History, and the Department of Political Science participated in other extra-mural activities (Makerere, 1954a). The interdisciplinarity and cooperation across the university departments was reflected in *The Uganda Herald* announcement on Tuesday, April 20th, 1954, regarding the 16th course that the Department of Extra-Mural Studies was going to offer. It showed that Mr C. Erlich, of the Department of Social Sciences would give a series of six weekly lectures on the Introduction to Economics at Entebbe. Mr W.J.A. Harris, the first extra-mural department organiser was to start the offer of a six-week course on 'Current International Affairs' at the Mengo Social Centre. The same article in *The Uganda Herald* announced that another course would start on May 4th at the Mengo Social Centre on 'English Language and Literature', based on the study of *Antigone* with the tutor as Mr A. Wilshere. On April 21st of the same year, as part of the series on 'The Peoples of Uganda', Dr Audrey I. Richards, and Director of the East Africa Institute of Social Research (E.A.I.S.R.), later renamed Makerere Institute of Social Research (M.I.S.R), was to lecture on 'The Peoples of South Uganda' at the Uganda Social Centre. Audrey Isabel Richards was a pioneering British social anthropologist who lived between July 8th 1899 and June 29th 1984. She was the initiator and first director of the E.A.I.S.R. at Makerere from 1950-1956 (Firth & Firth, 1985; Richards, 1977). As an anthropologist, she contributed a lot to social research, practicing anthropology, promoting it as the best observational technique, and while at E.A.I.S.R, she did a lot on Ganda ethnography (Firth & Firth, 1985).

By 1954, one year after the establishment of the department,

public lecture audiences ranged from 100 to 150 people and it embraced all races. Public lectures, as differentiated from extension lectures, were not limited to the regular extra-mural students. They were open to the public. Topics handled in Kapchorwa and Butaleja public lectures in 1954, but also at most extra-mural centres included 'The Law and the Citizen'. It was relevant to the time because of the constitutional and legislative council issues about which the people needed to be sensitised.

The Department of Extra Mural Studies was started during the time of constitutional and local government changes in Uganda. The 1949 riots in Buganda spearheaded by the Bataka party and the African Farmers Union eventually contributed to some constitutional changes (Ingham, 1958; Summers, 2005, 2014). In 1950, for example, the composition of the Legislative Council was expanded to include sixteen official members and sixteen unofficial members that comprised of eight Africans, four Europeans and four Asians (Ingham, 1958). The increase in African membership did not take away the feeling among many Africans that the Legislative Council was a foreign institution (Ingham, 1958). The Legislative Council was a colonial establishment to facilitate colonial rule and the exertion of more colonial control in the economic, political and socio-cultural aspects of Uganda until 1958 when direct elections were held in all provinces of Uganda except in Buganda (Tumushabe & Gariyo, 2009). In 1951, new district councils were created in eastern province in particular, Bukedi and Bugisu. The topics handled at the extra-mural public lectures were designed to raise awareness on the events happening at the time, such as the changes in local government, political parties, elections, and the workings of the district councils. The systems being introduced were modelled on the British kind of political administrative structures.

Since 1936, the colonial officials had always tampered with, and merged Bugisu and Bugwere districts to form the Central District but this merger had created conflicts because the two had different administrative units (Khanakwa, 2011). In 1941, Budama was added to Central District to form Mbale District but in 1954, there were more administrative changes and Mbale was split into Bugisu, Bukedi; and Mbale remained separate hosting the administrative headquarters of both Bugisu and Bukedi districts (Khanakwa, 2011). This situation aggravated conflict between the Bagisu and Bagwere as they all wanted the territorial control of Mbale Town, resulting in riots in 1954, 1956 and 1962 (Khanakwa, 2011). The riots were sparked off by insults from the Bagisu to the Bagwere for lack of the circumcision culture and Bagisu rejected Bagwere claim over Mbale (Karugire, 1980; Khanakwa, 2011). The extra-mural public lectures of 1954 on 'The law

and the citizen' were given in the context of quelling the insurgency in the area over the Bugisu and Bukedi boundary, and ownership of Mbale Town.

Around the mid 1950s, new constitutions were introduced in both Acholi and Lango local governments (Ingham, 1958). The constitutional changes of the 1950s influenced the topics that were handled in extra-mural classes at the time, especially as reflected in the notices for public lectures on 'The Law and the Citizen' in Bunyole Saza Headquarters, Butaleja on December 5th, 1958, and Kapchorwa on December 7th, 1958 at Sebei Saza Headquarters. The public lecture was about the general principles of law and how they affect the ordinary citizen, and the speaker was John Kazzora, a Barrister-at-Law and Advocate (Bown, 1957b, 1957a, 1958). Such public lectures enabled extra-mural studies to contribute to the community's understanding of the legal and constitutional changes that were happening in Uganda at the time but also for the people to avoid violence.

Residential courses especially in the form of annual study vacations were another extra-mural activity. They were held at Makerere University College during which students and tutors gathered for a short period of study, usually a week or a little more than a week. The first residential course was held for one week at Makerere in 1954 and focused on 'Education and Society' (Makerere, 1954b). It was attended by only thirty-eight extra-mural students in Uganda. Most participants were drawn from Uganda because at that time, extra-mural studies operated in Uganda only and had not extended to Kenya or Tanganyika yet. Each year had a theme on which the lectures and seminars would be based. The aim of the residential courses was to offer the adult an opportunity for serious study and concentration away from the distractions of domestic and other commitments (Bown, 1957b). There were two types of residential courses held at Makerere in a year; one was held in January, devoted to a scientific theme, while the second one was in April on general subjects (Bown, 1957b). The one in April was the Annual Study Vacation (ASV). The first highly attended Annual Study Vacation was held in 1957, from 22nd-29th April, during the long vacation that year. It was a large-scale residential course, similar to a summer school; a common feature of university vacations in the United Kingdom and the United States (Colman, 1957).

The ASV was one of the many Eurocentric aspects of extra-mural studies that were transplanted from Europe to Uganda and East Africa. In an interview with Professor Lalage Bown, she narrated how, as the first field resident tutor in Uganda, based in Mbale from 1955-1959, she brought the concept of vacation courses from both Oxford and the Gold Coast where she had been for five years as

a resident tutor at the Department of Extra-Mural Studies:

> I brought the concept of vacation courses from both Oxford and the Gold Coast and John Colman also believed in it. It enabled specialist tutors to be involved and adult students both to meet each other and be exposed to a wider subject range and we could involve international scholars (Interview with Professor Lalage Bown[1], November 22nd, 2021).

The annual study vacations offered an opportunity for the students, tutors, and all interested people from all over East Africa to meet and share discussions on several topics such as the role of political parties, the working of government, and others such as was contained in the course on *Machinery of Democratic Government* (Colman, 1957). Machinery of Democratic Government included the following topics: 'Introduction to the modern state', 'The Modern State-The legal framework-Unitary and Federal', 'The place of the Cabinet in the British System of Government', 'The President of the United States and His Work', 'The Work of the Legislature: the House of Commons and the House of Lords', 'The Legislature in the United States of America: Senate and Congress', 'The role of the Civil Service in the Modern State', 'The Function of Government in East Africa', 'Totalitarianism and Democracy in the Modern World'. Tutors for the course on 'Machinery of Democratic Government' were G.F. Engholm, and P. Whitaker, both from political science, Makerere College (Colman, 1957).

A few years later in 1957, tension between the colonial administrators and resident tutors became more manifest. The governor got concerned about the political nature of the topics handled in the ASV. Several correspondences were exchanged between the principal of Makerere University College, Mr Bernard de Bunsen, and Governor Sir Frederick Crawford, over the political nature of the study vacations. The governor wanted to stop the study vacation because he feared it might turn very political since the Kenyan trade unionist, Tom Mboya, and Tanganyika's Mwalimu Julius Nyerere had been invited to attend. Sir Crawford was not able to stop the vacation from happening because of the resolute defence put up by Principal Sir Bernard de Bunsen. He involved the Academic Board because he called its special meeting on April 3rd 1957 (de Bunsen, 1957). The principal explained the mandate of the department as well as referred Sir Crawford to the 1955 decree that established the Department of Extra-Mural Studies as an organ of the University College (High Commission

[1] Professor Lalage Bown, (Sun Reporter, 2020), died on 17th December 2021, almost a month after my meeting with her online using Zoom. Born in 1927 and at 94 years of age, she died following a fall at her house. She had lived a very illustrious life across the globe advocating adult education, women's literacy and development, in addition to mentoring many people. A brief on her life is contained in an obituary by Robert Hamilton on December 28th 2021 (Hamilton, 2021).

Gazette Supplement No.3. Makerere University College Council, 1957). He quoted the colonial office paper number 2369 of August 8th 1952 that accompanied the community development and welfare grant which facilitated appointment of the first director of extra-mural studies, Mr Jack Harris, in 1953. Sir Crawford let the study vacation go on.

In 1956 and 1957, the department conducted several other extra-mural activities with tutors from other departments of Makerere University College, government departments, the Uganda Museum, and the church. The collaborations made it easy to organise and conduct extra-mural classes with tutors from such other agencies. Lalage Bown, in her 1957 report about extra-mural work in Eastern Province showed that the Department of Extra-Mural Studies also cooperated in teaching and organising courses arranged by other institutions, such as the Department of Community Development, the Police College, the Labour Department, and the Mothers' Union. She gives the example of a course on 'How Uganda is governed' which was held jointly with the Community Development Department at Vukula, Busoga in August 1956. A course for journalists was held in June 1957 at Makerere with the Department of Information as the collaborating agency (Bown, 1957b). The collaborations illustrated the importance of interdisciplinarity and team work in dealing with community socioe-conomic and political issues. In the following quote, Miss Bown illustrates that the extra-mural department was the 'face' of the university, linking it with the community: "We had to be aware of what was going on in all departments, what visitors were coming…" (Interview with Professor Lalage Bown, November 22nd 2021). Indeed, the collaborations benefitted all parties involved by helping make it easy for each to achieve their aims.

In 1957, a course on 'Advanced English' in Jinja and the 'English Language and Literature' seminar at the Second Annual Study Vacation in 1958 were held at Makerere University. The 'Advanced English' course covered the following: 'A definition of language and why English is a worthwhile language'. 'The correct use of reported speech', 'How to prepare a report for a newspaper', 'The writing of personal and business letters', 'Everyday idiom', and 'Spoken English' with the final meeting as a debate at which the students' use of language would be commented on (Ngoloma, 1957). The recommended books were all by European/ British writers and publishers (Ngoloma, 1957). The content of the course and the recommended books reflected the Eurocentric nature of the extra-mural activities.

In the Eastern Province at Butaleja in 1958, an extra-mural course named 'An Introduction to Political Institutions' was conducted. And the tutor for the class session of 1958/1959 was Lalage Bown, the

resident tutor for the Eastern Province of Uganda. The Eastern province extra-mural activities areas of Mbale, Budaka, Bukedea, Iganga, Kamuli, Kumi, Ngora, Butaleja, Serere, Soroti, and Jinja (Bown, 1957b). The aim of the course was to explain the machinery of government in Uganda and discuss possible future changes (Bown, 1958). Content of the course on 'Political Institutions' included 'Uganda's Position as an African British Territory Being Led Towards Independence', 'The Parliamentary System', 'The Law-Makers at Work; the Uganda Legislative Council (Legco) or the United Kingdom Parliament', 'The Executive; the Cabinet', 'The Civil Service and its Africanisation', 'The Head of State as Queen Elizabeth', 'Western Democracy and Communism' (Bown, 1958). These courses enabled the adults and the communities to know the way the new forms of political institutions operated since Uganda was adopting the same kind of political institutions.

Funding for the establishment of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies at Makerere was provided by the British colonial government under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Arthur Creech-Jones[2] was the Secretary of State for the Colonies at that time (de Bunsen, 1995). The colonial government offered a grant of 2000 pounds annually for the first two years, under the community development and welfare (C.D. &W) department (Colonial Office paper number 2367, August 8th 1952; UZ67/164A/006, AR/MAK/122/6). The Colonial Office Paper number 2367 mentioned the grant of C.D. &W money to Makerere University College for the appointment of a Director of Extra-Mural Studies, Mr W.A.J. Harris. A resident tutor was a lecturer who had the duty of administering and organising educational work within the locality where he lived with duties, such as planning and implementing educational programmes, conducting research, counselling and providing information on educational programmes to the people in his/her region (Atwaru, 1992; Ojok,1966). The concept of 'resident tutor' was itself borrowed in its use at the University of London (Atim, 2004a). This was one of the issues that were kept or learnt from the University of London as a result of the years of the special relationship.

In 1958, a conference in Mbale was organised in collaboration with the church. The particular instance was at a conference on the topic 'The Christian in Politics' organised with St Andrew's Church and the Bishop of the Upper Nile, Rt. Rev. L.C. Usher-Wilson. The bishop raised several issues to be noted by the audience and they included freedom of thought, discouraging discrimination,

[2] John Holford referred to Arthur Creech Jones as the forgotten British minister of adult education whose immense contribution to colonial policy on adult education never received the attention it deserved in the history of adult education literature. Holford argued that Creech-Jones made the most important attempt to bring adult education to the center of social, political and economic development colonial policy (Holford, 1995).

the voter's duty; and concluded that it was the duty of the Christian to see that politics are conducted with truth, honesty, and justice (Editor, 1958). The conference raised powerful messages as the country dealt with issues of self-government, elections, and the prospect of subsequent independence. Other speakers that day included Mr Tito Mudanyi, who was the chief judge of Bukedi; Mr J.G. Wanyoto, the secretary-general-designate of Bugisu; Miss Lalage Bown, the resident tutor of that region at the time; and Mr John Compton of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) Teso. Being a team of leaders, some of them from that region might have promoted acceptance of their messages, increased visibility of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies and Makerere University College in the communities as a whole through the media announcements and reporting of the activities.

Extension lectures at regional extra-mural centres included a wide range of subjects and activities. The regional centres varied by region but for eastern region, the centers included Mbale, Budaka, Bukedea, Iganga, Kamuli, Kumi, Ngora, Butaleja, Serere, Soroti, and Jinja (Bown, 1957b). Activities outside Kampala (Buganda) were few in the 1960s because at the beginning of 1960, the department had only four tutors in East Africa. By October 1961, there were eight established posts in East Africa (Moore, 1960). Roger Levick started the centre in Fort Portal in 1961 and later opened new centres in Tooro, Ankore and Kigezi (Clarke, 1961). There was a centre in Gulu, Central Kenya, Western Kenya at Kapsabet, Mombasa, and Dar es Salaam (Clarke, 1961). Extension lectures were usually conducted daily or on weekends. Some classes were held every evening in the week. Weekend courses were particularly advantageous to adults who had other work-related commitments during the week.

Almost all the extra-mural activities focused on ideas that were not African in origin. They were borrowed from Britain and were being taught to promote their adoption as hopes of self-government and independence increased in the 1950s. The contents in each course testified to the British, and generally European, origin. Just as Bourdieu argues in his theory on taste, people with high cultural capital dominate those with low cultural capital. The British as the colonial power, through their expatriate extra-mural staff introduced extra-mural studies in the form they wanted, with content largely on the British culture, beliefs and practices, and the East African extra-mural student had to participate in the activities. An example was the course *Machinery of Democratic Government* which was offered at the First Annual Study Vacation (Colman, 1957). It included the following topics: Introduction to the Modern State, The Modern State-The Legal Framework-Unitary and Federal, The Place of the Cabinet in

the British System of Government, The President of the United States and His Work, The Work of the Legislature: the House of Commons and the House of Lords, The Legislature in the United States of America: Senate and Congress, The Role of the Civil Service in the Modern State, The Function of Government in East Africa, Totalitarianism and Democracy in the Modern World (Colman, 1957). The topics supported the introduction of democratic politics modelled on the Westminster kind of parliamentary politics. Extra-mural studies acted as a vehicle for raising more awareness on such and other issues on the forms of government. Just like Colonial Office Paper No. 2369 had emphasised the importance of taking part in well informed discussions on current topics, as a way of moulding and maturing African opinion, extra-mural studies offered the platform for the moderate discussions of several topics under expert leadership of the resident tutors and other people and agencies with whom the department collaborated.

Relatedly, on October 31st 1958, John Colman, the Director of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies wrote a report (Colman, 1958b) in which he alluded to the government's suspicion of the department. He revealed that Cartland, then Minister of Social Services had told him that Mr Harris and Miss Bown were too political. Cartland had further alleged that the two had frequently told the public that, "You do not trust the government but you can trust us." This allegation was probably based on the extra-mural activities that they suspected and feared would incite nationalism against the colonial power. The minister wanted to discredit the tutors and probably have the extra-mural studies suspended by alleging that they made the government unpopular. While on a visit in Tanganyika in 1958, Governor Twining had told Colman that he did not trust Makerere because it was a centre of black nationalism. So, the fear for nationalism was probably the greatest factor that caused mistrust of the tutors' extra-mural work. There were also financial difficulties and extra-mural studies were never prioritised by the East African governments. Professor Lalage Bown narrated something similar on funding: "When money was short, the university would draw in its horns and withdraw from outreach activities," showing how the colonial office never prioritised extra-mural work, (Interview with Professor Lalage Bown, November 22nd 2021). A racial allegation, a slander against the personal life of Miss Bown, as Colman called it in his write-up, was also raised by Crawford, the chief secretary, in November 1957. The allegation was that Miss Bown "sleeps with Africans" and the purpose was to use the allegation to deny her the confirmation of her appointment which was due that month. Colman did his best to protect Miss Bown. He recommended her and she was

appointed. There was lack of unity of purpose, or a contradiction regarding the function of the department of extra-mural studies as far as the move to self-government was concerned. The intention of establishing the department was, therefore, a farce and dishonest.

Titmus and Steele (1995) sarcastically observe that British rule claimed that it aimed at preparing the colonies for self-government but even after World War II, several colonial officers had difficulty coming to terms with the possibility that self-rule and the end of the empire was close. The Asquith Commission report indicated that extra-mural studies were also started to reduce the gap between the university graduates and the rest of the community, ensuring that the graduates were not the only few elites but that the general intellectual and cultural knowledge of all were raised (Colonial Office, 1945). In reality, however, not all people participated in the extra-mural activities, but only the few English-speaking adults. Extra-mural studies never reached all people because it targeted those who could speak English. There were few people in Ugandan communities who were schooled and could speak English, (Prewitt, 1967) and so, many were most likely unable to participate in the extra-mural activities due to the language barrier. Related to that, it is also possible that few Ugandans could be reached because the department always struggled to raise finances to run its activities. It lacked the ability to operate in very wide geographical areas and so could only run a few classes in areas near urban centres. Additionally, there were few tutors at the department (Ojok, 1966). Between 1953 and 1962, the staff size was limited to one director and two resident tutors. Others were mainly part time staff. (Atim, 2004a, Ojok, 1966). Expansion of regional centres and recruitment of more staff was only possible after 1962. If the colonial office had the intention that extra-mural studies should reach many people, it would have devoted enough funds to the department to enable it to recruit enough staff to be able to reach many Ugandans. It was, however, not the case. Nonetheless, extra-mural studies served to reduce the ivory tower nature of the university college by offering the communities a chance to interact with members of staff of Makerere University College who participated in the extra-mural activities.

In 1963, together with the committee of the museum society, the department organised another weekend conference with the theme *Towards an African culture* at Teso College, Aloet, Soroti. The conference aimed at helping people understand more about the study of local history, literature, art and other forms of culture, and to encourage them to take greater interest in discovering and learning by themselves (Department of Extra-Mural Studies and the Interim Committee of the Museum Society, 1963). Topics explored at

the conference were several: 'The Cultural History of East African Peoples,' by Professor Aiden Southall; 'Creating African History: How a Historian Works,' by Alan Ogot; 'Creating an African Literature: The Growth of Poetry and Story-telling,' by Gerald Moore; 'Discovering African Pre-history: The Foundation of African History by Dr Merrick Posnansky.' There was a practical discussion on how people can help to collect, preserve, and expand their local culture. Dr Merrick Posnansky was curator of the Uganda Museum from 1958-1961 but also taught archaeology at Makerere University College. He organised interactions of museum staff with communities (Posnansky, 1963; Rivard, 1984). Films shown were two; 'A First Look at Africa,' made by African and English school boys on Mt. Elgon and in Teso during August 1962. The other film was 'The Flame Tree', a dramatic portrayal of a Kiganda legend. This conference reduced the seeming sole focus on European topics in the extra-mural activities and refocused on everyday lives and culture of Ugandans. It sought to promote appreciation of African practices and the study of African history. Being after independence, the emphasis on African practices in drama, poetry, the study of African history and the methods of doing so, was great and timely to show the need for Africans to focus on African history. Ugandan communities gained interest in starting folk museum societies through collecting ethnological materials and securing a place to open their community museum, such as was opened in Teso in 1959 (Posnansky, 1963). This was one of the aspects of the extra-mural activities that recognisably promoted appreciation of local culture and practices.

With funding from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the extra-mural activities in Kenya started in October 1956 with Mr Ieuan W. Hughes as the first resident tutor (Ojok, 1966; Makerere, 1958). Other funders of extra-mural activities included the Uganda and Kenya governments, British Council, and the United Kingdom through the Colonial Development and Welfare funds, Rockefeller Foundation, and Ford Foundation (de Bunsen, 1995; Makerere, 1958). More staff were recruited later depending on availability of funds (Editor, 1960). Minutes of the third meeting of the Advisory Committee for Extra-Mural work in Kenya held Friday, March 25th, 1960 included a report on the activities that had been conducted in Kenya. Hughes was the secretary to that meeting. The following topics were some of those which were offered in extra-mural activities in Kenya: What is Government, East African Constitutions, Nigerian Background, Government in East Africa, What Can Education Do for You?, Background to International Affairs, Everyday Life in Britain, Life and Peoples of the United States of America., What is Democracy?,

Economics, Intelligence, Good Law, West Indies, Colonial Developments in Africa, Orwell's Animal Farm, Local Government, Financing an Underdeveloped Country, Constitutional Change in Nigeria, Looking Forward, Economics, What is Education for?, International Background, Current Social Problems, and Economic Change in Kenya (Hughes, 1960). From this list of topics, it can be noted that whereas there was effort to learn from some African and non-European cases, the majority of the topics offered in Kenya were similar to the ones which were offered in Uganda. They had a lot of Eurocentric content around the areas of politics, the economy, and social life. It seemed inevitable given the history of Makerere as a university that was in a special relationship with University of London, teaching its courses, several academic staff trained in Europe and so they could have appreciated Eurocentric content more than Afrocentric content. The rejection by Ugandans in the 1920s of native education focused on everyday agricultural and other native concerns probably also set a bad precedent for formal education, making it more focused on European-oriented subject areas (Kallaway, 2020).

The intentions for establishing the Department of Extra-Mural Studies were perceived differently by the tutors and by the colonial administrators and their staff. Whereas the tutors aimed at raising the ability of the adults to understand the political changes going on and prepare for self-government and independence, the colonial administrators and other colonial officers saw the activities of the department as a threat to the status quo. They seemed to fear that the extra-mural activities might arouse the nationalistic energy among Ugandans in a move similar to the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya. No wonder there was limited support from the colonial officials to the extra-mural tutors. The nature of adult education, and education generally introduced in Africa seemed to have been influenced by racial mentalities, such as the 'European standards rule' (Tandon, 1970, p.69) which related to the belief by Europeans that non-Europeans could not perform to the European standards due to an evolutionary gap or deficiency and that non-Europeans never deserved equal rights (Tandon, 1970). It is this mentality which probably contributed to the reality that Europeans and topics on European culture and politics dominated.

Extra-mural studies in East Africa seemed to have been more aimed at strengthening the introduction of the Eurocentric model of government as the countries approached self-government and eventually, independence. It aimed at achieving a social purpose of preparing the middle leadership group for social action and for it to be the strong pillar in the efforts for democracy and post-colonial governance (Kwesiga & Katahoire, 1995; Slee, 1965). In

addition, targeting the English adult speakers was unfair to the more rural dwellers who might have wanted to join the classes but lacked any knowledge of the English language (Kakooza, 1999). Away from what documents, such as the Asquith Commission report promised, extra-mural studies seemed meant for a few and not the majority as it was claimed. It seems likely that the department was also established to offer employment to British nationals overseas as one of the unstated reasons for establishment. The expatriates earned secure employment, with stable and high pay, guaranteed paid leave back to their countries, without consideration of the financial challenges faced by the department. The Asquith 1945 report had recommended that to get quality staff, most of the positions in the new colleges within the colonies should be filled by recruitment overseas, thus it created opportunities for expatriates (Colonial Office, 1945). If universities were meant for a small group of elites (Rodney, 1989), the extra-mural studies targeting the English-speaking adults were equally meant to reach a few people since access to schooling was not widespread yet. Whether it was impossible to recruit Ugandans from the onset knowledgeable in local dialects instead of British expatriate staff, points to the likelihood that extra-mural studies, like the colonial project, was generally meant to employ the British (Ekechi, 1997).

The expatriate tutors with experience of extra-mural studies in Britain were meant to facilitate the transfer of ideas deemed fit for colonies (Kaweesi, 2021; Mayo, 2015; Kwesiga & Katahoire, 1995; Kakooza, 1992). The indigenous educational and political systems were largely ignored (Kakooza, 1992; Bown, 1957a; Bown, 1958a). The Asquith Commission recommended the establishment of departments of extra-mural studies to contribute to the requirements for self-rule (Colonial Office, 1945); but it is not clear then why the colonial administrators were suspicious of the activities of extra-mural tutors (Skinner, 2007; Bown, 2003) and one wonders what kind of preparation was more suitable for self-rule than raising the political consciousness of the communities of adults (Bown, 1958a; Bown, 1958b; Bown, 2003). It, therefore, appears to have been a kind of false generosity and contradiction in terms for the colonial office to claim that extra-mural studies would prepare citizens for self-government and independence and yet expressed a fear of nationalism or the growth of any ideas that sought to lead adults towards nationalism. The lukewarm support and suspicion of the work of extra-mural tutors was evidence that there was no willingness to end the British rule but also much more that the intentions for establishing extra-mural studies were not perceived in the same way by the colonial administrators and resident tutors.

Conclusion

The 1950s was a period of immense nationalistic motivations among East Africans and it was also a period of changes such as multi-party formation, local government, district council and other parties' election. The establishment of adult education at Makerere University College in 1953 was a colonial action in response to the 1945 Asquith Commission that recommended extra-mural activities in the colonies. The end of World War II seems to have been a contributory factor especially because the formation of the United Nations and its regulatory mechanisms discouraged colonialism. The United Nations requirement that its members work towards the end of imperialism seemed to be the factor that also grudgingly encouraged Britain to allow such initiatives as extra-mural studies to start in East Africa for the sake of putting on a humane face. In reality though, given the suspicion with which colonial administrators treated extra-mural tutors, it seemed to indicate the fear of nationalism and of the change of the status quo.

Extra-mural studies were organised around topics that provided learning to the adults on issues of public concern in Uganda at the time, such as elections, political parties, the law, constitutions, local government, and self-government. Extra-mural studies seemed to have ensured that the adults in the colonies appreciated and adopted Eurocentric ideas and practices. Such Eurocentric ideas included the form of government headed by the executive, the parliament as the legislative arm of government, political parties, elections, the notions of democracy, and economic development as evidenced in several extra-mural activities. The use of English was a colonising aspect of the extra-mural activities and it endured as a colonial legacy. Uganda remained entangled in the English language dominance and subsequently seemed to fail to develop its indigenous languages. Although the majority of the topics handled in the pre-independence extra-mural activities were Eurocentric, they contributed to awareness raising among Ugandans in light of the socioe-conomic and political changes that were happening at the time. Some extra-mural activities promoted African knowledge, such as the conferences in Soroti on African history and the Teso museum.

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Interviews

An in-depth interview was conducted with Professor Lalage Bown on 22nd November 2021 online using Zoom technology and it lasted one hour and 3 seconds.

Interview with Dr Ronald Francis Clarke, conducted online using Zoom technology 11th November 2021 and it lasted fifty-two minutes.

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Efficacy of Students' "Body Stories" on Novice Dance Students' Training at Makerere University

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Abstract

Whereas both scientific and humanistic experiences are essential for effective dance teaching and learning, the lack of prior knowledge about students' movement experience inhibits pedagogical excitement. Looking at mindfulness observation as a science to perceive, recall and develop methods for teaching and learning (about) dance, the purpose of this study was to examine the impact of students' body stories on dance teaching and learning. I precisely shared my transition from non-formal practice to dance academia. This enthused my students to write their lifelong body stories during our dance class. A systematic reflection on these qualitative inquiries illustrated an influence for authentic dance teaching and learning at Makerere University. Twenty-three students (15 females and 8 males) participated in the study.

Keywords: authentic learning, body story, dance anatomy and physiology, movement awareness and observation

* Institution: Makerere University

Introduction

Dance pedagogy in Ugandan tradition is dominated by use of stories, and applying music as a teaching aid. Through indigenous philosophies, communal random mirroring, and repetition in movements to reflect the interplay between individuals and the community, students acquire knowledge through trial-and-error methods (Mabingo, 2017). Through such techniques, students are tasked to dance over and over again in order to reach a desired standard. This is done without explaining the underlying principles which would ease teaching and learning (MacDonald, 1991). Such a methodology is common even at the Department of Performing Arts and Film (PAF) of Makerere University (the highest institution offering dance education in Uganda). In other words, the teaching approaches at Makerere University and those in the local Ugandan communities have not differed much and this seems to influence the discrepancy that hinders the pronouncement of dance in academic fields.

There are many stories that can be told about a person through examining the way s/he carries self, her/his dress code, weight, height, skin colour, character, childhood stories, and life upsets, among others. An examination of novice dance student's childhood movement experiences through body organisation, posture, body attitudes, shaping qualities, qualities of flow, weight transfer aspects and leaning challenges was done. With strong awareness to life-long experiences, one can manage his/her negatives and capitalise on the positives during formal learning and teaching of dance. As a therapy related art form, appropriate utilisation of body stories provided psychological and cognitive attributes not only to the story-teller but also to his/her audience.

Unlike today where students are just offered a subject of dance without applying for it, during the 1980s and 1990s, students were admitted from all regions of the country to ensure indigenous teaching styles (for ethnic dance) at entry to formal education. The students had life-long ethnic dance skills which they shared along teacher's guidance. These kinds of students used to dictate an inclusive curriculum which, not only accommodated varying teaching and learning methods but also integrated academics into extensive practicum courses like People's Theatre. Such courses used to connect university staff and students to local indigenous arts practitioners where local communities would associate with university academic programs and pick interest in joining arts academia.

The unhealthy shift in administering arts education, therefore, calls for diverse adjustment in the pedagogy of dance at PAF. The academic development for dance has been further hampered by the unavailability of staff and unmotivated students that are usually admitted for dance scholarship. There has been evident shift in curriculum since 2010

when government sponsorship was removed on dance at Makerere University. Dance teaching is currently dictated by limited availability of teaching staff and the poor students attitude to the discipline. Many of the admitted students just offer dance as an opportunity for entry into Makerere University and usually exit or drop the dance module at second year. Most of these students lack prior experience and interest in the dance discipline but opt for it in fear of competition from other subjects that may require higher entry points (Sembatya, 2020).

While dance performance, along with most athletic practice, involves large amounts of repetitive training, researchers in the motor learning fields insist that it is the use of knowledge of results rather than the repetition that influences learning. In agreement with Adams (1987 as cited in Krasnow (1996), the old habits of pushing, twisting, and forcing students' bodies into aesthetically pleasing positions must be replaced by instruction in body awareness. A holistic view that emphasises dance's ability to connect mind and body is as old as the human race (Bartenief, 1980). So, observation and analysis of movement allows students to perceive, recall and develop learning methods for dance. Through experiential-personal exploration, fresh beginners in dance academics shared their body movement history, observation and awareness skills. The study thus shares a variety of students' childhood experience to justify their body organisation, learning challenges, and movement experience.

The apparent lack of pedagogical knowledge in dance academia challenges teachers to invest time on studying students' learning experiences (Jjemba, 2018) and provide possibilities for production and construction of knowledge (Freire, 1998). As alternative to conventional dance teaching, a critical study of students' movement posture, shape and alignment allowed students to find 'safe ways' to manage their negative thoughts about life while studying dance. Issues, such as fear to be injured, concern of body wellness, weight control, body size and inflexibility, necessitates facilitators to design movement exercises that favour specific body types, and easy management of bodily challenges.

In order to develop a trajectory that aims at raising students' physical and cognitive awareness, childhood stories, learner's personal experience that influence attitude in movement/dance were interrogated. Historical background about the students (students' body stories) was communally examined to contextualise teaching and learning of the cultural and scientific subject of dance. With an assumption that there it is challenging to attain efficacy while teaching adult novice students, both scientific and humanistic experiences need to be considered.

Theoretical Framework

Dance teaching and learning is majorly an experiential-based exercise where both the teacher and learner use a variety of their past individual and cultural exposure to generate new knowledge. Tapping into Freire's (2010) idea that teaching is not all about transference of knowledge but providing possibility for learning; the Ubuntu ideology encourages teachers to inspire their students into respecting humanity and its naturistic structures experience while learning. Combining *Anazina ttakumba* – a Buganda ideology which literally means that he/she who is set to dance does not have to waste time marching, the writing of this paper draws from Experiential Learning Theory by Kolb (1984) that states that learning involves the acquisition of abstract concepts that can be applied flexibly in a range of situations.

As stated by Kolb (1984), a learner has a new experience or interprets a previous experience in a new way (concrete learning), reflects on the new experience to understand what it means (reflective observation), adapts their thinking or constructs new ideas based on experience and reflection (abstract conceptualisation) and applies their new ideas to real-world situations to test whether they work and see if any changes need to be made (active experimentation).

Through experiential-personal exploration of Movement observation and Analysis; to perceive, recall, and develop methods for teaching and learning of dance (Jjemba, 2013), I have observed that novice dance students can share their childhood experiences to justify their current body organisation, posture, learning opportunity, and challenges. In agreement with Kenneth Kaunda's statement that: "let the West have its technology and Asia its mysticism, Africa's gift to world culture must be in the realm of human relationship" (Kaunda, 1967 cited in Mabingo 2018). This paper is also guided by advocacy and curiosity during my twenty years' experience in dance academia.

Methodology

A qualitative design was employed where body stories were reviewed in focused group discussion/classroom setting. Participants' childhood experiences were engaged to connect learning to their early childhood motor development. These class discussions ensured self-trust amongst novice students allowing dynamic expression and explanation of body stories. Twenty-three students – 15 females and 8 males – participated in the study.

While as students with stage names, that is, Vicx and Jojo, were excited about allowing the author to use these stage names, those without stage names preferred their real names (for example Kilabo and Fridah) to be altered slightly but stay with some resemblance nearest to their true names while documenting and referencing identity for this paper.

Given a small number of students that offer dance under the BA Arts course at Makerere University, data from this survey can be generalised to reflect a good representation.

An ethnographic analysis of students' stories was used to collect physiological data on dancers' postures and physical attitudes. In order to harness the efficacy of adult dance learning and teaching, both scientific and humanistic experiences had to be examined. Considering the public's disconnect to knowledge in dance academia, I shared the story about my transition from non-formal to dance academia with my Movement Awareness and Observation students. This boosted their confidence to share their body stories in context. Based on my early experience as a dancer in both formal and non-formal dance settings, I asked participants to mirror my narrative and write their own story, basing on their observation and awareness to body movement experience. This approach created a safe-thematic environment for participants to write their own stories demonstrating their transition from non-formal to dance academia.

The body, action, space, time and effort aspects (BASTE) were used as a framework to situate dance's scientific and humanistic status. This framework explores 'body' as a dancer's instrument, that has lived experience; 'action' as movements of body parts in unison and sequential patterns; space as performance stage-spectrum-dimension or depth of body action; 'time' as the rhythmical tempo of body-action-in space; and 'effort' as energy flowing with different quality of flow to determine emotions of the dance learner in the learning environment. Therefore, the technical aesthetics and educational values in dance teaching and learning were traced through mindful awareness of these five (BASTE) aspects.

Study Objectives

The general objective of this study was to examine students' prior knowledge at entry to dance academia. The study was guided by the following questions:

- What stories do you have about your birth and your childhood movement experience?
- How do you compare your past with current movement experiences?
- What challenges do you encounter with your body currently as a result of your past experience?

Presentation and Discussion of students' Body Stories

As an icebreaker for my students to present their body stories in view of their entry to dance academia, I first shared my experience that I generated while at Afri-Talents' and Diamonds' Ensemble theatre companies as a stage dancer in 1999. My experience relates with the belief held by novice students that dance is only for entertainment and leisure. My consciousness to such negativity fuelled my desire to persue a diploma in Music Dance and Drama

(MDD) which (area of study) was and still is unappreciated by even learned leaders completion of this diploma, I felt bound to reflect more and, hence, sought to enrol for a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in dance for more theoretical grounding.

Despite the BA in dance being a government-sponsored programme at its maiden introduction in 2001, its enrolment was very poor. I was the only one who "found sense" in applying for this course. I had to mobilise other applicants because the university could not teach only one learner on a fully funded programme. In 2002, seven other students were admitted to join me and we constituted the eight boys-pioneer BA dance graduates of Makerere University. Currently, all eight are responsible citizens: two university dons, one director of training at Uganda National Cultural Centre (UNCC), one deputy director at Uganda Police Band, two popular musicians, (two members of parliament) and one exporter of indigenous arts.

I shared my experience from this BA dance (2002-2005) programme highlighting staff and the dimensions in the different modules covered to encourage my students that studying dance has good prospects especially if handled well. The public's negative perception to dance academia enthused my passion to creatively and aggressively negotiate the negativity but rigorously embraced the scientific dimensions in my dance study. Secondly; a well-balanced staff of one master artist – Professor Moses Sserwadda – with profound knowledge in indigenous art, his MA students, Mr Wamala Kintu and Ms Judith Nakacwa Lubega-Tusiime, one Fulbright MAFA scholar, Jill Pribyl, from New Mexico and a German energetic practicing Dance Movement Therapists, Annette Schwalbe. This combination of teaching staff gave a strong foundation to my dance scholarship. This narrative gave my students a baseline to contextualise their stories. Whereas my experience as a stage dancer had little direct movement dimensions, it was specifically presented in such a format to lessen inhibition and stigma towards dance scholarship. I further emphasised that my early knowledge/experience in dance was further provoked by Annette's teaching of Dance Anatomy, Kinesiology, Awareness and Dance Movement Therapy courses which pronounced the scientific dimensions of the ordinary discipline of dance.

