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Mawazo (sing. wazo) is a comprehensive Kiswahili word covering the following activities of the mind: meditations, reflections, thoughts, opinions, and ideas.

Description

Mawazo is a multidisciplinary international peer reviewed journal published in English by the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Makerere University. It is a scholarly journal of research and opinions in the Humanities and Social Sciences. *Mawazo* was first published in June 1967 as a publication of the Faculties of Arts and Social Sciences, Makerere University to promote national consciousness and pan-Africanism through the promotion of basic research in the humanities and social sciences seeks to disseminate cutting-edge research and opinions relevant and reflective of African realities. The thorough multidisciplinary character of the journal enables it to analyse the African condition in a more holistic manner. The journal is interested in receiving well-written papers that conform to its guidelines for possible publication.

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- Manuscripts should range between 4000 and 8000 words inclusive of an abstract, tables, footnotes, appendixes, and references.
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Men, Marriage and Women's Land Rights: Reflections on Customary Land Tenure Relations in Rural Uganda[1]

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Abstract

In broad activist and policy formulations, customary land tenure is cast as severely inimical to women's land rights. This article makes a case for closer interrogation of the reality of customary land tenure as an overly fluid nature in Uganda's land governance. This article seeks to contribute to the debate on the gendered complexities of land rights in the realm of customary land tenure and its multi-layered dynamics especially in the context of marriage. The article's core argument is that the reality of the fluidity Uganda's gendered land access and ownership rights, labelled as a customary tenure, requires careful interrogation. Ultimately, there is need to avoid orthodox perspectives that might end up masking the multiple layers of agency available to women and men in specific contexts.

Key words: Marriage, land rights, gender, customary tenure

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Introduction

On 17 September 2015, women in Amuru District in northern Uganda stripped naked over what they called their customary land. The women apparently stripped naked to stop the demarcation of a border line between Amuru and Adjumani districts in a bid to protect the land they claimed to belong to them as habitants of Amuru. The genesis of what has been known as the Apaa land conflict dates back to colonial times when the area in question was gazetted a game reserve, which the local communities have since contested. Men and women alike refer to this land as their ancestral land rather than a reserve for animals. As part of the community's dissent, elderly women held a nude protest before government officials who had gone to supervise the demarcation of a new boundary between the two districts.[2] Earlier in 2011, women had stripped naked to protest against the establishment of the Amuru Sugar Factory by government, which was going to be located on what they considered community land. The contestations received high media coverage and public debate. The media[3] and researchers weighed in to analyse the role of women and their agency and mostly focused on the power and symbolism of the women's chosen method of protest by stripping (Ebila & Tripp 2017; Ahikire, Kanyesigye, Nassali, & Nakayi 2016).

Accordingly, women stripped as they considered their agentic power to be the last line of defence for the community land. One of the women leaders who led the protest is quoted as follows:

> … stripping naked was our only instrument because we realized that the only weapon we had was to get naked… we didn't have guns nor the energy for physical violence some say politicians used you- never! We stripped over our land, when they take it how shall we feed our children? Most of us are widows. The land does not belong to the politicians, it belongs to us (Ahikire, Nassali, Nakayi, & Kanyesigye 2016:36).

In dominant discourse, customary tenure has been framed as inimical to women's land rights. The broad formulations have posited that in this land tenure system, the custom of a specific area is applied to a great extent and since in a number of communities, customary norms position men as the land owners, women presented as mere land users are thus highly disadvantaged (Asiimwe 2002). "Women do not own land", is the seemingly stable truism. Therefore, the question that lingers is: Why would the women of Amuru passionately defend a land system that apparently marginalises them "to the core"? The women of Amuru paradoxically communicated a clear message and this was "this is *our land*". This is the message that has pushed this interrogation of the

[2] PML Daily June 2017, http://www.pmldaily.com/news/2017/06/tracing-the-roots-of-apaa-land-conflict.html).

[3] See Daily Monitor, 8 September 2016.

dominant discourse about women's marginalisation, helplessness, and victimisation under customary land tenure. This message alerts us to the need for a critical appreciation of the nested nature of gender relations, especially in as far as land rights the realm of customary tenure are concerned.

Evidently, the posture of Amuru women even surpasses recent legal innovations which were supposedly intended to improve women's access land but actually only seem to focus on legalistic aspects of protecting women's right to land. For example, Section 28 of the Land Act (1998 Cap 227) states that any decision that denies women, children, or persons with a "disability access to ownership, occupation, or use of any land or that violates Constitutional principles," shall be invalid. Section 39, which is an amendment to the Land Act 1998, requires spousal consent prior to entering into any land transaction concerning land on which the spouse resides and/or uses for sustenance. Other provisions in the Land Act 1998, such as Section 57 and 78 on the establishment of the and conduct of the District Land Board and Land Tribunal respectively require a minimum of one-third female representation on land bodies at district and community levels.

These legal provisions though often referred to as women-friendly could be paradoxically seen as the signifiers of a gender-blind spot within Uganda's legal system. For instance, the grouped together vulnerable groups in need of protection; it puts women together with children, youth, and people with disabilities. The language of vulnerable groups/ categories in policy documents is part of the larger discourse informed by populist politics in Uganda as well as the overall developmentalist twist in the global agenda (Ahikire 2017). The language of vulnerability is part and parcel of the patronage politics which infantilizes women and removes them from the centre, to the periphery of land rights claiming. It is an 'othering' discourse.

Placing women's need for protection in the same alley with children and youths[4] waters down the real content of women's land rights. Youths and children transit into adulthood and hence their occupancy of this category signifies different political positionality, leaving women and people with disability as permanent occupiers of this category. This consistency in protectionism in the narrative on women's land rights has blocked imagination about women as citizens with entitlements whose rights should be, respected and fulfilled globally.

Above all, the findings of this research suggest that everyday life is not as fixed as often presented in homogenizing discourses and there is a critical need to understand concrete

[4] Children and youths are transient categories and these soon become adult women and men. This therefore leaves adult women as 'the other' in the arena of land rights in need of permanent protection as defined by the law.

material and discursive processes through which men and women negotiate the meaning of being. In this case, marriage seems to be an array that creates a web of relations through which men and women negotiate different entitlements to land over time. Far from the oft mentioned stable notion of women's land rights mediated through male relationships, there are under currents in marriage that moderate men and women's identity and sense of entitlement to land. In Porro's (2010:284-5) formulation, being a woman, man, daughter, son, and the like are not fixed but rather are identities in a continuous transformation through either friction or resistance and hence the need for continuous research, in our case, to envision multiple forms of gender relations to land.

Instigated by the action of stripping, the proposition of this article is that the fluid nature of men and women's access and rights to land may seem to be well ahead of the rather orthodox perspective of rights in current legal activism and policy reform. This article seeks to critically re-examine the place of customary land tenure vis-à-vis women's and men's space in the everyday order of things and the mundane forms of living in the light of customary land tenure systems especially in the context of marriage. This analysis was inspired by imperatives from interrogation research participants' everyday life of production, power and emotional relations. Through a social historical analysis, this article attempts to bring to light the mundane layerings in women's land rights that re-centre men and women, as differentiated subjects to be analysed and understood in concrete contexts.

Methodology

This study explored the fluid norms that guide everyday life and how they blend into the gendered structuring of land rights. The motivation for the study was derived from the national policy trend towards popularization of titling customary land in a bid to increase the marketability of land and ostensibly protect land rights of owners, in a way, anchored onto Hernando de Soto's World Bank orthodoxy around 'breathing life into dead assets' (cited in Nyamu-Musembi 2008). In an astute critique of De Soto, Nyamu-Musembi refers to the perspective as:

> … breathing life into previously discredited theories on land rights land tenure reform and efficiency and enabling the current debate to proceed as though the negative lessons learned from African experiences over the last four decades never happened (2008:19).

The study draws on African feminist imperatives and seeks to interrogate rather than assume ahistoricity in traditional norms and practices that influence the making of masculinities and femininities and how these identities shape men and women's land rights. The study also draws on critical masculinities (Connell 1995;

Cornwall 2000) to examine ways in which masculinities and femininities operate in particular cultural contexts to enable and/or constrain women's rights to land. Drawing on narrative forms of interviewing (Mishler 1986; Holstein & Gubrium 1995) and other forms of qualitative dialogue, the article explores complex ways in which women and men organise, interpret and make meaning of their everyday experiences drawing on the past to moderate the present with regard to customs and traditions that guide land ownership, occupancy, usage and disposal among other rights.