From the students' narratives below, it is evident that adult dance learning efficacy calls for both scientific and humanistic experiences. The experience from Annette's courses did not only inform this study about examining students' body stories but also affects my classroom practice, resulting in improved student appreciation of non-formal dance experience in their formal training.

Justine, one of the study participants attributes her peaceful character to her childhood thumbs

sucking traits. Being a shy girl, she hardly participated in co-curricular activities but later on she started engaging in them. She was a great admirer of one folk game called *bladder* -with stages like *kagulu kamu*; where a rope is fixed in the knee area. Her knee was bigger compared to her age-mates. So, they allowed her to put the rope at the ankle wrist thus challenging her to lift her leg up so that her ankle area was seen to be at knee level of her playmates. This gave her an opportunity to exercise more than her friends and thus improving her fattiness levels (she claimed). She also joined the school's dance clubs to disapprove her slender friends who doubted her fitness because she was very fat. Her mates started appreciating her because she could do movements that seemed hard given her body weight. Such courageous characters made her famous; resulting in winning a leadership post at school – without buying any logistics to influence her voters. Despite the above positivity in Justine's story, below are a few moments that were and still are negative as she testifies:

> My mum lost a lot of blood at my birth. She almost lost her life due to my overweight. After giving birth to me, her father was very nervous to the extent of saying that I would have died instead of his daughter being in such a life-threatening condition.
>
> At PAF, my fellow classmates underestimate my potential because of my weight. Sometimes, dance partners find it challenging to lift me during choreography classes, but I compensate that by lifting them.
>
> I always walk while looking down – resulting in a curved upper torso which portrays me as someone with poor physical attitude. I am aware of this negativity and working hard to change the situation.
>
> I am very shy to the extent that I find it challenging to dance alongside people who are better than me. I always think that they will abuse me when I make any mistakes.
>
> I don't want to put on short dresses because I think people will judge me as being indecently dressed – which is totally a different story with slim girls. It looks ok for them.

Justine's awareness to both the negatives and the positives allowed us to negotiate appropriate ways to study with her in an inclusive manner that called for socialisation and interpersonal traits. The innovative teaching motivated from students' experience is expected to produce desired results. The paper, therefore, is anchored in the quest to raise learner's physical awareness, hence, allowing an appreciation of vital body aspects during a short period on a course.

Kilabo is 19 years old, the eight child raised by a single mother. Her childhood life was so playful. In secondary school She loved dancing and sports. Apart from a few church

going outfits, she mostly wore trousers and shorts during her adolescence. Her boy-like traits enabled her to flourish in boys' dance strokes when it came to dance activities. This triggered many to refer to her as a tomboy. In her words:

> As a child, I was a tomboy – talking like a boy, dressing like a boy, and even walking like a boy. I socialised so much with boys because my big sister was much older than me; so, my companions were my brothers who were of my age. This influenced my dancing. I would copy dance strokes from my brother – making me popular in my primary school. I was so stubborn that everyone in my school knew me starting from the directors to the gate keepers. I was a darling to everyone and enjoyed every bit of my tomboy traits until when I started getting isolated by fellow girls. As time passed by, my voice started changing to soft tone. I started getting a curvy body shape but my breasts delayed to develop. Every dress I put on suited me only that my conscience and the society perception on me nurtured me in a way that I couldn't wear certain clothes. Whenever I put on certain clothes, I would feel embarrassed. Dancing has shaped me and made me a better person; since at dance they do not segregate in gender. The training emphasises only your brain and movement strength (Kilabo – class comment).

The study of Movement Awareness and Observation equips its students with practical skills in observing and appreciating movements in a variety of artistic fields (Jjemba 2018). The above story highlights Kilabo's awareness of her traits and the ways she complied and fixed the challenges. In a related way, Fridah's awareness to her fears used to torment her learning but the body story experience during the movement awareness and observation class brought back her passion. Dance's nature that includes expression of joy and sorrow serves well to uplift spirits of even the most impoverished life (Muhumuza, 2010). Such constitutes therapeutic dance/movement therapy. It is evident that students improve their self-esteem through mastering their psychophysical selves. Dance is a perfect form of exercise as it necessitates muscular strength, fitness and flexibility without placing excessive stress on a single part of the body. (Jjemba 2013). In agreement, Fridah had this to say:

> Mr. Jjemba's teaching of dance concepts is rooted in deep mindful awareness on how dance classes can create cooperation among people. This kind of instruction promotes self-trust which allows us to freely share our past experiences not only with movement but also with other interpersonal cocerns. I have gained self-confidence after sharing my body story to my classmates and teacher.

> This has particularly improved my walking posture. Being a slender girl, it was very unfortunate to walk with a forward low (tilted) face and concave-shaped upper torso that can easily be misinterpreted and associated with inferiority. I have also improved my sitting posture. By understanding my body organisation, I have developed the ability to recognise a person who has a physical or emotional challenge by only observing the body posture and physical attitude. I like my dance lecturers who keep checking on every class member who may be absent-minded. This has improved my life beyond class.

In order to develop a trajectory that aims at raising students' physical and cognitive awareness, historical backgrounds about students' body stories brought about mindfulness for students, such as Fridah and Kilabo to contextualise communal experiences in formal classroom settings. For purposes of improved teaching and learning practices, this should be encouraged especially in a cultural subject of dance. In the same vein, Jojo's description of her story points more to gender dimensions: "My story lays a fertile ground for dance training without gender segregation. In a dance class, I do lots of things like boys without any shame" (Jojo).

The body story concept contributed to appreciation of personal and general space. For example, short people discovered that they are best at low grounding movements compared to tall people who give strong levity effects. Vicx's early childhood story compares well to those of his classmates. A third-born of four, dark-skinned among light skinned children, suffered pneumonia at three months which almost killed him. This below is Vicx's testimony:

> I was born a fat baby (4 kg), but now I am 21years with just 38 kg. I am a very small man with a height of 1.3 metres. During my lower primary, it was fine to be short, but from P4 to P7, I started being despised by fellow classmates who made fun of me saying that "... look, Kiberu is short enough to be in nursery section." Whenever I would stand up to contribute something in class, my fellows teased me by saying "… can't you stand up?" This made me feel so small and ashamed. This must be the cause of my funny posture.

Dance and other kinesthetic arts have the ability to connect mind and body which surely has an effect on minimising body posture challenges (Jjemba, 2013). Due to multiple life-threatening factors, the body may shape inward unconsciously; hands tend to fold around the chest, with heavy and raised shoulders; head tilting in sagittal stress forward. Such are not pleasant traits for people of younger age. These traits are signs of tension and pain along the spinal area which may cause body posture deformation. Dance training has the ability to minimise these traits

especially if the person is still in his/her youthful age.

Vicx is a small short boy who walks with a bent upper torso. It can be tempting for one to say that he feels unconforutable or depressed particularly due to his concave shaping in the upper torso areas. He always walks with a forward low tilted face and his classmates describe him as a person with a poor physical body attitude. At the dance scene, he finds it so burdening to make head-tail connectivity because of his concave shaped body. He also finds difficulty in making a plié; keeping his chest held high-up for a longer time without his upper torso falling forward to a concave shape.

With such a narrative, participants suggested that there is a need for dance teachers to design movement exercises that favour specific body types to allow easy management of varying bodily challenges. The body stories in this discussion challenge us to engage experiential and inspirational learning for the development of teaching and learning fundamentals in dance.

Vicx's redemption narrative/story:

> During my Senior One (at 13 years), I made up my mind and said, "enough is enough with being dissed". I accepted my size and body, and started to appreciate and embrace it. At this time, I resorted to luga flow rapping in order to fight against my life-long dissatisfaction. Luga flow rapping defines me and my stage name is "Vics", a symbol of resurrection. I mastered rap art as a way to counter those who under-looked me because of my height. I have gained confidence at Makerere University (studying music and dance). Everyone at my faculty likes and respects me. In dance classes, I still feel very small when it comes to doing big shapes and shifting weight with a strong physical attitude for my choreography challenges. But I cover up this with my strength in rap because dance is accompanied by music. I spent many hours while my back was bent during baking. This could be a contributing factor for my concave upper torso shaping while walking. I love studying people; so, I get so critical looking at someone's movements, posture, shape, and alignment in whatever activity they engage in.

With such worries, students have devised means to creatively enhance their engagement in alternative activities that closely relate to dance so that they remain relevant in dance. In addition to that, dance teaching and learning in academics allows students to be mindful about their bodies in diverse perspectives. Because dance is taught as received knowledge, leaving out its scientific aspects reduces the significance of its study. For example, in modules, such as anatomy and physiology, choreography, and jazz classes, students have been taught to compare their approaches while executing a *core-distal* movement (from the middle of the body to far parts of the body) and head-tail/convex shaping, upper-lower, body-half and

the awareness of right and left side of the body, *cross lateral connectivity* (twisting the body) to enhance body flexibility and stamina. When appropriately employed, dance seems to provide a natural and exciting way to exercising the body compared to going to the gym, running, and other ways (Jjemba 2018).

Natha, 58.3kg, medium height, dark-skinned girl with natural hair grew up in a family of five. Being the second last-born among four boys, she has grown with strong instincts for boys. She remembers so many stories about her childhood but the prominent ones are thumb sucking and crying when she did not see her mother around. In her body-story sharing sessions, she demonstrates and describes her traits with a lot of pride; a strong physical attitude with a forward high upper torso body projection. This upper torso tilt and a serious face means a lot as she narrates her story to the movement awareness class as referenced below:

> I usually take flamboyant steps because I do not want to be bogged down. My studies and work depend on my body story. Growing up in a boys' dominant family influenced my dress code that is why I wear jeans, T-shirts, and sneakers. I would sometimes wear my brothers' clothes and felt better in them. My friends used to call me a tomboy. It would haunt me for people to describe me as "the black girl". This made me ask rhetoric questions like, "will I get light-skinned as I grow up?" Other students would compare me to charcoal. This would make me cry. During high school days, we would apply to be part of the ushering team but I was always scrapped off for being very dark. My friend, Sumaya, once took precaution of my concern; she said: "Natha; your skin colour is very expensive. A person can change from being dark to light skinned but no one can change from being light to dark skinned. So, you should be proud". From this positive talk, I grew into loving and appreciating myself more. As I continued growing, I embraced being dark. I now walk on the street and men just call me out *bulaka* but I just smile and continue moving (Natha).

Flamboyant as she narrates, Natha found herself in Afro and Ugandan traditional dance forms. Her dress code improved from only jeans and t-shirts to African hand-made jewellery, colours and cloth prints that complement her skin complexion and personality to assert herself as a strong African woman. Literally the negative emotions that society imposed on her for being dark skinned helped her to redefine her purpose and claim her identity as a strong Afro contemporary dancer. Natha attributes her passionate involvement in Afro dance forms to the knowledge and awareness of people's perception on her skin colour.

Caleb (30 years) grew up alone with his mother. He was a choir member for almost all his primary

school life. He tried dancing but his umbilical cord used to protrude out making him uncomfortable in dance costumes and he did not want friends to notice it. He had a dream of becoming a doctor and his parents kept saying so in affirmation. Despite the fact that Caleb had good grades in primary school, he missed joining a good standard secondary school due to school fees challenges, and instead joined a poor standard school resulting in scoring low grades that could not allow him pursue a medical career. In his body-story testimony, Caleb says:

> With my umbilical area protruding out abnormally, I hated myself and hoped that when I grew up as a medic, I would help children with such challenges. I could not imagine a child dancing with a protruding umbilical cord. I kept on dodging the choir and other MDD classes. But the umbilical grew smaller as years passed by resulting in my liking dance. When I later joined high school for a science combination, my academic results were not the best. After failing on many attempts to become a doctor, I thought that I was an academic failure. Currently, I am a student of dance at Makerere University but still pursuing my dream of becoming a doctor.

As an indispensable component of history, dance compliments human behavior, supplements communication, improves health, and fosters integration (Muhumuza 2010). Having a positive or negative experience pushes one to either direction. The most remarkable one is working hard to battle such challenges and turned out victorious.

Mo (20 years) describes herself as a quiet, clean, small, and humble girl since her childhood. She fears trouble and was born a weak, lazy, and shy woman. Dancing would not have been her pursuit even when her mother wished good for her to become a dancer. She began dancing in P5 when she was encouraged by a trainer who spotted a talent in her. She always engaged in traditional dances, and would be selected among the top performers. In her unedited narrative:

> After completing P7, I continued dancing but I was still shy until the age of 15 when I gained weight and I found it so hard to continue dancing. At this age, my breasts became very big and this made me feel funny every time I danced vigorously. The trainer chassed me out of dance resulting in hating myself. I also lost interest in participating in other activities. I pretended to be happy away from such engagements but it was hurting to see my fellow colleagues excel in MDD performances. In 2014, I was called in the staff room and made an agreement not to ever miss again. I managed my body problems. I actually noted that it wasn't only me who had adolescent traits/challenges. Many other friends of mine had similar experiences but they managed through. With my poor awareness skills to my

> body developments, I almost got kicked out of school.
>
> Laziness is still my biggest weakness yet the dance course requires long hours of hectic working and less relaxing. I am not flexible enough but the movement awareness and observation, anatomy and physiology class exercises and choreography routines are slowly helping me (Mo, class comment).

Using the movement awareness and observation concepts even outside the mandatory classes has allowed students to appreciate and manage certain practical situations related to body attitudes, shaping qualities, qualities of flow, and weight transfer challenges that are common in dance training. There is, therefore, a need for dance teachers to appreciate students' challenges so that appropriate pedagogical methods are designed to encourage engagement that can sooth the bad feeling if not cure it completely.

Below is Fad's narrative:

> My name is Fad. I am a last-born. I was so fat during my early childhood, thus, retarding standing and walking abilities. After two years, I started leaning on a wall to try out walking. My mum used to call me *gweguno* but after joining Hope Nursery School at four years, my friends used to call me *small*. My big stomach discouraged me from playing children's games and make shift jumps. At home, I used to put on long trousers to hide my funny rickets. After realising that I was not alone with such strange body traits, I got courage to join dancing. At 6-7 years, my hobby was reading texts and watching movies. This helped my brain to develop and also improved my social and communication skills. I give women much respect because I grew up with my step-mum who taught me great things. But dance training helps me to forget about my negative and capitalise on the positive.

Fad's story does not differ from Pius' body story. He was born very short and up to now is still short. When young, his mother told him that he used to like dancing and whenever music played, he excitedly jumped up to uncoordinated rhythmical moves. With an assumption that "dance is an art form that requires one to be emotionally and physically fit", Pius' vast informal dance experience was filled with dancing in churches, clubs, and promotions of different companies. His body is strong, energetic, and flexible. He learns very fast and has interest in teaching his classmates. With his past experience in training young children, he seems to grow into a strong dance teacher. With his short body, he thinks that dance movements in high levels are very challenging for him to execute than those in low and middle levels.

To find meaningful trajectory, the Movement Awareness and Observation class located students' life-long aspirations in teaching, learning, and work philosophies. For example, many of Alfred's dance

movements start with the left leg. This challenges him since most dance instructors start their illustrations starting with the right foot. When he makes his first step on a left foot, it contradicts with other dancers who start on right – labelling him as a poor learner. He also noticed that short people excel in low grounding movements compared to tall people who give levity effects in their movements. He is in a transition to perform movement starting with his right foot like his classmate which, hopefully, will improve his dance learning.

Some of the students' biographical narratives highlight meaningful insights that simplify learning and consolidate best teaching methods. Engaging in life stories not only provokes curiosity but also amplifies developmental patterns; resulting in a more fulfilling learning experience. Studying how, when, and where students acquired interesting experiences allowed the minds to re-align with their bodies; thus, informing teaching and learning.

The year 1997 is remembered as a sweet and bitter year for Imi (20 years). This is a year she was born, and coinciding with the loss of her father. Raised by her mother, she experienced a lot of difficulty. Her sister and brother did not like her because she commanded greater love from many family relatives since she was born on Christmas day. In her redemption testimony, she has this to say:

> My siblings did not want to play with me; neither did they show care for me. They used to leave me alone, hungry in the house and this resulted in hurting my forehead as I tried to look for food. I still have a scar on my forehead as a result of this. This experience tortured me for long and I began keeping silent even when something hurt me. I hardly share my problems due to the insecurity I had with my siblings at home. With profound awareness to this negativity, I grew up a tough woman who always isolated myself unless if someone showed extreme interest in working with me (Imi, class confession).

Such detestation from Imi's brother and sister was compared to a situation where students come to study dance and meet a strange context different to what they expect. Therefore, designing dance teaching and learning with awareness to students' expectations and experience allows a smooth transition that can boost interest. Dance, as a kinesthetic art, also contributes to the development and enhancement of critical neurobiological systems (Jensen, 2010). Thus, engaging student's body stories during teaching and learning is important. Vibrant innovations like the use of body stories are inevitable in re-imagining dance pedagogy because such can lessen learner's tension during their maiden formal classes of an artistic subject (dance) that has vast scientific dimensions. These body stories can be used as

inspirational learning materials for dance education and practice. This purposeful pedagogy can lead to production of multi–dimensional consequences.

Conclusion

This study avers that dance pedagogy goes beyond mere teaching of body movement through teachers' instructions but should encompass a system that illuminates knowing, thinking, doing, being and becoming because it is not only about teaching students to become artists (Mabingo, 2015). The study concludes that a dynamic analysis of learner's body story leads to pronouncement of awareness to body attitudes, shaping qualities, qualities of flow, and weight transfer aspects that provokes curiosity in teaching and learning of dance. Therefore, teachers' appreciation to learner's awareness is appropriate in encouraging organic dance teaching at Makerere University.

The interplay between individuals and community experience ought to be reflected for university education to contextualise, conceptualise, and activate appropriate knowledge expansion for students. From the study experience, I now have a clear understanding of the students' experience and how to use it to improve teaching methods. This analysis of students' life-long stories feeds into crafting relationships between non-formal and formal education. The innovative way of preparing students relates, influences and impacts classroom practice and responsibilities.

This learning experience has influenced the editing of the Movement Awareness and Observation, Anatomy and Kinesiology courses at the Department of Performing Arts and Film, allowing teaching and learning to start at a known point of view for better results (Mugimu 2019). This study has also enhanced self-trust amongst novice students allowing dynamic expressions in choreography and performance areas.

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A Mythical Recreation of Nyerere and the Lake Nyasa Conflict in Banyakyusa Narratives

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Abstract

For decades, Tanzania and Malawi have been discordant over Lake Nyasa border. Apart from its colonial history, the conflict became stiff in the post-colonial era, especially between 1967 and 1968 when Tanzania under Nyerere officially submitted to Malawi their intention to rectify the border line from eastern shoreline of the lake to the middle. This article examines the 1967-1968 phase of the conflict by focusing on local perceptions on Nyerere's involvement in the conflict. The article specifically looks at Banyakyusa whose position on both sides of Tanzania-Malawi border placed them at the centre of military and political matters during the conflict. The article examines the depiction of Banyakyusa voice, beliefs, and point view embedded in their myths to recreate Nyerere's image with reference to his involvement in the conflict. As per Banyakyusa, Banda's desire to extend his leadership beyond Malawi was a key reason for the outbreak of Lake Nyasa border conflict. The article establishes that Banda claimed that the whole Lake Nyasa belongs to Malawi. He also claimed that Tanzanian regions along Lake Nyasa: Mbeya, Iringa, and Ruvuma are part of Malawi. Banyakyusa perceived that without Nyerere being supernatural and mystically endowed, the conflict would have led to the outbreak of armed war between the nations. With his mystical powers, Nyerere was able to know and stop all incidents which would have led to physical battle.

Keywords: Nyerere, Banda, Tanzania, Lake Nyasa conflict, Banyakyusa, myths

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Background

One of the observable implications of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's splendid support to the decolonisation of African countries and his advocacy for peace and unity is a friendly relationship between Tanzania and other African countries, especially the neighbouring countries. Tanzania shares her borders with Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Congo DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, and Kenya. Most of these neighbours gained their freedom with the support from Tanzania (Johnson, 2000; Mohiddin, 1999). However, Tanzania under Nyerere's leadership involved herself into two open conflicts with Uganda and Malawi.

Although the Tanzania-Malawi conflict over Lake Nyasa has not until now led to armed war–as opposed to that of Uganda which led to the Kagera War of 1978-1979, Yoon (2014) describes it as one of the longest border conflicts in Africa. Yoon clarifies that the conflict between Malawi and Tanzania originated from the Anglo-Germany agreement of 1890 also known as Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty. The treaty gave the whole North East part of Lake Nyasa which bordered the then German East Africa (Tanganyika) to Britain who were then colonising Malawi. Article 1(2) of the agreement states that the boundary between Malawi (Nyasaland) and Tanzania (Tanganyika) run:

> To the south by the line that starts on the coast of the northern border of Mozambique Province and follows the course of the Rovuma River [sic] to the point where the Messinge flows into the Nyasa. Turning north, it continues along the eastern, northern, and western shores of the lake until it reaches the northern bank of the mouth of the Songwe River (as cited in Yoon, 2014:81-82).

This article gave Malawi the ownership of Lake Nyasa up to north-eastern shores. However, as Yoon contends, Article 6 of the treaty allows the rectification of the boundary through agreement of the two parts (at the time Britain and Germany). Yoon adds that Tanzania bases on Article 6 of the treaty by advocating the shift of the boundary to the median through negotiation with Malawi.

According to Mayall (1973), despite the Heligoland treaty, the border line between Tanzania (Tanganyika) and Malawi has not been settled. From 1922, German East Africa (Tanganyika) was awarded to the British as mandatory territory which made both Tanganyika and Malawi (Nyasaland) to be under British domination. However, the confusion of the border line between Tanzania and Malawi which could then be solved by British colonialists was not settled. Mayall contends that with evidence "from the inconsistency of the maps used in both territories during the mandate, that there was, from the start, some confusion as to exactly where it (the border line) lay" (Mayall, 1973, p. 612). These misunderstandings were in both Tanzania (Tanganyika) and Malawi (Nyasaland) and as Mayall highlights the "official reports and

maps produced in the Nyasaland Protectorate during the I920s and I930s also show a middle line" (p. 623). Here, Mayall indicates that both Tanzanians and Malawians were not sure of where exactly the Lake Nyasa border line between Tanzania and Malawi should lie. As a result, despite the Heligoland Treaty, the conflict over Lake Nyasa border line, as Mayall signifies, results from uncertainty of where exactly the line should be in both countries.

In 1967, Tanzania officially claimed that the border should be at the median of the lake (Day, 1987; Mayall, 1973) Tanzania claimed that:

> While Tanzania did not want an international issue to arise between countries sharing the waters of Lake Nyasa, she wished 'to inform the Government of Malawi that Tanzania has no claim over the waters 'of Lake Nyasa beyond the line running through the median of the Lake', and that this line alone was recognised by Tanzania as the legal and just delineation between the two countries (Mayall, 1973, pp. 617-618).

Despite that Tanzanian submission, Mayall argues that the dispute over Lake Nyasa would remain inactive "if it had been ignored by President Banda" (p. 618). Banda outspokenly continued to insist that the border line should remain on the eastern shores as per 1890 Anglo-Germany Treaty (Mayall, 1973; Yoon, 2014). He emphasised that Lake Nyasa/ Malawi always belonged to Malawi and that Malawi was not ready for any discussion and negotiation intended to alter the position of the border as it was set by Heligoland Treaty of 1890. Here, as Mayall (1973) indicates, the Tanzania-Malawi border conflict became active because Banda promulgated it and closed the negotiation door.

Figure 1: Disputed Malawi-Tanzania Border

Source: Tanzanian Affairs (https://www.tzaffairs.org/2012/09/malawi-tanzania-border-dispute/)

As Kenneth (2016) clarifies, the conflict became stiff in 1968 with deteriorated communication between two leaders, Nyerere of Tanzania and Banda of Malawi. The year 1968 witnessed these leaders attacking each other through the media. The attacks began after Banda declared that some Tanzanian regions especially Mbeya, Iringa (before being divided into Iringa and Njombe regions), and Ruvuma which border with the lake are parts of Malawi (Kenneth, 2016; Mayall, 1973). Later, Nyerere referred to Banda as insane by which

Banda responded by calling Nyerere "a coward and a communist inspired jellyfish" (Mayall, 1973:620). Mayall clarifies more that in the same year 1968, the two countries "were preparing for military show-down" (p. 620). Whereas Banda decided to put a gunboat in the lake, Tanzania "embarked upon a programme of military and political education amongst the villagers along the lake shore" (p. 620). According to Zotto (2017), Banda formed a paramilitary group of youth known as Malawi Young Pioneer (MYP) and stationed them in Karonga District to safeguard the Malawi-Tanzania border. Similarly, Tanzania recruited "youth and able-bodied adults and turned them into militias" (Zotto, 2017, p. 155). Mayall (1973) and Zotto (2017) indicate that the 1967-1968 phase of the Lake Nyasa border conflict nearly led to an outbreak of the militarily war between Tanzania and Malawi.

According to Mayall (1973), Tanzania and Malawi have had unsettled relationship since independence. Mayall links Banda's association with South African minority rule, Banda's allegation that Tanzania and Nyerere himself were supporting Malawian exiles to overthrow his government, with the Lake Nyasa border conflict (Mayall 1973:611). These issues were inseparable because Banda's support to Boers in South Africa made Nyerere who opposed the South African Boer's government to host Banda's oppositions. Also, Banda's relationship with minority rule in South Africa and the existence of Malawian exiles in Tanzania who challenged Banda's policies over Lake Nyasa made Nyerere easily provoked to officially declare the Lake Nyasa's border conflict in 1967. Mayall contentions indicate that although the geographical location of the Tanzania-Malawi border attracts

Figure 2: Mbeya, Iringa and Ruvuma Regions in Tanzania which Banda declared 1968 to be part of Malawi

Source: Open Street Map contributors

tension between the two countries, the conflict of 1967-1968 was largely contributed to by Nyerere and Banda ideological and political differences.

With reference to Kenneth (2016) and Mayall (1973), Nyerere had two years after independence of Tanzania (Tanganyika) to raise issues against bilateral and international contracts and agreements entered by former colonial masters (Germany and later Britain). However, the years ended without Nyerere raising his concern on the Lake Nyasa border. This indicates that Tanzania literally agreed with the Heligoland agreement (Kenneth, 2016). Kenneth and Mayall's arguments highlight more on the argument that Tanzania's official proclamation of the Lake Nyasa border conflict in 1967 was rather a result of Nyerere and Banda political differences.

Misunderstandings between Nyerere and Banda had been more aggravated by Banda's decision to change the name of the Lake Nyasa to Lake Malawi in 1964 without consulting Nyerere and Mozambican leaders (Kenneth, 2016). Changing the name to Lake Malawi signified Malawi ownership of the lake. As a result, Nyerere "ordered the banning of all maps in Tanzania with the name 'Lake Malawi'" (p. 27). By banning the maps, Nyerere indicated that Tanzania did not agree with the perception that Lake Nyasa belonged to Malawi and obviously the shoreline border. Despite Nyerere's opposition, Lake Nyasa is still known as Lake Malawi in Malawi.

However, before the end of 1968, the Lake Nyasa conflict which became active and official from 1967 seized after Tanzania decided to "wait for the emergence in Malawi of a sensible leader" following the failure of negotiations with the then Malawian President Hastings Kamuzu Banda (Mayall, 1973, p. 620). As a result, from 1969 to 2010, the conflict was dormant (Kenneth, 2016). However, as Kenneth contends, following Malawi's intention to explore oil in Lake Nyasa, the conflict became active again from 2011.

One of the similarities of the studies reviewed above, Kenneth (2016), Mayall (1973), and Yoon (2014), is that they are based on politicians, historians, and academicians' perceptions. Despite their splendid contribution to the comprehension of the Lake Nyasa conflict, the studies do not involve the voice of local people, which is important in understanding their point of view and perceptions of the conflict.

In this article, I examine the Lake Nyasa conflict by focusing on the voice and perception of local people. Moreover, despite studies on Banyakyusa especially their oral literature such as Fedeo (2016), Mwakasaka (1977) and Wilson (1960), so far, none of the study examines the voice of Banyakyusa on the Lake Nyasa conflict. This article specifically looks at Banyakyusa beliefs, perceptions, voice, and point of view depicted in their myths about

Nyerere's involvement in the conflict. This study examines imagery language employed to reconstruct Nyerere's image and the Lake Nyasa conflict in selected Banyakyusa myths. Although the conflict "is still ongoing" (Yoon, 2014, p. 87), this study focuses on the myths associated with the 1967-1968 phase. During this phase, the conflict over Lake Nyasa boundary became active and official in post-colonial Tanzania under Nyerere and Malawi under Banda. As a result, this article provides the first insight of local people (Banyakyusa) to the conflict. The article sheds more light on Banyakyusa beliefs towards their (Tanzanian) territorial rights and borders.

Banyakyusa are important to this study because of their location. They are found in both countries, Tanzania and Malawi. In Tanzania, Banyakyusa live in Busokelo, Kyela, and Rungwe districts of Mbeya region. And in Malawi, Banyakyusa are in Karonga District. Banyakyusa in Kyela and Karonga live along shore plains of Lake Nyasa and along both sides of River Songwe which borders Tanzania and Malawi. By living on both sides of the River Songwe and along the shore plains of the Lake Nyasa, Banyakyusa are at the centre of the conflict (Mayall, 1973). The location made Banyakyusa witness underground and open Tanzania and Malawi military manoeuvres around the border. By using myths which were collected from Busokelo, Kyela and Rungwe districts, this article focuses on the perceptions of Tanzanian Banyakyusa. The districts form an area which is referred to in Tanzania as a home place of Banyakyusa in Tanzania. In addition to Nyerere being at the centre of political myths and myth making in Tanzania (Phillips, 2015), the location of Banyakyusa is among the reasons for their mythmaking about Nyerere's involvement in the conflict.

Nyerere's Involvement in the Lake Nyasa Conflict as Reconstructed in Banyakyusa Myths

As previously explained, the Lake Nyasa conflict nearly led to armed battle between Tanzania and Malawi in 1967 and 1968 (Mayall 1973). We have seen the way the relationship between the two neighbouring countries, especially their leaders, Nyerere and Banda, deteriorated. With Nyerere describing Banda as insane who also regarded Nyerere being cowardly, the possibility to end the Lake Nyasa conflict through negotiation was narrow. However, despite the deployment of soldiers around the River Songwe border, Banda putting gunboat in Lake Nyasa and Tanzania providing military trainings to villagers near to shores of Lake Nyasa and the River Songwe border, the 1967-1968 Lake Nyasa border conflict ended peacefully (Kenneth 2016; Mayall 1973; Zotto, 2017). Although Mayall (1973) associates the peaceful ending of Lake Nyasa border conflict with Tanzanian decision to wait for

a Malawian leader who will be able to negotiate, Banyakyusa associate the peaceful ending with Nyerere's supernatural and mythical powers.

This article discusses the association of Nyerere's supernatural and mystical abilities with the peaceful ending of the 1967-1968 phase of Lake Nyasa conflict in three Banyakyusa myths: *Banda*, *Indusu* (A Gun), and *Isomo Kubamalabhi* (A Lesson to Malawians).

The myth *Banda* narrates the origin of the Lake Nyasa conflict and its aftermath. We are told that this conflict has its origin in Banda's regime. Together with his claim that "*sumbi gwabo*" (the lake is theirs), "*Banda atile Kyela, Mwileje ummo, Rungwe, na Mbeya gwesa jo Malabhi. Atile aikwegha Mbeya na Iringa na Songea gwesa*" (Banda claimed that Kyela, Ileje, Rungwe, and the whole Mbeya region is part of Malawi. He said he will take Mbeya, Iringa, and the whole Songea). Banda stressed that "*Ngulonda ukwegha sumbi gwesa na Mbeya na Iringa na Songea. Gwesa ujo jo Malabhi ntupu*" ("I want to take the whole lake and Mbeya and Iringa and Songea. The whole area is part of Malawi"). The narrator narrates that the Lake Nyasa conflict resulted from Banda's desire to control not only the whole lake but also Tanzanian regions along it. Stressing on the collaborative interplay between Banyakyusa myths about Nyerere and the literature about Nyerere's real life, Mayall (1973) asserts that in 1968, Banda, while pointing his hand to Tanzania announced "that is my land over there, Tukya, [sic] Njombe and Songea, all of them must be given back" (p. 619). As a result of this, the narrator states that both Tanzania and Malawi were sending soldiers near River Songwe border which made Banyakyusa in Kyela to live under high tension.

We are told that Banda banned Tanzanians from fishing in the lake and seized Tanzanian's canoes, fish, and fish traps. The narrator further states that "*lelo tuta Nyerere bho apilike atile Banda ikunyangalila. Kali alipelengenye bulebule loli bikuti aliipelile kajuni. Kapulwike kapelelisye amajeshi gosa aga Banda*" (But when honourable Nyerere heard this, he said "Banda is joking with me". I don't know how he transformed himself. They say he transformed into a bird. That bird spied all Banda's military bases). After spying, Nyerere in bird's form found that Banda's army was "*nafyene*" (nothing). The word *nafyene* (nothing) as used here implies that Banda was to be ignored because he had no power to fight against Tanzanians. The narrator emphasises that "*amajeshi ga Banda gali mateta fijo ku gitu*" (Banda's soldiers were very weak compared to ours). As a result, *ingalamu* (the lion) Nyerere roared that Tanzanians should continue with regular activities in Lake Nyasa and that they should not fear anything. Although Banyakyusa as explained earlier were the most victims of the conflict (Mayall, 1973:20), the phrase "*mwe Batanzania bandu bangu*" (my fellow Tanzanians) as used in this myth indicates that

Banyakyusa regard themselves primarily as Tanzanians. As a result, the image of Nyerere as examined in this study expresses Banyakyusa voice, beliefs, and perceptions of Nyerere based on his role in Tanzania in general as opposed to Banyakyusa as an individual society. We are told in the myth that after Nyerere's direction, "*Banda akosomwilepo kangi? Ingalamu lingajigulwime kinyamana nki ikikusemela*?" (Did Banda cough again? When a lion roars which other animal approaches?). The above rhetorical questions indicate that Banda surrendered. The narrator states that after Nyerere's order to Tanzanians to continue fishing in Lake Nyasa, Malawians waited until his death to resume the conflict.

The myth *Banda* indicates that Nyerere used his mystical powers to cool down the 1967-1968 phase of the conflict. The narrator states that Nyerere mystically transformed into a bird to spy on Banda. To the Banyakyusa, a bird is often used in narratives (myths, legends, and folktales) as a creature with supernatural power to rescue or save people from danger. By Nyerere changing into a bird, the myth implies that through his mystical abilities, Nyerere was able to spy on Banda and his army secretly and freely. As a result, Banda "*akakosomwilepo kangi*" (did not cough again) which denotes that he ceased his claim over the lake and Tanzanian regions along it. As already pointed out, Mayall contends that the 1967-1968 phase of the dispute ceased following Tanzania's decision to "wait for the emergence in Malawi of a sensible leader" (Mayall, 1973, p. 620). With reference to the myth *Banda*, Mayall indicates that Tanzanians considered Banda as weak militarily and mentally; hence, incapable of fighting against Tanzania as well as negotiating a resolution of the conflict.

Of a particular interest in this myth is the metaphorical reconstruction of Nyerere as a lion. The narrator states that "*po ingalamu jagulumwe ikisu kyalimieee. Jatile "mwe Batanzania bandu bangu mutinga pasyaga Banda nteta fijo akabagila ukubomba nasimo. Mulimege na kuloba isamaki mwa sumbi*" (then the lion roared and the whole world trembled. He said "my fellow Tanzanians don't worry; Banda is very weak; he cannot do anything. Continue farming and fishing in the lake). The metaphor of lion as used in this myth indicates that Nyerere was very powerful and feared. The myth implies that Banda surrendered his claims because he feared Nyerere's powers. Moreover, as Frye (1957) contends, an archetype of a lion stands "for the vision of the royal" (p. 153). Frye's contention indicates that metaphorical comparison of Nyerere to a lion gives Nyerere a royal status to everyone including Malawians and Banda. With such royal status, the myth denotes that Banda had no choice but to obey Nyerere by withdrawing his claims. According to the myth, the conflict resumed in 2011 (Kenneth, 2016, p. 28) because Malawians waited "*mpaka afwile Nyerere lo ulu baandile kangi*" (… until Nyerere died to start the claim again). The

implication is that Malawians remained calm to Tanzanian activities in Lake Nyasa from 1969 to 2010 because they feared Nyerere's mystical powers.

Despite a peaceful end to the 1967-1968 phase of the Lake Nyasa conflict, the myth *Indusu* (A Gun) suggests that there were signs of armed conflict, and that the peaceful end was only a result of Nyerere's mystical powers. *Indusu* (A Gun) is a myth about a gun which was grabbed by Malawians from a Tanzanian border guard. The narrator relates the story of the gun to Nyerere's stick which was stolen but returned to Nyerere by the thieves (the myths about thieves of Nyerere's stick is one among widespread myths about Nyerere in Tanzania). The gun was grabbed from a Zanzibari who was among the guards at the Tanzania-Malawi border in Kyela. According to the narrator, a young man from Songwe on the Malawi side grabbed a gun from the Zanzibari guard. The young man was a Nyakyusa from Malawi, a son of Mwambila. After grabbing that gun, the young man handed it to Malawian soldiers who took it to Blantyre, Malawi.

When he heard that the gun was taken by Malawian soldiers, "*Nyerere asekile fijo. Atile "ajikwisa. Ajikwisa kagi bila mafuku. Atile une Banda atutikwelewana mpaka indusu jangu jibuje. Kangi syosyosa sila asikusokela loli indusu jibuje kangi bila koonangika*" (Nyerere laughed so much. He said that "it will come. It will come without sweating". He said that "I will not be in good relationship with Banda until my gun returns. Anything can happen until the gun returns without being distorted"). The phrase *ajikwisa bila mafuku* (It will come without sweating) indicates that Nyerere was not considering the use of force to get the gun back. According to the myth, what happened to Banda is still unknown but he was compelled to return the gun to Dar es Salaam. The narrator concludes that "*kingamo Banda syalimwagile inyali fijo. Aliitike mwene amaka ga Nyerere. Aliitike ukuti Nyerere akaligwakunkinila*" (Perhaps Banda experienced something very bad and surrendered to Nyerere's power. He accepted that Nyerere was not a man to joke with).

The gun in the myth under discussion symbolises valuable things which were allegedly taken by Malawian soldiers from Tanzania. The myth indicates that despite Banda surrendering his claims over Lake Nyasa, Malawian soldiers grabbed and confiscated valuable things from Tanzania during the conflict, especially in the area near River Songwe border. It is implied in the myth *Indusu* (A Gun) that the actions of the Malawian soldiers along the border could have led to physical confrontation if Nyerere had not abstained from using force. As already explained, Nyerere decided that the gun would be returned without sweating, which indicates that he intended to solve the conflict with Malawi without entering into war.

Despite Nyerere's refusal to use military force against Malawi, the myth under discussion denotes that his mystical powers were used against Banda. The narrator states that, "*po basi po na isi syamuagile Banda sikamanyigwa loli ikabidi apimbe indusu mundege ukwisa ukujitwala kwiikulu ku Dar es Salaam… Aliitike mwene amaka ga Nyerere*" (What faced Banda is still unknown but he was compelled to carry that gun in a plane up to state house in Dar es Salaam … He himself surrendered to Nyerere's power). Here, the myth establishes a connection between the peaceful return of the gun and Nyerere's mystical power. Also, the uncertainty of the narrator on what exactly happened to Banda further suggests that Nyerere used his mystical powers. Therefore, the myth *Indusu* denotes that Nyerere had very powerful mystical powers which led to Banda "…*syalimwagile inyali fijo*" (experienced something very bad), and the gun dispute ended peacefully.

The myth *Isomo Kubamalabhi* (A Lesson to Malawians), on the other hand, indicates that the 1967-1968 phase of Lake Nyasa conflict ended peacefully because Malawians learnt that Nyerere was better than Banda. This myth is about Nyerere helping villagers in Malawi who were attacked by Tanzanian soldiers during the conflict. The narrator states that at the time when Banda was claiming Lake Nyasa, Mbeya, Iringa, and Songea (Ruvuma) regions are part of Malawi, the Tanzanian soldiers who were guarding the River Songwe border bombed a village in Malawi. After the bombing, cows from the Malawian side crossed the river to the Tanzanian side. Also, villagers fled from their homes, leaving everything behind. The narrator states that "*po Nyerere kali amenye bulebule. Alikudasalamu loli asimenye syosya isi abanajeshi bambombaga mwasongwe. Alinamanga gake itolo jula*" (I don't know how Nyerere knew that event. He was in Dar es Salaam but he knew all what the soldiers were doing in Songwe. He had his own magic). Banyakyusa use the word *amanga* to refer to mystical powers. Here, the narrator indicates that Nyerere knew about the bombing incident mystically. The narrator clarifies that Nyerere "*aketaga ni syamungisi papo na bapelelesi bakabagile ukumbula mbimbibhi lula*" (…was able to see what happens in darkness since even his spies could not tell him as promptly as that). The narrator uses the phrase *aketaga ni syamungisi* (he able to see what happens in the darkness) to indicate that Nyerere was mystically able to know everything including hidden and secret happenings.

Following the incident, we are told that Nyerere ordered Tanzanian soldiers to guard the Malawian's cows and keep safe all properties of the villagers who had fled. The narrator states that, "*bho babujile balinkwaga ifindu fyabo filipo fyosa. Kila kitu kilisalama kabisa. Bakomigwe ni kiswigo*" (When the villagers returned, they found all their properties safe. Everything was safe. They were surprised). Here, the narrator implies that following the hostile relationship between Tanzania and Malawi, villagers expected that

Nyerere would order his soldiers to seize all Malawian properties. After finding all their properties safe, the villagers praised Nyerere. As a result:

> *Banda apondilwe amasyu agakubabula abhandu bake ukuti balwege ivita na Nyerere. Namanga po baliandile ukuti "Nyerere jo ndongosi loli. Atikwifuna ikutula abandu bosa. Bule linga alijo Banda gwitu apa natigi poa ngali atugogile twesa".* (Banda lacked words to tell his people to fight a war against Nyerere since they were saying "Nyerere is a perfect leader. He is not proud and he helps all people. If this incident was under Banda, he would have killed all of us").

The narrator indicates that Malawians denied Banda the support that he needed to fight against Nyerere, because for them, Nyerere was a better and more compassionate leader than Banda.

The myth *Isomo Kubamalabhi* (A Lesson to Malawians) gives the actual picture of the Lake Nyasa conflict. Similar to the myth *Indusu* (A Gun), the myth *Isomo Kubamalabhi* indicates that there were elements of physical confrontation in the 1967-1968 phase of the Lake Nyasa conflict. The act of Tanzanian soldiers throwing a bomb to a village in Malawi indicates that there could have been acts of military aggression against Malawi. However, by Nyerere directing Tanzanian soldiers to keep Malawian properties safe, he ensured that the Lake Nyasa conflict did not involve the ordinary citizens. According to Mayall (1973), Tanzania considered that the conflict was caused by Banda's insanity. Mayall implies that the conflict was not between people of Tanzania and Malawi but between Tanzania and Banda. And according to this myth, Banda did not get the support of Malawians to continue with his claim over the lake.

The myth under discussion also suggests that Nyerere's mystical power prevented the outbreak of war between Tanzania and Malawi. As explained earlier, Tanzania soldiers bombing a village in Malawi was a direct act of war; but as the narrator states, Nyerere, through his mystical powers, realised immediately what his soldiers had done. Here, the myth indicates that the soldiers bombed Malawi without Nyerere's consent. And if Nyerere had not known about the incident immediately, the soldiers would have harassed the villagers, and Malawians would be compelled to fight back. The implication of the story is that Nyerere's mystical powers enabled him to immediately learn of his soldiers' actions, which enabled him to prevent escalation in the conflict.

According to Trubshaw (2003), myths are narratives which are believed in societies of their origin as unquestioned truth. And according to Jaja (2013, p. 10), myths, especially in Africa, are "not just a product of human imagination but a direct expression of reality". Jaja adds that African myths – like those of Banyakyusa – "represent the African spirit and the African view of reality" (Jaja 2013:13). Trubshaw and Jaja's contentions indicates that the myths

analysed in this article are believed by the Banyakyusa as true narrations about Nyerere and the Lake Nyasa conflict. To Banyakyusa, the 1967-1968 phase of the conflict ended peacefully because of Nyerere's mystical abilities.

The myths *Banda*, *Indusu*, and *Isomo Kubamalabhi* indicate that some actions which were done by Banda, Malawian soldiers, and Tanzanian border guards could have led the two countries into a war. But, Nyerere's supernatural ability, which enabled him to spy over Banda's military powers and Tanzania soldiers' actions at the border, made the conflict cease peacefully. Banyakyusa further believe that the conflict resumed in 2011 following the death of Nyerere in 1999. Nyerere, whose mystical powers both Banda and Malawians had feared, was now gone. As a result, Malawians felt they could resume their claims.

Conclusion

According to Banyakyusa's point of view expressed through their myths, Banda's lust to extend his rule beyond Malawi was a key reason for the outbreak of the Lake Nyasa conflict. With determination to monopolise the whole lake, Banda tried to grab and establish his leadership in Tanzanian regions along the lake: Mbeya, Iringa (including the part which is currently Njombe region), and Ruvuma (Songea). As a result, both Tanzania and Malawi put their soldiers to guard the River Songwe border. This border divides Banyakyusa into two: Tanzanians and Malawians. As such, the Lake Nyasa conflict made Banyakyusa, to a large extent, primary victims of the military actions along the border.

Banyakyusa believe, through their myths, that military actions along the River Songwe border stiffened the Lake Nyasa conflict. The acts of border guards both Tanzanian and Malawian, would have led to an outbreak of a war between the two nations if Nyerere had not been endowed with supernatural and mystic powers. Banyakyusa believe that Nyerere was endowed with massive supernatural and mystical powers by which he was able to spy over the Malawian army after transforming himself into a bird. Also, the powers enabled Nyerere to know on the spot and stop dangerous acts of Tanzania border guards to Malawians. On Banda's side, Nyerere's supernatural and mystical powers made him fear, obey, and respect Nyerere. As a result, Banda surrendered his claims over Lake Nyasa and the Tanzanian regions along it.

Generally, Banyakyusa believe that the conflict over Lake Nyasa resumed in 2011 following the death of Nyerere in 1999. This is because the myths discussed in this section, especially *Banda*, designate that Malawians respected and feared Nyerere's mystical powers. As a result, Malawians had to wait for Nyerere's death to resume their claims.

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Quality of education in Uganda: A narrative from a common man's view

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Abstract

Uganda started the implementation of Universal Primary Education (UPE) policy in 1997, purposely to allow access to all children of school-going age. However, during the implementation phase, many institutional and structural issues emerged that impacted the quality of education provided. This paper focuses on the views of a common man on the quality of education and particularly UPE in Uganda. In other words, how doses a common man who goes about his daily businesses in the markets, on the streets (informal sector) hustling to make ends meet, including payment of school dues view the quality of primary education in Uganda? Data was collected using interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) from a total of 110 respondents spread across the five divisions of Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) area. Results indicate that the common man is fully aware that the different challenges affecting UPE have compromised its quality; and these range from inadequate funding by the government, corruption by government officials both at national and local levels but also headteachers and teachers in schools to issues of insufficient infrastructure in schools, absenteeism by both pupils and teachers and a curriculum that is not focused on local realities and needs. All these challenges in the eyes of the common man have affected the quality of UPE in Uganda. As a way forward, the paper recommends that there is a need for government to review the entire UPE policy with a view to understanding the implementation challenges in detail and seek for solutions. The curriculum too needs to be reviewed to match the community needs. Equally important, government needs to increase education budget and fully fund the education sector.

Keywords: education, UPE, quality, institution and structure, informal sector, common man

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Background

Education is a foundation of human capital development in the world (Witson, 2018). The quality of primary education world over is state controlled to foster national development. Education as a concept is difficult to define, although many attempts have been made at defining it. Farrant (1980) quoted in Khadidja (2014) defines education as the total process of human learning by which knowledge is imparted, talents trained and skills developed. Although education poses problems in its definition, what is known is that the existence of education is as old as the human race. Education is labour intensive whose quality depends on the competency of the teacher and the learning environment.

Education is also an ongoing process in everyone's life. It never stops. It starts at birth (some would argue even at the pre-natal stage) and ends at death. Education is not something that is easily attainable as expressed by William Lowe Bryan (1860-1955) when he said that education is "one of the few things a person is willing to pay for and not get". The person grows and develops into a useful individual in his/her society or community through the process of learning, whether formal or informal. The main purpose of education system is to mould the peoples to become useful (to have good morals, productive life skills and to be culturally upright) members of their respective societies (Anguma et al., 2012). The learning outcomes are determined by observing and appraising the performance of students while handling real-life challenges (Anguma et al., 2012). The education system is mainly formal in nature and starts with primary level and is controlled by the existing regime in a country. According to Ocheng (2004), primary education is typically the first stage of formal education, coming after pre-school/kindergarten and before secondary school. Primary education takes place in primary school, the elementary school or first and middle school, depending on the location or country. Primary education in Uganda covers a formal span of seven years and is managed by Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES). A child is expected to commence at the age of six or seven and continues for seven years. However, Ssekamwa (2000) states that in the colonial period, primary education was initially managed by the missionaries but was later taken over by the colonial government. This was after the discovery by the colonial government that what the missionaries were offering was inadequate in terms of addressing community needs. Also, the missionaries had no proper primary education policy to operate primary education in Uganda.

The overall purpose of primary education is to develop children's literacy and numeracy skills (reading, writing, speaking, listening, and computational skills) and other skills and understandings that prepare

young people to take part in the development of society. These other skills and understandings include skills in science, social sciences, community studies, agriculture, art, music, and physical education that are important for development. However, in Uganda, schools put much emphasis on examinations (exam-oriented learning) and students are trained to pass exams and miss out on other life-sustaining skills. This is supported by Kalinaki (2016) who says that in Uganda, there is too much schooling with less or no learning. This contrasts sharply with the colonial period where schooling was purposeful and more practical. For instance, junior leavers were able to immediately start work because they possessed the necessary practical skills. Today's primary school graduates possess no practical skills but theoretical knowledge and, therefore, remain unemployed, for there is a mismatch between the labour market demands and the skills attained.

Primary education in Uganda has changed over time following policy reforms to address the common needs of society to foster development. Furthermore, primary education is the only rudimentary education that such Ugandans can, in most cases, ever be exposed to (Education Policy Review Commission Report, 1989). The cardinal objective of primary education is to equip students with skills to live as good and useful citizens in society (Education Policy Review Commission Report, 1989) besides it being foundational to post-primary education. Furthermore, primary education helps children to gain and maintain sound mental and physical abilities for development. It is also helpful as it instils values of living and working cooperatively with others, and ensures cultural, moral, and spiritual values of life (Mwesigye & Kitagaana, 2015). This paper, therefore, seeks to examine the views of a common man on the quality of education in Uganda focusing on UPE (1997-2022).

UPE was launched in 1997 following recommendations of the Education Policy Review Commission – EPRC (1989), and the subsequent relevant stipulations of the Government of Uganda White Paper (1992) and the development of Children's Statute (1996). The promise was that government would pay tuition fees (statutory fees) for four children per Ugandan family, to cover the entire primary cycle of P1 to P7 (for a start). Government was also to provide textbooks and other instructional materials for both the pupils and teachers for all subjects taught, and to meet the cost of co-curricular activities, i.e. sports and clubs for all children in the lower and upper classes, as well as school administration expenses and maintenance, including utilities, such as water and electricity (Okware & Omagor, 2014). Other costs government accepted to meet included payment of salaries of teachers and support staff, training

of teachers and contribution to the construction of classrooms. However, the free education for the four children could not be sustained as it appeared the government later on withdrew the ceiling (whether formally or quietly), and made access to UPE "open" so that every child who was interested in schooling was allowed to enrol (Okware & Omagor, 2014).

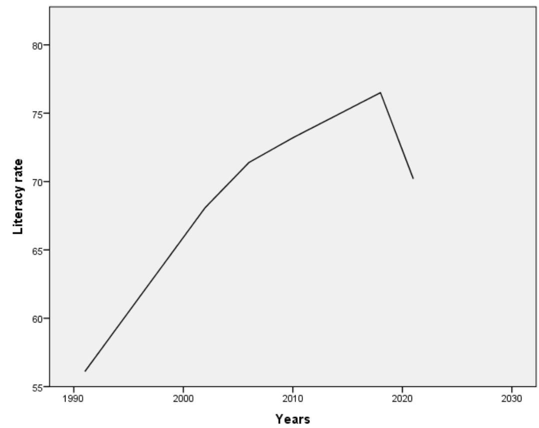
Grogan (2008) succinctly argues that the rapid elimination of school fees at the primary school level was likely accelerated by the first direct elections for the president of Uganda which took place in 1996. As a campaign strategy, President Museveni made a promise to provide free primary schooling. An enumeration and advertising campaign was undertaken and the new school entrants began learning within a few months of the presidential announcement. At the district level, the programme was supervised by Resident District Commissioners (RDCs), some of whom had no technical know-how of education issues. This greatly affected implementation of primary education policy reforms in the country. Furthermore, there are fears that perhaps, with the massive number in primary school enrolment without commensurate expansion in facilities, teachers as well as teaching and learning materials may have compromised the quality of education. The MoES has raised this concern in its reports which say that the quality of teaching has probably been affected by the adverse pupil-teacher ratio after the introduction of UPE.

In all countries of Africa in which UPE was instituted, the elimination of the direct costs of schooling created an instantaneous large increase in school enrolment. Grogan (2008) notes that enrolment increased nearly by 70% in Malawi, 75% in Lesotho, and 22% in Kenya. However, the aggregate increase in primary school enrolment in Uganda was far beyond service delivery. In reference to Uganda, Aguti (2002) argues that UPE quality may have been compromised by the low morale of teachers. There is an overemphasis of increased number of enrolments to the detriment of quality education. Issues to do with quantity and quality of primary education cannot be addressed or achieved in isolation from each other. Expanding accessibility is relatively meaningless unless the education provided contributes to the acquisition of knowledge and skills for development. National commitment to improving the quality of primary education remains unclear since current country success is measured by achievement levels of universal access to school by boys and girls. Unfortunately, appropriate primary education policy reforms are overlooked, and this does not favour development in the country.

In an attempt to explain the quality of UPE in Uganda, this paper is premised on the Human Capital Theory (HCT) which is

deemed applicable to the Ugandan context in which the development of quality human resources is still an evolving process. HCT assumes that formal education is highly instrumental and even necessary to improve the production capacity of a population. Also, the theory assumes that an educated population is a productive population. In his discourses, Schults (1961) argues that population quality and knowledge constitute the principal determinants of the future welfare of mankind. Adding to this argument, Harbison and Hanushek (1992) contend that a country which is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people and to utilise them effectively in the national economy will be unable to develop anything else, while according to Pascharopoulos (1985), education is widely regarded as the route to economic prosperity, the key to scientific and technological advancement, the means to combat unemployment, the foundation of social equity, and the spread of political socialisation and cultural vitality. It is, therefore, argued that the theory emphasises that quality education increases the productivity and efficiency of workers. HCT is most responsible for the wholesome adoption of education and development policies. There is evidence that the need for human capital development has a strong influence on educational policies, with statements to this effect being found in the goal and mission statements of many educational agencies and jurisdictions. Simply put, this theory forms the basis for educational policy. Virtually, all major policy statements in education begin with reference to the knowledge society and the importance of education for individual, state, or provincial prosperity. In Uganda, the Human Capital Development theory is illustrated by literacy rates as shown in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Trend of literacy rate (%) in Uganda



From the graph, Uganda's literacy rate since the 1990s has been consistently progressing (largely because of the UPE policy) but after 2018, literacy rates reduced. The several challenges associated with UPE policy (e.g., teacher absenteeism, limited funding of UPE from government and associated effects) could explain the high dropout rates.

Importantly, the HCT expounds broadly about manpower development resulting from education development and beyond. However, HCT has been criticised by a number of scholars, development experts, and academicians for its

inherent weaknesses. One major limitation of HCT is that it assumes education increases productivity in the workplace, resulting in higher individual wages, but it provides little insight into the processes through which education and training are translated into higher wages. In statistical models, education and training account for about 30% of the variance in individual wages, which suggests HCT leaves a significant percentage of wage variability unexplained. A variety of "middle range" theories (e.g., screening and credentialism) attempt to explain the other 70% of individual wage variability, and some of these theories examine the relationship between educational credentials (e.g., a bachelor's degree) and earnings. Many of these "middle range" theories focus on the social and cultural contexts in which employment decisions are made and suggest numerous factors besides productivity (e.g., cultural and social capital) are involved in the relationship between education and higher wages. It is thus critical for policy makers to consider alternative frameworks in conjunction with HCT to better understand the relationship between education and private economic returns, such as higher wage (Netcoh, 2016). Researchers (e.g., Bowles & Gintis, 1975) have raised the question of whether there is a positive net return for human resource investment from education. For example, schooling increases worker productivity through increasing individuals' cognitive capacities. But, because learning abilities differ, the theory is substantially incorrect. The above provides a foundation for onward analysis of the views of a common man on the quality of education in Uganda and UPE in particular.

Concept of a common man

These are people who largely work in the informal sector. The informal sector as a concept emerged in the 1970s and refers to a multiple and meaningful reality for productive units and workers who are outside of regulated economic activities and protected labour relations. The informal sector has become very important not only because of its expansion in many countries, Uganda inclusive, but also because this expansion has brought about new manifestations that are increasingly recognised as ways to promote growth and reduce poverty. Informal economic activities are apparent within both developed and developing countries and have been examined through a range of different theoretical frameworks: dualistic, structural, legal, and voluntary. As the global economy has been restructured, permanent, full time work has been replaced by non-conventional contract work or by informal jobs, and the neoliberal era has dramatically reduced worker benefits, such as pensions or healthcare. The informal sector is important as a source of employment

and for the production of goods and services (Adrian & Flor, 2020).

Aguilar and Campuzano (2009) argue that women are more likely to be involved in the informal sector than men. The informal sector allows them to work fewer hours and combine their income-generating activities with domestic household tasks. Also, women usually take this kind of work as a response to a reduction in household income.

Many informal workers in developed and developing countries state that one of the principal factors that drives them into the sector is the desire for autonomy and flexibility in their work. They find the informal sector more flexible and autonomous than the formal one; hence, they have more freedom to do their own business, to establish their schedule, and to combine their work with other activities. In the context of Uganda, the informal sector includes boda-boda riders, saloon operators, vegetable vendors, and metal fabricators, among others. For the purpose of this paper, a common man is defined as a person who does his/her daily business in the markets, on streets struggling for daily survival including payment of school dues for their children.

Implementation of UPE in Uganda: Challenges and Opportunities

In 1997, following the introduction of UPE policy in Uganda, gross enrolment in primary schools increased from a total of 3.1 million in 1996 to 5.3 million in 1997, an increase of 73% in one year (Komakech, 2017). This compares with an increase in gross primary school enrolment, in the decade preceding the introduction of UPE, of just 39% (from 2.2 million in 1986). By 2003, gross enrolment in primary schools had reached 7.6 million and the national gross primary school enrolment ratio in 2003 was 127%, indicating that children beyond standard primary school age had re-joined the primary education cycle, (MoES, 2003). In FY 2013/2014, total enrolment increased by 0.3% from 8,459,720 (4,219,523 boys; 4,240,197girls) in 2013 to 8,485,005 (4,235,669 boys; 4,249,336 girls) in 2014, (MoES: EMIS, 2014). By 2017, the number had reached 8.7 million (NPA, 2018).

The above increase in school enrolment is mainly explained by three reasons. Firstly, natural population growth rate estimated at 3.2%, the backlog of school age children who had not been accessing school are now able to do so, while more of the children who had attained the school age but would not have afforded education prior to UPE were now able to enrol (UBOS, 2010). Government has noted that the number of children joining primary schools seems to be increasing every year.

One of the achievements of UPE has been increased access and construction of more physical facilities (classes, teachers' houses, etc.). As Okware and Omagor

(2014) state, to facilitate easy access to schools, the MoES embarked on building of more primary and secondary schools. For example, by end of 2008, there were 114,441 classrooms for primary school children, while by the end of 2012, a total of 144,513 classrooms were in use. It is important to note that in some instances, there is a creative response by parents to the UPE opportunity by sending their children to school. This, therefore, has influenced parents and management to improvise by constructing additional facilities and/ or open space learning (Okware & Omagor, 2014).

On the other hand, however, UPE has been associated with many shortfalls. For instance, the UPE policy normally subsidises tuition fees only, leaving other direct and indirect costs to be borne by parents and families. Thus, the equality and equity of education remain as a concern under the UPE policy (Nishimura et al., 2005). Furthermore, a government report indicates that numbers of teachers and schools increased by 41%, while enrolment increased by 171% between 1997 and 2004 (MoES, 2005). This raises concerns of deterioration in the quality of public primary schools.

NPA (2018) stresses that UPE in Uganda is subsidised education rather than free education for all since the amount paid by government is below the required amount for education. Government cannot and should not provide an illusion that it can pay the required UPE costs for the desired outcomes. Indeed, overall, households are spending more than government on education. Besides, government expenditure is largely on teacher's wages at the expense of other expenses that aid learning; thus, improving learning outcomes. Juuko and Kabonesa (2007) state that although it would seem that government has attempted to play its role in the provision of basic education, the details on the number and quality of buildings, sanitation facilities for males and females, trained teachers who are well remunerated, the availability of teaching materials and modern facilities, such as computers, show that the state has not adequately met its obligation for the provision and protection of the child's rights to education.

Some of the problems in the schools are related to corruption in the system or the misappropriation of funds meant for such activities (Juuko & Kabonesa, 2007). In 2006, the Inspectorate of Government (IG) highlighted the challenges of realising UPE objectives in a paper entitled *Tackling Corruption in UPE* as follows: ineffective/non-existent Finance and School Management Committees; failure to properly account for UPE funds on time by headteachers; instances of shoddy work in the construction of classrooms; embezzlement; and the diversion of UPE funds to unauthorised expenditures, among others.

NPA (2018) established that teacher training has not been effective in equipping primary school teachers/trainees with the critical skills to address the challenges presented by UPE. Teachers still struggle to manage large classes, undertake continuous assessment, fit into the class-teacher system, and produce instruction materials from locally available materials. From the evaluation, although 83% of the trained primary school teachers have full masterly of subject content that they teach, they were found to be pedagogically weak and unable to transmit such knowledge to the students. For instance, 57% of the teachers could not plan for teaching; 40.4% of the lesson plans were unfit for purpose; 37% assessed students without reference to the curriculum; and the majority could not teach vocational skills. In some instances, teachers use assessment to exclude students from continuing with their education when they do not perform academically as expected by the teachers. These are symptoms of poor teacher training and threaten the effective implementation of UPE (NPA, 2018). Hence, this has resulted in high rates of school dropout leading to early marriage and teenage pregnancies among school dropouts. The public cry to the government is that in order to limit on the numbers of school dropouts, schools and vocational institutes should be extended from sub county level to parish level.

As Uganda's primary education system grew, pressure was exerted on the country's post-primary sector, specifically secondary education, to accommodate primary school graduates (Jessica, 2011). The boost in primary school enrolment created what is referred to as the "UPE bulge" (MoES, 2008a). The large numbers of children and adolescents who benefited from UPE policy were not being readily absorbed into secondary education or the job market. Transition rates from primary to secondary school were less than 20% in 1997 (MoES, 2006), meaning 80% of primary school graduates did not move forward in the system and into secondary school.

Komakech (2017) asserts that USE schools are money-minded and they admit more students than they can handle yet some of the schools lack adequate teachers; lack or have inadequate quality assurance services due to a combination of factors, such as shortage of quality assurance and standards officers, inadequate relevant training on quality assurance and shortage of resources, such as motor cycles, vehicles and quality assurance units for carrying out the work; difficulty attracting and retaining a skilled teaching workforce; difficulty providing a breadth of subjects and a range of education models to suit all learning types; and students are taught on how to pass examinations through comprehensive revision of examinations past papers and reading of pamphlets; hence, making them

totally lazy to read textbooks. They duplicate what they have crammed from the pamphlet and they find it difficult to interpret and analyse the questions.

This is an indication that, the inspectors of school no longer do their work rightly due to high corruption tendencies within the education system which have led to poor education service delivery for example headteachers keep on enrolling more students even if they do not have enough teachers to teach and school infrastructures to accommodate these increasing numbers of students.

Methodology

The study on which this paper is based was carried out in Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), central Uganda. In Kampala, interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) were held with 50 and 60 common men, respectively, who do jua kari. "This *jua kali* sector encompasses small-scale entrepreneurs and workers who lack access to credit, property rights, training, and good working conditions". From the five divisions which make up KCCA, the study selected 10 people from each of these divisions to undergo interviews, making a total of 50 interviews. Further, the study conducted an FGD of 12 people in each of these divisions, making a total of 60 respondents. In all, the study involved 110 respondents. All the respondents were adults of 18 years and above. Respondents were drawn from Kalerwe Market, Wandegeya Market, Wandegeya Trading Centre, Bwaise Taxi Park, Bwaise Market and Bwaise Trading Centre in Kawempe Division; Lubaga Market, Lubaga Trading Centre and Lubaga Taxi Park in Lubaga Division; Owino Market, New and Old taxi parks in Central Division; Nakawa Market, Nakawa Trading Centre and Nakawa Taxi Park in Nakawa Division; Makindye Market, Makindye Trading Centre and Makindye Taxi Park in Makindye Division.

The 50 *jua kari* men and women were selected using purposive sampling techniques in that any respondent who was 18 years and above, and who was willing to be interviewed was recruited until the quota of 50 respondents was reached. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide. The interview guide had two parts. The first part captured the demographic and background information which was essential in describing and profiling the study respondents. The second part collected information concerning such issues of the *jua kari* on the quality of education in Uganda particularly on the implementation of UPE, focusing on the opportunities and the challenges the programme presents.

The 60 respondents who took part in FGDs were too purposively selected but during interviews, they were grouped into 12 members each. Using an FGD checklist, the researcher and his assistant moderated and guided the discussions about issues of the *jua kari* on the quality

of education in Uganda, particularly on the implementation of UPE, focusing on the opportunities and the challenges the programme presents.

The data from the interviews and FGDs was analysed using content analysis. Primary qualitative data obtained from interview transcripts were sorted and imported into NVIVO vision 12 Plus. NVIVO software was used to organise, re-arrange and manage the interview data for analysis. A multi-stage coding process was used to understand important common issues (Charmas, 2006). Data was coded at three successive stages out of which themes relating to the study objectives emerged. Afterwards, thematic analysis was used to analyse and interpret emerging themes. The validity of the findings was assured by identifying appropriate quotations for the issues under discussion and cross-checking with secondary literature. Some of the quotations were used in the results and discussion sections. For secondary qualitative data obtained from a review of documents, such as journals and newspapers was analysed and interpreted using content analysis method. The researcher coded, or broke down, the data into manageable code categories for easy analysis. Then, the codes were further categorised into "code categories" to summarise data even further to generate meaningful insights of the issues pertaining to the common man's views on the quality of education in Uganda.

Results

To gain insight into issues pertaining to the quality of UPE and the views of a common man, *jua kari* men and women were asked what their views were in regard to the quality of education particularly UPE in Uganda. Below are some of the excerpts that demonstrate UPE quality from some of the common men and women interviewed:

> The introduction of UPE in 1997 was seen as a blessing to the pupils of Uganda by giving all of them an opportunity to access quality education in the country. However, the programme was associated with a sudden drop in education quality indicators, such as the pupil-teacher ratio, the pupil-classroom ratio, and pupil-textbook ratio (50-year-old restaurant attendant in Old Taxi Park).

> The introduction of universal primary education (UPE) in Uganda in 1997 greatly improved access to education, but it did not improve quality. As the enrolment numbers increased, more and more children started dropping out. Children drop out of class for several reasons. Among poor families, the cost of school uniforms, books, stationery, and saving funds becomes too much to bear, pushing children out of school or leading families into debt. Illness and domestic work keep many children from attending school on a regular basis. Children with disabilities, orphans and other disadvantaged

> children are especially at risk of school exclusion (31-year-old hairdresser in Namayuba Bus Park).

From the above narratives, some of our interviewees were emphatic on the issue of quality in UPE schools arguing that the policy was a blessing in the initial stages of implementation but did not address quality issues very well. We cannot, however, base on a few narratives to determine whether UPE led to a decline in quality or not. This study, therefore, will delve into the many narratives as given by the common man to understand how they view the quality of the programme.

A 29-year-old matooke seller in Bwaise Market revealed that the introduction of a new primary education curriculum in Uganda is aimed at improving and increasing the quality of education. He said: "This is a proof that the existing curriculum had a lot of gaps in it which needed immediate modification to match the classroom realities in primary schools."

This is supported by several studies which have investigated the quality of education and the success of curriculum implementation in Uganda. These studies raised questions about the quality and fitness of a previously existing curriculum in accordance with the classroom reality (Penny et al., 2008; Ward, Penny, & Read, 2006). The appropriateness of the curriculum that preceded the thematic curriculum was doubted following a report of a special task force. This report (see Read & Enyutu, 2005) concluded that the overall performance of pupils at primary level had not significantly improved, and that literacy levels in English and in local languages were unacceptably low, especially outside Kampala and in rural areas. Furthermore, the report suggested several reasons for the lack of quality improvement, namely: the curriculum was overloaded; it emphasised the acquisition of facts in various subjects; and the teaching and learning focused mainly on recall of these facts and other lower cognitive skills. Moreover, teaching skills in literacy and numeracy in lower primary grades were seriously inadequate. The pupil's failure to develop early literacy skills led to poor performance in all curriculum subjects, which subsequently led to loss of interest by both parents and pupils with high dropout rates as a result (Read & Enyutu, 2005). Furthermore, Adrian (2015) argues that the primary school education curriculum in Uganda being theoretical ends up producing job seekers rather than job makers.

Likewise, a 37-year-old fruit vendor and a 30-year-old charcoal seller in Owino Market narrated that corruption and poor governance are major impediments to realise the objectives of UPE. Corruption not only distorts access to education, but affects the quality of education. Corruption can be found at all levels of our education systems, undermining the right to quality education. From ghost schools and fake diplomas, to shoddy works in construction

projects, the cost of corruption is high ranging from stolen resources from education budgets leading to overcrowded classrooms and crumbling schools, or no schools at all. Books and supplies are sometimes sold instead of being given out freely. Schools and universities also sell school places or charge unauthorised fees, forcing students to drop out. Teachers and lecturers are appointed through family connections without qualifications. Grades are bought, while teachers force students to pay for tuition outside of class. In university education, undue government and private sector influence can skew research agendas. The end result will be poor quality education.

Relatedly, a 40-year-old boda-boda rider and a resident of Bwaise reported that the massive increased numbers of pupils in schools without commensurate expansion in facilities, teachers and learning materials may have compromised the quality of education in the country. In addition to that, the researcher also noted that although no thorough studies have been carried out on massive increase in numbers of pupils in schools without commensurate expansion in facilities, the MoES (1999) itself voices this concern thus: "The quality of teaching has probably been affected by the adverse pupil-teacher ratio after the introduction of UPE in 1997."

The other issue related to pupil-teacher ratio is the morale of the teacher. Prior to the introduction of UPE, most schools used to charge additional fees through the Parents Teachers Association (PTA). Some of this money was used to supplement teachers' salaries. This is no longer the practice and so, teachers must rely on the extremely low salaries. This seems to have affected the morale of the teachers. The fear, therefore, is that UPE may have indeed compromised the quality of education in the country.

According to a 23-year-old saloon attendant, UPE policy is not bad in itself but the challenge is ill-trained teachers most especially in rural areas. This finding is backed by Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development (2004) when it asserts that in 2003, there were 145,703 primary school teachers, of whom 54,069 (37%) had no formal teacher training. An additional 7,960 had just a teaching certificate obtained after training on completion of primary education. Most of these had retired but had been recalled into the teaching service due to shortage of teachers after the introduction of UPE. The majority of these unqualified teachers were deployed in UPE schools in rural areas. However, it has been established that under the school facilities grants, the government has devoted a lot of resources to procure textbooks, construct classrooms and teachers' houses, and purchase of furniture for pupils. The increase in education inputs explains the gradual improvement of some education quality indicators

from the time UPE was introduced. Nevertheless, these improvements may not always translate into better education performance by pupils. Results of a national assessment of primary education performance taken between 1996 and 2000, for example, suggest that education performance in terms of pupils' numeracy, reading, science, and social studies knowledge and skills deteriorated following the introduction of UPE (MoES, 2003).

A vegetable seller in Wandegeya Market, a widow in her early 40s reported:

> In Uganda today, just like in any other African countries, jobs are a big problem, partly, because of the theoretical approach of learning in our schools. For instance, there is a mismatch between what is taught at school and what happens in real life.
>
> This respondent further narrated that we must demand for a commitment to high quality education accessible to all. She said we need policy information that is clear and easy to understand. For instance, at national, district, and school levels, budgets- and other finance-related information needs to be published in detail so that stakeholders are able to monitor how resources are allocated for one to be able to report suspected corruption cases without fear of retaliation. It is important to have clear regulations controlling education finance and management. These will give guidelines on how new schools, exam processes, and fees will be controlled. Regular external audits must take place to detect and deter fraud.
>
> Furthermore, she reported that frequent school inspections will help to prevent corruption in teacher management and behaviours. Consistent penalties for abuse are needed to streamline the education sector. No teacher should be appointed without proof of their qualifications, past background, and experience. Stakeholders should also push for examination regulations to be widely published and grading monitored, so that students do not have room to buy good marks.
>
> Similarly, a 24-year-old business man in Wandegeya Market said:
>
> Uganda has made impressive progress in securing access to basic education for its children. However, the quality provision remains low and pupils achieve lower learning outcomes than their counterparts elsewhere in the region.
>
> He particularly made reference to our neighbours in Kenya and Rwanda where he thought primary education outcomes were better than in Uganda.

Developments in the Ugandan education sector since 1996 paint a picture of increased enrolment, but little or no improvement in quality, despite several policy initiatives to guide and direct the education sector. Studies on education reforms in Uganda tend to take the education

policy process for granted, fail to deal with how improved education becomes part of a political agenda or the politics behind how initiatives are implemented and sustained once they are introduced.

Kamya (2019) argues that compared to countries in the East African region, Uganda has the lowest education spending as proportion of GDP. However, despite its early challenges, the government was able to score on the provision of free primary education (UPE) which has given a wider number of students a chance to access education although the quality of primary education attained, as earlier mentioned, is still of low quality as it is shown in the work of Kamya (2019), NPA (2019), and Aguti and Fraser (2005). Therefore, there is a need to reset the education system through public discussions on the critical matters that are hindering the development of primary education service delivery in the country.

UPE, according to our participants in Lubaga Division, has emphasised quantity at the expense of quality. As such, there has been constant surge in the number of pupils enrolling in schools because of a number of issues (e.g., limited sitting space, few textbooks, limited number of teachers against the many pupils, etc.) that have affected quality learning. In connection to this, many reports show that much as children go to school, there is little learning in these schools. The likely possibility is that government will have half-baked graduates that may not cause a transformative change in Uganda. For example, study findings show that the teachers' union in Uganda (UNATU) has attempted to lead the push for higher quality education, but has largely failed to push through the initiatives that would be significant. Accordingly, a *boda-boda* rider who surprisingly holds a bachelor's degree from Kyambogo University and operates from Lukuli Boda-boda Stage, Makindye Division asserted that within UNATU and within school bodies, the struggle for salary increments is always cleverly manipulated by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government. This, in essence, means that a poorly paid teacher cannot offer quality services because he/she lacks motivation and a favourable working environment. To support his claims, the *boda-boda* rider argued that in 2013, the MoES issued a statement threatening to sack teachers involved in the quality education campaign, and also called upon the security agencies to investigate the NGOs behind such campaigns.

It should, however, be noted that on the side of the government, from its inception, UPE had realised its objectives since emphasis was on numbers (quantitative increase) and this has been achieved over the years as one of the participants, a garment dealer in Jemba Arcade, downtown Kampala stated thus:

> The political dividends of the UPE initiative were clear. Any service improvement, such as expanding access to primary education to those previously disadvantaged, would be credited to the NRM government, whose popularity would increase as a result.