The motivation for the study was originally sparked off by the current government's drive to register land currently managed under customary tenure and to provide occupants with Certificates of Customary Ownership (CCOs). The inclination of the research then, was to situate women's land rights in the customary land registration drive and to interrogate the implications of the government policy direction. Through deep conversations, the research was redirected into a more situated narrative in everyday forms of land relations in family settings especially within the context of marriage.

The article adopted an exploratory (socio-historical) and ethnographic design in purposively selected districts – Amuru District (Acholi); Kayunga District (Buganda) and Rukiga District (formerly part of Kabale District in Kigezi). The study took a rather loose comparative perspective on current practices across three different cultural governance systems, that is, Acholi where the clan system has maintained a relative presence, Buganda with prevalence of mailo land as well as a strong *heir* system, and Kigezi, with a relatively atomized land governance system.

The study was conducted through qualitative research methods including life histories, key informant interviews, community dialogues and group discussions. These were intended to facilitate the sharing of experiences by participants of their traditional customs (in their diversities) that regulate men and women's ownership, access, and use of land. Through their narratives, participants shared their everyday experiences with regard to how customs regulate(d) men and women's ownership, usage and management of land, land transfer and disposal as well as the cultural shifts and their implications to the construction of masculinities and femininities.

Interview conversations and focus group discussions sought to explore and discover from women and men how life in selected communities is organized around land ownership and management. These conversations sought to understand traditional customs (and possible changes) that guide(d) ownership, occupancy, usage, management and disposal of land amongst family members and how this should inform the current discourses on land rights. In Rukiga District three community dialogues

were conducted in Rwamucuucu Sub-county. In Amuru District, two community dialogues were held in Pabbo and Atiak Sub-counties. In Kayunga District three community dialogues were conducted in Kayunga sub-county. I also conducted key informant interviews at district and national levels.

The study covered a small sample and cannot make claims to generalization even of the communities included in the study. However, the focus of the study was not to derive generalizable findings. The findings were rather intended to bring to the fore the fact that some of the generalisations about land rights by academics, government and the women's movement alike, are rooted in the under-theorized nature of gender relations in customary land tenure system which has also tended to recreate and legitimate patriarchal discourses on land in contemporary times, thereby infusing itself into policy and new modes of land access. In very specific ways, the making of men (and women) through marriage and other social institutional practices and the layered nature of women's land rights in this regard, deserves more attention than it has attracted so far.

On ethical considerations, I recognize that the question of land is sensitive, emotive and highly volatile. For this reason, all respondents remain anonymous (pseudo names have been adopted throughout this article) though they consented to the participation. Participants were notified to be free to withdraw from the study at any moment and were not required to respond to questions they felt uncomfortable with. The promise to the study participants was that the results were to be used as broad formulations to understanding the terrain of land relations and possibly contribute to new narratives that can inform policy and advocacy efforts in Uganda and elsewhere.

Women's Land Rights and Customary Land Tenure: An Enigma or an Under-theorised Life Experience?

Land rights are property rights and in general, property rights are social conventions backed up by the power of a state or community at various levels that allow individuals or groups to lay a claim. Land rights can then be seen as legitimate claims to land and the benefits and products from that land. In terms of conceptualisation, land rights refer to a group of rights and not one bundle around ownership as often projected in conventional policy debates (Brock 1969, Whitehead and Tsikata 2003). To Brock (1969) land rights include rights of allocation, use, disposal and reversion.

Land rights entail a continuum spanning from informal to formal bases of recognition and deal with access to the natural resources associated with land, for example, water sources as well as right to fruits of labour out of investments on the

land, relating to rights to use, control and manage land and the resources thereon. Land rights can be defined in terms of the right to exclude others or in terms of the right to be included as a member of a specific community. The former rights tend to be situated in market-based relations with registered individual interests while the latter rights are situated in the rights of utilisation. In this sense therefore, land rights are much broader than the ownership definitions that are often employed in policy contexts.

Land rights can then be seen as legitimate claims to land and the benefits and products produced of that land. As according to Bina Agarwal, land rights are claims that are legally and socially recognized and enforceable by a legitimated authority be it at local at national level (1994:19). Land rights may comprise access for gathering, usufruct for a specified period of time, or more complete rights (often referred to as full ownership), with or without the ability to transfer the rights to the resource temporarily or permanently (Deininger 2003:25). Hence land rights can be primary (ownership) or secondary (access, use). Defined in this way, it means that land rights are a layered bundle of rights and when it comes to customary tenure it becomes important to employ nuanced perspectives so as to concretely appreciate the dynamics that underlie different modes of access and control.

More than 80 per cent of land in Uganda is held under customary tenure which is overly dynamic, fluid and complex (Nakayi 2015). Customary land is largely undocumented and tenuous with contradictory levels of inclusivity and exclusivity. At certain points in time, customary land tenure systems may offer opportunities for inclusive practices that accommodate women's rights on the land. In an extensive engagement with the question of custom and land rights, the Land Equity Movement (LEMU) posits that principally:

> … under custom, everyone who is born, married into or accepted as a member of a family has automatic rights. This is true for both girls and boys, men and women. What changes in the land management responsibility, which is passed on to members of the family through the actualisation of events such as marriage… divorce… and death… land is held in trust by the family, for all past, present and future generations, with the current adult occupants responsible for managing it, in the role of trustees. Unfortunately, overtime, this management role has been confused with actual individual land ownership, bringing about confusion, misconception, distortion and abuse. In other words, trustees have turned themselves into owners, in the process disenfranchising weaker family members in the trust (Adoko et al. 2011:2).

The issue at hand is that the fluid norms are slowly being eroded by multiple processes of marketization

and individualisation thereby weakening customary safeguards and as well, brewing a climate of uncertainty, abuse and violations of customary rules (Nakayi 2015; Leslie 2014) which abuses are rather erroneously referred to as custom. As well, dominant discourses including those espoused by the women's movement are that women do not own land.

The delicate combination of these lived experiences and dominant discourses in the domain of policy and activism threaten to roll back even the few spaces of contestation and therefore, freeze customary land tenure in space and time. Tripp (2004) also presents this whole debate on customary land tenure as a paradox in that if women were benefitting from the customary system, why is preservation or even modification not one of the desirable goals of the women's movement? Yet, rather than a paradox, it could be, indeed a direct product of the simplification that results from the codification of complex custom into what is officially labelled as customary law and, in this case, the freezing of complex relations to land into customary land tenure.

This view validates Ossome's (2014) argument about whether or not law can secure women's rights to land in Africa on the basis that the liberal framing of gender equality particularly in the arena of land rights carries with it a set of assumptions regarding women's position in the political economy that inadvertently limit their social citizenship. In this case, a concrete understanding of women's land rights within the realm of customary land tenure system requires a prudent recognition of the fact that this very system has often been treated in very simplistic ways. Indeed, customary land tenure relates to multiple systems rather that one single system as often presented in policy discourses.

Furthermore, complexity may now come to the fore with current imperatives of land acquisition and documentation of rights held under customary tenure. On registration of customary land, under the Land Act (1998), communities, families, or individuals holding customary tenure may apply for a certificate of formal customary ownership with the government. General procedures are provided under section 5 and 6 for how to register obtain Certificates of Customary Ownership (CCOs), and under sections 9-14 for converting customary tenure to freehold. In the context of land acquisition for development projects, consent for sale is normally made with the men who are the identifiable 'owners' of land and this makes women secondary citizens in the whole land governance. For instance, inquiries with the Ministry of Lands Housing and Urban Development revealed that compensation is often made to the head of the household who is assumed to be male by default, unless the woman in question is a widow or

has purchased land in her name. What needs to be signposted is that the generalist posture to customary land may have the danger of 'freezing' the more or less fluid and inclusive land rights into a title especially given the fluid and inherent cracks in the land terrain.

What needs to be underscored is that 'customary' is not one, but rather multiple and layered systems of access and control. Recognition and allocation of rights to land under customary tenure is not uniform across the country. Rights are instead allocated and sanctioned or recognized following the customs of a given community through layered pathways. Unfortunately, complex relationships through which women and men interact with each other in customary tenure systems tend to be constructed and reproduced in homogenising public discourses that deny women's ownership of customary land. In some cases, abuse of culture has also been labelled as custom hence instigating an overly anti custom stance in the realm of women's land rights.