According to a 41-year-old maize miller in Kisenyi Business Centre, Central Division:

> The introduction of UPE and the abolishment of school fees also coincided with the country's first elections under the new constitution. UPE became an important campaign pledge for the government.

The implication is that public funding that was pumped into the primary education sector after 1996 was basically to improve access (such as payment of capitation grants, building schools, or recruiting teachers), with little attention paid to the quality of primary education (e.g., improving inspection and monitoring, co-curricular activities, provision of materials or training of teachers).

Similarly, a 53-year-old metal fabricator in Kisenyi Business Centre, Central Division argued that the abolition of PTA's financial contributions in schools effectively signalled a fundamental change in power relations between the government, school management, and parents. As such, the NRM government and President Museveni, in particular, could now take credit for broadening access and the inclusive delivery of primary education services. However, the financial contributions from government in most of the cases remained insufficient to bring about the desired quality in schools. Cullen (2007) and Bukenya (2018) argue that in most developing countries, primary school systems have persistently failed to deliver quality primary education to children, which has resulted in approximately 100 million primary-age children either failing to enter or completing primary school level.

Furthermore, a 36-year-old tailor and a mother of two in Owino Market narrated that UPE serves as a political weapon for the NRM government to win over voters especially from the countryside. She argued that while it has become increasingly clear that UPE is not entirely free, contrary to the general misperception, local government leaders at different levels continue to promote it as a free service for political advantages. For example, chairpersons in the lower local governments continue to use UPE as a mobilising tool for the NRM arguing that services under the programme are entirely free. However, government officials are aware that cost-sharing by parents in schools is already practised to meet the hidden costs of primary education under UPE. Government officials are also aware that the schools that perform well rely on the support and input from the parents and other supporting organisations (e.g., NGOs) and not the government. However, these facts are never publicly acknowledged,

particularly in the lead up to general elections where UPE is quite often used as a campaign strategy for the NRM to win votes.

Additionally, quality in UPE schools has been hampered by inadequate or non-existing inspection activities by the district inspectors of schools. A 20-year-old hairdresser in Wandegeya Trading Centre noted:

> In Uganda, the current state of primary school inspection is weak and unable to facilitate the provision of quality UPE. There is limited and poor inspection in primary schools which cannot enable the achievement of UPE quality objectives.

Mutabaruka et al., (2018) argue that the central role of school inspection in Uganda is to promote and assure the quality, effectiveness, and efficiency of educational provision. The main goal concerns setting systems, defining and reviewing standards and quality of primary education and sports and to monitor the achievement of such standards and quality to ensure continually improved education in Uganda. Importantly, primary school inspection encompasses the following: monthly school visits to supervise the progress on teaching and learning, general school hygiene/sanitation, collection of information/data on teachers and students' attendance, conferencing with teachers for improved teachers and students' performance and to ensure policy implementation (MoES, 2012; MoES 2006). This implies that regular school inspection should not only monitor effectiveness of teaching/learning but also ensure quality of primary education indicators. Currently, there is irregular school inspection, low funding, limited staff, and unreliable means of transport, lack of internal support supervision, and low motivation. All these raise serious concerns about the quality of teaching/learning in Uganda.

There was a general agreement among the *jua kali* in all the five divisions that form Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) about the lack of quality in primary education since independence evidenced by the lack of progress on numeracy and literacy indicators, persistent absenteeism among pupils, teachers and school managers and unnecessary political unrest. However, government reform efforts to improve the quality of education have been piecemeal, which is due to the combined features of decentralisation and liberalisation of the primary education sector and weak pressure to improve quality education from the different stakeholders (CSOs, NGOS, the media, and the general public, among others).

In helping us to understand why UPE has eroded the issue of quality as envisaged by many in the initial stages of implementation, a 49-year-old shop attendant in Bwaise Business Centre stated:

> There are weak political drivers to improve the quality of primary education. It would take very large budget

> allocations to launch general programmes, for example, improve teachers' salaries or strengthen inspection and monitoring systems. In a clientelist political settlement, a system of decentralised rent management renders quality improvements arbitrary; they depend on whether there is a particular donor project or, at the local level, whether there are resourceful and politically well-connected schools and individuals.

Respondents wondered why the government was rushing into introducing USE without first evaluating and addressing the loopholes in the implementation of UPE programme. A maize mill owner in Kisenyi Business Centre and area local council one (LC1) chairperson stressed:

> The problems that are affecting UPE are most likely the same problems that will hinder the full implementation of USE programme. Our leaders never learn from past experiences.

Therefore, from the above arguments, we note that as the government continues to expand universal education through the introduction of universal secondary education and vocational training programmes, it is clear that without addressing quality as matter of urgency at all levels of primary education, quality of education is likely to remain a dream. As Kamya (2019) argues, Uganda's UPE system faces significant challenges with the majority of children receiving low quality or no education, and are unprepared to be self-reliant and Uganda's future leaders.

It should be noted that substantial investments are required to improve the quality of primary education compared to quantitative expansion. It is argued that in addition to the financial investment to recruit, train, monitor and evaluate teachers, the government would need to address other structural issues underpinning primary education service delivery in the country. For example, the curriculum would have to be overhauled to make it more relevant, school environments made secure, particularly for girls, as well as addressing the lack of leadership and management skills among the majority of school managers. It is further argued that the comprehensive reforms needed would arguably require the re-introduction of some form of user fees for parents as it was the case in the previous regimes and before the introduction of UPE under the NRM government. This would threaten the government's base, political support, and weaken its electoral advantage.

The government's lack of progress on quality has meant that solutions to quality deficiencies in schools have largely been left to district local governments and school administrators to handle. A 28-year-old metal fabricator in Nakawa Business Centre, through an interview with us argued that the district and school responses to

the decline in quality of education present an interesting departure from the UPE policy as it was introduced and has been implemented for more than two decades. Furthermore, a 40-year-old florist in Nakawa Business Centre argued that there is a popular argument that parents misunderstood their role under UPE. For example, although government made it clear from the outset that School Management Committees (SMCs) were to assume all functions previously carried out by parents in schools (PTAs), local leadership and school administrators are again increasingly relying on parents to make financial contributions to ensure that schools function. The other participants in Nakawa Business Centre confirmed this assertion arguing that parents feel overburdened by what they would think is free education when in actual sense, its cost-sharing. Parents are, for example, required to pay money for school lunch, uniforms, scholastic materials and other fees termed *development fees*.

In the words of a garment dealer in Nakawa Business Centre:

> For the most part, the directive that parents should not make financial contributions in school has been ignored and, in practice, local leaders are actively mobilising parents to financially support schools. Furthermore, parents' financial contributions have facilitated linkages with local political leadership to effect the sort of changes parents want in their schools. The result is an unofficial cost-sharing policy that is not officially condoned, but in practice is allowed to continue.

Study findings further show that the classroom pupil ratio is high in UPE schools. Accordingly, minimum standards require that a class should not have more than 60 pupils. However, findings established that in some districts, some classes accommodated more than 60 pupils and, in some places, the numbers could double. A 24-year-old shoe repairer (cobbler) in Kawempe Tura, Kawempe Division argued that because of constant surge in pupil numbers, some pupils in some schools still study under trees as they cannot be accommodated in single classrooms. To make matters worse, in schools where teachers' quarters are limited or non-existent, school managers have turned classrooms into teachers' houses; thus, worsening the problem of classroom space.

With massive numbers of pupils enrolled without commensurate expansion of facilities, increased number of teachers, and adequate teaching and learning materials, the quality of education has been compromised. For instance, pupil-teacher ratio rose from 40, pre-UPE to 60 in 1999, while pupil-classroom ratio jumped from 85 to 145 over the same period. Although it has dramatically improved, the situation remains far from ideal.

Although direct evidence on learning is scanty, available evidence gives cause for concern. For instance,

in tests administered to national random samples of primary three pupils, the number of pupils who achieved a satisfactory score 8 declined from 48% from 1996 to 31% in 1999 on the mathematics test, and from 92% to 56% on the English oral test. (Tamuzadde, 2011). Furthermore, Aguti and Fraser (2005) argue that in Uganda, with the introduction of UPE policy, there was massive increase in pupil numbers which immediately created a problem of classroom space. It is, therefore, feared that the persistent increase in the numbers of students in schools without corresponding expansion in school infrastructures, teachers and scholastic materials will compromise the quality of education which ultimately might impact greatly on the future of the human resources development in the country.

Study findings further reveal that UPE implementation is greatly hampered by limited finances. Government receives both capitation grants (recurrent expenditure) and school facilities grant (for development expenditure). The capitation grants are computed based on school enrolment, with each pupil getting over shs7,000 a year in addition to a block grant of shs100,000 per term. According to the capitation grants expenditure guidelines, 50% of the grant is supposed to be used on instructional materials; and 30% on co-curricular activities. The UPE implementation guidelines further note that 15% is spent on school management, maintenance, payment for utilities, such as water and electricity, whereas 5% is spent on school administration. The funds are released on a quarterly basis in any given financial year.

Tamuzadde (2011) asserts that another constraint that Uganda faces in the implementation of primary education policy is the lack of sufficient funding to build schools at the reach of every child of school-going age and thus, the poorer localities are left out. There are still a number of schools that need to be rehabilitated and the government has limited funding. Aguti and Fraser, (2005) argue that Uganda, as a developing nation, has a vast number of pressing needs that draw funds from its budget annually. Some of these include: infrastructure development, public health care provision, trade promotion, industrial growth, and obviously, education, among many others. Because of these competing priorities, the education sector usually gets a less than sufficient portion of national budget, causing government schools to barely survive in a dire infrastructural state, with poorly paid and unmotivated teachers and pupils.

It is important to note that the money allocated to UPE is insufficient when compared to the needs of the students and the cost of living in the country. As such, the limited funding has affected the quality of education attained by school children. In such instances, pupils are able to read but cannot understand because they

at times go on empty stomachs. A 59-year-old female vegetable vendor in Kalerwe Market, Kawempe Division, wondered whether government is sincere and wishes well to its citizens. In her own words:

> In the Uganda of today where the cost of living and inflation are very high, what can the 7,000 shillings per pupil per year actually do. President Museveni is taking Ugandans for a ride. Can himself spend that money on his own child for a day; let alone a year? This government doesn't focus on the important sectors of the economy which, in my view, would be education, health, and agriculture. Instead, emphasis has been on security which ideally President Museveni rides on to keep his grip on to power.

A 30-year-old *boda-boda* rider and a former primary school teacher in Bwaise, Kawempe Division, stressed that the limited funds to the UPE implementation programme coupled with late disbursement of capitation funds, negatively affects the implementation of the programme. As a result, many UPE schools are struggling with budgetary shortfalls by either passing on the burden to their pupils in form of asking for development fees, or reduce spending on essential services and supplies, such as scholastic materials. This compromises the quality of the programme. He further highlighted that the majority of UPE schools already suffer from severe budget deficits every term and delays in receipt of UPE capitation grants makes schools' daily survival even more precarious. This makes planning by school administrations very unpredictable and headteachers find themselves in difficult situations through the school term(s). Some head teachers informed the study team that they normally find themselves on a collision course with school suppliers who, for one reason or another, think it is a deliberate policy by the head teachers not to pay them on time. In his own words, a former primary school teacher and now a *boda-boda* rider said:

> UPE schools are frequently forced to incur debts with local suppliers while waiting for the disbursement of UPE capitation grants. This not only results in a reduction in quality and quantity of services but also limits schools' ability to organise and track their spending. As capitation grants are spent before disbursement, balancing of schools' budgets become sincreasingly difficult if not impossible.

However, it should be noted that not all schools have the social capital to receive credit from local suppliers. As such, those without are forced to go without essential supplies. What they do, in most cases, is to pass on the fiscal burden to parents through increases in development fees. Yet, in many UPE communities, especially in rural areas, poverty inhibits families from contributing to school budgets through development fees and the fees increments result in an even

lower incidence of payments and increase in dropout rates. In other words, the delay of UPE capitation grants results in the deterioration of the quality of education in UPE schools due to failure to access essential supplies, such as scholastic materials, food stuffs, and sanitation.

A middle-aged matooke seller and a single father with children in UPE schools was very critical of the automatic promotion policy in schools. According to him, the automatic promotion policy in primary school has negatively affected UPE. This practice of allowing school pupils to progress from one class to the next irrespective of their academic performance affected the quality of UPE programme although there are forces that believe the policy is beneficial for the government, households, and individual students. According to this parent:

> The automatic policy negatively affects the overall quality of education since it eliminates competition, de-motivates students and teachers alike; hence, lowering teaching and learning outcomes. Besides, those who have reported academic gains attributable to repetition have gone on to add that the gains are short-term and as a result, eventually retained students end up lagging behind, which affects their self-esteem and increases the probability of dropping out.

Although the policy is supported by the MoES and development partners (donors) operating in the country, one wonders why previous governments or other neighbouring countries faced with similar challenges in primary education sub-sector never thought of such a policy. It is important to note that the adoption and subsequent implementation of automatic promotion came on the back of high internal inefficiency prevailing within the primary education sub-sector. Coupled with low quality of education, this might exacerbate the already existing challenges in UPE implementation policy.

Study findings further reveal that UPE policy is greatly affected by corruption. Multiple narratives from Kalerwe Market vendors and those from Bwaise came to an agreement that UPE would be a good policy but the implementers embezzle, divert, and generally misuse funds meant for its implementation. As such, money disappears from point of release from the central government, through the districts and even at schools by headteachers. Adrian (2015) argues that the capitation grant that is sent to UPE schools dwindles before it reaches the schools because it is embezzled at every level where it passes. Grogan (2008) posits that of the money remitted by government to UPE schools, only about 13% reaches schools. He adds that, most of the grant is absorbed by local politicians and administrators. That suggests that schools in Uganda which were dependent on revenue from school fees collection have suffered greatly, for there is little operational capital. That is even worse in rural areas

because, as Reinikka and Swensson (2004) intimate, schools in better-off communities, such as is the case in urban areas, receive larger fractions of the original grant money because less is embezzled.

Ugandans need to stand firm right from the top to the lowest levels if corruption is to be eliminated. But it is abetted by the very people who claim to abhor it. Such hypocrisy keeps the vice much alive in the country. Graft, therefore, is discouraged only in theory, while in practice, people in public office embezzled public funds at all levels. Measures against corruption are but mere lip-service, with a few junior officers tried and released on a bond paid using the embezzled public funds. No measures are imposed to ensure due return of stolen money.

CSBAG (2020) sums it up when it says the biggest challenge with the implementing agency (Uganda government) is corruption and nepotism. Kavuma et al., (2017) stress that the main form of corruption prevalent in most districts in relation to UPE is identified as inflating students enrolment numbers to obtain much funding. Corruption, through submitting false enrolment records, is facilitated by the fact that government remits money directly to school bank accounts and the money allocated to each school depends on the learner enrolment numbers.

Drawing from multiple narratives among second-hand clothes dealers in Owino Market, Central Division, UPE policy has been severely affected by high levels of both pupil and teacher absenteeism which ultimately affects quality learning outcomes. The two problems are intertwined in that teacher absenteeism demoralises students who also decide to absent themselves because there is nobody to attend to them at school. The reasons for high teacher absenteeism were not easily established but what came out clearly from the interviews is that headteachers, teachers with higher qualifications and the older teachers were quite often absent from schools. Thus, the reasons could be that highly qualified teachers' do part time work in other schools or institutions of high learning as some of these teachers have advanced degrees (e.g., masters) and can ably teach in higher institutions of learning. Some could be fatigued as the case may be with particularly older teachers or just taking on other jobs outside the teaching profession. Others could just be demotivated by either the little salaries they get at their work stations or the general work environment. Aguti (2002) argues that UPE quality may have been compromised by the low morale of teachers and this could explain why they absent themselves.

Additionally, it was revealed by the respondents in Owino Market that female teachers absent themselves more than their male counterparts. The reasons given for this is that women play both productive and reproductive roles in society and, therefore, they, in most of the cases, keep home either to take care of the

sick children, serve their maternity leave or do other home chores that may be critical. All this means that they cannot be at school all the time.

A 49-year-old tailor in Owino market Central Division, whose wife is a teacher in one of public primary schools in Muyenga Bukasa stressed thus:

> My wife teaches in one of the primary schools in Bukasa Muyenga but she misses school quite often. The reasons she gives to absent herself from school range from either taking children to hospital, but most importantly when she is serving her maternity leave.

Conclusion

The main point of this paper is that the well intentioned UPE policy by government of Uganda and other stakeholders such as UNESCO, UNICEF among others has been affected by a number of factors that have compromised its quality. Museveni's government has been affected by corruption where money meant for UPE projects has disappeared with no trace, shoddy works have been done on school projects, diversion of funds, ghost teachers and pupils. The problem is manifest at both local and national level as even ministers have been implicated in the vice. Important to note is that the NRM regime has been at the forefront of fighting this social evil through setting up an elaborate legal and institutional framework, for instance the office of the IGG, the police, the Auditor General, the state house anti-corruption unit, the courts e.g. the anti-corruption court etc. Despite the efforts, corruption rate is increasing in the country. There is therefore need for further research to understand the reasons why despite the efforts, corruption still thrives in government institutions and how best this social evil can be dealt with outrightly.

From the beginning, government was ill-prepared for the implementation of UPE as the policy emerged from a campaign platform during the 1996 elections. As the implementation process went on after 1997, many unforeseen circumstances emerged that government was not ready to instantly address. Thus, the policy witnessed an upsurge in pupil numbers with no commensurate classroom space; no teachers to match the increasing pupil numbers; insufficient houses for teachers; and a poor working environment with meagre salaries, among others. In order to address the quality issues in UPE policy, there is a need for government to review the entire UPE policy with a view to understanding the implementation challenges in detail and seek for solutions. The curriculum too needs to be reviewed to match the community needs. Importantly, government needs to increase the education budget and fully fund the education sector.

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Re-defining Local Content: How VJs are Changing the Concept and Appreciation of Television Local Content in Uganda

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Abstract

Video Jockeys (VJs, Veejays) are popular in Uganda, and are an integral part in the advancement of television local content. However, the current definition of local content does not recognise the work of VJs, and treats them as a threat to the industry. Yet, these contribute to the country's popular culture, through influencing consumption of audio-visual content and the meaning of local content to the audience. This paper argues that VJs have re-defined local content and that it might be a mistake to disregard them. It examines their contribution to the industry, which contribution is ignored and sometimes even fought because of the current definition of local content. Despite a general feeling in local content regulation that VJs are illegal and infringe on copyright and in many cases promote foreign content, this paper argues that formalized and properly regulated VJs can promote local content, if the concept is revisited. This paper is a result of 5 key informant interviews (KIIs) with key players in the television industry, and four focus group discussions (FGDs) with television viewers. Guided by Paul du Gay's Circuit of Culture, I discuss how the meaning of local content is shaped by the VJ's, and why a re-definition may lead to the achievement of local content quotas.

Keywords: local content, video jockeys, veejays, film translation, appropriation, television industry, popular culture

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Introduction

Names, such as VJ Junior, VJ Emma, VJ Jingo, VJ Son, VJ Emmy, among others, are popular household names in Uganda, especially with local language television viewers (Dipio, 2018). Although their popularity grew with their work on television, video jockeys (also known as VJs or veejays) have been around in the Ugandan content industry since the late 1980s, with translated foreign movies shown in makeshift video halls commonly known as *bibanda*. These are makeshift structures that "mushroomed in townships where low-income earners watch all genres of pirated movies at very cheap rates" (Dipio, 2019, p.166). As put by Achen and Openjuru (2012), the popularity of the VJs and their translated content is because much of the population was not well-educated to understand the foreign content in the original languages. They state:

> Despite this popular use of English, only a few highly educated Ugandans speak it fluently and understand it well. The majority of the population, especially those in Buganda, find it easier to understand foreign or exotic cultural processes such as Hollywood movies when rendered or presented to them in their local languages (p.363).

The Ugandan VJs have successfully translated hundreds of films and drama series, ranging from Hollywood productions to Nigerian, Spanish, Indian, and Korean telenovelas. The discussion of whether they are doing it legally will be handled later in the paper. With the increasing production of Ugandan local content, the VJs are slowly coming in handy, to provide the same service, by translating content produced locally to other local languages for the different audiences. They are, therefore, not only co-creating foreign content.

According to success and popularity of the VJs (Waliaula, 2014) has changed the viewership patterns of the television stations in particular, as well as the general consumption of audio-visual content in the country. This has had an impact on the understanding and appreciation of local content, and the ultimate implementation of local content quotas. It has led to calls to rethink the definition of local content as used in the country now, in appreciation of the role of VJs in local content (re)production. The work of VJs has repercussions to the perception and understanding of local content, and eventually implementation of the quotas.

This paper comes at a time Uganda is stepping up efforts to boost production and consumption of local content, fight content dumping, reduce loss of foreign exchange in foreign content acquisition, create employment for Ugandans, and promote the diverse Ugandan cultures (UCC 2019; Thoday 2018; *Broadcasting Policy* 2008). As shown by UCC (2019), this includes efforts to implement 70% local content quotas for the national television stations.

Literature Review

There are critical discussions on local content globally, including the influence of foreign cultures in many countries through the media (Böhme, 2019), influence of major content producing companies and stifling of the young cultural industries in developing countries, the creation of popular culture through a re-creation of VJ-ed content (Harrington & Bielby, 2000), translation of useful educative content into local languages (Valdivia et al., 2012), and general implementation of television content regulations (Duncan, 2017; Micova, 2013; Steemers, 2017). Most of these efforts do not cover the Ugandan content industry, and there is a knowledge gap of how the VJs are affecting the understanding of local content quotas in Uganda.

VJs and their role in Uganda have metamorphosed over time, changing mainly with developments in the socioe-conomic and political environments. The origin of VJs in Uganda can be traced back to the early Christian times, when missionaries exhibited Christian films from their countries, but translated into local languages. Dipio (2017) explains that the missionaries used film formats to evangelise to those who never knew Christ.

> This was a routine experience for the local communities, some of whom came to the evening prayers mainly for the movies. The films shown were from the home countries of the missionaries and were simultaneously translated to the benefit of the local audiences in the hall. The audiences saw and understood the film from the perspective of the interpreter behind the projector (p.148).

Although this does not fit into the classical description of what VJs in Uganda are now and how they work, it provides an attempt to explain how the practice started and helps us to understand how the VJs' art has changed over time. Although the VJs of that time provided live commentary, improvements in technology have now facilitated pre-recorded commentary of the content, including use of sound effects in many parts of East Africa.

Dipio (2019), in trying to help trace the origins of VJs, says the practice developed into an art since the 1980s, which was meant to satisfy the needs of the population that had migrated to the towns. Lagarriga (2007) is more specific, recording the start of VJ-ing in 1986. However, Adamu (2019) attributes the beginning of audio-visual translation in Uganda to VJ Lingo in 1988.

VJs now are artistes who use a local language to voice-over, provide commentary, or interpret content that is already produced in a language that the audience does not understand, or is uncomfortable with. Achen and Openjuru (2012) describe them as language mediators who "bridge the global context of Hollywood film production and distribution, on the one hand, and local knowledge and

tastes, on the other" (p.364). Uganda, with its many languages (Chibita 2016), has seen the growth in this practice to the different languages. This is not to say that VJs will always flourish in a country using multiple languages. The Tanzanian case develops this idea, with (Englert, 2010) proving that "the industry is more successful in Tanzania because of the existence of a national uniting language, that provides a bigger market and uniformity in understanding" (p.128). This is why Harrington and Bielby (2000) refer to such production as having "both international and rich in local adaptations and transformations" (p.25).

Localising the concept and practice, Lagarriga (2007) defines VJs as people "who have [sic] made it a profession to translate films into Luganda, the language most commonly spoken in Kampala and its surroundings" (p.1). Although the definition addresses the context of Kampala and surrounding areas, which is the epicentre of the practice, it has since spread to other parts of the country, including trading centres in villages; and the languages used have since diversified. The undoing of Lagarriga's work is that there is now evidence that VJs are a global phenomenon (Waliaula, 2019; La Pastina & Straubhaar, 2005; Böhme, 2019).

The existence of VJs and their work is a big academic debate (Lindiwe, 2015). The major contribution of VJs is to make content understandable to local audiences that do not understand the original languages used in content. In popular culture, this creates a relationship between the producers and consumers of this content (Harrington & Bielby, 2000). This is what Achen and Openjuru (2012) call localising content – making it fit the local situations and useful to a local audience. They add that viewers who do not understand the language cannot be locked out from consuming international content. They contend that:

> In spite of the difficulties that many poor and uneducated Ugandans have in understanding the English used in the movies and the Western cultural context within which they are set, this has not hindered them from accessing Hollywood movies (p. 374).

Adamu (2019) notes that VJs did not come to fight the foreign content or foreign cultures, but merely to help audiences understand foreign content as entertainment. As such, they should not be taken as a force against cultural imperialism, but instead helping audio-visual audiences in the developing world understand the world around them by providing context, explaining issues with local examples, but also censoring content not palatable for local audiences. Adamu argues:

> By "speaking" to the audience, the Hausa narration engages the audience in a personal encounter, as if talking directly to the viewer. This personalisation created avenues

> for debate and discussions on the film in many conversational groups–thus immersing the audience in a way the original Farsi and English versions would have done (p.164).

As such, Sanchez, cited in Fuentes-Luque (2019, p. 818), says that VJs are multifaceted, having characteristics of "part actor, part cinema employee, his oral presentations drawing on the dominant traditions of contemporary stand-up comedians". Both Krings (2013) and Waliaula (2019) support this view. They argue that this category of artistes are not just translators or voicers, but recreate filming texts, context, storylines, and sometimes make additions to spice up the content, and help audiences make meaning of the content in their local contexts.

There are many reasons for acceptability of the VJs, including their ability to bridge the gap between the audiences and the content. Like the news values of proximity and relevance, audiences like to consume media that addresses issues that are close to them, and that they can relate with. This is exactly what the VJs do in many countries. Audiences want a linkage between the stories they see in audio-visual content to their own challenges, aspirations and dreams – common issues, such as love, culture, development, and governance, among others. Adejunmobi (2015) shows that content from West Africa easily got audience in East Africa because most addressed issues include defying "local morality codes, Africans seeking fortune abroad, men who sacrifice family members to become wealthy, and many more" (p.121).

Most of the available literature attempts to trace the origin of VJs and their relevance and contribution to the audio-visual industry. Not much is done to explain how their activities influence the definition, perspectives about, and understanding of local content. The above discussion does not clearly show how local content should be defined to take account of the role of VJs in creation and consumption of local content. For Uganda's case, this gap is exposed more in the implementation of local content quotas, which is affected by the lack of appreciation of VJs in the definition of local content quotas by the regulatory framework. As regulation treats the practice as piracy and illegal, the audience is embracing them and influencing the nature of audio-visual consumption. This paper contributes to this discussion by showing the influence of VJs to the definition of local content in Uganda.

Methodology

This paper is a result of findings from five key informant interviews (KIIs) with players in the television industry, and four focus group discussions (FGDs) with television viewers in central and northern Uganda. The primary data collected from the two methods was cleaned and entered on a computer and analysed using Nvivo. Themes were created to help capture and structure the key ideas from the

information collected, from which this paper emanates.

Theoretical Framework

Guided by du Gay's (1997) Circuit of Culture, the paper discusses meanings that stakeholders attach to local content, and how these meanings are shaped by VJs, especially considering the context of a country without a unifying national language. The Circuit of Culture helps to define different moments in which cultural meanings can be read, from production to final consumption. It is relevant in this study because it helps explain the different perspectives to local content to the regulator, VJs as content producers and television viewers as the final consumers, who read this cultural artifact in different moments.

The Circuit of Culture theory suggests that culture can be studied through five inter-related processes of production, consumption, identity, regulation, and signification. For any cultural text to be studied, these five processes have to be taken into consideration independently, but also in relation to one another, and sometimes even overlap (Turner, 2003).

Key Findings

The respondents in this study were asked to place the work of VJs and VJ-ed content in view of the Uganda Broadcasting Policy definition of local content. They were also asked to comment on what they thought about recognition of this category of artistes in the local content industry. Using the consumption moment of Circuit of Culture, the study intended to understand how audiences decode local content as a concept, in view of the works of VJs.

There was a strong view among respondents that VJ-ed content was actually local content. This position is supported by the idea that the VJs help to localise foreign content and make it meaningful and understandable by the local television viewers. One respondent in an FGD in Kampala argued: "For me, when those movies are translated into a local language, they become local".

VJs help change even locally-made content into other languages. One of the producers believes recognising and improving VJs can solve this problem. He explains:

> If the VJs come in to translate a Luganda movie into English, that would be understandable. The VJ comes in to translate a Lugbara movie into Luganda; we have some languages which are common, that if we change into these four languages, at least it will be understood by the majority of people in the country. So, I think our VJs should also step up their act so that they also have people from different regions of the country. If I get a movie well-acted in Luganda and somebody translates into Runyakitara for people to understand, there will be an audience

> that will like that (Actor 2, interview, 7th August 2019).

This excerpt from an interview with an actor points to the view that even within the national context, VJs localise content by translating from one local language to another. Although they are largely misunderstood to promote consumption of foreign content, this finding shows that VJs are useful in promoting the local content of any given country within.

Local content producers doubt the ability of VJs to affect their work, but rather play a complementary role. There has been a wide view that if not stopped, the VJs would instead continue to illegally acquire foreign content and translate it, making it more appealing to audiences than the local content that is being promoted. This study finds that producers who the policy professes to protect are not worried about the VJs, as one producer summarises:

> I don't think the VJs are killing us. Those guys were here before us. They even made us love some genres like fiction, science fiction; no one understood science fiction here. But I now have seen some people are preparing to make science fiction. I think it is because of the VJs. The way we love action movies was spiced by the VJs. And also, I would say that they made us understand *Kung Fu* because we could not understand Chinese, but these guys came in and made us understand it (Producer 2, interview, 6th August, 2019).

Creating a fan base for audio-visual content in the country is the other major contribution made by VJs to Uganda's local content industry. A negative mindset is a challenge to the promotion of local content on television, as well as in other platforms. This study finds that many Ugandans believe that Ugandan productions are very local and unpalatable, thereby preferring foreign content. This negativity has affected their appreciation of the content, even with improvement in the production. Considering the big following of the VJs, the producers think that they can be used to promote local content through VJ-ing it, or even marketing it in the foreign content that they sell. Respondents believe that the VJs have built a fan base on their own, which can be used to change the mindset of that audience on local content. A producer respondent explains the role of the VJs in this regard thus:

> Our organisation recognised the VJs as our link to the audience, because if you want to appreciate why peasants started watching TV, you have to understand the role of the VJ because before, people used to say that *Sunset Beach*[1] was for the educated, because the local people did not connect with it. So, VJs started translating for *Vision Group*[2]. The next thing

[1] Sunset Beach is a 1997 drama by American NBC studios. It was one of the successful telenovelas globally, including an audience in Uganda.

[2] Vision Group is the major media group in Uganda, owning several newspapers, radio stations and five TV stations including Bukedde 1, Bukedde 2, Urban TV, TV West and Wan Luo TV.

> we know is that TV stopped being for the middle class and the peasants came on board. This was because now, one of the critical barriers had been removed – language (Chairman, Film Club Uganda, interview, 13th August, 2019).

A section of producers believes that the VJs are carrying the bigger role of creating and supporting local content. Some of them even believe that VJs have done much more than the other stakeholders in the promotion of Ugandan local content. One of them says:

> The VJs are appreciated, and they are doing a good job. But they cannot be fully held responsible for all our local content. There should be another effort to produce content that is Ugandan. At the moment, we look at VJs and musicians and we are happy about the local content. So, those are the only people carrying the whole local content quotas on their heads, but we can do more (Producer 4, interview, 8th August, 2019).

Results show that VJs are interested in supporting the efforts of local content producers and they are already doing so. Recognising them will only strengthen these efforts to improve the array of local content available to Ugandans. One producer who is already working with VJs to translate his content into other Ugandan languages explains how this is working so far:

> The VJs are very independent, because some of them are changing from Saul to Paul. This is because some of them have started making movies and they are seeing the problem they were creating that it is also affecting them… these people have shown their ability. They have shown their interest. They need to be assisted (Producer 2, interview, 6th August, 2019).

Discussion of Findings

The findings are guided by the current definition of local content in the Broadcasting Policy (2008), which Uganda Communications Commission (UCC) uses to implement local content quotas. The policy defines media local content as "content that recognises the cultural and linguistic diversity of Uganda, carrying themes of relevance to the local audience and produced under Ugandan's creative control" (Broadcasting Policy, 2008, p.8). Although this definition can include VJs under 'Ugandan's creative control', UCC disregards them, and does not consider VJ-ed content when measuring the amount of local content broadcast by television stations. A UCC official confirms that VJs are illegal and not acceptable in the definition of local content.

From the findings above, VJs help to simplify audio-visual content for the local audiences, and remove the power of the original producer to interpret the world for an audience, instead giving that power to the VJs (Krings, 2013). The content gets translated to any local language and becomes simplified to understand

for the intended audience. This argument arises from the definition of local content that encompasses the use of content that the local/ targeted audience can understand and relate with. Framers of local content policy have always supported the view that it is meant to provide the television viewers within a given locality with content that they are able to understand and make sense of. This was meant to avoid content open to being misunderstood, especially through foreign languages and cultures. This appropriation and localisation of content needs to be introduced in the definition of local content to ensure that the contribution of VJs is captured.

Uganda is a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual country, with 65 ethnic groups recognised by the constitution. This means that even local content produced in one part of the country, or in one Ugandan language, may not be understood by another Ugandan. This is partly to blame for the low consumption of Ugandan productions locally, which has ended up discouraging some producers for the small market available. This study, for example, finds that many members of the public are uncomfortable with content produced in Luganda, which is the predominant language, and they do not consider this content local, but foreign. Leaving aside the politics of language (Chibita, 2009) which has always had impact on broadcasting in Uganda, even the official language, English, is not comfortably understood and appreciated by the entire public. This is why local languages media (*Bukedde TV* and *Bukedde* newspaper) are the fastest growing media channels (ABC, 2021). *Bukedde TV* is making this development largely because of the translation of foreign content (mainly in English) into Luganda. Although some Ugandan English productions have gained an audience locally and abroad, the most successful locally are those that are mixed with a local language or those translated into a local language by the VJs.

The language factor features prominently from the respondents. In pushing for local content, proponents have emphasised the use of local languages as core to measurement and definition of local content, and yet it is ironical that they want to disregard the local language factor in the work of the VJs. One producer respondent said translated movies are local content because they come in the language that she understands. The producer's view is that even if content is made within the country, but in another language that an audience does not understand, it does not serve any purpose. This is mainly because the VJs re-create meaning (Dipio, 2018; Hook et al., 2011; Biltereyst & Meers, 2018). This falls under the 'creative control of Ugandans' talked about in the policy, and one wonders why UCC does not consider VJ-ed content as local content. The work of VJs is a creative process, where content is not just translated, but interpreted (Lagarriga 2007). This takes deeper analysis of

the content with the addition of some content and removal of some bits, to bring the storylines home. In Uganda, we have seen the use of local names and places in an attempt to localise the content.

VJs have transitioned with changes in society, the economy and the country's politics. Although they initially were more popular in translating movies for the video halls, they are now known for their work on re(producing) local content for the local languages' television, such as *Bukedde TV*, *TV West*, *Star TV*, *Baba TV*, among others. The broadcast industry regulator underlines the key role of television stations in promoting local content, which also rely on VJs for content that meets the needs of their viewers. Dipio (2019) is alive to this fact, explaining just how VJs have now become more important to the TV stations than to the video halls.

> Although video halls are not as popular as they were in the late 1980s to early 2000s, the VJs have retained their importance as their services are now sought by local TV stations to translate popular series for mass TV audiences. Telenovelas that are aired on local channels like Bukedde TV and Star TV are translated into Luganda and other local languages. The VJ continues to enhance audience's (both non-English and English) enjoyment of movies, and making viewers actively involved in the viewing process (p.166).

Scholars, such as Gambier and Jin (2019) and Straubhaar (2007) argue that television stations that have content that is VJ-ed become more popular than the more traditional television stations. A lot has been written about MTV in the US, that has benefitted in both popularity and commercial growth. This can be explained in Uganda as well, especially with the increasing popularity of Bukedde TV 1, which has become the second most popular TV station across the country, and the most popular in central Uganda (IPSOS, 2017). This is partly because of their *katandika butandisi* (film translated into Luganda, and with a popular phrase *katandika butandisi*, meaning, it has just started). In a country faced with a mindset not supportive of the local content industry, promoting it on TV through the use of VJs makes it a worthy effort.

Respondents who discount the role of VJs say that what they do is just translation, and not actual content production. This category believes that the original culture, context, and value system in the content remain for the society where the original production happened, and that language is just a medium of communication. It brings back the popular view from McLuhan in his 1964 book, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, in which he coined the phrase "the medium is the message". According to him, the medium affected society/audiences in which it plays a role, and not just the content delivered, and that the

characteristics of the medium matter. It has been proven that VJs are part of the content, an important aspect of local content and its relevance to the audiences.

In an attempt to increase uptake of local content, UCC instead recommends the use of sub-titles on content instead of using the VJs. Although this is an internationally accepted way of making content relevant to communities that consume it, it may not be sustainable for Uganda. Despite universal primary and secondary education, Uganda's illiteracy rates remain high (UBOS, 2016). This means that it is even more difficult for many Ugandans to make sense of content when it is sub-titled than when it is VJ-ed. The most viable alternative for Uganda, which has diverse languages is to use the VJs.

The biggest proponents of outlawing VJs is the argument that they do not acquire the proper rights for the content they translate, without regard for copyright laws. It is worth noting that infringement of copyright is not only affecting the foreign content producers. It is affecting local content producers whose content is being pirated. It is affecting the music industry, and even other consumers of foreign content through DVD distribution and electronic duplication. To deal with such a situation, it does not help to just outlaw VJs. The country needs to strengthen its laws and strengthen institutions that fight content piracy, such as Uganda Registration Services Bureau (URSB), Uganda Police Force, Uganda Performing Rights Society, and other producers' and actors' organisations. It is also important to have the VJs properly recognised and regulated, and then sensitised against 'theft' of content, and if they do, the Uganda copyright law is strong enough to fight such, not just in foreign movies but in many other sectors. The copyright law in Uganda and elsewhere in the world requires that for other creatives' content to be used or adapted for broadcast, rights must be secured from the original producers. And indeed, most VJs in Uganda break this, mainly because they are not yet appreciated by the local regulatory framework. Considering their popularity, however, disregarding them in the local content creation process may be counter-productive to the industry.