An enquiry into these communities reveals diverse and complex land ownership, usage and management practices which are informed by Uganda's different pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial experiences. Juanena and Debska (2013) alert us to the fact that colonial laws gave more weight to men's rights and the existence of women as legal persons was generally ignored. Hence what we may be talking about may not necessarily be custom per say but rather, a whole nested and historically constructed realm of access layered with sporadic notions of norms and values. According to Bomuhangi, Doss, and Meinzen-Dick, land rights in this realm can be in many ways, such as access, right of withdrawal, management, exclusion and alienation (2011:3). Land rights, particularly in the context of customary tenure manifest in form of a continuum as opposed to a fused state, presenting various conventions and norms with a mix of claims that can only be understood in their concrete manifestations.

Hence customary tenure systems mean that these aspects can be deployed in very diverse ways and depending on specific contexts, lead to different inclusion or exclusion outcomes. Customary systems also vary in how members access, use, manage, and transfer land. For example, while most of the land in Buganda is held under *mailo* tenure, most of the land holdings in the Kigezi area are held under customary tenure, through traditional forms of land inheritance. In Acholi most of the land is governed under a clan system which is also grouped under customary tenure. Despite complex variations in customary land tenure systems, there are certain shared commonalities amongst the communities this study focused on, in particular, on the layered practices that regulate rights to land as well

as women's subtle negotiations of land rights, particularly within the institution of marriage. I proceed to utilize selected cases to elaborate on this fluidity and what all this should mean for politics of policy and social mobilisation.

Rukiga: Men, Marriage and Collective Ownership of 'Family Land'

In all the three cases, marriage emerged as a common cultural context within which land was traditionally passed on from parents to their children. However, the centrality of marriage was much more pronounced in the conversations held in Rukiga. Accordingly, amongst the Bakiga traditions, for example, land was inherited by male children from their parents on marriage. In almost all the focus group conversations, men and women participants recalled what they termed '*okutekyesa amahega'* – a cultural practice where a young Mukiga male would be given land on the onset of marriage. *Amahega* is the fireplace signalling food, livelihood and basic joint living. *Okutekyesa* signals the state of being independent with one's own hearth.

In this practice, land carried different symbolic meanings, as a marker of independence and a rite of passage that ushered young men and women into ideal notions of manhood and womanhood as well as a social gesture towards joint ownership of property in marriage. Accordingly, "no male child would acquire land under the Kiga customary system without taking a wife in marriage". Since single unmarried young men could not inherit land, bequeathing land to male children on the onset of marriage signalled women's and men's joint customary rights to own, occupy and use land for sustenance. Despite male centred inheritance customs, such practices, such as *Okutekyesa amahega* constructed land as a collective family resource. Hence, this practice ensured that the land bequeathed to a son was only used for the benefit of his wife and *her* children consequently guaranteeing livelihood for women and their children in an otherwise patrilineal system.

One Komugisha (not real name) narrates her experience of this practice:

> When I married, my husband's parents gave us land to utilize. It is my land. If my husband wished to marry a second wife, he will have to buy or will be given another piece of land *(ekibira*) by the parents.

Men and women's everyday relationship with land in Kigezi highlights a web of rights and interests rather than the presumed homogeneity of rights to land. In a group discussion, Mirembe – a 62-year-old married resident of Ibumba village, Kabale – characterises land as a social context within which marriage relations, gender division of labour and the construction of masculinities and femininities occurred. In the extract below, Owomugisha recounted thus:

> In the early days, the land was covered by hill and forests. A man would go out and clear the forest in a given part and bring his wife to that place where they would build their home. The man would give a part of the land to his wife and keep the rest on which they would derive sustenance for the family. The man would use the remaining land in consultation with his wife. The wife had a right to use and develop her part of the land as she pleased. Where the man would marry a second wife, he would have to give her separate piece of land on which to grow food for her children. When the man and his wife grew older, they would sit together with their children and distribute the land amongst the sons leaving a piece for themselves. The family home was left to the daughters and it was never to be sold. This was in order for the daughters to have a place to return to in case they were unsuccessful in marriage.

In this excerpt, Owomugusha recalls a history of abundance with regard to land and the traditional gender division of labour that underpinned their everyday life. In this setting, she reflects on men's benevolent ownership of land, in trust of the family, and talks about how they (men) distributed the land they received at marriage to the family members. A specific piece of land would be allocated to the first wife, and where possible, the second wife, to enable them to perform their expected roles of providing food to families. Besides these rather diverse yet complementary rights (anchored in a traditional gender division of labour) to land amongst women and men at the family level, Owomugisha reveals ways in which land, where the family resided was entrusted collectively to the female children in the family especially as their parents aged, to ensure non-transference. This particular practice of allocating socially valued land collectively to females to avoid its sale, is also noted strongly amongst the Baganda as I will discuss later. These dynamics of distribution of land, for example, to the first wife, ensured that the wife not only had the right to access and usage of a particular piece of land but also had control over usage, that is, what to grow and how often. Such a piece of land would not be re-distributed if the man married a second wife. Instead the second wife would be allocated a piece of land from what the man had acquired outside inherited land. This piece of land was often referred to as *Eitaka lyengaragazi*.[5]

These narrative reveals rich and varied ways in which customary land tenure produced men as the primary owners/custodians of land. This is noticeable through repeated narratives on how land was first and foremost given to the sons and the unique circumstances in which girls in a family inherited land.

[5] This refers to land inherited from a parent that remains under the direct control of the husband after he divides his property with his wife. It is separate from family land. This division is done in consultation with the wife. This can also be a piece of land purchased by the husband that remains under his control after he gives his wife a piece considered family land.

It also shows ways in which girls or women inherited/owned land through paternalistic filial relations – as young brides or after the death of their parents. Furthermore, there is a notable pattern in which women are viewed as socially *different* from men amongst the Bakiga and the Baganda. Through collective allocation of land to females, land that families wished to preserve in their lineage in perpetuity, such traditional practices constructed females as trusted custodians of land. For these cultures, land was not *simply* an individual economic resource but more of a cultural site upon which cultural identities were nurtured, maintained, legitimised and passed on to future generations, by men and women alike.

Kayunga: Layered Men's Control and Women's Right to Land

According to the conversations held with men and women in Kayunga Sub-county, Kayunga District, rights to land are understood in diverse ways – that is, in terms of access, ownership and use, as well as other resources related to it; one is able to benefit from by virtue of possessing land, for example, using land as collateral in securing a financial loan. Participants noted that while women might encounter challenges in claiming ownership of land, they nonetheless, have different forms of rights to it as provided for under customary land tenure.

Participants reflected on ways in which customary land tenure opens up diverse opportunities (beyond ownership) within which rights to land are articulated and negotiated. In particular, participants shared subtle micro-ways through which women negotiate their rights to access, occupancy, and use of land in marriage relationships. Women and men in both male-only and female-only FGDs talked of how women use family land productively and gain proceeds which they draw upon to purchase their own plots of land. In a female-only FGD, one of the participants noted:

> You get a hoe and dig on your husband's land until you buy a plot of land, you move from the plot and buy land (Women only-FGD 13 February 2018).

While this narrated experience points to new ways women draw upon to own land, it also covertly alerts us to the challenges that underlie women's struggles to acquire land, that is, women's wariness about men's control over land that individually belongs to women. This fear of men's control over women personally owned land (whether it is individual freehold or inherited from their maiden homes) is highlighted through the participant's appeal for assistance from the researchers.

Kigezi, women also shared similar worries. Bakeetunga, a 50-year-old married female noted that "when a woman acquires property from her parents, the husband usually ensures that this is the first property to be

sold whenever they are trying to raise money". This plays out as a masculine fear associated with feminine power that comes with ownership of land hence, pointing to intrinsic masculine vulnerability (Clowes 2013). Selling off such a piece of land is thus seen as an attempt (by the men) to get rid of any form of women's sense of power, otherwise perceived as transgressive in patriarchal discourses, in as far as it is seen as compromising men's attainment of hegemonic power (Connell 1995).

In the analysis of masculinities, as part of the broader relational theory of gender, Connell draws on the notion of hegemonic masculinity and demonstrates how "masculinities tend to occupy [or aspire to occupy] a "higher ranking than femininity in the gender hierarchy" (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004:82). In this context – men seeking to sell off land owned by their wives – land becomes a key social resource in the construction of gender power relations particularly aspirations of hegemonic forms of masculinity.