How will quality of works by the VJs be guaranteed? This was a concern of one of the respondents who asked: "And then in the translation, what is lost? Are you giving the actual meanings?" Uganda's major experience with VJs has been on fiction movies, Chinese Kung Fu and action thrillers. In these cases, as well as in VJ-ing other content, the VJs are accused of misrepresenting some facts just to have an audience, or even doing it in a way that attracts an audience to content that is not good enough. Just like other professions and occupations, there are bodies that provide oversight, punishing those who go against good practice

training new recruits and provide counsel and mentorship. Such a body unfortunately can only be successful if the work of the VJs is recognised and clearly defined in the area of local content.

Lagarriga (2007) found that VJs in Uganda have an association with a leadership that can spearhead organisation of the sector. The challenge at the moment is that the VJs are illegal and, therefore, cannot be licensed or recognised in law. He gives examples of associations, such as Union of Film Operators and Owners Association, United Video Operators and Owners Association and Union of Videojockeys/Translators Association. These efforts show that the VJs are proud of their work and will do whatever they can to improve it, and fit into the mainstream of local content production. This paper argues that they deserve a chance, but only if they can be recognised in the conceptualisation of local content and their contribution formalised.

We now return to the definition of local content according to the Broadcasting Policy, which leaves a lot of gaps in regard to VJs. Although it does not outlaw VJs, it created gaps that have been exploited by regulators to side-line VJs as creative content producers, and as promoters of cultural and linguistic diversity. When VJ-ing content, these artistes have been found to put into consideration cultural diversity through linking the content to the local cultures in terms of names, cultural practices, and other aspects that the audience can relate with. Some of them have even been seen to localise names of the actors, the foods, which all relate to cultural diversity (Adamu, 2019; Dipio, 2014).

It goes without saying that VJs use local languages to communicate the same message/content originally produced in foreign languages. Although the content remains in predominantly Luganda, VJs now also translate into Runyankore/Rukiga for *TV West*, Lusoga for *Baba TV*, as well as an attempt to translate into Kiswahili especially for border communities in Busia, Tororo, Arua, Adjumani, among others. I argue that this is a classical aspect of linguistic diversity, and that this diversity does not just relate to use of the local languages in original content production but reproduction of foreign content to help audiences understand it.

The most ambiguous phrase in the local content definition is "produced under Ugandans' creative control". What exactly is Ugandan's creative control? Does it include voicers and voice-overs? Does it consider the creative work done by VJs in reworking the foreign production to include sound effects, audio and video transitions? This needs to be stated clearly. Both UCC and the Media Council argue that VJs are illegal and not recognised under this definition, but without specific backup to the argument. The definition needs to clarify on creative control and how it is measured, as well as which talent is

included. Bhattacharjee and Mendel (2001) explain how Australia has removed this ambiguity by measuring 'creative control' through the contribution of producer, director, script writer, leading actors including voicers, among others. To talk about creative control without clarifying this aspect is counter-productive.

Behind the formulation of the Uganda Broadcasting Policy (2008) was the idea that local content is promoted to create jobs and employment for Ugandans in the creative industry. The work of VJs industry employs many people, including translators, voicers, sound technicians, translated video vendors, operators of video halls where these are watched, operators of video libraries where the DVDs are sold, as well as those who import the foreign content. In Tanzania, Englert (2010) writes that the industry employs hundreds, while in Uganda, the number could be as big as 300 (Lagarriga, 2007).

Government has made attempts to involve itself in regulating the operations of *bibanda,* the main access point of the translated foreign content (Lindiwe, 2015). She however argues that this intervention is not based on law or policy because the VJs are not captured in the current local content definition. This has included confiscating equipment in the *bibanda,* and recently, the arrest of a VJ over copyright infringement, among others. The video halls are also being looked at as 'the other spaces' where individuals can socialise, express themselves but also detach from the usual challenges of life. This paper does not support the view that VJs should not be regulated, but advocates the recognition and streamlining, so that their work can benefit both viewers and the industry, with clear standards set out to achieve this.

This discussion calls for revisiting the definition of local content. Television local content, therefore, should be defined as creative audio-visual content that depict the regional, linguistic and cultural diversity of Uganda, telling the unique stories and local knowledge of the Ugandan peoples. Local content should be produced in Uganda and aimed at protecting the history, life and aspirations of Uganda and its peoples. This includes adapted and appropriated content.

Conclusion

The Uganda Communications Commission admits that the definition of local content is not written in stone, and may not be covering all aspects at the moment. What is agreeable to many respondents in this study is that the definition of television local content and how the policy works, should be aimed at making the industry a better one. From this study, one way of making the policy better is through reworking the definition of local content, to include and recognise the work of VJs. This does not mean that they should be open

to infringing on copyright and other legal provisions, but they should instead be allowed to operate openly in a way that is legal and acceptable. Considering their number and the work they have done so far, VJs are themselves local content creators as well as a useful resource in localising useful foreign content that Ugandan television viewers need – educative content, development content, and general sensitisation of topics that are relevant globally, such as climate change, human rights, democracy, among others.

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The Criminalisation of Indigenous Social Control Systems among the Lugbara by the British Colonial Administration in Uganda

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Abstract

Social control systems based on established customs, traditions, practices, beliefs, and values, handed down through generations by word of mouth and practice still exist in African societies. It aims at bringing social order through healing relations, reconciliation, repairing the social fabric, protecting the peace, and preventing the recurrence of conflict. Since the introduction of modern law under colonial rule, society continues to experience a rise in crime and social injustice; a paradox which this study attempts to explain. This article attributes crime in contemporary society to the historical developments during the colonial and post-colonial periods. Colonialism introduced a modern state and law with a dual legal system that invented crime and criminalised aspects of African customs and culture. It further codified African customs into the native customary law which had the effect of disrupting social order. This work calls for rethinking aspects of modern law as a means to resolve the paradox of increased crime to emancipate the Africans from the continued existence of the errors of colonialism in the post-colonial state.

Keywords: Law, Lugbara, Indigenous social control, Crime

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Introduction

Modern states and jurisprudence argue that modern law is an effective means to social law, order, and justice. However, the escalating social disorder in post-colonies provokes the recurring question: why are social disorder, violence, and crime on the rise in post-colonies? Whereas post-colonial theorists Comaroff and Comaroff (2006) attribute post-colonial social disorder, violence, and crime to colonialism (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2006: vii, 1), this study asserts that attributing Africa's problem exclusively to colonialism would be untenable considering approximately the sixty years of independence in Uganda. This is further affirmed by Comaroff and Comaroff's (2008) paradox that democratisation in post-colonies founded on the rule of law and characterised by elected and representative political regimes has been accompanied by a sharp rise in crime and violence (2008: 1). To address this theoretical impasse, this work raised the overarching question: What are the intricacies in modern law instigating social disorder? To trace the roots of social disorder, it juxtaposed indigenous social control mechanisms with modern law and explored three colonial laws.

This work attributes social disorder in post-colonies to the inherent complexity of the legal systems arising from the continued criminalisation of aspects of indigenous norms and social control systems. It concurs with Arthur's idea attributing social disorder to the modernists' neglect of the role of indigenous African social structures in ordering society (Arthur, 1991: 500).

This work is the outcome of a historical study on 'The interface between indigenous and modern law, order and judicial system among the Lugbara of Uganda, 1914-2010' which attempted to address the critical research question: why social disorder, violence, and crime were on the rise despite the use of modern law. It was conducted in the districts of Arua, Maracha, and Yumbe inhabited by the Lugbara. A sample population of 117 respondents within the age bracket of 60 and 100 identified through the snowball method, and who had witnessed the practice of indigenous social control in the colonial era, and introduction of modern law among the Lugbara were interviewed. Key respondents included the Paramount Chief and Prime Minister of Lugbara Cultural Institution, selected clan elders and, elderly women.

The interviews, personal narratives, and focus group discussions inquired on the nature of indigenous social control mechanisms, the cultural significance of dances and local liquor, perceptions of homicide and, the impact of colonial and modern laws on social order. Colonial law on the Native Liquor Ordinance, 1902, and Native Tabulu Dance and certain other Native Dances, 1916 were retrieved from the Uganda National Archive at Kampala (Uganda National Archive: Secretariat Minute Paper, No

C. 1534/1). Oral history captured the personal experiences of respondents on the indigenous social control systems and modern law in society. Colonial anthropological research reports and colonial administration report on the Lugbara analysed to explore the nature, motive, and effect of colonial law. Ethnography was used as a reference to the written ethnographic literature and engaging with the community under study. The researcher spent a period of one month in the community attending High Court sessions in Arua Court of Judicature and a Local Council Court session at Oluko sub-county, observing behaviour and listening to conversations on crime and deviant activities in the courts and from respondents, making sense of the processes and impacts of the two systems on the people. Newspapers and legal reports as primary sources were analysed to capture prevailing situations of law and crime. Oral tradition explored the nature and impact of indigenous social control systems as handed down over generations. It explored law and order in precolonial indigenous Lugbara society. The lack of oratory skills among respondents with relevant historical knowledge hindered the effective narration of oral tradition (Alidri, 2016: 4). The gaps were filled by triangulating and corroborating data from personal interviews with group interviews; and the written sources.

Conceptualising Crime and Criminality in Africa

Theoretical Perspective of African criminality

In post-coloniality, the 'object of investigation' is the colonised people, to whom the colonisers ascribe negative and exotic attributes. The theorists perceive 'colonialism' as a two-way 'process of interdependent relationships and mutual transformations' between the centre and periphery (Dann and Hanschmann, 2012: 124). Post-colonial theories focus on "elements of colonial discourse and structures which have outlived the formal end of colonial rule and continue to exert strong influence today in politics, culture, economics, art, science, and law" (ibid 4).

Modernisation theorist Rogers (1989), associates social disorder and crime with social structural changes such as industrialisation, urbanisation, breakdown in familial relations, increased socio-economic development, and population increase (Rogers, 1989: 315). Modernisation theorists have failed to address the role of law in modernisation which directly affects the lives of people in developing countries (Ohnesorge, 2007: 222). Arthur (1991) argues that, in using the modernisation theory to explain crime, the theorists have neglected the role of indigenous African social structure in combating social disorder and crime (Arthur, 1991: 500, 501).

Crime and law

Black's Law Dictionary defines 'Crime' as "an act that the law makes punishable; the breach of a legal duty treated as the subject matter of a criminal proceeding" (1999: 399). Crime is an act that is capable of being followed by criminal proceedings, having one of the types of outcome (punishment) known to follow those proceedings", and an act of commission, omission, and possession deemed to be 'criminal' in law (Hollin, 2013: 8). Dubois (1899: 235) (cited in Matthews 2017: 11) observed that "crime is a phenomenon of organised social life, and is the open rebellion of an individual against his social environment" (Matthews, 2017: 11). Consequently, the state reserves the right to make and enforce laws that criminalised certain acts. Propounding Driberg's (1934) idea, African law is positive and not negative in the sense that it states: "Thou shalt," and not "Thou shalt not". It neither created offences nor made criminals (Driberg, 1934: 231). This study therefore argues that the purpose of the indigenous control system was to nurture acceptable behaviour and establish social harmony and order. Colonial administration in Africa introduced modern law to establish their form of social order defined by presence of colonial legal and state apparatus and weakened indigenous systems and customs. Thalia noted that it had the effect of distorting the representation of African black colour, black personality, and black culture (Thalia, 2013: vii). This study therefore associates the term 'crime' with the modern state and law, and has its roots in colonialism. Smith (2012) further substantiates that, "Imperialism and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonised people, disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking and interacting with the world". Indicating that "it [imperialism] is a process of systematic fragmentation". "The fact that the indigenous societies had their own systems of order was dismissed" (Smith, 2012: 1). This study propounds that, 'crime' was an antithesis of indigenous social order as it lacked common meaning and purpose in the indigenous and modern settings.

Codifying of African custom transformed it into customary law and aspects which were not codified were considered indigenous social control mechanisms. Whereas state laws are made in the interest of the ruling oligarchy and imposed upon the citizens, indigenous social control systems are made for the society through societal customs, cultural traditions, and consensus. Different societies may coherently define the 'same' crime in different ways depending on the historically generated conception of property and other rights (Steinberger, 1983: 867).

Punishment

Modern law considers 'crime' as a breach of state law punishable by the state or any authority (Article 28 (12). The purpose and nature of punishment are to diminish crime through deterrence, reform, rehabilitation, or incapacitation (Schinkel, 2014: 579). However, punishment under modern law does not necessarily result in a crime reduction and therefore this study questions whether punishment is a solution to every context of crime.

Colonial law which was imposed on indigenous peoples to control their daily lives had criminal penalties attached (Thalia, 2013: xi). Yet Foucault (1977) believes that punishment and "prisons do not diminish the crime rate: they can be extended, multiplied or transformed, the quantity of crime and criminals remains stable or, worse, increases" (Foucault, 1977: 265). This calls for rethinking of punishment as a deterrent to crime, and an attempt to reconsider indigenous deterrence to social misconduct.

Colonial influence on criminalising indigenous social control systems

The colonial government did not introduce new customs, except it modified existing customs by writing and codifying them; and transferring its enforcement from custom to the native customary laws under colonial administration. The Native Law and Native Authority Ordinance 1919 codified custom, granting it the force of law as Customary Law. Customary law was applied to a specific custom and people. It was not uniform and only applied to a particular people provided that it was compatible with any legislation in force in the protectorate at that time (Hamilton, 1906: 1A, iv, Allot, 1957: 245). "The law was the cutting edge of colonialism, an instrument of the power of an alien state and part of the process of coercion" (Chanock, 2001: 4). Customary law was explicitly overridden by statute law (Allot 1957: 245). The Native Court tried customary offences while non-Africans were tried in the colonial courts administered by the District Commissioner and European judges under the common English law (Anderson, 1960: 435). Native courts and native customary laws were an essential part of the apparatus of indirect rule and the British colonial administration in Africa (Allot, 1984: 58). Colonial law from the onset was intended to regulate the established cultural value systems. Economic and social life became very controlled under colonialism as social deviances were considered offenses triable by law. Colonialism and colonial law, therefore, created 'criminals' without criminal minds, and who in an attempt to adhere to indigenous customs, beliefs, practices, and values; were criminalised under the colonial law. Colonial domination and oppression of the subjects subsequently triggered social action in the form of deviance; further criminalising them.

Colonial theorists Lord F. D. Lugard (1922), Lord Hailey (1951), and Margery Perham (1962) considered colonialism as the forerunner of democracy because "the empire stood for order and the rule of law" (Kwarteng, 2011: 5.6). Lugard (1922) viewed colonial law as 'a moral benefit' to African societies because it curbed lawlessness and assisted in tribal evolution and progress to a higher plain (Lugard, 1922: 233). According to Perham (1962), colonial law and order were to enable Britain to expand her trade, protect her commercial interests, emigration, the balance of power, prestige, and philanthropic purpose (Perham, 1962: 126-127). Therefore, colonial law was a tool for colonial subjugation and economic imperialism. Justifying colonialism, Lugard argued that colonial law was 'a moral benefit' to African societies because it curbed lawlessness and assisted in tribal evolution and progress to the higher plain (Lugard 1922: 233). On the contrary, this study noted that contemporary society benefiting from social advancement had registered more crime and social disorder.

Chanock (2001), attributes post-colonial social disorder to the disruptive effect of colonialism which invented the Customary law; a hybrid law. Customary law subordinated and weakened the African indigenous social control system. Thalia (2013) argues that "criminalisation and colonisation are intricately connected" (2013: vii). Colonialism redefined African morality within the context of modern law and Christian values. Under colonial administration; the codified customs were referred to as 'customary law' to discredit their lawful status (Thalia, 2013: xii).

Post-colonial influence of law

Uganda inherited the colonial dual system of courts in which the central government courts administered the common English law while the lower native courts at the County and Sub-county arbitrated conflicts among indigenous Africans based on the customary law (Odoki 1994: 59). The "local courts apply and enforce rules that originate in the city to the fact that arise in local communities" (Economides, 2012: 3). Therefore, "residence, social status, and ethnic origin are ignored or seen as irrelevant to the citizen's right of access to the courts" (Economides, 2012: 2), causing a mismatch between modern law and indigenous social control systems in their purpose and function hence criminality.

This study argues that political independence did not mean an end to colonial law, rather the post-colonial state adopted colonial law with its disruptive effects on society. Law was used as a tool for political maneuvers and counter-maneuvers by transforming legal acts into crime through state decrees and legislation. "Uganda politics are played in an atmosphere where each is looking for legal 'loop-hole to be turned to its own advantage" (Engholm and Mazrui

1967: 590), laying the ground for further criminality and social disorder. The post-colonial judicial system most accurately mirrored colonial practices. "For nowhere in Africa did there exist centralised judicial institutions with exclusive jurisdiction over an area, something that colonialism created as customary" (Mamdani 1996: 49).

Social control systems among the Lugbara

Lugbara mythology observes that humans in the pre-historic period (the time before c. 1000) were mythical and pre-social beings lacking a sense of moral values. At the time, "Human inhabitants were unsocial, amoral and natural" and lived in "a world of social disorder" (Middleton, 1968: 190-191). Therefore, the pre-historic period had no reference to social conduct as an immoral or forbidden act.

The historical period (the time from c. 1000) among the Lugbara; is regarded as a social period characterised by the emergence of culture heroes Jaki and Dribidu who founded social control systems by inventing culture and custom (Vansina, 2009: 104). The Lugbara social control system is postulated to have emerged during this period.

Oral tradition and anthropological research reports on the Lugbara indicated that pre-colonial Lugbara was pre-literate with no written law. Modern jurisprudence posits that: "Peoples without formal legal codes, courts, policemen or prisons were thought to lack anything that might be dignified by the appellation law" (Freeman, 2008: 1084). This did not mean the absence of mechanisms of social order. Middleton noted that, the Lugbara had means of maintaining peaceful relations and preventing open conflict expressed by violence or quarrelling. The clan settled disputes by discussion or invocation of ghosts rather than by open conflict. (Middleton, 1966: 142). In spite of the anthropological diminutive reference to ancestral spirits as 'ghosts', society considered them as living dead and members of the clan whose roles were key in social ordering.

Abiria Jackson, an elder from the Vurra clan and retired historian traced the roots of the indigenous social control system to the social norms and rules of kinship; and social conduct embedded within customs, traditions, practices, beliefs, and values of the clan, defining certain actions as wrong, shameful, evil, or sinful (Interview, Abiria 2014). The term 'crime' did not exist among the Lugbara.

Reconciliation and healing of relation was central in the Lugbara indigenous justice which was restorative and emphasising social relations. Restorative justice meant restoring relations with the living, dead, and the gods, as sin and offense were against society as contemporary, antecedent in the person of ancestors and posterity as descendants. Indigenous social control and justice are aimed at bringing healing to the

victims of conflict, reconciling the parties in conflict, restoring the social fabric, protect the peace and prevent open conflict from occurring and, strengthening social cohesion. The Lugbara social control system defined societal expectations of the individual, family and, clan. Clan leaders were the custodians of custom and culture as those closest in age to their ancestors, and the father managed the family order. (Interview, Sila Amaga, Jackson Abiria & Salome Agabu, 2014).

Among the Lugbara, punishment for misconduct was inflicted upon a person by the family, clan, gods, or ancestral spirits; and its nature depended on the gravity of the offense, and social relations. Punishment aimed at bringing justice, restoring relations and, harmony and imparting moral teaching to the clan. (Interview: Amaga Sila, Abiria Jackson, Salome Agabu & Miriam Paricia, 2014). Whereas modern law aimed at determining guilt and punishment, indigenous social control systems aimed at disgracing the culprit. Therefore, the purpose of indigenous punishment was to grant justice to victims, correct social conduct, reconcile and restore relationships, compensate the victim's family, and prevent the recurrence of conflict.

An indigenous court system existed among the Lugbara taking the form of moots presided over by clan elders to mediate and reconcile the conflict parties. Mechanisms of instilling morals and social deterrence included: naming and shaming, word of advice/counsel, rebukes, flogging off the offender, imposing a fine, curse, ex-communication, and death. Retribution or vengeance justice inform of mob action and destruction of property of the accused was administered in grievous offences such as murder through killing, witchcraft and, poisoning. (Interview: Sila Amaga, Jackson Abiria, Salome Agabu & Miriam Paricia, 2014). Indigenous sanctions are still used in contemporary Lugbara society and offenses that demanded their use still existed.

Findings

This section explores three colonial laws which criminalised key customs among the Lugbara: The Liquor law, the law on traditional dance, and the law on homicide. It scrutinises the selected custom across the pre-colonial, colonial and, post- colonial periods and their impact on social order.

Criminalisation of the Lugbara Social Life during Colonialism and post-colonial periods

Colonialism introduced a codified law system that viewed more the negative potentials of a person and worked towards mitigating it by criminalising certain acts.

The Africa Order of Council 1889 a general legal system applied in the colonies was the basis of colonial law. The Order subjected all British colonies to the English law and

court system (Lugard, 1922: 34). It was the basis of the British Colonial administration in the West Nile District. The inclusion of the West Nile within the Lado Enclave "began a new era of administration in West Nile" (Harris, 1959: 19). Counties were demarcated as Native Administration headed by colonial chiefs appointed from the clan heads or prominent persons. The submissive chiefs, the custodians of law, order and, hallowed custom, rather than radical educated élite, were the favoured agents of European administration (Ajayi, 1969: 505).

The British colonial administration established in the West Nile region on 14th June 1914 introduced modern law among the Lugbara (Leopold, 2009: 468). In 1914 a colonial court was established in Arua town with the District Commissioner Sir Weatherhead as the Chief Magistrate. The Native Law and Native Authority Ordinance 1919 established the Native law and Courts in the West Nile District leading to the establishment of Customary law applied among natives while the common English law was applied to the non-natives who faced trial in the Magistrate Grade I Court. Indigenous customs, norms, and practices were codified into customary law, a colonial creation (Allott, 1969: 12). This introduced a dual judiciary system; the seed of the complexities and criminalising of indigenous norms, practices and, values under modern law.

Following the 1919 Yakani insurrection in which the local chiefs were implicated, Nubian officers were appointed district and county 'chiefs' to impose British administration and taxation. They enforced law and order administered justice in the native courts and, contributed significantly to developing the customary law (Lugard, 1968: 649). The Native Law and Native Authority Ordinance 1919 granted the Native Court powers to handle customary offences under the customary law. Conflict existed between the customary and English laws as the natives followed their cultural norms and customs. A Penal Code Act was enacted to establish a code of criminal law in Uganda creating crime, offences, and punishment; "to be used with the meaning attaching to them in English criminal law" (Penal Code Act Cap. 120). This was to enable the effective implementation and enforcement of the colonial law.

By the Uganda Order in Council 1920, the Legislative Council was established with powers to make ordinances, constitute courts and officers, make provisions and regulations for the proceedings in courts and the administration of justice, for the peace, order, and good governance of the Protectorate. By the Order, the High Court in Uganda was established with full civil and criminal jurisdiction over all persons and all matters in Uganda (Laws of Uganda 1951, vol. VI [Revised]).

By the Criminal Procedure Order 1920, 'crime' was introduced as an offence under colonial law, with capital offences such as treason, murder, manslaughter, and rape transferred from the clan courts to the Criminal Procedure Code handled by the Magistrate Court. Special districts were declared in which a magistrate tried Africans for a criminal offence with support from local assessors. West Nile District acquired a magisterial jurisdiction with the District Magistrate Grade I Court established in Arua town and presided over by the District Commissioner. Subordinate courts at the county and sub-county courts handled offences related to customs and Magistrate Grade II courts established at Arua, Adumi, Arivu, Logiri, Omugo, Koboko, Yumbe, Ovujo, Rhino Camp, Okollo and Ogoko (Laws of Uganda 1951, vol. VI [Revised]). With the institution of regular courts, offenses were against the state and were punishable by imprisonment and fines (Morris, 1967: 171). This ushered in modern law and criminalising of aspects of African norms and culture.

Indigenous Norms on Liquor and Criminalising of Liquor in the Colonial Period.

Liquor was culturally considered important, and its brewing and consumption was neither an offense nor an immoral act. Indigenous liquor had a social function of building and strengthening social cohesion. Brewed out of fermented grain, it was considered a healthy beverage for leisure and socialisation, in the performance of cultural rituals, during social events like marriage and funerals, traditional dance, and communal digging. (Interviews: Nason Fua, Rasil Opindu, Salome Agabu, Jason Avutia 2014). Indigenous liquor bonded the family and community; and from a traditional religious perspective, it bonded the living dead and the clan. Rituals would be considered incomplete without a home-made brew. Rules guiding liquor consumption existed and it was improper behaviour to act under the influence of alcohol and drunkenness was not an excuse for misconduct. However, the arrival of colonialism witnessed criminalising of brewing and consumption of local brew.

Following the abolition of the slave trade, there was a boom in the consumption and trade of cheap liquor which had affected the British colonial economies. In 1902, the Protectorate Government enacted the Native Liquor Ordinance and by January 1913 liquor was suppressed in all British colonies (Prothero 1920: 24). The colonial administration viewed drunkenness as the source of conflict, crime as adultery and fornication, inter-clan feuds, murder, and idleness. (Lugard 1922: 603-604). The Liquor Ordinance No. 9 of 1916 set the time and place for drinking liquor and license for the producers and sellers of liquor. According to Sila Amaga, distilled liquor was introduced among the Lugbara by

Emin Pasha's Sudanese force and it became prominent during World War I (1914-1918) as 'Waragi' a misnomer for 'war gin' (Interview: 2014). Although the colonial government had argued that liquor consumption would lead to social breakdown in the African society (Willis, 2007: 81), the regulation of trade in liquor aimed at protecting the British colonial economy and trade. Penal Code Act (1950) Cap. 16 under the section on sales of noxious food and drink, criminalised sale and consumption of liquor. The Liquor Act of 1960 further prohibited the manufacture and sale of native liquor in the Municipality, town, or trading center unless licensed. To widen the market and promote sales of British gin in Uganda, the Protectorate Government banned and criminalised the production and consumption of local alcohol. The African Inland Mission integrated the liquor law into the school rules and regulations, and church Christian ethics (Obetia, 2008: 31). The African Inland Mission team operating in Congo arrived at Ovisoni among the Lugbara of Vurra clan in 1917, establishing a mission station west of Arua Town in 1918. The mission station as an agent of change, disseminated, and implemented the Native Liquor Law in the churches and mission schools attended mainly by children of colonial chiefs, civil servants and, converts (Interviews: Rasil Opindu, Agabu Salome, Jason Avutia 2014). Nason Fua; a convert; reminisced that the baptism lessons and preaching demonised liquor consumption and yet as children, local brew made out of grains was often served as breakfast and lunch. Jason Avutia a former teacher and inspector of schools, and the Lugbara Paramount Chief, observed that the mission church and school played a key role in enforcing the liquor law (Interviews: Nason Fua and Jason Avutia 2014). Respondents referred to the church laws which were contrary to the Lugbara social norms, lacking indigenous ownership and enforced by Rev. Canon Albert Vollor; as 'Bwana Vollor's law'.

The invisible reality and purpose of the Liquor law were to engage the African subjects in the colonial productive economic activities aimed at generating revenue for the colonial administration; and end what Lugard described as the 'drunken orgies' which had made Africans economically non-productive (Lugard 1922: 603-604). This was a colonial misconception of indigenous leisure time and therefore law functioned as a tool for economic exploitation and coercion.

Criminalising Liquor in the post-colonial Uganda

Building on the colonial law on liquor, the post-colonial state enacted the Enguli (Manufacturing and Licencing) Act 1966. This was a post-colonial state reaction to the Colonial Liquor Act of 1960 (2) which prohibited the manufacture and sale of native liquor unless licensed. The purpose of the post-colonial liquor

law was to achieve the Africanisation and indigenisation of the economy. The UPC government built a liquor factory - Uganda Distillery Ltd and named the product "Uganda Waragi". Its purpose was to encourage local brewers to produce and supply the local gin to the Uganda Waragi factory. The Act would regulate liquor production and create avenue for taxing liquor production to raise revenues for the government. The Act had targeted the market-dominant minority Asians, with the aim of economically empowering the African.

To build an independent, integrated, and self–sustaining national economy, the NRM government has permitted the establishment of liquor production. The Ministry of Trade and Cooperatives has moved on to ban the sale of alcohol in sachets as a means to reduce consumption among youth and children and check on the illicit nature of the consumption in sachets which had led to a 68 percent loss in tax (Kamukama, 2019). Despite the liquor laws, the consumption of liquor is on the increase and liquor-related offences are on the rise. A countrywide survey conducted by the Uganda Alcohol Policy Alliance (UAPA) in November 2018 indicated that 61 percent of the population that consumed alcohol started drinking before the age of 18 years (Daily Monitor, September 10, 2019). This study argues that the post-colonial liquor law was an intrinsic strategy to redistribute wealth and power and deracialise the economy to achieve economic independence.

Indigenous Norms on Traditional Dances and Criminalising of Traditional Dances in the Colonial Period

Traditional dance, varying in type and purpose was an important aspect of Lugbara culture. It was important for socialising, courtship, rituals, and establishing inter-clan friendships. Traditional dance and songs were tools for imparting moral values, disciplining clan members, performing rituals, and building social cohesion. Dances were organised after the completion of the harvest, at marriages, to celebrate a victory, and it symbolised identity and belonging to a culture and clan. Funeral dances were to celebrate the life of the dead. Rules guiding indigenous dances were put in place. Courtship dance was restricted to clans with whom intermarriage was allowed. It was not permitted for clan members to have courtship dance as its purpose was to develop intimate relations which would lead to marriage (Interview: Miriam Paricia & Salome Agabu, 2014).

The Law for Preventing the Native Tabulu dance and certain other Native Dances, 1916

The Law for Preventing the Native Tabulu Dance and certain other Native Dances, 1916, was first enacted by Mengo on 12th October

1916 and approved by the Governor. Traditional dance in which the opposite sex closely wiggled their bodies was perceived as immoral, often leading to indulgence in sexual immorality and conflict. The law was adopted and applied by the colonial government outside Buganda. The law on native dancing and drumming stipulated that "no person shall hold or permit to be held, whether on his premise or elsewhere, any native dance, drum-beating, or other similar noisy entertainment unless he has a permit issued by the Authority" and a fee of Shs. 2 was to be paid for every permit issued (Section 16(1) and (3) of the Laws of Uganda Protectorate, 1951, Revised edition). Among the Lugbara, it criminalised traditional dance, banning it in the areas neighboring the European residence in Arua Town, as it was claimed to disturb the peace of the Europeans (Fieldwork: Obetia Joel; Retired Bishop of the Anglican Diocese, 2016).

Some of the songs directly attacked the colonial repressive rule and therefore the law aimed at suppressing songs and dances that expressed the people's cultural nationalism. Furthermore, the law banning native dance aimed at strengthening the enforcement of the Liquor law as liquor consumption was much associated with native dances. The law on native dances therefore aimed to maximise the appropriation and exploitation of African time and labour for colonial economic benefit. Prohibiting traditional dance would enable African subjects to spend time in producing cash crops and providing labour on public works.

Criminalising Traditional Dances in Post-colonial Uganda

Article 37 of the 1995 Constitution, grants every person the right as applicable to belong to, enjoy, practice, profess, maintain and, promote any culture, cultural institution, language, tradition, creed, or religion in community with others. The post-colonial state began to look for the political potency of dance evidenced by Idi Amin's regime revamping folkloric dance (Pier, 2011: 414). Dance-based nationalism emerged with songs praising the president. The use of dance and music-based nationalism continue to be used in twenty-first-century politics. Dancing was moved from the open arena to indoor theatres and halls giving it an economic attachment, a shift from the socio-cultural to the economic value of dance. The Constitution provided for urban councils to regulate singing, dancing, drumming, the playing of musical instruments, the production of music or the making of any noise likely to disturb any person, or any performance for profit in any public place (Sixth Schedule, Part3 (3[g]). These were the legacies of colonialism.

Indigenous Norms on Homicide

Homicide in the Lugbara context is the killing of a person either intentionally or accidentally or in self-defence.

Jackson Abiria observed that among the Lugbara, the gravity of the case of homicide depended on the motive of the killing and the blood relationship between the persons involved. Murder a premeditated intent to kill was prohibited and regarded as an abomination. Killing strangers was forbidden as it brought misfortune to the family and the clan, but was justified if it was in self-defence. The act of self-killing (suicide), killing one's father (patricide), siblings (fratricide) or mother (matricide), and child (infanticide) were prohibited as it disrupted the continuity and cohesion of the family and clan (Field Interview: Abiria Jackson, 2014).

Punishment for murder depended on the circumstance of the murder and the relationship between the murderer and the victim. Cultural rules of vengeance existed and it was accepted with the approval of the elders as it was regarded as a responsibility to the dead and the clan. But when prohibited, vengeance attracted a curse and had undesirable repercussions on the clan and future generations. No friendship and marital relations were allowed with the accused family or clan (Interview: Gard Ezayi 2014). Leniency was exhibited while handling unintentional killing as it was attributed to misfortune or curse following the offender or the victim. Truth-telling in which the accused explained the circumstance of the murder was core in tracing the source of the problem and passing the verdict. The offender's family and kinsmen would pay a bull to the deceased's mother's clan and a sheep to the offender's clan for performing a cleansing ritual. The elders counselled and performed a cleansing ritual by invoking the ancestral spirits *and* the gods for mercy. The culprit is reconciled with the deceased's family and vengeance is prohibited (Interview: Gard Ezayi 2014).

Criminalising Homicide in the Colonial Period

Colonial rule introduced the Criminal Law and Penal Code Act which criminalised every homicide and punishment was death sentence or life imprisonment. The criminal code was enacted with minor local adaptations to interpret the criminal law, offences, and the associated punishment. The law empowered the Governor-in-Council to make regulations with limited penalties and Orders in Council having the force of law. The municipality, native administration, and other authorities were empowered to make rules or by-laws (Lugard, 1922: 537).

Post-Colonial Law on Homicide

The post-colonial state inherited the colonial law on homicide. Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza (2005) exploring the substantive case law on homicide in Uganda's colonial and post-colonial court records which have set precedents for legal decisions, noted that homicide was never always criminalised, and that "the term merely describes the act and does not

indicate the moral or legal quality of the conduct" (2005: 1).

The Penal Code Act categorised crimes of homicide into manslaughter (Section 187) and murder (Section 188). Manslaughter is the unlawful act and or omission which causes the death of another person. Murder is any person who of malice aforethought causes the death of another person. The punishment for murder is a death sentence (PCA Section 189) and the punishment for manslaughter is life imprisonment (PCA Section 190). Post-colonial punishment for homicide is retributive, with the life or death sentence being disruptive to social continuity and cohesion as relations are not restored. Despite the acquittal of the defendant, reconciliation and restoration of the relation are not attained, making them prone to vengeance. Indigenous mechanisms of administering justice have survived modern law and continue to be used among the Lugbara in the breakdown and loss of confidence in modern law and order.

Discussion

The post-colonial state continues to function as an instrument of criminalisation, making laws that criminalises aspects of culture and custom. This has resulted in the creation of new laws and crimes which criminalises society. This paper argues that society itself is not criminal but the making of laws that criminalise certain action is responsible for the apparent crime rise. Yet, society perceives their culture as key to social bonding. The adherence to custom, a symbol of Lugbara's sense of nationalism was criminalised. Using Gupta and Ferguson's idea of culture, locality, and community being socially and politically constructed (1997: 6), this study argues that colonial administration and the modern state through their economic interest, administrative system, and laws, created a 'criminalised people' without a criminal culture, a colonial identity to subjugate the colonised subjects. Culture being historically created, colonialism, and state law have created a culture and identity of criminality, further making a criminal without a criminal mind. This creates a dilemma in adhering to indigenous custom and state law.

Modern law and court system codified indigenous custom into customary law, applying it only to Africans until 1964 when the Magistrates' Courts Act that established a uniform system of law was enacted. Customary law was integrated into the post-colonial state law and justice system in which offenses and crimes, and sanctions were defined by the Penal Code Act.

This study established that since the introduction of modern law, a parallel system of indigenous social control existed among the Lugbara. The introduction of modern law did not result in the extinction of indigenous social control mechanisms and it is noticeable in the clan and Local Council Courts, while the modern

system is reflected in the magistrates' court system, High Court, Court of Appeal, and the Supreme Court.

The modern law and indigenous justice system did not have a common meaning of law and offence. The modern law system viewed the law as "a rule of human conduct, imposed upon and enforced among the members of a given state" and enforced by specialised agents (Barker and Padfield, 1996: 1). Modern law, therefore, is in the service of the rulers and state rather than the people. Law therefore in its motive and function is a machinery of domination and oppression of the subjects. The indigenous social control system viewed rules and regulations as norms and practices handed over by the ancestors and gods for posterity. The continuity of the indigenous system among contemporary Lugbara is attributed to their ethnic sub-nationalism and the negative experience during the Yakani insurrection against the British administration in 1919; and the impact of Christianity which had condemned aspects of Lugbara customs and cultural practices. The continuous usage of customs and culture is further attributed to the weaknesses in the modern justice system. Therefore, the indigenous social control system among the Lugbara has not been replaced by modern law but operates parallel to state law, often complementing and conflicting with each other. Geertz (1993), noted that socio-cultural persistence and change cannot be generalised but should be considered as partial and within a local context (Geertz, 1993: 496). The persistence and continuity of indigenous systems among the Lugbara cannot be generalised but rather contextualised to a specific clan.

Lugbara Response to colonial and post-colonial law

Faced with the pressure of colonialism, the Lugbara responded by adapting to the colonial and modern mechanisms of maintaining law and order as a survival mechanism. Under customary law, the native court was transferred to the county and sub-county with courts managed by colonial chiefs. Clan elders were often invited to sit in public meetings and attend the colonial customary courts at the sub-county and parishes. There was mutual co-existence between the indigenous and modern institutions of law and order as provided by the Native Law and Authority Ordinance 1919. The indigenous social control mechanism was limited to acts that breached customs and traditions within the family and clan.