Women too acquire land from their parents though under stringent measures. Some of these included bequeathing the land to female children as a group which limits chances of selling such land. In other cases, females would be allocated land by their parents but were also prohibited from selling it especially outside the clan. These restrictive measures produced land as a cultural resource rather than entirely an economic asset to be disposed of. In cases where land selling (converting land from customary to freehold) was not prohibited, women opted to sell land inherited from their parents and buy and register alternative land in their own names elsewhere. Women's negotiations to access, occupy, use, manage and dispose of land points to women's profound awareness of patriarchal discourses (Nnaemeka 2004) that guide land relations and ability to go around these limiting regulative frameworks.

There were, interestingly, alternative modes of access through what is known as *Ekijja* (graveyard). Conversations in Kayunga revealed often taken-for-granted ways in which women owned, managed, occupied land in Buganda. Participants enthusiastically talked of how customs in Buganda increasingly entrusted family land especially land earmarked as burial grounds (*ebijja*) to women through the fear that men would often sell off the land and either marry another wife or spend the money on their individual needs.

Ekijja is a Luganda word that comes from another Luganda noun – '*Olujja*' meaning compound/yard. In traditional Kiganda setting, *Olujja* is perceived as the front view/space in every traditional Kiganda home, one that is attractive and where both household members and guests arrive at. Such spacious receptive open areas become negated when they are used as a burial ground for household members. It is after *olujja* (good,

attractive and a receptive compound) when re-designated as a burial ground that it acquires negative meaning as "*Ekijja*" or its plural – *Ebijja*. Although such land is stigmatized and construed in negative ways, it is traditionally accorded very high social value compared to other pieces of land, since it is symbolic of cultural identity/heritage of a given clan/family in Buganda.

In the research process, participants both women and men noted that this land – which may at times be expansive – is usually entrusted to females since families feared that boys would sell it off. To ensure that such land remained intact, it is often allocated *collectively* to girls in the family, who hold user rights to it but are not allowed to sell it under any circumstances. Besides the social stigma associated with *Ekijja*, the idea of allocating it to women instead of men and the social value it holds as a symbol of cultural identity cannot be taken for granted. Allocating this piece of land to women not only enables them access rights but it also highlights the significance such traditional systems attach to women as responsible and trusted guardians of cultural identity.

> Women are not given the same share of the family land as men. In most cases they (women) turned into "guards at homes". They assume the responsibility of taking care of the graveyards and they are not allowed to sell that land. Most girls are given houses of their parents to guard them, the reason is that they should never sale the land. They are given the house near the burial ground, cultivate, grow crops and eat (Men only FGD).

Furthermore, participants noted that land marked out as burial grounds may not necessarily be limited to a small piece of land where the dead are buried (graveyard) but it could relate to big portions set aside by families as burial grounds among other functions. Such pieces of land could also be utilized for other family enterprises. Women can decide how to use but this land was not to be sold. That such land which is highly socially valued is placed in the hands of women, signifies the importance traditional systems places on women with regard to land as a cultural symbol. This does not only symbolize the value attached to land but also demonstrates the intrinsic value not elaborated by the visible performativity of patriarchal norms.

The social value attached to the land, which value is entrusted to women rather than men for fear of the latter selling it off, is something that has not been articulated as a means of according women primacy over cultural land. In this case women inherit the cultural land and become custodians of culture resources, a move that ought not to be ignored in the social stigma that surrounds *ebijja*. The other significance drawn here is that while women are constructed as lacking belonging, in that they supposedly marry and go away, in actual effect they are seen as the ones

able to look back and conserve. Men on the other hand are assumed to be present and away; while the women are away but present at the same time.

Amuru: Marriage and Clan Power in Community Land Access

> In Acholi, the issue of ownership by men and women is generally misleading. There is no individual who owns land, we have the clan which is the sovereign authority and sets rules which must be followed by everybody. Also, the most worrying aspect of the land system is the diminishing authority of the traditional leaders who were custodians in terms of setting rules and regulations governing the land due to increased individualisation (Key informant).

During group discussions in Atiak and Pabbo, participants had several views, some of which are presented below:

> Women's land rights have various dimensions. For example, a married woman who is living happily with the partner will enjoy all the rights to use of land but in the event that there is a misunderstanding leading to separation then that right over land ends.
>
> The common practice is that when a man marries a woman, he takes her to their home and she is given land to till and this land is what she cultivates with her children and she passes on the children inherit and keep using it. Land is passed over from generation to generation. And women acquire this land through marriage and it is the father in-law who gives the land to the daughter in-law for cultivation to feed her children and this does not mean you have rights to ownership but it exclusive to usage rights for cultivation only and you cannot be sure when they can recall it back if they want.
>
> Traditionally women did not have rights over land because they paid bride price for you and I have never seen any woman being called for a meeting regarding land matters in this area because they don't have any rights to land. "*Tekwaro pa Acholi mon pe ki twero pa ngom kwaro*" literally meaning-women in Acholi do not have any rights over customary land.

Several people who participated in the discussions tended to swing from one position of 'women in Acholi do not own land' (Kindi 2010) to the one that that posits that in actual effect there is no question of ownership of land in Acholi and that clans hold land in trust of the present and future generations. In fact, during one of the discussions, a direct question was asked as: 'Who owns this land on which you live?' And the answer was: 'This land belongs to our ancestors (locally translated as: *ngom pa kwaro wa*)'. In this case ownership and exclusion is merely a product of abuse in the present times. Accordingly, under the Acholi traditional land management system, land is owned by the clan and sub clans. Land is seen as a collective asset and no clan or men as individuals would be allowed to sell land. This land is passed on from generation to generation and within this system, women acquire

land rights through marriage, by way of gift and inheritance. Each family is allocated a portion of land which has specified boundaries.

Back to where we started, the women's stripping; far from the symbolism of motherhood and signification of a curse and the like, the narrative around this incident had deeper material meaning. In an interview with one of the women leaders in the area, she intimated that women realized they were the last line of defence of community land. As the last line of defence, they asked the men to take a step backwards so that the women would take the lead (see Picture 1). Accordingly, the response of the security forces to men would be violence in form of beatings and arrests. When the women stepped out to lead, they changed the terms of engagement and stripped naked. Hence, in addition to the symbolism around womanhood and motherhood, there seems to be a very explicit political statement about the land and its layered and gendered identifiers.

This takes us back to the debates around customary land tenure and women's land rights. In the Amuru scenario, women took leadership in the struggle for what was seen as the community's ancestral land. In other words, the terminology of men's exclusive ownership of land does not neatly apply and whence the narratives around the fact that women do not own land would seem to be more or less a new view not rooted in what has been assumed as culture. Yet, questions framed in terms of who owns land at the intra-household level would invite an almost uniform answer on men's exclusive power over land. The nested and layered notions of rights are hence pushed into obscurity.

Picture 1. *Women in leadership: Defence of community land*

Beyond Widowhood: Women, Men and Nested Family Land

The plight of widows has been at the centre of policy and advocacy. Historically, activism by middle class women has revolved around women's failure to inherit their deceased husbands' properties. In Uganda, this concern has led to the creation of Uganda Council of Women that later heralded the formation of the full-fledged women's rights movement in Uganda (Tamale 1999). On the broad front, the idea of women inheriting land at the death of their husbands was noted as a common practice across all the study areas that ensured direct transfer of property ownership rights. This practice only became contentious when abused.

While women's rights to own, occupy, and use family land in circumstances of a husbands' death is commonly reflected upon and is a key issue in women's rights activism; there are hardly reflective studies that explore what becomes of 'family land' and what happens to the man's rights to land when his wife dies and leaves children. This kind of silence on the status of men's rights to land after the death of their wives tends to assume universal male ownership of land and constitutes women as a "'target group' [that] exists as an entity that lies outside the nexus of social relations in which individual members are embedded" (Cornwall 2000). Constituting men and women as binary opposites in relation to land rights is something that this study critiques in the context of customary joint ownership of 'family land'. In the conversations below, FGD participants raise complexities with regard to men's rights to land when a man's wife dies leaving children.

Male Respondent 1: Even men have problems. When a man loses his wife, he has the land which he inherited from his father and the other which he bought, but when he loses the wife, the children will say all the land belongs to them, they will say the land belonged to their mother.

Male Respondent 2: I also tell them that the land I bought together with your mother is your own, the one I inherited from my father is mine. I work hard together with their mother; she passes on and they chase me!!

Researcher: I have not understood that because as we discussed, it felt like the man has control over the land, gives land to the woman to till it.

Male Respondent 3: Women got rights and for us men are suffering. Women became sorted. But on land, men we are suffering when we toiled to have it.

Female Respondent 1: Did you have land before marriage?

Male Respondent 1: Before I married, my father had not given me land.

Female Respondent 1: When I am no longer living, my children should share with you at least.

Male Respondent 1: They refuse, haven't you seen them?

Female Respondent 1: You sit and agree.

Male Respondent 1: Will they accept?

The conversation above highlights contentions regarding men's and women's relationship to land. These debates challenge the taken-for-granted assumptions that men own and control land and that on the death of their spouses, they remain in privileged positions regarding land ownership.

Initially, the first male respondent, in the discussion, alerts us to an unusual complaint, that is, that besides the common knowledge on women's apparent marginalisation in land rights debates, "even men have problems". He goes ahead to elaborate on the problems he has noticed regarding men's relationship with land in marriage – "When a man loses his wife, he has the land which he inherited from his father and the other which he bought, but when he loses the wife, the children will say all the land belongs to them, they will say the land belonged to their mother".

This submission – about problems that men face in recent times – is not only acknowledged but it is also re-echoed by several other male and female participants. This shared knowledge among the participants shifts from the previous narratives in which participants had presented men as having control over land as indicated by the response from the researcher who constitutes the shift as a contradiction. This led to more conversational clarity as men pointed out ways in which, on the death of the wife, children often say that land belonged to their mother and limit certain transactions by their father.

Another interesting turn to the conversation was in the way men presented themselves as the 'new victims'. This sense of tension in men's identities (masculine loss of power) is implicitly attributed to intensive advocacy on women and children's rights to land, which are informed by gender discourses that homogenize men as universal privileged category. Yet, another rather unintended angle from the conversations was the whole location of motherhood not only in the question of land rights but which stretches its tentacles to affect men's quality of life. A strong voice from Rukiga pointed out men are presumed heads of households with the right to make decisions on land but the under current was the power of motherhood.

Men talked of the way they are increasingly isolated as children tend to coalesce around the mother – starting from the hearth – *amahega*. In their childhood and maturing into a "coalition" of sorts in their adulthood. Men talked of the enormous power that women have on their children such that if a man dies first, the children are concerned about the mother, they build a good house for her, when she falls sick they take her to the city for proper treatment and when she is still alive the children visit the village home more often.

Accordingly, if the reverse happens and the mother dies first, the children begin by placing a caveat on the land to the effect that this was their mother's land. 'Only lucky widowers are looked after by their children', men seemed to assert in chorus. Majority widowers often re-marry and that sets in another point of battle over the land and other property that were under the control of the late wife and her children. Accordingly, some children go to the extent of demanding that if the father remarried, he would have to vacate their mother's bedroom or even leave the house completely. The father is henceforth isolated and the new wife is seen as an intruder. In other words, the land, which was initiated by the marriage of their mother cannot be easily bequeathed to another marriage especially if the children are not close to their father. The conversation in Rwamucuucu became rather highly emotive as men recounted the number of widowers apparently living as paupers despite the fact that they had accumulated some level of wealth (particularly land parcels) when their wives were still alive.

Conclusion

As seen from this reflection, land rights present themselves in very intricate ways and in the case of customary land tenure, there exists multiple modes of access, inclusion and exclusion. It is a complex web of rights, lived and experienced. With this complex web of rights, policy reforms should equally be elaborate and surpass simplistic notions. Equally too, advocacy on land rights for women should as of necessity surpass the very basic and simplistic understandings around: "women do not own land."

It is very clear that there is not one but multiple customs and at another level what we are talking about is merely abuse of custom as opposed to custom itself. Also, notions, such as co-ownership may not capture the realities already on the ground where we are talking about family land in the broader sense, as opposed to individual ownership. In this case, imperatives of advocacy which require simple and stable messages for policy makers may in the end erode some of the spaces for women's negotiation in the realm of customary land.

The paradox that faces us is that the acknowledgment of fluidity and multiplicity of experiences may seem to dilute the need to address patriarchal domination as it presents itself in the realm of land rights. But this ought not to be the case. Rather, the spaces of inclusion and negotiation especially in the realm of identity, family and marriage should form part of what is to be processed as material for advocacy in women's land rights. Borrowing from Oyeronke Oyewumi's (2013:97) critique of generalist notions of gender relations in the South, the thinking around gender and land rights is at once 'in serious need of repair'.

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Catholicism in Buganda: Exploring the Early History of the Indigenization of the Mission, 1879-1913[1]

*Deogratius Kyanda Kannamwangi**

'The event [ordination] was an event of immense significance for the Catholic Church in Uganda and elsewhere in Africa. It acted as a spur to other Catholic missions showing that the impossible could be done and Africans could achieve Catholic priesthood.' (Pirouet 1971:10).

Abstract

The ordination of the first two Baganda priests: Bazilio Lumu and Victoro Womeraka Mukasa at Villa Maria (Buddu County) on June 29, 1913 has been hailed in much of Uganda's Christian historiography as the 'beginning' of the indigenization of the Catholic mission in Buganda and Uganda as a whole. In this article, I use a historical and descriptive approach and draw on archival sources, field interviews to argue that the indigenization of the Catholic mission in Buganda began almost as soon as the first Catholic missionaries arrived in the country in 1879. I further argue that the early indigenization achievements of the Catholic mission in Buganda were occasioned by the vision, attitude, and evangelization methods of Charles Cardinal Lavigarie and members of his *White Fathers'* Congregation, the zeal of the first Baganda Catholic converts who were ready to evangelize their kinsmen and the religio-political events that unfolded in Buganda between 1884-92. The article illustrates the earliest intersection of Kiganda culture and Roman Catholicism, and how this shaped the unicity of the mission that emerged in Buganda in the first three decades of the Catholic missionary presence.

Keywords: Indigenization, Mission, Roman Catholic Church, Catholicism, Buganda

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Introduction

Since the beginning of the 20th century, there has been renewed interest on the African continent to 'indigenize' the form of Christianity received from European missionaries. All Christian churches on the continent have been searching for a true African identity in Christianity. Secondly, the multiplicity of African Christianities and the growing numbers of African Christians have turned Africans into key actors in the World of Christianity and also increasingly made the African continent the heartland of Christianity (Oladipo 2016). Despite this, much of the genre of African Christian historiography associate the desire for a viable and distinct African breed of Christianity to the wave of political decolonization on the African continent and the rise of the educated elite in the 1950s and 60s (Strang 1991).

Buganda, the central region of Buganda in Uganda occupies a special place in Uganda's Christian history. The first Christian teachers belonging to the Church Missionary Society, from England, were received in Buganda at Kabaka Muteesa's court in as early as 1877. These were two years later followed by Catholic missionaries; Fr. Simeon Lourdel and Bro. Delmas Amans from France. From the latter half of 1879, Buganda became the centre of three competing groups of foreigners competing for influence, namely: Arab Muslims, French Catholics and English Protestants with their alien creeds; on top of Buganda's tradition religion.

Whereas the first decade of the Catholic presence in Buganda was somehow consumed by the pressures of rival religionists, especially the Protestants, a bigger effort was directed towards establishing a church that would fit into the socio-cultural set up of the Baganda. In this way, the Catholic mission in Buganda was to trailblaze the indigenization of the version of Christianity received from European missionaries in the entire Uganda.

Key among its huge milestones was the ordination of the first two 'black' priests in modern times south of the Sahara in the persons of Victoro Womeraka Mukasa and Bazilio Lumu at Villa Maria mission in Buddu County (Masaka) on 29th June 1913. This was a historic and defining moment in the long and strenuous trajectory of the growth of African priesthood in Buganda, and, more broadly, in the indigenization of the Catholic Church in Buganda and Uganda in general. However, in this article, I contend that there were key indigenization milestones before the creation of native priesthood in Buganda. These included the vernacularization of the language and books of religious instruction, the emergence of a voluntary group of lay evangelizers that later morphed into a formal indigenous ministry of catechists, the translation of Church music into Luganda among others.

Indigenization, as used in this article, refers to the process by which

the earliest missionaries and their supporters allowed the natives of Buganda to experience, express, and propagate the new Christian faith within their local context. I adduce evidence in this article to show that as soon the mission was established, Fr. Lourdel and his conferrers began to vernacularize the language and literature of the religious instruction as well as allow their first converts to propagate the new faith they had just acquired. The central question posed in this article is: What were the early indigenization leaps that were registered by the Catholic Church in Buganda before the ordination of the first two native priests in 1913?