The colonial and post-colonial states adopted the notion of crime and criminalised certain behaviour as offence. In the Lugbara context, there was no provision for the word 'crime' and breach of rules and norms was regarded, as deviant behaviour or ‘an act of sin’ against the clan, spirits, gods, and God the creator.

Conclusion

Therefore, this study's finding disagrees with Comaroff and Comaroff's (2006) assertion that colonialism was responsible for the disorder in the post-colonial states. In spite of the authority bestowed on the post-colonial states to make legislations and Africanise the law, the states continue to use the colonial mode of law to control, dominate and criminalise society, neglecting the role of the indigenous social control system in promoting social order. The increase in crime and social disorder is a result of the creation of new offences by the state, consequently criminalising acts that in their original state were not deemed criminal. Crime in the contemporary context has its roots in modern law while in the African context, offence has socio-cultural and indigenous religious contexts. The post-colonial laws were a replication of colonial law bearing similar outcomes of ambiguity and not aligned to cultural norms, and have outlived their purpose and usefulness in the legal history of modern states. To curb crime, African states need to redefine offenses within the African context, further calling the state and its legislative bodies to decriminalise some of the obsolete laws.

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Declaration of Conflicting Interest

The author declares no potential conflicts of interest to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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Key Respondents Interviewed Gard Ezayi 2014: Retired Parish chief.

Haruna Ndema 2014: Prime Minister Lugbara cultural institution.

Jackson Abiria 2014: Retired civil servant and historian.

Jason Avutia 2014: Lugbara cultural leader (Agoffe).

Miriam Paracia 2014: Elderly woman

Nason Fua 2014: Elderly man

Joel Obetia 2016: Retired Bishop

Rasil Opindu, 2014: Elderly woman, surviving daughter to Awudele who offered land for establishing West Nile District Headquarter in Arua and wife to the former colonial clerk.

Respondent 114 /2016: Former convict.

Salome Agabu, 2014: Elderly woman.

Sila Amaga 2014: Ayivu Clan elder.

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Social-Cultural and Historical Milieu Surrounding Youth Empowerment in Buganda: Lessons from Community and Lay Perspectives

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Abstract

Youth account for more than 70% of Uganda's population. Empowerment of this youthful population is at the forefront of the country's agenda. Contemporary studies of empowerment in mainstream psychology focus on a Western and individualised conception of the self that is at odds with the African view of the self. African philosophy views the self as socially situated and developing in discourse with others that inhabit the same social-cultural and historical space. This worldview underpins the rationale for understanding the social-cultural situatedness of youth empowerment discourse as is argued in this paper. In an exploratory qualitative study, I elicited the views of 41 respondents from within three districts in Buganda region of Uganda concerning youth empowerment processes. I used in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. I transcribed the interviews verbatim and thematically analysed them. The results of this study revealed that problematic assumptions, attitudes, and practices which have worked against youth empowerment in Buganda are woven into language, daily discourse, and narratives but have been normalised and accepted. Such discourses need to be problematised again and targeted for change as vigorously as other barriers to youth empowerment, such as lack of education and employable skills. This calls for psychology scholars to interrogate empowerment discourse from *jua kali*, the "lay citizen" using theoretical frameworks that are able to appreciate, resonate with and critically assess the dynamics of the African experience.

Keywords: Social-cultural, Buganda, youth empowerment, social-constructionism

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Background and literature overview

Youth account for more than 70% of Uganda's population (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2016), and empowerment of this youthful population has been at the forefront of the country's agenda as explained in the Uganda Youth Policy (Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development (MGLSD), 2001, 2016). Uganda government has for long endeavoured to establish youth empowerment initiatives, as seen in the provisions of the 2001 Youth Policy (Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, 2001, 2006). The 2016 youth policy was guided by the theme of "mindset change" for national development (Mukwaya, 2016), but the implementation strategies laid out in it were economically focused. The mindset question was only alluded to, rather than operationalised and the youths mindsets were not clearly explained or objectively targeted for change. This apparent shortcoming in the understanding of empowerment as inclusive of mindset change, while failing to interrogate the concept of mindset is a gap that I seek to address in this paper in part by pointing out some of the social-cultural roots of youths mindsets in Uganda.

One of the most widely evaluated youth empowerment programmes set up by the Uganda government is the Youth Livelihoods Programme (MGLSD, 2011, 2016). This programme emphasised skills development and supply of monetary aid to the youths but ignored the mindsets of the youths, and the social, cultural, and historical factors shaping these mindsets. Evaluation of this programme showed limited to modest results (Ahaibwe & Kasirye, 2015; Ejang et al., 2016), and Ugandan media is also rife with the failures of this programme (Uganda Radio Network, 2019 January 4; Daily Monitor, 2018 October 27; Munguongeyo, 2017, Kamoga, 2017). More recently, through the National Development Plan version three (NDPIII) (National Planning Authority, 2020) mindset change has once again been fronted as a vehicle for national development. The NDPIII describes mindset change as achieved through increasing nationalism and reducing harmful cultural practices among the Ugandan population. This illustrates the importance of mindset change, but once again, the NDPIII has narrowly defined mindset by limiting it to harmful cultural practices while paying no heed to the social-cultural drivers of people's mindsets.

The situation described above exists because whereas the Uganda government and development partners verbalise the need for mindset change as part of optimising youth empowerment, the complexities of the youths' mindset have not been properly explored in the Ugandan setting. The architects of the Youth Livelihood Programme endeavoured to dedicate an arm of the programme to mindset change under institutional support, but this

does not appear to have been followed up in implementation. Media reports and evaluation literature on the programme focus on programmatic weaknesses, such as delays in funds disbursement as a major factor that reduced the effectiveness of the programme (Ahaibwe & Kasirye, 2015; Ejang et al., 2016), with less attention to beneficiary-related factors, especially their mindsets.

On the international scene, there are lots of discourses linking mindsets to youth empowerment. A search of literature with the key words "Youth Empowerment" and "Mindset" within google-indexed publications reveals literature that acknowledges the importance of positive mindsets for youth empowerment (Ojo, Abayomi, & Odozi, 2014; Polirstok, 2017). This highlights the need to understand the relationship of youth mindsets to their outcomes on empowerment programmes. Furthermore, it would be beneficial to understand the building blocks that make up the types of mindsets, which promote positive outcomes on youth empowerment programmes. The field of psychology offers a potential solution to this predicament. There is extensive research and literature on mindset as reviewed by French (2016) that would provide ample theoretical basis for exploring mindsets in the context of youth empowerment in Uganda.

French (2016) highlights three different scholarly categorisations of mindset research, that is, within the cognitive psychology stream, the social and organisational psychology stream, and the positive psychology stream. The "cognitive psychology stream of mindset research" (French, 2016) defines the mindset as the total of activated cognitive procedures involved in the completion of a given task (Gollwitzer & Bayer, 1999; Gollwitzer, 2012). The social and organisational stream of mindset research defines mindsets as "cognitive filters that attend to and influence the totality of cognitive processes with or without an identifiable task" (French, 2012, p.10). The third stream of mindset research termed as the positive psychology stream (French, 2016) is exemplified by the growth and fixed mindset by Dweck (2008). Dweck defines a mindset as a mental frame or lens that selectively organises information, guiding an individual toward a unique way of understanding experiences and selecting corresponding actions and responses (Dweck, 2008). The growth versus fixed mindset theory is one of the most widely used conceptualisations of mindset in the field of empowerment, and its close counterpart field of education. Specifically, the application of the growth and fixed mindset theory (Dweck, 2006) for youth empowerment has been demonstrated by Elmore (2016) and Verberg, Fenneke, and Overbreek (2018).

The contemporary studies of empowerment and mindsets in mainstream psychology described

above have focused on a Western and Cartesian conception of the self. They espouse the " I think therefore I am" (Descartes, 1637) worldview. This worldview looks at cognition or the mind as self-contained and individualistic, a single "I" which, like a computer, processes thoughts and makes decisions, relatively separate from the social world (Mkize, 2006). This worldview underlies many theories premised on cognitive psychology e.g. psychological empowerment (Zimmerman, 1995, 2010) and growth versus fixed mindset (Dweck, 2007). These are hallmark theories in the study of empowerment and mindset theory, respectively. Although they are useful concepts, they need to be further interrogated in context.

Western conceptualisations of mind and self that advance psychology as a science similar to physical sciences are at odds with the African view of the self. This view can be summarised in the concept of *Ubuntu*, a Nguni term that loosely translates to " We/ You are therefore I am" . This term has also been translated into other African languages such as Isizulu: *Umuntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu* (Mbiti, 1969; Mkize, 2004). In Luganda, the term loosely translates to "*Omuntu Muntu Lwa Bantu*". This term speaks to how an individual is an individual *because* of other individuals. In essence, African philosophy views the self as socially situated and developing in discourse with others that inhabit the same social-cultural and historical space (Mbiti, 1969; Mkize, 2004). This worldview underpins the rationale for understanding the social-cultural situatedness of youth empowerment and mindset discourse as is argued in the current paper.

This study espoused Bakhtin's (1981) Dialogical View of Self (Bakhtin,1981) which views the self as never fully formed, but constantly changing in response to information from the social situation and "others" (Bakhtin, 1981; Hermans, 2010). These "others" may be physically present/or absent entities, living or dead; they may be individuals, institutions; or may even be cultural norms and beliefs and so on. These "others" can appear to take on a distinct identity and simultaneously hold conversations within one's mind, with each one representing a different voice. This concept of voice(s), which influence the self, further emphasises the need to understand the social-cultural and historical milieu surrounding youth empowerment. It allows scholars and youth service providers to think about what voices or ideologies actively or sub-consciously influence the youth that they set out to empower. This would be the first step to theorising about the mindsets of youths in Uganda.

The purpose of the current research was to explore the social, cultural, and historical environments within which youth empowerment is done in Buganda. The study was a pilot for the author's PhD research

entitled, "*The Dilemma of Youth Empowerment in Uganda: Interrogating the Mindset Question*". This PhD study focused on the beneficiaries of youth empowerment initiatives located within the Buganda Kingdom region of Uganda. This paper, therefore, focuses on the opinions of youth, traditional and religious leaders, parents and political leaders on the social-cultural environment and its influence on youths empowerment in Buganda.

Methodology

This study was grounded in a social constructionist perspective, in which the world is understood as built up through social processes, especially through linguistic interactions (Lyons & Coyle, 2016). Also, since the world is seen as a product of particular cultural and historical contexts, it is not a fixed but rather a dynamic entity (Lyons & Coyle, 2016). A social constructionist framework focuses on examining the ways of understanding social reality that are available within a particular cultural and historical context and the implications they hold for human experience (Willig, 2013). Based on this framework, I carried out an exploratory qualitative study. Qualitative research designs enable the researcher to answer the questions of "*what*", "*how*" and "*why*" things happen the way that they do in the social world (Moriarty, 2001; Patton & Cochran, 2002; Hancock, 2002).

The specific approach taken for this study is narrative constructionism (Sparkes & Smith, 2014). This narrative approach conceptualises human beings as meaning makers who use narratives from their social-cultural world to interpret their experiences and communicate ideas (Lyons & Coyle, 2016). These narratives, consistent to Bakhtinian thinking, do not "belong" to the individuals who use them but are passed down from their social and cultural communities (Bakhtin, 1984; Lyons & Coyle, 2016). By this logic, the opinions of the respondents in this research can provide insight into the milieu surrounding youth empowerment in Buganda.

Study participants

Forty-one respondents took part in this study. The sampling strategy used to select respondents was purposive in nature (Byrne, 2004; Palys, 2008); which allows a researcher to make strategic choices on whom to involve in the research, based on the research objectives. I selected respondents from three districts in Buganda region, namely Rakai, Kampala, and Kalangala. I selected these districts because they were home to three youth empowerment programmes on whose beneficiaries I intended to focus on for my PhD research. These included the Cotton Foundation Scholars programme from Rakai District, MasterCard Foundation Scholars from Kampala catchment area and the Youth Livelihoods Program beneficiaries

from Kalangala. Selected respondents were expected to be familiar with the youth empowerment initiatives in their area, but had not been direct beneficiaries of these programmes. I then interviewed respondents who agreed to participate in either individual interviews or focus group discussions. Table 1 below shows the details about respondents that participated in the study.

empowerment from their point of view. This approach was meant to give the respondents free rein to express their views, in keeping with the constructionist research approach that sees people as capable of making meaning out of their social environment. Note taking and recording where respondents gave me permission allowed me to capture what was said. I transcribed and

Table 1: Study participants

Interview	Participants	Number	Gender	
			Female	Male
KII 1	Pastor, Kampala	1	-	1
KII, 2	Parent/primary school head teacher, Kalangala	1	-	1
KII, 3	Local government leader, Kalangala	1	-	1
KII,4	Minister for Youth Buganda Kingdom	1	-	1
FGD 1	Catholic clergy, Rakai	4	1	3
FGD 2	Recent graduates, Kampala	9	9	2
FGD 3	Youth, Entebbe	10	6	4
FGD 4	Mixed youth group, Kalangala	9	7	2
FGD 5	Parents (Entebbe)	5	4	1

Source: Field Data Collection

I asked respondents to broadly comment on the social-cultural and historical environments in which youth empowerment is done in Buganda; what helped and what did not help the process of

reviewed each recording after each interview before carrying out the next interview. This allowed me to appreciate the information coming through the interviews and which areas still needed more clarification.

Data analysis

After transcribing all the recorded interviews and organising the field notes, I analysed the data thematically as described by Braun and Clarke (2006). Thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 6). Thematic analysis was deemed suitable for this study to obtain a better understanding of the issues surrounding youth empowerment in Buganda from the perspective of the respondents.

After gaining an in-depth understanding of the content, I applied initial codes to the relevant segments of the data. This process was a continuation of the aforementioned process started during data collection in which each interview was reviewed briefly for major themes before carrying out another interview. Through this process, I established broad themes which I further refined and broke down into sub-themes. Finally, I selected extracts from the original data that clearly illustrated each theme or sub-theme for incorporation into the analysis report.

Study limitations

The major limitation for this study was in the sample selected to take part in the study. The researcher/author was not able to interview key respondents such as in-school youths, other cultural leaders and female elders from Buganda Kingdom. Instead, the study interviewed respondents from four districts in Buganda and these are not representative of the views of the entire kingdom. This situation came about largely due to the disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, which resulted in school closures in March 2020, and eventually saw the entire country in full lockdown. Nonetheless, the ideas obtained from these respondents provide some key insights that are a reasonable starting point to scholars that wish to delve further into the social-cultural milieu and discourse around youth empowerment in Buganda and Uganda. The reader should note that the respondents in this study did not limit their reflections on their geographical locality, but rather focused on Buganda as a region and the entire country.

Results and discussion

This section focuses on the results obtained through the data analysis process described above and a discussion of these results in relation to extant literature. In the data analysis process described above, the everyday use of language emerged as a major theme in the respondent's views concerning the social-cultural context in which youth empowerment is done in Buganda. This is consistent with the guiding theory for this study, Bakhtin's dialogical view of mind, which focuses on language use. Respondents across the board focused on the commonly used statements in social interactions within Buganda, especially among the youth. Respondents saw this language as disempowered and disempowering,

and also focused on the language around education and its usefulness or lack thereof in the Buganda context. These three sub-themes are further discussed below:

Sub-theme one: Disempowered language

Some respondents pointed out a commonly used statement "*Gavumeenti etuyambe"* (KII 1, KII 4) which directly translates into English as "Let the government help us". Apparently, the government of Uganda is constantly implored to come to the aid of citizens in all its situations, ranging from financial constraints to unfair treatment within the home; situations that would not normally require government intervention. Indeed, the saying "*Gavumeenti etuyambe*" is quite pervasive in Uganda. A review of local media channels reveals numerous cases where an assortment of Ugandans appeal to the government or President Museveni (who represents the government) to come to their aid (Next Media Services, 2019, October 30). Various public intellectuals have attempted to describe the origin of the statement, blaming it on the paternalistic nature of the Uganda government, on the one hand (Mayambala, 2014; Mayombwe, 2017); and on the other hand, cautioning youths to take charge of their own destiny rather than depending on a saviour, such as the government (Namajja, 2019).

Another statement indicative of a disempowered youth population was "*Otuwadeyo kaki"* (what have you given us?) *...otulese otya?*….(how have you left us) (KII3)… This statement is commonly used by young people that have been in interaction with a wealthy, usually political figure. The connotation is that they appreciate the politician, not based on his political views but on what materialistic aid they can immediately provide to the youths. The young people do not directly ask for money, but appeal to the wealthy individual to consider the situation (one of scarcity) in which he/she is leaving them. The local politician does well not to take this statement at face value because it often veils a threat for the next interaction should he/she go away without leaving "anything" for the young people. This syndrome is also indicative of the dependent attitude held by the youths in Buganda as described by Mayambala (2014) and Namajja (2017).

Yet, another disempowered statement, often delivered with a sense of comedy is the statement *"…omwaavu wa kufa"* (a poor man has to die) (Female 5, FGD 3). This statement is usually appended to a description of a desirable situation, with the story ending in "but a poor man has to die". The death in this case may not be literal but representing intense suffering as experienced by the speaker. It represents the widely accepted idea that nothing can work out for a person who does not have money in Buganda, and that money solves all things. The issue of money

provides a good segue into the issue of "connections" as described that "For anything to happen, you must have connections…" (Female 10, FGD 3).

Some respondents recognised this language as problematic but would not articulately explain why it was problematic. This disempowered language is consistent with the concept of "learned" helplessness (Maier & Seligman, 1976; Peterson, 2010), hopelessness, and dependence on a "father-figure" perpetuated in society narratives and actively/sub-consciously influencing the will and actions of the youths in Buganda. The youths perceive themselves as unable to change their situation because they do not have the right connections; or do not feel the need to work hard to change their situation but instead depend on government and politicians for handouts. In both cases, they are not empowered to work hard.

Sub-theme two: Disempowering language

Participants also recognised that sometimes, the language used to describe or address young people in Buganda was disempowering. One female youth participant described a situation where she wanted to conduct a community sensitisation for fellow youths about HIV and met with severe opposition. The contention was that she could not possibly have anything relevant to say because she was too youngs. She was told, "*...ani oyo ayogela..oyo omwana akuzze tumulaba* (who is she to speak, we have watched that child grow up... (Female 3, FGD 3). The young lady had a useful skill to share with other youth in her community, and wished to use it to transform her community. However, she was discouraged, and barred from making the intervention because she had grown up in that community. The unsaid assumption in this statement could be that she could not do anything worthwhile because she was not a foreigner or a donor. This case depicts how society narratives run counter to some government initiatives, for example, empowering all people to create a difference in their own communities as laid out in the National Development Plan III (NPA, 2020).

Another female youth respondent (FGD 3) described a situation where she had successfully completed her university education, even if she was from a poor socioe-conomic background. According to her, many people questioned the source of the funds for her successful education. Some people asked, "*Ssente yazijeewa* (where did she get the money)... and argued that " *yafunye abasajja* (she got sugar daddies)". In this case, the community's focus was not on her success, but on undercutting that success by insinuating that she could not possibly have obtained it without prostituting herself. This situation brings to mind the aspect of gender expectations for youths in Buganda and how society hold males and females to different standards. It is unlikely that a similar success

story told by a male youth would be questioned in the same way. In this, we see that community narratives are disempowering especially for the female youth. Ninsiima et al., (2018) who show that gender expectations and stereotypes start to affect girls and boys differently as early as adolescence have further explained this situation; the opportunities for male children begin to widen while the agency and space for girls narrows.

The female youth respondents in this study had more to say about disempowering language. Another female respondent described how, whenever she tried to express herself freely, she is met with a disparaging remark that ...*ogwo musege!* (that is a wild or spoilt child) (Female 6, FGD 3). Once again, this points to the standards that female youths are held to in traditional Ugandan society in which they are expected to be demure and subservient (Ninsiima et al., 2018).

Adult respondents also expressed views about how language in Buganda society can be disempowering. One respondent, a town mayor, described the language used by Pentecostal pastors who usually have a large youth following. In his view, these pastors promised miracles without hard work to their flock. They promised, *"Oja kubeera awo, ekyaamagero kikutomere"* (...you will just be there....and the miracle will collide with you) (Male, KII 3). This respondent went on to describe that such statements inculcated a sense of laziness among the youths in Buganda, always waiting for instant miracles and outcomes without going through the process of hard work. He felt that this language was deliberately and manipulatively used by the Pentecostal pastors to draw large followings, without paying attention to the destructive nature of such ideas to the youth's mindsets about hard work.

At the same time, there was also language that was inadvertently disempowering, used by well-meaning elders while interacting with young people. One example was raised by a priest, who said that as children, when one would perform very well, or, for example, dance very well at a musical concert, it was expected for the adults to say, *"Kankuweeyo eza paani"* (let me give you some money for pancakes) (Male, FGD 1). The priest's contention with this statement was not in the giving of the money in itself; but what the giver described the money as being for; for pancakes. He went on to describe that in essence, elders in Buganda do not teach young people to save, and even when they give money; it is with the view that this money should be consumed directly. According to this respondent, this was a depiction of the consumerist mindsets of the community in Buganda, as opposed to a more developmental mindset that allowed for saving and investment.

Another interesting observation came from a male community elder concerning the statement "*Oyagala kunziza mukyaalo*? (Do you want to

send me back to the village?) (Male, KII 3). Apparently, this statement is usually invoked during business transactions, when the seller feels that the buyer is offering too low a price for his/her goods. The community elder's focus in this case was on how the "village" was a place to be feared and stayed away from at all costs. He contrasted this to the fact that Buganda is widely accepted as an agrarian society, and that the bulk of this agriculture can only be done in the village, rural setting. In this elder's view, such language sub-consciously disempowered youths in Buganda by drawing them to the cities where they could do little to better their situation; as compared to staying in the villages where there was enough space for them to carry out agriculture and develop themselves. Indeed, the high rate of rural urban migration in Uganda and Buganda has been variously noted (Barratt, Mbonye, & Seeley, 2012; Kristensen & Birch-Thomsen, 2013; Stites, 2020).

Both of these themes lean on the failings of the current Buganda culture as represented by the common sayings and idioms in supporting empowerment. This is in sharp contrast to the literature by authors from Buganda that illustrate the multitude of proverbs, stories, and sayings in Baganda culture that target the mentorship and grooming of its youths into responsible adults. An example is Mpalanyi (1977) in "Ndikuma Okulya" who depicts in story form the importance of disciplining a girl-child (perhaps even over catering for her physical comforts) so that she becomes a successful wife and mother. For the boys, Mpalanyi (1972) presents "Basajja Mivule: soma oyige" which illustrates the risks that a youngs man that has not been disciplined while growing up may face when they migrate to the city. Other authors, including Nsimbi (1956), Kawere (1954), and Mbaziira (1970); all illustrate various channels of grooming the youth for adulthood through Luganda proverbs and their meanings, novels, and poetry, respectively. Against this background, it is of note to scholars and practitioners of youth empowerment that both youths and older generations that took part in this study focused on the negative aspects concerning language use in Buganda society.

Sub-theme three: Language and the purpose of education

The third sub-theme from the respondents surrounded the language around the purpose of education. Education has been one of the pillars of empowering youths as seen by the government of Uganda for several years. Considerable policies and funding have gone into providing universal primary and secondary education (National Planning Authority, 2020). However, respondents in this study pointed out a range of mixed messages concerning the language that describes the purpose of education. This language ranged from describing education as

being indispensable to a child's future, through education being just one of many options for a child, to education being completely without merit for success.

One male community elder pointed out how teachers always emphasise to young people that *bwobba tosomye ogeenda kubeera bubi*... (If you do not study, you are doomed) (Male, KII 4); which depicts education as the only way to success. He continued to describe how when one is seeking for a job, potential employers only ask... *tulage empapula zo*... (show us your papers). He decried how employers focus on "papers" that showed the applicant's level of education rather than their knowledge and employable skills. This situation exists at a time when multitudes of Ugandan youths with university degrees are failing to obtain formal employment (Awiti, 2016) which has forced the government of Uganda to resort to skills building programmes for the youths (Kintu, Kitainge, & Ferej, 2019).

One of the youth respondents also pointed out that parents emphasise the importance of education in many cases without a critical reflection on the true purpose of education for the youths. She described how her mother always exhorted her "... *mwaana wange soma tonswaaza*"... (my child, study so that you never put me to shame) (Female, FGD 2). She continued to say that the mother would insist that she should study, … "even when they do not know what the studying will bring (Female, FGD 2). In this way, education is looked at for education's sake, rather than its ultimate purpose in improving the life circumstances of young people. This has perhaps contributed to many youths seeking university education at all costs, even when they would gain better results in vocational education. Indeed, vocational education is viewed as an option for youths that have failed or been otherwise marginalised in formal education (Blaak, Openjuru, & Zeelen, 2013; Okumu & Bbaale, 2019).

A variation to the seemingly indisputable importance of education was the idea that there are many alternatives to it. As this male community elder pointed out, when it came to the girl-child, the quickest alternative to education was marriage. He mentioned how parents easily resorted to "*bwaaba alemeddwa..kale annafumbirwa,* (if she fails, she can as well get married) (Male, KII 3). He went on to explain that marriage was always on the table for female students, to the extent that school was only seen as a pastime while parents waited for the child to reach a marriageable age. Of course, the grooming of female children in Buganda first for marriage as a priority has long historical roots. One example is in the storyline choices by Mpalanyi (1972, 1977) whose Luganda novels focus on grooming a girl-child for marriage in *Ndikuma Okulya* while the male child is depicted as going on to attain higher education

in *Basajja Mivule*. With these deeply held cultural beliefs concerning the life trajectories of female children, it comes as no surprise that the most prevalent reasons for dropping out of school for the girl-child in Uganda are associated with early marriage and pregnancy (Watson, Bantebya, & Muhanguzi, 2018).)

For the boy-child, the story was rather different in case they failed to perform as expected in formal education. "*Emisomo gikulemye.. genda mu garagi...(*You have failed in education, so go and work in a garage) (Male, KII 4) was the common saying. This respondent's contention was that working in a garage which in this case represented the wide range of vocational education, was seen only as an alternative for school failures, and not as a valid route to self-sufficiency for young people in its own right. Once again, this widely held society belief runs counter to government efforts to create youthful entrepreneurs through programmes, such as the Youth Livelihoods Programme (Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, 2013).

On the extreme end of the spectrum was a view that completely dispelled the idea that education had any utility whatsoever. The idea that "*osoobola okufuna nebw'oba tosomye…* (You can get rich even if you do not go to school) (Male, KII 4) was seen as one that influences a lot of Baganda youths. The problem with this view is that young people then pursue education with this sub-conscious handicap that they did not necessarily have to work so hard in school. This mental handicap has perhaps been best expressed in the large number of youths in Buganda and Uganda that have resorted to sports betting, since it provides instant gratification (Matama, Mbago, & Ngoboka, 2021) and the persistent hope of winning the jackpot (Masaba & Blaszczynski,2016). It is possible that these youth rationalise sports betting as a quick way to get rich through luck, as opposed to being in school. One respondent in a youth focus group discussion in Entebbe succinctly illustrated this view that education did not lead to wealth when he pointed out, " in all the buildings in Kampala, none belongs to a professor!"

The discourse concerning education illustrates dialogic tensions or dilemmas as has been described by Mkize (2004) between the perceived purpose of education and its actual utility towards gaining empowerment. The society narratives concerning the purpose of education cause confusion and demotivation for the youths. Whereas education is promoted as a pathway to empowerment, the youths on these programmes have to grapple with a multitude of discourses that undercut the value of education in attaining self-sufficiency. Unfortunately, these discourses and narratives, and their influence on the psyche of the empowerment programme beneficiaries, are yet to be critically analysed by the youth empowerment programmers.

Conclusions and recommendations

The results of this study show that the problematic assumptions, attitudes, and practices that have worked against youth empowerment in Buganda are hiding in plain sight. They are woven into language, daily discourse, and narratives but have been normalised and accepted. This way, these problematic discourses may continue to sub-consciously influence the youths despite the numerous efforts towards youth empowerment. Such discourses need to be problematised and targeted for change as vigorously as other factors affecting barriers to youth empowerment, such as lack of education and employable skills.

The results of this study are a call to psychology scholars to interrogate empowerment and mindset discourse from *jua kali*, the "lay person" using theoretical frameworks that are able to appreciate, resonate with, and critically assess the dynamics of the African experience, rather than being limited to westernised conceptualisations that are carried within existing theories of mindset

Finally, this pilot study points towards the need for an in-depth narrative inquiry into youth empowerment stories (both of success and struggle) to better describe youth mindsets in the context of empowerment, which can then be appropriately targeted for change.

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Perceptions about Female-Perpetrated Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Uganda

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Abstract

Violence and coercion, including physical and verbal threats in intimate relationships, is a serious global problem. Although statistics reveal that women are the predominant victims of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), they are by no means the only affected gender. IPV research trends indicate growth in male victimisation by their female intimate partners. Yet, despite the growth, widespread disbelief of actual occurrence of female-perpetrated IPV against men still exists. The current status quo presents a contrast between what emerging research shows as a growing problem and the way ordinary societal members perceive the issue. This paper, thus, explores prevailing perceptions about violence perpetration by women against their male intimate partners in a variety of contexts. It further examines the implications of such perceptions about male victimisation on society's general understanding and recognition of IPV against men. Narratives on perceptions around female perpetrated IPV and male victimisation are presented and illustrated with direct quotes drawn from the interview transcripts. While men share their individual experiences of victimisation, they reveal how gendered notions, histories, structural, cultural and other social factors have negatively influenced societal perceptions about male victimisation in intimate relationships. These perceptions have consequently resulted in the under-recognition of men as legitimate IPV victims; thus, the limited provision of male-specific victim support services and resources.

Keywords: female perpetrators, male victimisation, intimate partner violence, common perceptions

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Introduction

Violence among intimate partners is a pertinent, complex, multifaceted, culturally, and historically shifting social phenomenon, especially with respect to the perpetrator – victim positions. It mainly occurs among partners in intimate relationships in a domestic setting (Allen-Collinson, 2008), although some violent actions between partners may take place in the public domain. Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) cuts across various spheres which include: gender, culture/ethnicity, education, income, and religion (Gillum et al., 2018). IPV is perpetrated by both men and women against their intimate partners, through forms, such as: physical violence involving pushing, throwing objects, kicking, hitting, and several other actions and psychological or emotional violence – verbal threats, false accusations, humiliation, witchcraft, the use of intimate knowledge for systematic degradation and sabotage of contact with children (Karakurt & Cumbie, 2012). IPV can also manifest through sexual violence, material violence – violence against inanimate objects, such as breaking or destroying objects and other things that matter to the victim, as well as economic violence involving control of the partner's financial resources and economy (Isdal, 2000). IPV has further been classified under four typologies including: *situational couple violence* which involves either partner in the role of abuser or victim/survivor; *intimate terrorism* where the perpetrator is violent and controlling while the partner is non-violent and non-controlling. The other typologies are v*iolent resistance,* in which the perpetrator, often the female partner, fights back in response to continuous abuse by a violent and controlling partner, and *mutual violent control* involving both partners who are violent and controlling to each other (Johnson, 2008).

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) Against Men

IPV against men is a complex social issue, deeply rooted in the interaction of social, economic, political, cultural, and biological factors. As such, perceptions, manifestations, and prevalence of male IPV victimisation differ from one society to another, owing to the fact that they are influenced differently by socio-cultural and religious beliefs (Akinsulure-Smith et al., 2013; Thobejane & Luthada, 2019). Despite the reported consequences of IPV (psychological distress/disorders, impaired self-concept, suicidal ideation, etc.) on male victims, the phenomenon still remains significantly under-estimated, non-recognised, or unreported due to the culture of shame, societal misconceptions, social taboos, fear of not being believed, and the heavily clouded silence that surrounds it (Adebayo, 2014; Aragbuwa, 2020; Lutwama-Rukundo, 2010).

Traditionally, IPV has been perceived as a feminine issue that only affects women, and thus, a significantly

large section of the population does not acknowledge male victims of IPV (Thobejane et al., 2018). These gendered perceptions of victimhood are influenced by how masculinity is constructed in society, to the extent that, victimhood is feminised, while violence perpetration is masculinised, often rooted in the imbalanced power relations within intimate relationships in patriarchal settings (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2019; Scarduzio et al., 2017). Being that patriarchy is so widespread across Uganda, it follows that, in patriarchal communities, men have been privileged with power over women in intimate relationships and yet this power is sometimes abused, resulting in many IPV cases against women (Black et al., 2019; Francisco et al., 2013; Karamagi et al., 2006).

Consequently, a large bulk of research has been dedicated to understanding this gender asymmetry, focusing largely on the historically and socially constructed influence of patriarchy in allowing men to control, dominate as well as be violent towards their female partners (Barker, 2005; Flavahan, 2015; Kwagala et al., 2013; Namy et al., 2017; Rujumba & Kwiringira, 2019; Tumwesigye et al., 2012). This status quo has inevitably resulted in IPV occurrence and theorisation becoming feminised, thereby leading to men's experiences of violence as victims/survivors receiving much less attention and recognition (Brooks et al., 2020; Thobejane et al., 2018).

Nevertheless, scholars, such as Ayodele (2017), Bates (2020), Dutton (2012), and Thobejane and Luthada (2019), among others, as well as government agencies in a number of countries worldwide, have engaged in research that explores men's experiences of IPV victimisation in heterosexual relationships; thus, bringing the phenomenon to the attention of the public. Their research demonstrates how real and growing the problem of male IPV victimisation is, based on the available statistics; hence, calling for its due recognition and attention. For instance, findings from a survey in Northern Nigeria conducted by Ameh et al., (2012) indicate that, just over half (55.4%) of the men had ever experienced violence at home, among whom 82.4% had been verbally and emotionally abused. In Kenya, Uganda's closest neighbour, a study by Obegi et al., (2017) indicates an increased occurrence of female-perpetrated IPV in various forms of partner violence ranging from physical, to sexual, and psychological.

In Uganda, where the current research was conducted, the 2018 Uganda Police Annual Crime Report recorded 2,873 males who were victimised in intimate relationships (Uganda Police Force, 2019). Yet, in 2019, 2,908 males out of a total of 14,232 people were recorded as victims of domestic violence (Uganda Police Force, 2020). More national statistics on domestic violence provided by the 2016 Uganda

Demographic Health Survey (UDHS) indicated that, of the 4,011 men aged 15 to 54 in the sampled households, 36% and 21% of them reportedly experienced spousal emotional and physical violence, respectively. On the same subject, national statistics by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) indicated that, in 2016, men who experienced spousal physical, sexual or emotional violence by their current or most recent wife/partner was at 44%, up from 42% in 2011 (UBOS & ICF, 2018).

However, despite the above statistics detailed by emerging reports and academic investigations about the gender symmetry of IPV, negative gender role stereotypes and perceptions relating to IPV against men continue to pervade society, casting doubt over the capabilities of women as perpetrators of the vice and the vulnerability of men as victims. Furthermore, women's violence is prone to be judged as contextually and situationally dependent (e.g., self-defence, escaping abuse, reclaiming a sense of self), with individuals searching for wider, external explanations for such behaviour (Bair-Merritt et al., 2010; Bates et al., 2019). Researchers–especially feminist researchers, who hold this point of view, argue that, findings that report women being as violent as men do not take context (e.g., self-defence) into account when they ask participants to report perpetration of IPV (Bates et al., 2019).

Such controversies that have for long dominated the IPV discourse may have hampered a more nuanced approach to recognising the problem of male IPV victimisation, by creating harmful stereotypical perceptions that lower societal concerns surrounding the abuse of men by their female intimate partners (Bates et al., 2019; Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2019). This paper thus interrogates common perceptions surrounding male IPV victimisation by the female intimate partners, particularly Baganda[1] men, of Masaka District, in the central region of Uganda, and how such stereotypical gendered perceptions may affect the recognition of male IPV victims in a contemporary masculinised and politicised society that views IPV as a problem affecting only women.

Social Construction of Masculinity and IPV

The Social Construction Theory, which suggests that identities–gender identities are formed and re-defined through a social process (Lorber, 1994), is the theoretical lens adopted by this paper. This social process establishes beliefs and perceptions regarding each gender in a given society through social norms and expectations, indicating

[1] The Baganda people belong to the Bantu family, and constitute the largest ethnic group in Uganda. The Baganda inhabit the Buganda region in south-central Uganda, which is constituted of more than 20 districts, and Masaka is one of the districts in Buganda. Masaka District – study area, is predominantly occupied by the Baganda (77%) followed by Banyankore (9%), Banyarwanda (8%) and smaller ethnicities (6%).

that all individuals are socialised to perform their gender in socially acceptable ways (Corbally, 2015; Riemann & Schutze, 2005). Since the social construction of masculinity is complex (Courtenay, 2000), men are influenced by public perceptions of what it means to be a man (Corbally, 2015). Within traditionally patriarchal societies, hegemonic masculinity is the socially constructed view of what it means to be a man (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), with characteristics, such as independence, strength and control (Kiyimba, 2010; Ratele, 2014). This societal view about ideal masculinity greatly influences men's expression of their abuse experiences and vulnerability, as well as the framing of perceptions about male victimhood by the general public as something incomprehensible (Aragbuwa, 2020; Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2019). Therefore, men strive to fit within the day-to-day social stereotypes (e.g., control, stoicism, self-reliance) associated with a hegemonic masculinity.

Since hegemonic masculinity in Uganda's patriarchal settings represents power and agency, this is the image that men and societal members perceive as masculinity. In Uganda's patriarchal societies, a challenge to a man's superior position quickly prompts doubts about his gender identity, by both himself and those he interacts with (Kiyimba, 2010; Namukwaya et al., 2021). Therefore, becoming a victim of IPV, coming to terms with being a victim of IPV, and responding to being a victim of IPV is quite problematic for many men and inconceivable by other societal members in the majority of patriarchal societies (Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2019; Thobejane & Luthada, 2019). How can such a man publicly pronounce himself as an IPV survivor, or how can society recognise him as a legitimate IPV victim when the cultural or social construction of his manliness, superiority, dominance and authority in society ought not to be questioned? By delving into the negation of the 'new' status of men's experience of IPV, the current paper explores common reactions and perceptions surrounding male victimisation and the implications of such stereotypical perceptions on the masculinity of male IPV victims in Uganda, particularly in Masaka District[2].

Methods and Materials

This qualitative study utilised the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), an approach committed to the examination of how people make sense of their major life experiences (Smith et al., 2009). This permitted a rich analysis of the victimised men's perceptions of their own abuse experiences, as well as the perceptions held by societal members about female violence perpetration against their male intimate partners. Snowball sampling was used to recruit 11 men over the age of

[2] The study site - Masaka District, was purposively selected through reconnaissance and statistical ranking of IPV prevalence by the Uganda Police Force Annual Crime Reports.

18, who had experienced female-perpetrated IPV either in the current or previous intimate relationships. The recruitment process and data collection lasted for two years and five months. In line with the recommendations of Smith et al., (2009), the researchers reviewed the data quality during data collection and the final sample size produced rich, experientially diverse data which met the analytic requirements of IPA.

Prior to the field data collection, the study protocol was approved by the Makerere University Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (MAKSS REC 10.17.94) and the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST SS4541). In addition, the researchers sought permission from the Directorate of Research - Uganda Police Force, to be able to identify and recruit the male victims. Identifying men through the Police Child and Family Protection Unit (CFPU) was deemed viable since it is the police department in charge of domestic violence cases.

Despite the fact that most men find it demasculinising to self-identify as victims as well as report female-perpetrated IPV, the few men who choose to seek help after victimisation often approach either the law enforcement officers at police CFPU or the local council leaders. Therefore, identifying the male victims, with the assistance of the police CFPU (mainly those who had reported having been abused by their female partners) was envisaged as one of the viable options through which the researchers would identify the eligible study participants, which approach was successful. Through this approach, the researchers identified and recruited three male victims. Worth mentioning is that in order for these male victims to open up about their abuse experiences, the researchers engaged in an extensive conversation with them as a way of building rapport. After successfully conducting individual in-depth interviews with these male victims, the researchers requested them to lead them to other males who had experienced similar abuse situations from their female intimate partners. Through this snowball process, the other eight participants were successfully recruited to take part in the study.

The in-depth interviews were conducted in pre-arranged venues chosen by the study participants, since their choice of venue was deemed most suitable to facilitate privacy as well as foster confidentiality. The men were visited several times (2-3 times) following their first interview for purposes of data corroboration, and verification, particularly in instances where the researchers needed more details about the earlier provided data by the participants. Secondary participants who included: selected violent female partners to the abused men, purposively selected societal members (family, friends, peers, neighbours) who had either witnessed these violent occurrences or arbitrated

violent episodes amongst the intimate partners during the course of the couple's relationship, and some key informants (police officers, local leaders, religious leaders, GBV-NGO staff) were also interviewed. The interviews were conducted in the local language – Luganda, specifically for participants who did not understand English, and all the interviews were audio-recorded, after seeking consent from the participants. The audio-recorded interviews were later transcribed verbatim and translated from Luganda into English. Names of all participants were subsequently altered to protect their identity.

Data analysis included both thematic and narrative analysis, using the IPA, with a primary aim of gaining an insight into how each participant made sense of their own personal lived experiences or witnessed other persons' experiences of abuse (see Smith et al., 2009). The transcripts were read and re-read several times during which preliminary interpretations and notes of interest were identified, from which themes emerged.

The findings are discussed below, under the themes that emerged during and after data analysis.

Inconceivable for a Man to Be a Victim of IPV

Most societal members in Masaka perceived IPV as a masculine act against women, and that it was, and still is, a legitimate expression of power and authority by men upon their female intimate partners, especially in Buganda region (Kiyimba, 2010; Speizer, 2010) and 40% of married men report perpetration. Women and men who reported witnessing their fathers beating their mothers were more likely to report IPV victimisation (perpetration for men). When gender relations are constructed along such power relations, any consideration of alternative positions for men and women within intimate relationships become constrained. Aggression and control as well as subordination and submission, therefore, become gendered to the extent that they are viewed as consistent with the traditional male and female positions in relations and society. To this end, IPV is perceived as a feminised and hetero-normative experience, rendering the reverse occurrences of men being probable IPV victims hard to accept (Thobejane et al., 2018; McHugh et al., 2013). This explains the dominant view that the majority of society members in Masaka hold, of women as the only victims in intimate relationships and men as the perpetrators, as some of the key informants noted:

> … Violence by women never existed in our society. If I can recall, where violence existed, it was by men against women... (Catholic Priest & Notary to Masaka Diocesan Marriage Tribunal).

> When we hear about domestic violence, the first thing that comes to mind is a man hitting a woman. It is very rare and almost impossible that a wife

> can hit her husband! Here in Buganda??? Nooo… 'Ssemaka takubwa mukazi!' – [a household head who is a man cannot be beaten by a woman]. And indeed, where you find a woman has hit her man, there is either a very big issue in the background or she was just defending herself (Male - Village LC1 Chairperson).

The narrative above by the catholic priest points to the patriarchal undertones imbued in religious beliefs and perspectives, constructing men as the masters in the family, whose will, women are expected to submit to (Mann & Takyi, 2009; tests of competing theories on why the practice is common in the region are quite limited. This study evaluates the effects of resources and cultural factors on attitudes Africans hold about the acceptability of gendered violence, and specifically wife beating (battering Mansley, 2009). Therefore, with such perspectives, it becomes almost unfathomable for a 'master' to become victimised by his 'subordinate'. The narratives further reveal the deeply rooted perceptions among the societal members in Masaka, about the normative and gendered constructions of violence and victimhood. These constructions have hindered recognition of victimised men as well as abusive women within society, who have countered this perception. However, due recognition of the fact that IPV positioning is taking on a new twist where traditional victims are becoming perpetrators and vice versa ought to be considered.

The inconceivable nature of male victimhood is not only shared by societal members but also by some victim service support organisations. Some study participants expressed their disappointment about the stereotypical biases of the service support officers by failing or refusing to act, arrest or charge the female perpetrators when the victimised men reported the violence:

> After her attacks on me in the market yard, I decided to go straight to police with my torn clothes hoping that this time they would believe me. However, to my disappointment, the police officer refused to acknowledge me as a victim and her as an abuser. He instead told me that he would only believe my story after hearing from my abuser. I was, therefore, detained and she was summoned. To my surprise, when she appeared, she managed to use her antics and convinced the officers that I was actually the problem, that I was trying to abuse her and whatever she did to me was in self-defence. What hurt me most was, even though I took the decision to report my abusive wife, the officers could not believe my story, but believed her (Luswata - Male survivor).

Luswata previously had a bad record at police, since he had on several occasions been reported by his partner that he had badly hit her during a situational conflict that triggered physical violence

between the two. It was therefore hard for him to prove his victimisation in this particular incident, based on the previous record the police officers had about the couple. It is to note that while Luswata had previously abused his partner, this particular incident could have been one of violence in retaliation where he was the victim and not the perpetrator. From the above narratives, the reactions and perceptions of law enforcement officers during handling cases of IPV could possibly have been an outcome of the international and local legislation that has defined IPV to the extent that one gender (female) is seen as vulnerable to abuse, and the other gender (male) as the perpetrators. Given the legal and societal history of oppression and discrimination against women by men, this has resulted in the misrepresentation of IPV as a problem affecting only women. Consequently, such history has polarised appropriate conceptualisation of IPV by the "gate keepers of justice", thereby resulting in significant implications to male victims including making men's experiences invisible and hard to articulate. This has subsequently caused societal members' and police officers' disbelief and non-response to the plight of male IPV victims.

Worth noting is that the under-acknowledgment, non-recognition, mistreatment, and penalisation of victimised men puts them at additional risk to further victimisation by their already abusive female partners (Machado et al., 2020), since the female partners are aware that the police officers will not believe the men's stories even when they report their victimisation.

The abused men also narrated their experiences of encountering prejudice and discrimination when they decided to seek help from gender-based violence NGOs. Mukiibi, one of the male survivors said:

> … I decided to go to this domestic violence NGO (names withheld) because I had been told by a friend that it handles cases of domestic violence. However, when I went to their offices to seek help, the officer tasked me to prove that indeed I was a victim of spousal abuse … imagine, if your wife insults and vilifies you with rude remarks from time to time, how are you going to prove to an officer that you are a victim of emotional abuse? Do they want us to first run mad for them to believe our victimisation… or? (Mukiibi – Male survivor).

However, the NGO staff identified in the above quotation had this to say:

> While it might be true that the woman was violent towards him, we had to conduct investigations to prove his allegations and exactly what kind of violence he was subjected to. This required us to also go to the village where the couple stays and inquire from the neighbours as well as the LC1 chairperson to ascertain the occurrence of violence and what kind it was. Mind you, this is not a one-day investigation. It requires time. And asking him those questions

> was part of the process (Female NGO GBV staff).

Based on the survivor's narrative, the prejudice the NGO staff expressed could be attributed to the embedded ideologies, perceptions and beliefs that IPV is something that men do to women and that the reverse cannot be true (Bates, 2020; Machado et al., 2020; Thobejane et al., 2018); thus, exhibiting denial about the existence of female-perpetrated IPV against men. In this particular incident, Mukiibi's partner accessed information that Mukiibi had approached this NGO to seek help for his IPV victimisation. She, therefore, decided to also claim victimhood by approaching the same NGO to report that Mukiibi was abusing her and that she needed protection. Consequently, the NGO preferred to have Mukiibi incarcerated while the investigations into his reported victimisation were on-going. This resulted in Mukiibi's secondary psychological victimisation. This finding reinforces other findings (e.g., Hamel et al., 2007) that attribute denial of service support staff about male victimisation to their limited experience working within a narrow range of IPV victims (mainly women and children) as well as their greater allegiance to traditional views on gender and violence. Such ideological positioning and perceptions limit the service support staffs' understanding of how men can also be victimised within intimate relationships.

Another staff member of one GBV NGO insisted that although men have of recent come out to claim victimhood, IPV still has a significant gender dimension, mainly in cases of mutual violent control, in which the abusive women have as well been victims, at some point, during the course of their intimate relationship. He noted how studies have consistently indicated gendered patterns of perpetration where women are victimised much more than men, an issue of significant interest and concern to them as the front campaigners of violence against women. He said:

> … yes, it is possible that there may be some men who suffer violence from their female partners, but statistics continue to indicate that women are still more likely to be victims than men…we cannot ignore this fact in favour of male victims (Male NGO GBV officer).

This finding points to the gender biases and stereotypical gendered perceptions held by victim service providers including NGOs about female IPV perpetration against their male intimate partners. The NGO victim service support officers primarily analyse IPV occurrences within the context of female victimisation based on the limited statistics indicating incidents of male abuse. It should be noted, however, that the minimal available statistics may be attributed to the dearth of studies that have been conducted in this rather under-researched area as well as the fact that the majority of the men who are abused do

not report the occurrences as much as women do (Barkhuizen, 2015; Brooks et al., 2020). Indeed, considering Uganda's IPV victim service support system which is more oriented towards providing help and support for predominantly female IPV victims, men were bound to experience frustrations while trying to access support, as well as unpleasant experiences of being treated as perpetrators. Such similar experiences have been reported by male victims in other parts of the globe (Douglas & Hines, 2011; Huntley et al., 2019; Machado et al., 2016) in Portugal, the phenomenon of male victims of IPV remains hidden and is not a target of research, public policy, or social attention. This exploratory study analysed the prevalence of victimisation, help-seeking behaviors, and needs of 89 men who defined themselves as victims of IPV. Men reported that they had been the victims of at least 1 abusive behavior by their current or former female partner. Psychological violence, followed by physical and sexual violence, was the most frequently reported experience. The majority of the men did not seek help because of difficulty in self-identifying as victims, shame, and distrust of the support system. When they did seek help, informal sources, such as friends and family, were used more often than formal sources. In terms of formal support, victims used health professionals and social/victim support services more than any other type. The male victims evaluated the formal resources (e.g., social/victim support services, police, and the justice system. Worth noting is that if a man reports his experience to services, such as domestic violence organisations or the police and is neither believed nor his abuse taken seriously, the psychological impact he suffers can be significant. Research shows that, experiences such as these perpetrate re-victimisation; hence, leading to further trauma of abused men (Barkhuizen, 2015; McCarrick et al., 2016).

Worth mentioning is also the fact that most programmes and interventions that have been put in place to prevent violence in relationships, families, and communities, are women-centred. Indeed, research shows that there are limited victim service support organisations available specifically for male IPV victims (Drijber et al., 2013; Machado et al., 2016; in Portugal, the phenomenon of male victims of IPV remains hidden and is not a target of research, public policy, or social attention. This exploratory study analysed the prevalence of victimisation, help-seeking behaviors, and needs of 89 men who defined themselves as victims of IPV. Men reported that they had been the victims of at least 1 abusive behavior by their current or former female partner. Psychological violence, followed by physical and sexual violence, was the most frequently reported experience. The majority of the men did not seek help because of difficulty in self-identifying as victims, shame, and distrust of the support system. When

they did seek help, informal sources, such as friends and family, were used more often than formal sources. In terms of formal support, victims used health professionals and social/victim support services more than any other type. The male victims evaluated the formal resources (e.g., social/victim support services, police, justice system Walker et al., 2019). In Uganda, the vast majority of domestic violence organisations are focused mainly on female victims, as opposed to only one NGO (Men's Forum Against Domestic Violence Uganda), formed to help male survivors of domestic abuse. This could be attributed to the traditional gender stereotypes deeply engrained in Uganda's patriarchal societies that consider women as the dominant victims of domestic violence. Since the majority of the domestic violence NGOs subscribe to the dominant social construction of IPV where the male is primarily considered the perpetrator and the female as the victim, the protection programmes and domestic violence shelters of many GBV organisations are set up to provide assistance to abused women as one male survivor alluded: "When I went to that NGO for assistance about my estranged wife, I was told that they only attend to female domestic violence victims and not men… (Kiwuwa – Male survivor).

The majority of victimised men seemed resigned to the fact that the victim support organisations are "female spaces", and that such a service system is not always able to serve them when victimised. When such a perception exists, it justifies Galdas et al. (2005) and Douglas and Hines' (2011) view that victimised men will less likely seek help compared to women. Kiwuwa, cited above, believes that since abused men's victimisation is deemed non-normative by the larger community, the abused men must overcome both internal and external obstacles, ranging from the family to the community level before their vulnerability is recognised and attended to.

When one of the staff members of a domestic violence NGO was consulted about the exclusion of male survivors of IPV in service delivery, he explained that almost all their activities are donor funded. He noted that funders have stipulated conditions under which the funds are to be utilised, and that it explains why, the organisation he represented prioritises women and children. Due to the huge operational costs and limited finances by many of these NGOs, they are left with limited options, other than adhering to the instructions set by their funders (Wallace et al., 2019) 20 semi-structured interviews were completed with managers and practitioners of domestic abuse services supporting men. Interviews were analysed using thematic analysis. Findings: Analysis identified six themes: against the tide of recognition, a need to recognise and accept domestic abuse, knowledge of provision, low

numbers of men, resources (time and funding. This thus explains why resources and services of IPV, such as the Domestic Violence Shelters, NGOs and other counselling and crisis centres are much more available for female victims, while there is an extreme shortage of such services and resources available to male IPV victims (Douglas & Hines, 2011).

Men to Blame

Women's violence within Masaka, in the majority of cases, was perceived to occur under contextually dependent circumstances of either situational couple violence or through violent resistance. This links female-perpetrated IPV to wider external explanations, such as retaliation and/or self-defence (Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza, 1999). The Baganda cultural traditions socially construct women as: weak, meek, and non-violent towards their male partners (Jjuuko & Kibalama, 2011). When the contrary happens, most Baganda, just like most other societies in Uganda, explain the occurrences of IPV against men as an act of self-defence by the female partner. Gerald, a friend to one male survivor, made reference to this assertion in his interview, "I will not lie to you. My friend is also a very provocative and abusive man. So, maybe, Phoebe was violent to him in retaliation" (Gerald – friend to male survivor).

Kasamba, another male survivor, narrated how he was blamed by the law enforcement officers for causing his victimisation by returning home with condoms in his trouser pockets. While he claimed that he had bought them as a family planning measure, considering that his wife had earlier noted how she was not ready yet to have their third child, he did not declare them to her. She only noticed them when she was laundering Kasamba's clothes; thus, becoming suspicious about Kasamba's actions. In view of the fact that his wife had previously suspected him of infidelity, when she found the condoms in his trouser pockets, she concluded that Kasamba had bought them for use when having intercourse with his other women. Kasamba's wife explained how her disappointment with her husband's actions forced her to engage in multiple-partnering in retaliation to Kasamba's previous philandering acts that had earlier psychologically affected her. She narrated:

> That man was controlling me by keeping me home. Yet, he had other women out there. Imagine, he has even never paid my bride price. So, my family does not recognise him as my 'official' husband but rather as the father of my children. Now, tell me, what stops me from having a romantic relationship with another man who is willing to pay my bride price? Why is he hurt when he was also doing the same things by getting involved with other women? What were those condoms for? (Agnes–Kasamba's female abusive partner).

On the other hand, Makubuya, a male survivor, was blamed by community members for having given a lift to a village lady whom his controlling wife, Sarah, had long suspected of being a lover to her husband. Community members, thus, justified Sarah's physical violence of pelting stones at Makubuya and his presumed lover whom he had offered a lift on his motor bike as one of the couple's neighbours alluded:

> He already knew how jealous his woman is. Moreover, that village lady is the same woman Sarah had long suspected of dating her husband Makubuya. With all that prior knowledge, why then did he go ahead to give her a lift, if there was nothing at all between them? It was as if he was provoking Sarah – [*obwo bubeera bujoozi* – that is disrespect] …therefore, Sarah was also right to attack them (Rosette – couple's neighbour).

Notably, neither Sarah nor the community members were cognizant of the fact that Makubuya, being a Muslim, his religion allows him to have up to four wives, as long he has the financial ability to ably take care of them.

The above narratives explain the corresponding range of perceived levels of legitimacy of women's utilisation of violence against an intimate partner regardless of other factors, such as religion and culture which may have an influence on the dynamics of the relationship. In this case, the man's position in an intimate relationship where the woman is violent is troublesome since the man's subjection to abuse is often attributed to his actions (Ayodele, 2017; Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza, 1998; White & Dutton, 2013). Given these findings, it is not surprising that societal members did not express willingness to intervene when the abuser was a woman. Rather, the blame was placed on the male victim/survivor for provoking his abuser. This finding reinforces findings by Rhatigan et al., (2011) where participants attributed minimal blame to female IPV perpetrators, by shifting most of the blame to the abused men for causing their victimisation.

Negligible Acts of Violence on Men

Based on the traditional construction of femininity to meekness and being weak, as compared to masculinity being considered in terms of power, strength, and stoicism in most of Uganda's patriarchal societies, the majority of study participants perceived the impact of female violence on men as less risky compared to that caused by male violence on women. Indeed, one female perpetrator noted: "Shaaa[3]… I just pushed and kicked him out of the house, of course with a few words… Did they cause any injury to his body?" (Jamilah – female abusive partner).

[3] By using that expressive word above, it seemed that the female abuser was trying to dismiss the gravity of her abusive actions by considering them as rather minor and of no consequence.

While the female abuser reported that she accompanied her physical violence with "a few words", the couple's neighbours and Luswata's friends described Jamilah as a very quarrelsome and verbose woman, who had no fear of using obscene words. It is highly likely that in this instance, even though she underplayed the magnitude of her attack, she could have subjected her partner to insults and ridiculing terms, in addition to physically pushing and kicking him out of the house. As indicated by Okeke-Ihejirika et al. (2019), women are adept at verbal abuse by being equipped with verbal prowess in relation to men. Thus, Jamilah's hypothetical few words may not only have been voluminous, but could also have been so demeaning and hurting to her partner. This explains why emotional and verbal abuse is taken less seriously than physical abuse. Yet, emotional and psychological abuse committed by women is as harmful to victimised men as any other form of IPV (Hines & Douglas, 2010; Sorenson & Taylor, 2005).

Furthermore, there were instances of trivialising the acts of violence that the women performed, citing the fragility of women as justification for the unlikely severity of the impact of their actions. A local council chairperson echoed this view when he said: "At least for the cases I have witnessed/handled, women, however violent they are, they do not inflict such significant physical injuries on men the way men injure their wives" (Male Village LC1 chairperson).

Community members perceived injury from IPV only in the physical form, and not in the psychological and emotional forms, which the majority of violence-prone men are usually exposed to (Bates, 2020; Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2019; Walker et al., 2019). Consequently, some of the male participants interviewed described how such community perceptions played an important role in intimidating them to disclose the violence they were subjected to. Makubuya, for instance, confessed how he became afraid of living in his home due to the witchcraft that his wife, Sarah, practised and yet, he believed that none or few would comprehend his psychological trauma. He narrated:

> … with time, I became scared of staying in my house, because of the endless sights of snakes wherever I would turn. I could find snakes on the veranda, in the sitting room; the scariest was the one I found under the pillow in our bed. I was afraid of sleeping in the house that night (Makubuya, male survivor).

Kiwuwa, a male survivor, also recounted his terrifying experience of finding knives in their bed whenever he retired to sleep. He explained:

> I was already aware that things were not going on well between me and my wife. So, with time, I started finding knives in our bedroom. Sometimes, she would put them on the table which was in our bedroom. At other times, I would find a sharp knife on top of her

> bed pillow… it became a daily sight… I just could not sleep. I didn't know what was going to happen next, whether she was going to use them to hurt me… those knives really traumatised me… indeed she finally used it to stab me, that night we had a brawl (Kiwuwa, male survivor).

Makubuya and Kiwuwa who were caught up in emotional violence began to see their homes as unsafe places. Such circumstances denied them the opportunity of peaceful rest, a right which is stipulated in Article 24 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (*Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948). And by extension, the victimised men's ability to enjoy meaningful family interactions was curtailed. Similar to what Powney and Graham-Kevan (2019) argue, the situation Makubuya and Kiwuwa endured disagrees with the previously discussed perception that IPV perpetuated by women is less grievous than violence perpetrated by men.

However, since female-perpetrated IPV is grossly overlooked and goes unrecognised in the majority of societies, men who are subjected to this kind of women's abuse are often left out of support services or law enforcement interventions (Barkhuizen, 2015; Hoskins & Kunkel, 2020) processing adverse emotions, developing better mental health, and garnering relationship success. Yet, social support may not always be accessible to those who need it the most. Through participant observation and in-depth interviews, this study examined how men who have perpetrated intimate partner violence. Important to note, however, is that, abused men, just like women, whether in terms of psychological, emotional, or physical abuse, inevitably experience traumatic stress disorder, suicidal ideation, depression, high blood pressure, and general psychological distress (Lien & Lorentzen, 2019; Walker et al., 2019). Therefore, it is clear that while some members of the Masaka community underrated the danger of female-to-male IPV, the problem poses a high risk to the mental and physical health of victimised men.

Strong Men, Weak Women

Men were reluctant to accept the label of "victim". Their narrative accounts of IPV experiences revealed an ideological positioning of self-worth that involved a complicated process of consent to being victimised by their female partners. Makubuya, a male survivor, expressed how Baganda men are socialised not to show weakness and to be the stronger sex both physically and emotionally. Thus, any man who declares the victim status upon himself, especially being victimised by the presumably 'weaker female' immediately threatens his masculine self-image, thereby defying the hegemonic masculine norms of control and power, as the victimised men alluded:

> How can I come out and report that I have been beaten by a woman? It is deemed unmanly! I would be

> referred to as *ekisajjassajja*[4] (Makubuya – male survivor).
>
> … I felt so ashamed and insignificant having experienced this violence in the presence of our children… my self-image was badly affected. To be honest, I now feel less of a man (Kiwuwa – male survivor).
>
> Having been unable to discuss my wife's abusive humiliating acts with our [mine and my wife's] families and then they later found out our issues while at the police, the shame and embarrassment I had to endure was unbearable! This has psychologically traumatised me. I now feel less of a man especially among my in-laws (Kasamba – male survivor).

Participants' accounts highlighted the importance of masculinity and stereotypical gendered perceptions surrounding the expectations of men to their experiences of IPV victimisation (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In patriarchal settings, such as among the Baganda, men's internal battles regarding their victimisation are repressed by their internalised gender stereotypes, social constructions of ideal masculinity, in addition to the limited recognition and availability of service interventions customised to their victimisation (Bjørnholt & Rosten, 2020; Machado et al., 2020). From their narratives, it is evident that some of the men experienced pressure to "perform" masculinity, and to adhere to societal expectations to avoid losing face as well as project a desirable self-image (Hogan et al., 2022). For instance, Makubuya's narrative was evidence of how stereotypical gender-based perceptions surrounding what constitutes IPV contributed to the obscurity of his experience of victimisation; thus, preventing him from labelling himself as a victim of female-perpetrated IPV for fear of public scorn and ridicule, although he recognised his female partner as abusive.

The men's narratives further demonstrate how male IPV victims grapple with tensions of pretending to be strong and in control of the relationship, at least to those outside of the relationship, vis-à-vis experiencing IPV within their homes and its effect on them emotionally and physically. Indeed, Corbally (2015) illuminates this reality when she argues that experiencing abuse is harder for many men to articulate than it is for women. Much of masculinity literature has expressed men's unwillingness to define themselves as victims even when they acknowledge the violence against them (Brooks et al., 2020; Machado et al., 2020; Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2019). This is premised on the fact that men's IPV victimisation is incongruent with the social construction of masculine gender identities of physical and emotional strength (Kiguli, 2001; Obarisiagbon, 2019; Omilusi, 2017). To this end, victimised men's individual experiences are inhibited by

[4] *Ekisajjasajja* among the Baganda literary means a man who does not exhibit masculine traits/ behaviours and thus not fit to be called a man.

perceptions that disclosing violence meted on them would be quite emasculating, and would expose them to social stigma and public ridicule (Namukwaya et al., 2021; Odero et al., 2014)but the prevalence is much higher in East Africa. Though some formal and informal resources do exist for women experiencing IPV, data suggest that disclosure, help seeking, and subsequent utilisation of these resources are often hindered by sociocultural, economic, and institutional factors. This article explores actions taken by victims, available support services, and barriers to the utilisation of available IPV resources by pregnant women in rural Nyanza, Kenya. Qualitative data were collected through nine focus group discussions and 20 in-depth interviews with pregnant women, partners or male relatives of pregnant women, and service providers. Data were managed in NVivo 8 using a descriptive analytical approach that harnessed thematic content coding and in-depth grounded analysis. We found that while formal resources for IPV were scarce, women utilised many informal resources (family, pastors, and local leaders).

In addition, men's feelings of shame were related to their perceived failure to adhere to hegemonic masculinity, which privileges power, authority, and dominance (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Having become self-critical of their inability to maintain "control and authority" within their intimate relationships, the male victims' accounts indicated the difficulty they experienced in integrating a social narrative of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005), with the paradoxical experiences of being victims of female-perpetrated IPV (Hine et al., 2022). Consequently, hegemonic masculinity made it quite difficult for some men to self-identify as victims of female-perpetrated IPV, and for the men who labelled themselves as victims, this heightened their feelings of shame.

IPV Against Men Not a Credible Academic Subject

A participant from one male domestic violence organisation noted that the neglect of IPV against men can also be traced in Uganda's scholarly research interests. Very little scholarship on the subject is available, and yet, widespread scholarship would enhance public visualisation and societal awareness or acknowledgement of male IPV victimisation, which would subsequently influence policy and intervention approaches on male abuse. He observed:

> You see, with research, government would maybe recognise and consider the plight of abused men. But the academic community does not appear to appreciate the problem. It appears that all their research efforts are only targeted towards research on violence against women by men… (NGO Staff – Men's Forum Against Domestic Violence).

The officer at the men's NGO pointed to insufficient recognition of female-perpetrated IPV in academic discourse. Academic scholars have concentrated more on researching female IPV victims, as witnessed by the volumes of studies and publications on violence against women. This could be attributed to the magnitude of the prevalence of wife abuse and battering as indicated by the global, regional, and national statistics (WHO, 2021). Thus, researchers have predominantly focused on conducting extended research and mapping out ways through which violence against women can be curbed, and in the process, giving less attention to violence against men.

What is more, donors perceive GBV in the patriarchal lens. Thus, their prioritisation is on funding research addressing gender-based violence against women and girls. Since conducting research requires availability of funds, the academic community is thereby influenced by donor priorities of conducting GBV studies in the lens of female victimisation and male perpetration (Donor Tracker Insights, 2020). For instance, the majority of studies on IPV in Uganda (e.g., Karamagi et al., 2006; Kaye et al., 2005; Francisco et al., 2013) typically focus on female victims of any male-perpetrated violence. This renders the study of male violence victimisation as a subject of less relevance in the academic discourse. It is to note, however, that when scholars do not interrogate the full panoramic view of IPV which includes female-to-male violence, it further hinders service providers from understanding and recognising the heterogeneity and severity of IPV against men as well as the development of gender-specific programmes for all violence victims.

With just a paltry of studies clearly articulating the nature and extent of male victimisation, the majority of which are conducted in Europe and the USA, and on the African continent; in Nigeria and South Africa, not only are male survivors limited by scarce male-sensitive service provision, men-centred victim service/rights organisations also face significant barriers while lobbying for policy intervention and funding for service provision to male survivors of IPV. For instance, while the Man Kind Initiative (a UK charity that supports male victims of IPV) solely relies on the kind generosity of the public to provide services for abused men, it is expected to lobby for the recognition of male survivors within government policy as was the case when the UK government was launching the 2016-2020 "Ending Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy (McCarrick, 2019). This is a clear indication that, where research focuses predominantly on women, male victimisation is cast into the shadows, missing out on benefiting from policy formulation and resource allocation (Bates et al., 2019). Thus, in addressing IPV in communities, governments and donor agencies ought to review their funding priorities by embracing an inclusive

approach of funding research studies that examine the nature, extent, and experiences of IPV against men (Joseph-Edwards & Wallace, 2020) as is the case for women. This will have a significant influence on enhancing awareness, recognition, and inclusion of male IPV survivors on the domestic violence policy agenda during development of strategies to end violence in communities as well as tailoring services to IPV victims.

Conclusion

The current research set out to explore common perceptions associated with male IPV victimisation and female perpetration in Masaka District, central Uganda, therein examining existing debates on how stereotypical gendered perceptions of IPV impact on the recognition of male survivors. The research findings indicate that IPV and victimhood are strongly associated with femininity; thus, causing an eclipse over the occurrences of IPV against men. Living in the shadow of research and intervention into IPV against women, IPV against men is obscured and the claims about its existence continue to be viewed by a wide section of society as almost illegitimate.

Furthermore, for the majority of victimised men, perceptions surrounding *ideal* masculinity as well as their subscription to traditional masculine gender norms seemed to be a paralysing factor, articulated as preventing them from disclosing abuse or seek help. The male participants' non-disclosure of abuse was due to fears of ridicule, emasculation, indifference, and secondary victimisation, an experience almost similar to that of victimised women, although perceptions are slowly changing. Worth noting is that, some participants who chose to disclose their violence experiences were ridiculed, humiliated, and felt emasculated, since the gendered stereotypes around IPV victimisation seemed to affect the society and families' attitudes towards the male victims. Thus, the marked difference of the structure and form of the abuse experiences of the male victims reiterates the fact that female-perpetrated IPV remains an "unbelievable" or "forbidden" discourse for male survivors and community members (Aboderin et al., 2021; (Aboderin et al., 2021 Allen-collinson, 2008; Ameh et al., 2012; Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2019).

Therefore, societal perceptions need to be addressed at a deeper level, before campaigns that raise awareness on male victimisation can be effective. This could be achieved through early awareness which aims at discouraging the traditional gender stereotypes that feminise violence as a women-only problem. Besides, the deeply ingrained stereotypical perceptions regarding male IPV victimisation can be tackled by encouraging men to share their stories and lived experiences of IPV without being judged, in order to reduce stigma associated with male victimisation. With recent scholarly research, consistent media and police reports indicating that women are as aggressive in intimate relationships,

their findings present a prompt need for further non-gendered qualitative investigations by the academic research community in this rather unacknowledged population in the IPV discourse.

It is believed that results from this and more evidence-based research will inform the policy makers, decision makers, the donor community, and professionals in the GBV field about the unique challenges that male victims face as a result of the misconceptions and perceptions around their IPV victimisation by their female intimate partners. It is envisaged that such research findings will guide the different concerned sectors in generating appropriate legislation and interventions that address the plight of male IPV victims rather than the existing one-size-fits-all interventions that currently exist in Uganda.

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Leveraging the jua kari rather than the Ivory tower to situate the Sangoan Techno complex at Sango Bay

*Ssemulende Robert**

Abstract

The paper evaluates the concept of public archaeology practices in relation to archaeological work undertaken in Uganda, especially at Sango Bay. The article explores the forms of engagement between academia (ivory tower) and the local community (*jua kali*) to establish if archaeology was done for, by, and with the communities in Uganda. Three specific objectives guided the paper, namely;) to discuss the concept of community archaeology based on work done at Sango Bay;) to historicise the Ugandan community's participation in archaeology outside Sango Bay, and) to discuss the importance of community engagement and why the ivory tower relinquished its mandate to the *jua kali* in archaeology. Using primary data from archaeological surveys, excavation, archival data, field notes, interviews, and modern plant sample collections; and secondary data from documentary reviews, it is clear that the non-professional archaeologists or the *jua kali* determined the agenda. The results suggest that the Ugandan *jua kali* participated in archaeological work as either individuals or as part of institutions, such as the Uganda Museum and the Uganda Geological Survey Department. Ugandans prior to the 2020 Sango Bay field work mainly constituted the lower cadres in the archaeological fields serving as interpreters, sieving, trowelling and cooking. University students, especially, from Makerere University formed the bulk of the ivory tower locally in Uganda's archaeology fieldwork. In conclusion, the nonprofessional archaeologists or *jua kali* determined the agenda before the full involvement of the ivory tower staff.

Keywords: community archaeology, public engagement, Sangoan, Stone Age, Uganda

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Introduction

This paper results from the College of Humanities and Social Sciences symposium presentation, whose theme was *"The Ivory Tower Meets jua kali: Reflections on Theorising the Profound from the Ordinary" (CHUSS website) which took place in September 2020. The PhD project from which this paper is derived entails situating the Sangoan Techno-Complex into the Stone Age context at the type site of Sango Bay in southern Uganda. While undertaking research at Sango Bay, as Gemma Tully stated:*

> It is imperative that you talk with people here because it will mean nothing if you make an excavation without talking to people. It would be useless ... but people trust you now because they see that you are not trying to hide anything from them. (Resident of Quseir, Egypt; cited in Glazier, 2003, p. 26 and cited by Tully, 2007, p. 155).

The above citation illustrates the importance of the collaboration between the professional archaeologists herein taken as the *Ivory tower* and the non-professional archaeologists who are either the community or *jua kali*. This paper, therefore, examines the interface between professional archaeologists and non-professionals in undertaking archaeological knowledge generation in Uganda. The ivory tower kind of archaeologists were mainly foreign to Uganda. In this case, the foreigners were mainly from the Europe and America, while the non-professional archaeologists were Ugandans.

This paper starts by examining the concept of community archaeology and the various terminologies used to mean the same. A brief history of archaeological research regarding community participation in Ugandan archaeology follows. The conceptualisation of the Sangoan and the role and importance of community involvement at Sango Bay form the basis of the discussion.

Background to the study

Unlike in other parts of Africa where archaeology was developed by trained archaeologists (ivory tower type), the story in Uganda is a bit different. This is because many prominent promoters of archaeology in Uganda were outside the academic institutions or ivory towers, who in this paper are regarded as the community or *jua kali*. The term *jua kali* is a Swahili word that means *hot sun*. It is popular in Kenya, where it refers to an informal sector of mainly artisans who are too crafty that they can make anything that is demanded. In this paper, *jua kali* is taken to embrace the Ugandans who participated in archaeology without formal professional training. It should be noted that before 2007, many Ugandans were not trained as archaeologists but worked alongside foreign-trained archaeologists. Therefore, *jua kali* also represents people from institutions, such as the Uganda Museum who participated in archaeological research without professional training.

On the other hand, *ivory tower* means a university. In the case of Uganda, any mention of the ivory tower is synonymous with Makerere University. As the first premier university in Uganda, it is expected to have taken the lead in teaching, research, and community engagement as far as archaeology is concerned as part of its triple mandate as a higher institution of learning. Makerere University was established in 1922, almost at the same time when the pioneering archaeologists in Uganda led by E.J. Wayland started work related to archaeology. The start of Wayland's appointment coincides with the discovery of stone tools at Sango Bay that later came to be named Sangoan, the focus of the primary research. Despite its long existence, Makerere University embarked on formal training of archaeologists in 2013.

This paper's interest is to examine which Ugandans have participated in archaeology even without formal training as archaeologists. In their participation, what roles were they allocated by their foreign professional counterparts, especially during fieldwork? This means an analysis of Ugandans' functions in archaeological surveys and excavations since the 1920s. The intent is to highlight that despite the start of formal teaching in 2013, archaeology in Uganda has a long history rooted in the works of the Ugandan Geological Survey Department's activities, starting with the time when they employed a pre-historian (Edward James Wayland) on 23rd November 1918. However, Wayland took up office in 1919 that he held for 20 years as the Director of the Geological Survey Department at Entebbe (Archival data summary of progress of the geological survey of Uganda for the years 1919-1929 by E. J. Wayland, page 2).

This paper entails interrogating the definition of public archaeology. The situation in Uganda is presented herein to examine how communities are involved in archaeology and why. If community archaeology is supposed to be archaeology with the people, by the people and for the people, does the Ugandan case represent this? If professional archaeologists indulge in archaeological work without proper consultation with the people, does that not affect the nature of interpretation given to the archaeological materials? This takes us to the question of who interprets our past and if community archaeology is relinquishing partial control of the archaeology projects to the people (Marshall, 2002) or dialogue between the professionals and amateurs (Simpson & Williams, 2008, p 69). How was the Ugandan case? Community archaeology is also taken as an 'interactive approach where the community is involved in interpreting and understanding the past' (Simpson, 2008, p. 4). The professionals are supposed to be groomed in the ivory tower, but the Ugandan ivory tower for long did not take on its role and left the non-professionals taken in this paper as

the community or *jua kali* to direct the course of archaeological research in the country. This, thus, redefines the concept of the community which are the archaeology communities, since, in Uganda, people who constitute the community do not necessarily trace descent to the areas where the archaeological work is done. However, as long as they were Ugandans, they would be assumed to represent the community. Therefore, can we have a community of people in isolation from the place of archaeological work? Why take university students from various parts of the country to work in areas outside their homes of origin and then regard it as community participation? And what are the benefits of community archaeology? These and other questions are at the centre of this paper.