Methodology

This qualitative research employed a historical research design to investigate the history of the early Catholic mission in Buganda and its journey to fit into the cultures of the natives. This design was suitable because of two of its advantages. Firstly, it allows the researcher to investigate and report on a single historical phenomenon or a few cases. Secondly, it allows the use of different sources to understand past historical events. In this regard, the researcher used both primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources included both written and unwritten materials produced by those who were involved in the indigenization process either as participants or as witnesses. The unwritten primary sources included first-hand accounts of information from people's personal recollections and these were collected through interviews between January 2018 and December 2019. The written primary sources include manuscripts, correspondences between amongst the different stakeholders, pastoral instructions and records of the early African priests, their speeches, diaries and memoirs as well published materials like such as ethnographic books, essays, pamphlets, newspapers and magazine articles, autobiographies.

This data was obtainable from institutional and private archives including Makerere University Archives (Africana Section), Kampala Archdiocesan Archives at Lubaga, the diocesan archives at Lugazi, Masaka, Kiyinda-Mityana and Kasana-Luwero. These are some of the places where key documents on the Catholic Church in Buganda are preserved. Secondary works such as books, monographs, journal articles, scholarly essays, pamphlets and conference papers with narratives related to the history of the Catholic Church in Buganda and Uganda or specifically on the subject of indigenization were also instructive in this study.

Mission Buganda: The Inspiration and Early Indigenization Leaps in Buganda: 1881-1913

From its initial formation, the Catholic Church that developed in Buganda acquired an African imprint. It was

an 'African Church'; evangelized in Luganda and built by the Baganda themselves.[2] This was possible, in part, because the Catholic missionaries who arrived in Buganda in early 1879 tried very much to adapt themselves and the Gospel to the mentality and cultures of the Baganda.

To understand where this effort was coming from, one must have a clear understanding of the missiology and theology that informed those who brought Catholicism to Buganda. The changing times and more specifically the new age of enlightenment in the late 19th century Europe appeared to favour a new missiology; something that Buganda seems to have benefited from. In the centuries before the 19th century, evangelization in mission lands aimed at wiping out whatever people originally believed including their cultures. No wonder most of the early overseas missionaries aimed at creating a *tabula rasa* kind of mind on which the new Christian notions would be implanted.

The new missiology propagated by Msgr. Charles Lavigerie and Bishop Daniel Comboni viewed evangelisation as 'civilisation' within a people's social milieu. Thus, by 1879 when the first Catholic missionaries arrived in Buganda, the unfortunate stereotyping of Africa as a 'dark continent' with 'heathen Negroes' had started to fade. This somehow informed the evangelization approach of the first batch of Catholic missionaries to Buganda.

Monsignor Charles Lavigerie's insistence to members of his White Fathers' congregation to master and communicate in the language of the local communities among whom they would reside was one of the marks of his conviction about how mission work could best be indigenized (Duval 2012). This was part of his philosophy, which was of the view that evangelization must take place within the peoples' political and cultural setup and that potential converts must be approached directly through a language they best understand understood but not through interpreters. Thus, as early as the 1890s, all Catholic missionaries who were supposed to work in Buganda had to pass a Luganda examination to demonstrate their mastery of the language. Church historian and priest, Fr J. Bouniol explains this key instruction from Lavigerie:

> Nervousness or hesitation of speech is a great handicap to a preacher, and therefore the hard study is required of newcomers at a mission; they must be prepared, at the end of six months to undergo an examination on their knowledge of the local language (Bouniol 1929:84).

The White Fathers had gained a certain level of competence in Kiswahili on their way from the coast by the time they made their first contact with the natives of the

[2] Field interview, St. Joseph's Rest House, Kitovu Cathedral Parish, Masaka Diocese, 26 November 2019.

kingdom of Buganda.[3] Their interest in Kiswahili soon waned when they discovered that very few natives of Buganda understood it, they shifted to Luganda. Father Leon Livinhac, one of the first five missionaries in Buganda and his confreres soon identified the basics of Luganda and its relationship with other languages like Kiswahili.

They got the initial insight into Luganda through Dallington Muftaa, a Zanzibari, who had arrived in Buganda with explorer Henry M. Stanley in 1875 and had lived in Buganda for some time. He also helped them acquire familiarization with the many traits and customs of the Baganda.[4] It was from him that the missionaries heard, for the first time, the word *Katonda* (creator).[5] This was despite the fact that Kabaka Muteesa had instructed his people (and impliedly Muftaa) not to teach the missionaries Luganda for fear that learning the language would enable them to follow the developments in the kingdom (Ssettuuma 2013). Therefore, as soon as the first Catholic missionaries arrived in the country, they began to linguistically accommodate and apply Luganda in their clerical and other interactions with the local population. It was, for example, exclusively used in the introduction of the faith to the people, instruction of the catechumens and the application of the sacraments (Meeuwis 1999). The prayers and doctrines of the faith were also taught in Luganda. We can, therefore, say that by 1913, Luganda had fully become the language of apostolic works and educational tasks and this was a significant indicator of the missionary commitment to the creation of a fully localised church in Buganda. We can, therefore, say that by 1913, Luganda had fully become the language of apostolic works and educational tasks and this was a significant indicator of the missionary commitment to the creation of a fully localised church in Buganda.

Lavigerie in his other pressing recommendations had also asked his the missionaries, under his charge, to devote their spare time to the study the indigenous peoples' cultures and ways of life by keep keeping a journal of the history, religions, and the local customs of the natives among whom they worked (Bouniol 1929). It was because of this that as soon as the first Catholic missionaries in Buganda settled down, they did not only begin to study the fundamentals of Luganda but also write wrote down its grammatical rules and lexical repertoire.[6]

They coded and preserved it along with the other Kiganda culture that they considered less oppositional

[3] They actually started their preaching in Kiswahili and Arabic and this handicapped their ministry in a major way because very few Baganda knew the two languages. See Ssettuuma (2013).

[4] Muftaa who had previously worked with the English (the Anglican CMS), shifted and got attached to Catholic missionaries, voluntarily agreeing to give them lessons on Luganda and the culture of the Baganda.

[5] See *Rubaga Diary*, 23 November, 1879

[6] Field interview, Kiyinda-Mityana Cathedral Parish, Kiyinda-Mityana Diocese, 8 January 2019.

and contradictory to the Christian doctrine. The earliest of the White Fathers' feats in this field was the composition and publication of a Luganda catechism, which was published under the title: *Petit Catèchisme en Langue Kiganda* (Matheson 1965). Its manuscript was ready by the end of December 1879. It is noted as the first Luganda publication and the first ever catechism in an African language (Lukwata 1991).

The tiny but historic text of 44 pages had been carefully prepared by Fr. Lavinhac and Fr. Lourdel with the help of Muftaa. The language in the text was a mixture of Latin / French and Luganda expressions (Lukwata 1991). It was presented in a question and answer format. Meanwhile, by the time Lavinhac was appointed Vicar Apostolic, he had made good progress in compiling the first Luganda Dictionary and this came out in 1883. It had between 6,000 and 7,000 words (Lukwata 1991).

In 1885, Lavinhac produced yet another important text, a Luganda grammar – *Essai de Grammaire Ruganda* and later (1921) produced *Grammaire Luganda* that carried a section of some local legends and stories (Meeuwis 1999). These texts provide us with the early White Fathers' interest and perceptions about Luganda, as well as their linguistic contribution to its mechanisms and structures.

In 1890, the White Fathers produced another text for Christian instruction entitled "*Katekismu Ruganda - Kitabu Ky'Abasoka*" (Luganda Catechism for Beginners). This second publication was smaller than the first one (only 35 pages) but still had two parts. Its first part carried the Biblical creation story as reported in the first two chapters of the Book of Genesis and the second part had prayers: morning prayers, meal prayers, angelus, and night prayers.[7] A year later, the Catholic mission in Buganda published its third catechism book titled: "*Katekismu Ruganda – Kitabu Ky'Abafuna Batismu*" (Catechism for those who received Baptism).

This new publication meant for the baptized was the biggest of all (86 pages) and was basically a revision of the 1890 text. In 1902 another catechism - "*Katekismu ya Masaakramentu"* (Catechism of the Sacraments) was printed. It was also in question and answer form and gave a detailed explanation of the sacraments and prayers accompanying them.