What is community archaeology?

Community archaeology is a set of practices where some archaeological research practices are relinquished to the local community (Marshall, 2010) and thus "breaks away from the top-down power relations" (Schmidt, 2014, p. 39). Therefore, it should be every archaeologist's principle to "involve the community as much as possible. History is not the preserve of the investigator, but it represents the identity and integrity of the people most involved whose ancestors we disturb" (Posnansky, 2017, p. 77).

The statement made by Posnansky above suggests that archaeology should not be the preserve of the professionals from the ivory tower but even the non-professionals seen as the *jua kali* here. While community engagement should start from the inception of the project, including "developing the research questions, setting up the project, field practices, data collection, analysis, storage, dissemination and public presentation" (Marshall, 2010, p. 211), this paper focuses on how the community was engaged in the archaeology field practices, data collection, and presentation at Sango Bay. The critical question is how and what constitutes a community in archaeology. Two forms of the community are precise. The first part is the community residing close to or at the site or residents and those who trace descent from the archaeological work site. The second category of the community refers to the nationals who may hail from different parts of the county, working alongside foreign professional archaeologists. The latter type formed the bulk of the Ugandan community.

However, the community is taken differently by different scholars, as shown in the different terminologies given to the practice of involving non-professionals (*jua kali*) in archaeological work. The terminologies used in archaeology to imply involving the communities (*jua kali*) include public archaeology, archaeology from below or democratic archaeology (Faulkner, 2000, p. 30); archaeology by the people for the

people (Reid, 2012, p. 18); outreach aspect of archaeology (Thomas, 2017, p. 16); indigenous, community, or post-colonial archaeology (Tully, 2007, p. 158), and participatory archaeology (Schmidt, 2014, p. 38). The terms used depend on one's conceptualisation of community involvement. The multiplicity of terminologies about community participation points towards the fact that "although the subject has been evolving since the 1970s and 1980s, community archaeology still lacks a clear sense of research focus, a sound methodological structure and a set of interpretive strategies" (Tully, 2007, p. 155).

The different terminologies associated with integrating non-professional people in archaeological work imply that the issue of the ivory tower meeting the *jua kali* is not new in archaeology. Although the definition of the community in archaeology remains controversial, the practice of "community archaeology is greatly affected by the social, cultural, economic and legislative setting of a country" (Tully, 2007, p. 155). Girma (2016, Pg.51) suggested that "public archaeology is derived from the ivory tower model in which archaeologists see themselves in relation to the public as insiders and specialists with privileged access to knowledge as opposed to the wider public". Therefore, "public archaeology presupposed private archaeology" (Schadla 1999, pg. 148) and yet all archaeology is public. It is against this background that this paper uses community archaeology and *jua kari* rather than public archaeology.

Therefore, there is a need to interrogate what constitutes the community in the archaeological fieldwork and, in this case, the non-professional archaeologists or community members involved at Sango Bay. If applied, what were their roles, and at what level was the engagement and the community's importance in documenting the Sangoan at Sango Bay?

Materials and Methods

The data for this paper was generated from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources entailed an archaeological survey and excavation in the Sango Bay area. The archaeological survey entailed pedestrian foot walking unsystematically due to the nature of the terrain being hilly and the water body, that is, Lake Victoria. The survey was also determined by the nature of anthropogenic activities in the area. Therefore, all the portable diagnostic materials were collected in labelled bags during the survey, while the others were recorded, photographed, and left onsite. The excavation involved four units at Kateera, Simba, Sikaningu, and Musambwa. Excavation followed 10cm arbitrary spit levels where all the soils from the excavation units were sieved through a 5mm wire mesh. All materials obtained were bagged in labelled bags. After the

excavation unit got to the sterile layer, a wall profile was drawn and then the unit was backfilled.

Primary data was also obtained from the archives at Entebbe and Wandegeya, emphasising the Uganda Geological Survey reports and pre-history of Uganda. Oral interviews and community engagement were also used to get primary data. Current plant samples relate with the phytoliths from the soil samples intended to establish the environmental conditions of the Sangoan.

A review of written documents online and hard copies formed the basis of secondary data. Analysis of the archaeological and plant materials was done in Kampala and Mbarara, and this involved the principal investigator with the guidance of the supervisors.

Geographical Location of Sango Bay

The Sango Bay archaeological site is a forest reserve located in southern Uganda near Lake Victoria that consists of Kaiso, Malabigambo, Namalala, Tero West, Tero East, and Kigona forest blocks. The forest ecosystem stretches from the Tanzania-Uganda border in Rakai District in the south to the Masaka District boundary in the north, westward from the Lake Victoria shores close to the main Kyotera-Mutukula Road (Ssegawa & Kasenene, 2007). The Kaiso and Malabigambo blocks are contiguous with the Minziro forest blocks in Bukoba District, Tanzania. The Sango Bay Forest Reserve is situated in the sub-counties of Kabira, Kasasa, Kakuuto, and Kyebe in the Kyotera and Rakai districts. The total area of Sango Bay is 2,500 square kilometres (Mwiturubani *et al*., 2014). In addition, archival data from Wayland and Smith (1923) revealed that Sango Bay has prominent hills with artefacts of archaeological importance, especially Msozi, Katale, Lukuli, Kigalama, Kalema, Musambwa twin island and Simba hills, and it is these dissected highlands that make up the Sango Bay region. However, respondents, such as K2 and K13 expressed that Kigalama is an island in Tanzania no wonder the name Kigalama was unheard of by the current residents. It was later realised that, despite the spelling and pronunciation errors, the proper names of the sites investigated were Kateera, Misozi, Simba, Lukunyu (King's Palace). This paper is based on research undertaken at Sikaningu (part of Misozi hills), Kateera, Simba hills and Musambwa twin island.

History of Community Engagement in Ugandan Archaeology

During the pioneering phase of archaeology in the 1920s, archaeology was promoted by geologists led by Wayland, the Director of the Geological Survey Department, from 1919 to 1939. Other directors who followed Wayland, such as Bisset, did commendable work in archaeology. Other contributors to archaeological research in Uganda

include Peter Robertshaw; Van Piet Lowe; J. Humphris; S.T Childs; L. Iles; Andrew Reid; G. Connah; M. Posnasky; C. Ashley; P. R Schmidt; Kiyaga-Mulindwa; Lwanga-Lunyiigo; E. Steinhart; Solomon J.D; and Sonia Sonia Cole before 2007. Thereafter, Ugandans joined the professional cadres in archaeology after 2007. Institutions, such as the Uganda National Museum, Geological Survey Department and the British Institute in Eastern Africa equally played pivotal roles in studying the archaeology of Uganda. Uganda was the first country in eastern Africa to undertake archaeology knowledge generation (Cole, 1963, Robertshaw, 1990b) under Wayland. The years of Wayland's service (1919-1929) in Uganda made him and other geologists travel widely within the protectorate, discovering multiple sites, including Sango Bay.

Community and public archaeology were coined in Anglophone settings, such as the United Kingdom in the 1970s (Thomas, 2014) and in Australia, where community-centred approaches first appeared in the 1980s (Greer, 2014). The Americans started involving communities in archaeology beginning in the 1980s and the early 1990s. Community archaeology is different from public archaeology. In community archaeology, the community is involved from the beginning of the research until the end. Community archaeology entails practising archaeology that unites rather than separates archaeology and the local people and privileges local participation over the scientific goals of the research (Schmidt, 2014) while public archaeology distances the non-professional archaeologists from the ivory tower archaeologists. An examination of archaeological research in Uganda shows that the community has been involved differently even before coining the term public archaeology in the 1970s, as detailed below. "The past is perceived differently by different people as dictated by factors such as socio-cultural background and level of education. It is therefore important when archaeologists present the past to any given audience, say for purposes of public archaeology, to take such factors into account." (Mapunda, 2013, p. 75)

Despite regarding the community as non professional in Uganda they have played a key role. For instance, in the 1920s at Luzira, when part of the top of Luzira hill, near Port Bell (Uganda) on Lake Victoria, was being removed during building operations in connection with the prison, consternation was occasioned among the prisoners when felling a large chunk of earth from the face of the low artificial cliff, because of the uncovering of what appeared to be a human face. On examination by a European police officer, this remarkable find proved to be a head of a pottery figure and continued excavation revealed fragments of other figures (Wayland, Burkitt, & Braunholtz, 1933, p.29).

The pottery figurines discovered at Luzira are termed as the Luzira to date. However, despite the role of the prisoners who were non-archaeologists, in the discovery of the famous Luzira Head, as termed in Ugandan archaeology, it was instead attributed to Wayland, who only visited Luzira Prison on 8th November 1929 after its discovery. Since archaeology is synonymous with excavation to many people, it is an essential component of community archaeology (Thomas, 2017), as the case was at Luzira. Unfortunately, this important discovery is still in the British Museum to date. That is why decolonisation is at the centre of community archaeology. Although Uganda attained independence in 1962, the original Luzira head is still in the British Museum but attempts at restitution for Uganda as a country have not taken a centre stage and we don't seem to even know which archaeological artefacts are still colonised.

In a related scenario the ivory tower met the *jua kali* in 1952 and 1959 when:

> …the Department of Sociology at Makerere University carried out research on the museum visitors to inform the Uganda National Museum, on how to improve. Similarly, the Uganda museum linked with the Extra-Mural Department at Makerere College undertook outreach focused on land and people of particular areas showing films of archaeological sites. This led to the development of folk museums in Mbarara and Soroti in 1959 as centres of cultural heritage and archaeological preservation (Mehari 2015, p. 103).

Posnansky emphasised teamwork beyond the field, including social interactions based on his experience at the Bweyorere capital site in 1959 as follows:

> At Bweyorere in Uganda, the first field school in 1959 was conducted by the Uganda Museum for African students from Makerere University College, attended by several University teachers. These schools provided basic recording methods, field surveys and preliminary analysis, conservation and interpretation of the findings. The students also provided the labour, and the whole group lived and ate together (Posnansky, 2017, pp. 78-79).

The 1960s were dominated by archaeological work by W.W Bishop at Karamoja, Posnansky at Bigo and E.C Lanning surveyed Later Stone Age (LSA) sites in western Uganda. In all such fieldwork, they employed the local people mainly as labourers and usually promised to give them feedback about the findings since the reports were written in a language that the local people could not understand. They did not make sense to the layperson. Hence, "the complicated archaeological language in the reports alienates people whose history is being studied" (Schmidt, 2014, p. 39).

Political upheavals from the 1966 Buganda crisis in the country impaired archaeological research progress in the country in that archaeological surveys in Uganda resumed in 1987 with excavations at Ntusi, Bweyorere, the Ankore capital site by Reid and Robertshaw, as well as in Kibiro-Bunyoro by Graham Connah (Reid, 1990; Reid & Robertshaw, 1987; Connah, 1990). Research in these areas involved mainly museum staff. Schimdt (2016) even suggested that oral traditions, ethnographic information, and written records are at the centre of the ivory tower meeting the *jua kali*. Based on this, he supports the approach used by Posnansky at Bweyorere, Jan Vansina in his 1965 volume and John Sutton at Sirikwa holes in Kenya and Roland Oliver's work at Bigo earthworks where they married archaeology and history.

The 1980s to 1990s were dominated by the activities of the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA).

> In 1985, the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA) introduced one-year fieldwork in Uganda on the Later Stone Age initiated by the then Director John Sutton. They organised field trips to Uganda every year. They teamed up with the Department of Antiquities to go with the staff to the field (Kyazike Elizabeth's Interview with Ephraim Kamuhangire on 2nd October 2020).

The BIEA, in many cases, involved Makerere University students who were not professional archaeologists. Robertshaw and others acknowledge several Makerere University students besides the local and foreign participants in the 1994-95 fieldwork as follows:

> We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of all those who participated in the fieldwork: Paul Mutunga; Charlotte Karungi; Pamela Khanakwa; Patrick Mwase; Jonah Walusimbi; Patrick Ssemambo; Abdu Basajabaka; Peter Bisasso; Eva Lule; Agnes Khabaikya; Jesphy Kiwaneka; Richard Kyambadde; Betty Kyazike; Amy Lawson; Dennis Stephen; Mitchelle Walch; Denyse Robertshaw; Simon Robertshaw; Mia Robertshaw; Vicky Barnercutt; Laura Basell; Stephen Manoa; Kepha Mbouri; Mark Ikeda and Gilbert Oteyo. We also thank our cooks – Phyllis Mbaziira, Patrick Outa, and their assistants. Finally, we salute the efforts of our numerous locally hired labourers, who worked hard and offered friendship. Among these, we should single out Isaac Senfuma. He acted as the headman at Munsa and freely gave his intimate knowledge of the Munsa earthworks, thus enabling NP to undertake his survey (Robertshaw et al., 1997, p. 77).

This means that there were two levels of the *jua kali* in most of the Ugandan archaeological fieldwork. The first level was that of the Makerere University students, primarily from the Department of History then; and the second level was for the people

residing close to the site. In the two categories, the roles were different. The latter was mainly employed to do the manual work while the former would excavate alongside the international students in the archaeological field.

In all these BIEA fields, museum staff were involved, especially Dr Ephraim Kamuhangire, who narrates his ordeal as, "since I had done oral traditions, I became an easy target, and every year I would go to the field. They brought their students to go back and write masters and PhDs instead of supporting Ugandans" (Kamuhangire' interview with Kyazike Elizabeth, 2nd October 2021). The expression by Kamuhangire suggests the use of Uganda as a training ground for foreign archaeologists.

Still, between 1994 to 1995, Terry Childs, who was associated with the research of Peter Robertshaw in her work concerning iron working in Tooro, worked with a Makerere University student then as an interpreter and alongside the community as she elaborates:

> My ethno-archaeological work exclusively involved Ugandans. Ms Karungi and I lived together in a small house in a village and visited Adyeri almost every day. We bought our food at the local markets. During most of our research, we did not have a vehicle, so we depended on locals for assistance when needed (Terry Child, email communication to Kyazike Elizabeth, 14th September 2021).

This statement made by Terry Childs suggests that in terms of archaeology, the ivory tower encountered the community not necessarily through the teaching staff but, in most cases, through the students, such as this case in Tooro.

The 2000s were dominated by the African Archaeology Network (AAN) under Felix Chami's activities that organised field schools in 2008 and 2010 that involved students from the University of Dar es Salaam and Kyambogo University in Uganda. These culminated in archaeological fieldwork by Ugandans, such as Herman Muwonge at Koba (Muwonge, 2009) and Kyazike at Kansyore Island (Kyazike, 2013), who, as students, had less involvement with the community. This could be explained by Schmidt (2014, p. 39), who suggested that "inclusive archaeology is more demanding… need for the expeditious research results" limits entirely involvement of the community in archaeology.

Before the AAN took on the training of Ugandans, many were like Peter Shinnie (1990, p. 221), who noted that "my entry into Archaeology was different from that of Thurstan Shaw and Diamond Claniz. Peter Shinnie stated that, "I had no proper training in Archaeological techniques and artefact study… I learned on the field by joining Mortimer Wheeler between 1934 and 1938". That means that though no formal instruction was given that they learnt archaeology by watching, listening, and the

occasional informal demonstrations. This is no different from the career of people, such as Peter Bisaso. He was a Ugandan who worked with the Uganda Museum until his death. This gave him great exposure to archaeology, especially working with the BIEA.

Following the AAN activities, Ugandans pursued academic training in archaeology. Since many did it at the graduate level, it was mandatory to undertake fieldwork and work with the community. These include: Tibesaasa Ruth – Busi; Wamutu Godfrey – Paya; Muwonge Herman – Koba; Mirembe Fatumah – Kaiso; Nakaweesa Esther (RIP) – Nyero; Kyazike Elizabeth – Chobe; Kikubamutwe, Nsongezi, and Kansyore Island; Ssemulende Robert – Sango Bay, Kinyera Charles — Fort Patiko and Palabek. The modus operandi shows that the community was commonly involved as casual labourers employed to sieve and carry equipment, though limited attempts were made to explain the project, especially to school children in the project areas. At times, some did excavations with school children. Each of these Ugandans has their story of community archaeology, but this paper concentrates on the story of Ssemulende Robert.

Other attempts to involve the Ugandans in archaeology can be traced from the project undertaken by Posnasky, a Fulbright scholar that involved students and staff of Makerere University, such as Associate Professor Godfrey Asiimwe. The field work was at Dufile from the 6th November 2006-7th January 2007. Posnansky also participated in the Karugire Memorial Lecture on 11th October 2007. He also gave a lecture on the "Northern Factor in the History of Uganda" that exposed the value of history to society in general and Uganda (Walz, 2010).

Other than Posnansky was Peter Schmidt who "in the years 2012, 2014, 2015 and 2019, collaborated with the Uganda Museum, Kyambogo University, Mbarara University of Science and Technology (MUST) and Makerere University in the Ndali Crater Lakes Region research" (Schmidt Peter email interview with Elizabeth Kyazike 28th September 2021). This entailed a detailed collaboration with the community where community members were sieving and efforts to explain each step of the fieldwork made. Regular visits were made every Sunday to the churches to explain to the community, and posters were designed (Kyazike Elizabeth, observation in the 2014 season at Ndali).

The above scenarios given as part of the history of archaeology show that, the community is diverse and does not necessarily involve the residents at the archaeological site. The site residents are mainly involved in manual work that is not very technical. Since archaeology in Uganda was re-introduced in the Ivory tower in 2013, and the first Doctoral archaeologist who graduated from Makerere University was Okeny

Charles Kinyera in 2020, other than that Ugandans were for long in the category of non-professional archaeologists.

Sangoan Lithic Industry

The Sangoan industry is a transition stone (lithic) industry within the Stone Age Nomenclature that lies between the Early Stone Age (ESA) and Middle Stone Age (MSA) that was named after the type site of Sango Bay in southern Uganda. The characteristic archaeological composition of the Sangoan in terms of its technology and typology is part of the unresolved debates (Mehlman, 1989). Furthermore, the methodology utilised in naming the Sangoan cast doubts among archaeologists. For instance, Wayland's initial chronological and age estimations of the Sangoan in the 1920s lacked scientific authenticity because they were defined based on surface collections and named after a local place (Sango Bay) where they were first recognised. This was not sufficient to explain intra- and inter-assemblage variations. The realisation that the controversy surrounding the character of the Sangoan stemmed from the preliminary research that has so far been carried out on the type site (Sango Bay) explains the choice of the geographical scope of this paper and the more significant ongoing PhD project. The centre of the article is the need to integrate the communities in interpreting their past. Schmidt (1983) emphasises that when communities in Africa interpret their history, we begin to build a self-enriching tradition of archaeology free from the domination of Western paradigms and appropriate to the African setting.

Furthermore, to Ticktin and Johns (2002), local knowledge and practices have to be understood to develop appropriate management practices based on scientific and local knowledge. "Community-based research aims at empowering communities by contributing to the construction of local identity" (Greer, 1995, p. 5). It is against the above background that the community played a key role while examining the Sangoan technology and typology and the other cultural heritage at Sango Bay. Hence, the Ivory tower met the community in Sango Bay in characterising the nature of the Sangoan technology and typology and other forms of cultural heritage in Sango Bay.

Public Engagement at Sango Bay

This section discusses the forms of public engagement that were part of the two phases of fieldwork at Sango Bay. The first phase in January 2020 was a preliminary survey to establish the nature of the site, where to stay, the people to work with and introduce the research to the local authorities. The second phase was the detailed research at Sango Bay that started on 5th December 2020, for three weeks. This section navigates the forms and results of community engagement

during the Sango Bay fieldwork in the two phases.

Two categories of community members were identified from the research participants as follows: the first category of the research team were not residents nor did they trace any descent at the site, including Makerere University graduates of the archaeology programme (Kiwanuka Paul Batwerinde, Ssebuyungo Christopher and Mutudi Gonza), Kyambogo University archaeology major (Ibrahim Ssemwogere), National Museums of Kenya (Gilbert Oteyo), supervisors (Kyazike Elizabeth and Julius Lejju Bunny), a botanist from MUST (Naome Ashaba), and the principal investigator (Ssemulende Robert). The second category comprised of the Sango Bay residents, who included: local council chairpersons (LCs), police officers, elders, school-going children and residents generally.

The community had academic and non-academic residents, as depicted by those who participated in the preliminary survey. These included the local council chairpersons, elders, and resident district commissioners of Kyotera and Rakai. The second phase involved visiting schools, such as God is Able Primary School in Sikaningu and inviting students of different secondary schools residing around Kateera through their LC1 chairperson and officer in charge (OC) of the police post in Kateera Town.

The chairperson led the researcher to the older people in Sango Bay who had stayed in the area for over 50 years, as they were our interviewees at the end of the conversation, the elders could also cite out names of informative members they have been with in the area during that time. The fishermen of Musambwa twin island briefed us on the rules and regulations of the island, and we also briefed them about archaeology and heritage. They were also around during the entire survey and excavation process. Outside the island at Kateera, Sikaningu, and Simba, community members were involved in the archaeological survey and the actual excavation. Initially, we explained to them the nature of archaeological materials they joined the survey team to look for the artefacts. They also led us to different Sango Bay spots with archaeological materials. For instance, Mugerwa led us to three caves on Sikaningu Hill and the Sango Tree. Community members participated in sieving and backfilling the excavation units during the excavations. We shared breakfast and lunch with them, but they were commuting as we also stayed in another village called Mityebiri, about 70 km from Sango Bay.

The above concurs with the assertion by Clark (1988) that, to establish the typological and technological characteristics of the Sangoan lithic industry at Sango Bay, the community plays a significant role. The community was involved from the start of the survey, and they formed the survey team. They were instrumental in directing the

research team to several aspects of the Sango Bay cultural heritage other than its Sangoan lithic archaeology as described below.

Sango Bay heritage is endowed with various herbal medicine that calls for future conservation for sustainable utilisation (Katende *et al*., 1995). Still, it is highly exploited by people from different regions other than the natives. According to Berkes *et al*., (2000), the importance of traditional knowledge for conservation and understanding ecological processes has received much attention in resource management. This herbal medicine is collected from both forests and grasslands. Since the documentation of the Sangoan industry entailed examining the environment inhabited by the Sangoan tool makers, there was a need to collect a comparative sample of the existing plants. The community was instrumental in identifying some of the species used in medicine in the area.

Identifying the location of Musambwa twin-island would not have been simpler had it not been for the community. Yes, Uganda television news would broadcast an island with several snakes and birds but little did we know that this was the Musambwa Island. Wayland (1923) mentions Musambwa Island as a heritage site whose history has links with Sango Bay. Identification of this island and its access point to the Sango Bay landing site (Figure 1) was the work of the community. One of the members was quick to state that, "at Musambwa Island, snakes live in harmony with humans, and women are not allowed to camp overnight" (K3 at Sango Bay, 4th December 2020).

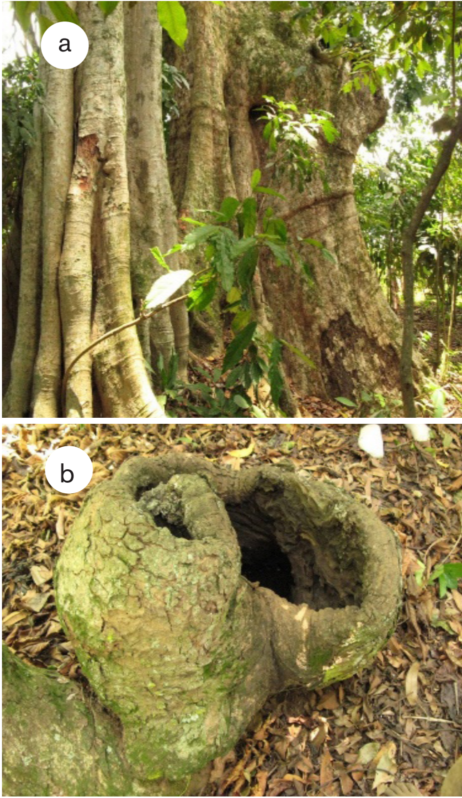
Figure 1: Sango Bay landing site on the way to Misambwa Island

The importance of identification of rituals with the society is clearly stated by Vianello as follows:

> Because rituals are encoded and formalised within a society, they reflect some aspects of the societies in which they were constructed. However, rituals are more than mirrors of the societies that constructed and performed them; they are used actively as political and social tools. Most importantly, they are tools used to handle collective memory and, therefore, they can provide useful information on how memory was perceived and used in the past (Vianello, 2004, p. 2).

The origin and justification of the name Sango Bay were also narrated by some elders in the region, especially the caretaker of the Sango Tree (Figure 2a). Sango is a unique tree associated with multiple taboos. The Sango tree is enormous, with over an eight-metre circumference and a hollow termed the Sango Lake (Figure 2b) that naturally never dries.

Figure 2: (a) The Sango tree and (b) Sango lake



In proximity to the Sango tree, there are other heritage features, such as the Cord Stone (Figure 3) for members seeking blessings. Still, if you come with bad intentions, the Cord Stone will disappear (Senkima Peter, 6th December 2020).

Figure 3: The Sango Cord Stone

The board game (*omweso*) with two lithic chairs is another feature in the vicinity of the Sango tree. These heritage potentials could not be visible without the Sango Bay *jua kari's* assistance despite being the ivory tower's responsibility to publish them and sensitise the community of the benefits of this heritage if it is well preserved; hence, the Sango Bay *jua karis* met the ivory tower.

Figure 4: Board game (Omweso) at Misozi in Sango Bay

The mass grave that was made into a monument at Kasensero landing site after the Rwanda genocide, where River Kagera brought many bodies from Rwanda during the war between the Hutu and Tutsi, was also identified in the course of the research with the help of the resident community members. However, this is not the first memorial grave in the region, as we found the commonwealth grave for W, J. Lowing, who died on 19th July 1915 and was buried at Simba Hill. Lowing died in war as the British were fighting the Dutch, and his grave is currently abandoned though inscribed on the commonwealth monuments list. The above reveals that we need the community to appreciate the

value of this heritage such that it can be safeguarded for future generations and history as a subject.

Although the community was involved in the two field seasons of archaeological survey and excavation, this paper only focuses on the preliminary survey results since the other results are part of the forthcoming PhD thesis. The Sango Bay community's involvement in the preliminary archaeological survey contributed to identifying 50 archaeological artefacts. The artefacts included 35 lithics, 13 ceramics, one metal object and one grave (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: Survey materials recovered from Sango Bay

Survey materials recovered	Total
Lithic	35
Ceramic	13
Metal	1
Grave	1
Grand Total	**50**

For the fifty archaeological materials, analysis was done only on the 35 lithic artefacts based on the fact that the primary research focused on the Sangoan culture, which is a Stone Age (lithic) industry and estimated between 400,000-200,000 years (Mehlman, 1989; Clark, 2001; McBrearty, 2013). The Sangoan culture has multiple debates stemming from its composition or dating (Sampson, 1974; McBrearty, 1988, 2013; Bower, 2006). Since this study aimed at situating the Sangoan culture in its Stone Age context and analyse how non-archaeologists or *jua kari* can be of great value in undertaking archaeological work, emphasis was on lithic technology and typology.

The analysis results take us into the debate of terminologies related to working with communities in archaeology. For instance, Nicholas (2008, p. 1660) suggests that indigenous archaeology refers to "the active participation or consultation of indigenous peoples in archaeology". The question is, to what extent can the *jua kari* be involved in archaeology where complicated terms, as in the following analysis of the materials from Sango Bay, are engaged?

The analysis of the 35 lithic artefacts recovered at Sango Bay led to identifying of stone tool types that revealed the Sangoan typology[1] within Sango Bay without involving the resident community members. Despite the absence of the resident community members[2], the non-resident community members[3] participated in the identification of the Sangoan typology that included two blades, two

[1] Lithic typology refers to the types of stone artefacts. In this case, the Sangoan lithic typology refers to the specific types of stone tools that were identified at Sango Bay.

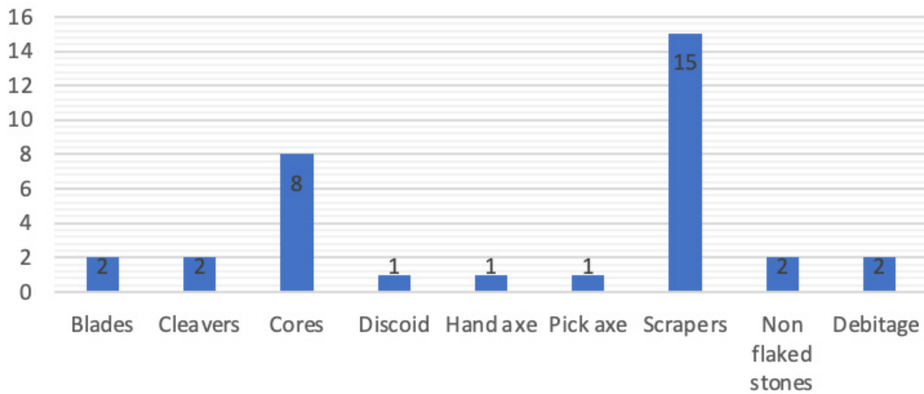
[2] The resident members of Sango Bay in this category refer to those members of the research that were recruited from within Sango Bay, such as the LCs, police, elders and the community members who participated in the surveys, sieving and backfilling during excavation.

[3] The non-resident members are those who were not original residents at Sango Bay all or who could trace descent to the site. These were the university students, the project team leader, and the supervisors.

cleavers, eight cores, one discoid, one hand axe, one pickaxe, fifteen scrapers, two non-flaked stones, and two debitage as reflected in Figure 5 below. The terminologies for the stone tool type (blades, cleavers, cores, discoid, hand axe, pickaxe, non-flaked stones, debitage, and scrapers) definitely require the expertise of the ivory tower, which means that there is a need for interdependence with the community. This definitely requires more time, as Schmidt (2014) emphasises the participatory archaeology approach. Hence, the ivory tower and the *jua kari* are inseparable as far as archaeology is concerned if we are to reconstruct the past truly. The heritage custodians must be involved to appreciate the work of the academia.

concerning the composition and position of the Sangoan in the Stone Age nomenclature. The study interrogates the views of scholars, such as Mehlman (1989), who suggested that in East Africa, the Acheulean Industry was overlaid by the earliest MSA, termed the Sangoan industry. Others, such as Sampson (1974) noted that the Sangoan industry consisted of Acheulean and MSA artefacts, such as hand axes, cleavers, knives, scrapers, and utilised flakes of *Levallois* cores. Although the Sangoan culture had been well studied in other areas (Basel, 2010; Tyron & Faith, 2013), information from the type site Sango Bay was lacking but was this the problem the indigenous or local community at the site would have preferred? Maybe not.

Figure 5: Sango Bay lithic tool typology

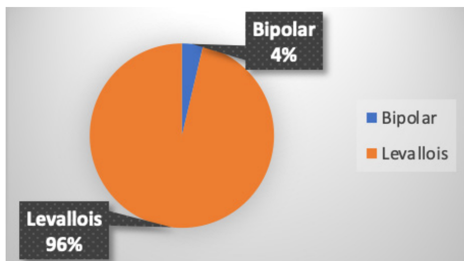


Other than the artefact types in Figure 5, the Sangoan tool kit elsewhere contains more types (Mehlman, 1989). The complicated archaeology typologies suggest that there is a need to research questions that are in the *jua kari's* interest. The research at Sango Bay conceived in the ivory tower aimed at examining the controversies

Would they prefer to examine the technological characteristics of the Sangoan lithic industry at Sango Bay? Several technological attributes discussed from Sango Bay included tool manufacture mechanisms, retouch type, the extent of retouch, and flake termination. These attributes are essential in establishing

an artefact's technological change and characteristics in an archaeological assemblage. For the case of the Sangoan lithic tool manufacture, the results indicated that the dominant technology was *Levallois*[4] technology represented on 26 (96%) lithics, followed by bipolar[5] technology with 1 (4%) artefact (Figure 5). The dominancy of the *Levallois* technology can be attributed to the increasing mental capacity of the tool makers (Bower, 2006) because, with this technology, one can control the size of the flake required for a specific tool type. The dominancy of the *Levallois* technology is supported by O'Brien (1939), who believes that this technology was invented in the Sangoan culture.

Figure 6: Sangoan lithic technology



Another attribute analysed related to technology is the retouch type which was either unifacial or bifacial retouch[6] as identified from the Sango Bay survey. The latter dominated the assemblage on 17 out of the 29 artefacts that were retouched. Bifacial retouch is a secondary modification on both sides of the artefact edge and an in-depth reflection experienced on tool manufacture and increasing the tool's sharpness and strength. Hence, the analysis above required technical expertise. In such instances, the ivory tower guided the Sango Bay community in analysing the typology and technology of the Sangoan.

Therefore, the contribution of the community towards the custodianship of this great site at Sango Bay, where the Sangoan culture secured its name globally, is crucial. Schmidt (2014) emphasises that collaboration with the local communities will lead to joint research and heritage development that contributes new knowledge to African history, archaeology, and community well-being. The aim should be to refocus attention on research that emphasises the local historical identity (Atalay, 2006; Pikirayi, 2011) than ideas conceived in the ivory tower walls independent of the heritage custodians who are the *jua kari* who either reside or trace descent with the site.

In Sango Bay, Primary Seven children from God is Able Primary School at Sikaningu Hill became vigilant of our movements and were invited to acquire survey skills and

[4] Levallois is a place name in France that refers to the method of preparing the lithic (stone) platform before flaking. It has a number of advantages especially the production of lithic materials of a pre-determined shape.

[5] Bipolar technology involves the use of a hammer and anvil and then the core in the middle due to the force from both sides; hence; the term bipolar.

[6] Unifacial retouch involves secondary modifications from one side while bifacial retouch involves secondary modifications or retouches on the two sides of the edge of the lithic material.

watch what was taking place during the pre-historic excavation of artefacts within their locality (Figure 7).

Figure 7: School children participation

During the archaeological survey, we carried equipment, such as GPS machines and cameras; and yet, in the nearby landing site at Kyabasinga, an unidentified investor had just fenced off over three villages of land, initially communal, for his personal use. Our survey made the school community more interested based on the sensitivity of land matters in their locality; hence, the participation to understand what was going on clearly. The above scenario attracted more passers-by, including Musomesa Mugerwa, who later led the team to three caves and the Sango Tree. He narrated the origin of the name Sango Bay.

Using the snowball method, Musomesa Mugerwa led the team to other elderly and knowledgeable people in the area that could inform the study. This also attracted secondary school students close to Kateera who were at home due to the COVID-19 pandemic-related lockdown (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: Secondary school students at Kateera learning about archaeological artefacts

The archaeological survey at Sango Bay made the residents appreciate the heritage of their area when they saw value in the stone artefacts they had been interacting with in the fields. Therefore, the ivory tower met the Sango Bay *jua kari* through community archaeology to trace the heritage potential of the region. This reminds us of the backbone of Uganda's archaeology

that came from a non-professional archaeologist, Wayland. Therefore, "public archaeology straddles the great divide within archaeology between the professionals, academic and amateurs, between the local and global and between science and the humanities" (Monshenska, 2017, Pg.3). There is a need to acknowledge that, the public intellectual and the scholar are not two different peoples but two sides of a single quest for knowledge. This was summarised as "In Africa, archaeology came as part of a colonial package whose aim was to govern and understand the "natives" in the process of "civilizing them" (Ugwuanyi, *et al*, 2021, p 42)

To pursue this quest is to bridge the gap between the public intellectual and the scholar" (Mamdani, 2019, p. 53).

The fears of involving the public as expressed by Leakey in response to Posnansky's first field school at Makerere College in 1957 at Lanet as depicted from his words stated that: "if you teach people about archaeology they will find out where the sites are, and if they know where the sites are they will spoil the sites" (Mehari, 2015, p. 139). How meaningful is this conversation with the community that forms the last part of this paper? On the contrary, community archaeology is important as indicated in the next section.

Importance of Community Archaeology

Marshall explains what the authors of the two volumes of World Archaeology regard as the gain from community archaeology despite the loss of power by academia as follows:

> It enriches our discipline, encourages us to ask questions of the past we would not otherwise consider, see archaeological remains in a new light and think in new ways about how the past informs the present… collaborative research fostered by community archaeology will be crucial if archaeology is to have a future (Marshall, 2010, p. 218).

Therefore, the future of archaeological work, such as that at Sango Bay lies in working with the community. Other than that, "community archaeology diversifies the voices involved in interpreting the past and facilitates mutual education between the archaeologists (ivory tower) and communities" (*jua kali*) (Tully, 2007, p. 155 – emphasis ours).

Therefore, community archaeology brings about social cohesion as the people develop a sense of ownership of their local heritage. Schmidt credits history and ethnoarchaeology and also suggests that community archaeology has a long history in Africa based on the use of archives, archaeology and oral histories and, thus, the significance of community involvement is that:

> when cultures in Africa participate in interpreting their past, we can begin to build a self-enriching tradition of archaeology free from the domination of Western paradigms and appropriate to the African setting (Emphasis ours Schmidt 1983, p. 75, cited by Schmidt, 2014, p. 38).

Conclusion

The history of archaeological research in Uganda suggests that the Ugandans took a central role of the *jua kari* especially in the period from the 1920s to 2007. In this period since many Ugandans had not had formal archaeological training, they would assist the ivory tower archaeologists who were mainly from Europe and America to do the manual work for the experts. From 2007 Ugandans join the ivory tower archaeologists, especially with training from the University of Dar es Salaam and sponsorship of the African archaeology Network. Having realised the importance of the *jua kari* involvement the story of research at Sango Bay depicted the need to work closely with the people. As such the ivory tower experts undertook the technical aspects such as examining the Sangoan technology at Sango Bay that was characterised by the *Levallois* and bipolar technology, while the Sangoan typology comprised of cores, scrapers, discoid, cleavers, hand axe and pick axe. In the identification of the Sangoan technology, typology, and environmental conditions, the *jua kari* or community though involved in both the survey and excavation did not participate in the analysis of the findings. Attempts were made to engage primary and secondary schools but were initiated by the community's eagerness, not the ivory tower people. Prior to the research at Sango Bay, archaeology was dominated by foreigners who engaged Ugandans at the lower levels of the archaeology research. This implies that involving the community also entails decolonising the practice of archaeology in Uganda. Besides that, there is a multi-directional contribution between the community and the ivory tower. This is because while in some cases, the community led the ivory tower to identify cultural heritage sites, other technical cases, such as lithic analysis to establish its typology and technology were spearheaded by the ivory tower.

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