Earlier in 1894, the first Luganda Bible translation of the Gospel of Mathew was produced.[8] The publication was distributed to converts in Buganda to deepen their faith, with some preferring to make their own handwritten transcriptions of it for their own sharing in their villages (Lukwata, 1991). During the same time, there were efforts by the Catholic missionaries in Buganda

[7] Field interview, Diocesan Headquarters, Kasana–Luweero Diocese, 10/ January/ 2019.

[8] White Fathers, *Evangile Selon St. Mathieu* (Matthews Gospel in Luganda) Marseille, 1894.

to revise and enrich the texts of the catechism booklets.

The improved texts facilitated a better understanding of the Catholic faith and its doctrines. Still, during the late 19th century, certain key terms were specified: *Eklezia* for a church, *Yezu Kristu* for Jesus Christ, *Omukrisitu*, for baptized Catholic, *Sande* for the Lord's Day and *kusoma* for participating in liturgy or praying.[9]

From 1894, the realm of evangelisation in Buganda was aided by the installation of a printing press at Villa Maria (Buddu County). It was brought from Carthage together with a copying press. Later a binding section was added. The printing press which could print between 3,000 and 4,000 sheets a day was later moved to Kisubi (Kyaddondo County). This press was to play a vital role in the printing and diffusion of the catechisms and prayer books throughout Buganda (Lukwata 1991).

In 1904, another catechism book specifically for children was published. It was titled: *"Katekismu ey' Abaana Abato"* (Catechism for children). It simplified the Catholic doctrine to the mentality and understating of the children through questions and responses. It carried the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the sacraments and prayers with an introduction to guide the teacher. These same themes had appeared in earlier catechism booklets.

Therefore, by 1910, a series of catechism texts to cater for the different categories of people had been produced and many more were to come. These were defused throughout Buganda. They became so popular with the converts because they carried a section for secular learning. Thus, within the next few years, a native catechumen in Buganda could read, write and do some simple arithmetic courtesy of these catechism texts.

Later, there were efforts to translate the ritual of Mass originally in French (*Livre de Priéres et des évangiles du Dimanche*)[10] into Luganda and the result was a bilingual text (Luganda and Latin) titled: *Ekitabo ky'Essaala n'eky'Ekyenjili za Dominika*. "Dimanche" here presented as *Dominika* is the word for Sunday – it was thus 'A Book of Sunday Prayers and Gospels'. It contained all the essential parts of liturgy as celebrated at the time: the Roman calendar, the solemnities, the movable and fixed feasts, the saints, the saints of the liturgical year, the prayers for Mass with the celebrant's and people's parts clearly set out in Latin and Luganda (Lukwata 1991).

From 1911, the White Fathers' mission in Buganda initiated a monthly periodical, *Munno* (Your Friend), in order to inform the population better and on a more regular basis on matters of the church and other peri-apostolic

[9] Streicher, H., *Extraits des Lettres Circulaires*, pp. 22ff.

[10] White Fathers., *Ekitabo Ky'Essaala n'eky'Ekyenjili za Dominika*, Typograhie Adolphe Jourdan, Algiers, 1891.

activities such as health and education. For this influential newsletter too, the White Fathers were conscious to use Luganda throughout (Bouniol, 1929).

Therefore, the vernacularization of the books of religion was the other key milestone, in addition to the study and use of Luganda that was registered by the early Catholic mission in Buganda even before it could harvest its first native priests.

The Role of the Lay People

Other than Lavigerie, the other shapers of the process of indigenization of the mission in Buganda, before 1913, were the native lay people. Since Muteesa I had vetoed the evangelization of people outside the vicinity of the palace, the missionaries did not have much contact with the people in the countryside. Their first acquaintances and converts were, therefore, members of the king's court and the few helpers assigned to them by the king.

It was this small group that was to play a key role in localizing the faith they had just received from the white missionaries. They instructed their fellow natives about a faith they had hardly mastered themselves even when they had no formal training. In this way, Christianity was now being spread by the Africans themselves. Fr. Lourdel is quoted by Attwater as noting this edifying work of African evangelising volunteers in early 1880s:

> We often see a former catechumen coming up to the mission followed by a dozen or more proselytes, whom he has won over to Jesus Christ. 'Here are some people I have taught' he says, 'and there are thirty more in my village. I will bring them another time.' Then he makes his pupils recite passages from the Catechism and prayers, to show me that they really know something about religion" (Attwater 1937:202).

The other factor that led to the emergence of lay evangelisers in Buganda before 1913 and subsequent localisation of the Church was the religious persecutions of 1885-92. The first two years of the Catholic mission presence in Buganda were marred with religious persecution. There was pressure from both traditionalism and Protestant followers. There was also increased suspicion from the kabaka or King (Muteesa I), and hostility from his chiefs and Arab visitors.

With all the above vexations and rumours, the missionaries were convinced that they were out of favour with the king. As a result, on 7th November 1882, they took a voluntary self-exile to Bukumbi and later Kamoga, both in Tanganyika (Tourigny 1979). The little flock of Catholic adherents they had collected during the first years in Buganda went underground for security reasons. However, what is critical to this part is how this small group of believers, during this time, reorganized and took over the young church left by the missionaries (Nolan 1972).

In a meeting convened on Sunday 12th November 1882, chaired by Yozefu Mukasa Balikuddembe in

Lubiri, several resolutions were passed. One of such resolutions was that none of the catechumens was to change their faith, and that every member was to do his job in the best interest of the young Church and for the sake of God. The other was that delegates would periodically be sent to Tanganyika to receive further instruction and guidance from the self-exiled priests.[11]

In the same meeting, four Catholic teaching centres were created. The first one was to cover the royal palace and its environs and this was entrusted to Mukasa Balikuddembe assisted by Jean-Marie Muzeeyi. The area outside the Lubiri was placed under the care of Andrea Kaggwa of Kigoowa and Matayo Kisuule, while the rural community in Mityana was to be served by Matia Kalemba Mulumba assisted by Luka Baanabakintu and finally Kitanda in Bulemeezi County was to be under Kaloori Lwanga. Lastly, they agreed to use all possible means to convince the Kabaka to recall the priests from their exile in Tanganyika (Nsobya 2006).

Mukasa Balikuddembe tried not only to keep the Catholic adherents together but also used his privileged position as one of Muteesa's trusted pages to promote the Catholic faith with zeal. The neophytes and catechumens did not lose their fervour. Thirty crossed to Kamoga at one time to check on their priests, receive sacraments and further instruction. According to Fr. Faupel, a surprised Fr. Girault, who was then the Superior of Komoga Kamoga mission wrote thus on receiving one of them:

> In spite of this despot [referring to Mutesa], the mustard seed develops in Buganda and will soon become a great tree. Sengoba, one of our former catechumens, has managed by sheer luck and perseverance to leave Buganda and come here … Sengoba has given us the most consoling news. He says that since our departure, not only have the catechumens behaved well, but have gained many followers. Already the Baganda instructed in our Holy Religion are very numerous … The chiefs themselves say our religion is the only true one. Even proud Mutesa has invited us to return to Buganda (Faupel 1962:49).

The absence of the priests created a challenge but with this was also a great opportunity. This was not only the first test of African leadership in the young church but also an opportunity for its first converts to exhibit the depth of the faith instilled in them by the missionaries. Every convert seized the opportunity of teaching the catechism to their friends and relatives.

They continued the work to spread the Gospel without an ordained minister even when the majority of the converts would have still been under instruction as catechumens. The energy and zeal they put into the work demonstrated an evangelization

[11] Bro. Tarcis Nsobya's book: *The Uganda Martyrs are our Light*, Marianum Press Ltd, 2006, pp. 35-39, provides details of these resolutions.

approach to keep the faith alive. They said the Lord's Prayer, recited the Rosary and read texts from the scriptures and prayer books that they would later reflect on.[12]

This arrangement was repeated on Sundays when catechists organized assemblies. Majority of Catholic homes, on a daily routine, said morning and evening prayers before going to bed. A family Rosary always followed these prayers. The more committed ones went for prayers every Saturday. This is how they came to be called *Abasomi* - 'those who pray' or literary the 'learners' or 'readers.' They baptized those that were dying, especially of plague, and were also able to venture into areas where the missionaries (due to the restrictions of the king) had never ventured. This was an element of immense indigenization of the leadership of a church that was still in its infancy.

Bishop Henry Streicher and the Indigenization of the Mission

The most towering figure among the missionary bishops who contributed immensely to the growth of an autonomous local church in Buganda, in the early days, was the French priest Henry Streicher. It was Streicher and his colleagues who had been sent by Bishop Joseph Hirth to evangelize Buddu, who transformed the voluntary and spontaneous group of native lay evangelizers into a formal ministry of catechists in Buddu County. After its successful experiment in Buddu, the White Fathers' Vicariate, it was extended to the Mill Hill and Verona Vicariates.

The missionaries had five intentions in their creation of this lay order: firstly, was the need to put into practice the missionary vision of their founder; Cardinal Lavigerie, who believed that "the evangelization of Africa would be done by Africans themselves" (Lavigerie 1950:78). Secondly, there was a need to keep at pace with the CMS Anglicans who had sent out their first six lay evangelizers in 1891.

Thirdly, the 1911 Synod at Katigondo in Buddu, had resolved that the mission should carefully select able men among the converted to serve as catechists. Fourthly, Rome constantly reminded the different Catholic missionary societies world over to raise capable candidates among their neophytes to serve in the apostolate as catechists. Fifthly, the ministry of catechists was to be the practical solution to the shortage of priests to meet the pastoral needs of the growing church. It was also considered not only cheaper but also much easier to train catechists than train priests. These catechists did a fascinating job, rare and unequalled elsewhere in pre-colonial eastern Africa in converting several people either from traditionalism or Protestantism (Waliggo 2010).

Streicher had also realised that a big number of those who had learnt

[12] Field interview, Katigondo National Major Seminary, Masaka Diocese, 26 November 2019.

the catechism from Buganda's capital were enthusiastic and eager to spread their new faith to their relatives and neighbours. In his view, such people who even knew the local language and customs than the European priests would be well-received as preachers in their own communities. He was so impressed by their enthusiasm and commitment. With no training at all they (lay faithful) had taken took it upon themselves to instruct and become non-ordained 'priests' to their fellow Baganda.

Broadly, they enlisted inquirers and catechumens, worked as fore-runners of the missionaries and lastly as the intermediary between the missionaries and the natives (Lukwata 1991). They had enough initiative and knowledge to do so the work with marked success. Soon, Streicher and his colleagues, were convinced that the use of lay people in their pastoral work would be of great value. They decided to start formation centres to train a formal class of catechists.

In a space of less than 20 years since 1891, Streicher had been able to turn Buddu into a strong Catholic base in Buganda with a vibrant and unique breed of Catholicism with the help of these supportive catechists and to a small degree the Catholic chiefs. Their work was to become the formidable foundation for the formation of the same type of Catholicism in other parts of Buganda and beyond. The first school to train catechists was established at Biikira in Buddu in the late 1890s. It, however, underwent a series of transfers; first to Lubaga in March 1902, Villa Maria in August 1902, Mitala Maria in 1903, and back to Biikira until 1925 when it was transformed into a teacher training college.

The Mill Hill mission founded Namilyango College in 1902 with a two-fold purpose: one was to train catechists and the other was educate sons of Catholic chiefs in Buganda who would later serve either the Buganda government or in join the colonial service as clerks (Ingham 1958; Kannamwangi 2016). In the next few years, the section for training was transferred to Nyenga. Another Catechist school was also set up at Nazigo (Gillan 1981). The missionaries picked those assumed to be dedicated and exemplary among the converted to attend these catechetical schools. The purpose of starting these schools was to give a better formation to the Catechist-teacher and Catechist-missionary in terms of evangelization methodology and catechism explanation (Waliggo 1981). The second purpose was to create uniformity in the nature of their work that had hitherto been dogged by wide diversity and variations in the different parts of the Buganda mission. Their products soon found quick employment as 'teachers' in the many 'formal schools' that were slowly evolving at the time.

From 1893, the Baganda catechists (together with some Catholic chiefs) began to extend their evangelization work beyond of Buddu. The first

areas they catechized were Ssese, Mawokota and Buweekula. Others were registering tremendous success in the missions in the neighbourhood of Buddu including Kooki, Bweera, and Mawogola and in the counties of Busiro and Kyaddondo.

From the early 1900s, the Baganda catechists were evangelising areas outside Buganda. Such areas included Ankole, Kigezi, Busoga, Toro, Bunyoro and Acholi (Waliggo 1981). Names, such as like Yowana Sebalijja, Guste Kapere, Matayo Kayonza, and Yosefu Lwanga feature prominently in the early evangelization of the many parts of Western Uganda. These catechists made friends with the local chiefs in the areas where they went and instructed catechumens and looked for prospective places where new missions would be established.

Many of these lay catechists preached the Gospel to new converts, presided over none Eucharist Sunday services in their villages, taught the neophytes reading and writing among other roles with little hope for material gains since they were not paid.[13] Save for a few that were in the service of the kabaka (and a section in the British civil service), the majority were simple men recruited by the priests for the service of the church. The age of consolidating the faith saw the separation of the role of the catechists from that of the political chiefs. This practice began in 1910 and henceforth, the former became agents of the priests.[14] Chiefs kept to their administrative duties (Waliggo 1981).

Other than becoming great lay auxiliaries, and translators, they became indispensable co-workers to the White Priests in the spread of Catholicism in Buganda and beyond, the catechists assumed leadership at the parishes or in the remote areas and the outposts to the parishes to which they were attached. They repeated the lessons taught by the priests and helped in the teaching of reading and writing.

In their out-stations, they wielded considerable responsibility as the priests watched their activities from at a distance. For the most part, they lived on the property of the church although a few of them had their own property. However, the constant transfers from one place to the other made it hard for them to accumulate property. Perhaps the most prominent Muganda catechist of this period was Yowaana Kitagana, who abandoned the prestigious chiefly position of being the *Kayima* (the County head of Mawokota) to become a missionary catechist in Bunyoro and Kigezi until the first members of the White Fathers arrived in the area in the 1920s.[15]

Fredrick Tusingire (2003:110), quoting from Streicher's Annual Report of 1910 to his superiors in

[13] See The White Fathers' Directory, 1952 in WFGA, p. 140.

[14] Field interview, St. Joseph's Rest House Kitovu, Masaka Diocese, 26 November 2019.

[15] When he died in Western Uganda, still on his evangelization crusades, he was buried in the cemetery of Rushoroza Parish, now the seat of Kabale Diocese

Algiers, summarizes the contribution of these catechists in the period up to 1910 which included "at least 3,000 baptisms of those in danger of death, instruction of 11,160 catechumens, responsibility for over 812 chapels and 400 agricultural schools." The village catechist, with his poor qualifications, had thus become the real hero of Catholicism in Buganda in the first thirty years of the Catholic presence.

Some diaries of early missionaries carry a few names of African catechists. Benedict Ssettuuma (2013:77), quoting Tourigny, claims that a Mill Hill Diary "carried catechist names, such as Cyprian Kyakwambala who went to Kyaggwe in 1895, Masiale the catechist of Makerere and Yoana Basitali who was an early catechist in Mulajje. Other catechists, as already observed above, including Yowaana Kitagana, Yowana Sebalijja, Guste Kapere and Yosefu Lwanga were noted to have served the church with distinction. Of course, there were many more Baganda lay evangelizers in the early life of the church whose names we could not trace. What is important to note is that other than the system of the catechumenate, the ministry of these devoted lay catechists turned out to be the second key characteristic and success of the young church in Buganda in the period between 1879 and 1913.

In 1897, Monsignor Henry Streicher succeeded Bishop Guillermain as the Apostolic Vicar of Northern Nyanza Vicariate. He was consecrated by Bishop Jean Joseph Hirth on 15th August 1897 at the small church of Our Lady Kamoga in Bukumbi (Tanganyika). The few years Streicher had spent in Buganda had created a conviction in him that Africa could not replicate European Christianity but instead must be helped to grow its version of Christianity. A version of Christianity that would be sensitive to the African worldview; their cultures, religious experience and thought systems.

Buganda had provided him with the best experience of the African attachment to their cultures. Therefore, from the early days of his episcopacy, Streicher, set out to actualize his dream of consolidating and promoting the growth of a local church in Buganda. This church would be one that the Baganda would own, minister, finance and manage. He had already built a vibrant class of catechists in Buddu and partly because of the gains already registered by the Buddu mission; he transferred the seat of the bishop from Lubaga (Kyaddondo County / Kampala) to Villa Maria (Buddu County/Masaka).

There were also voices especially among the Catholic chiefs and exiles who wanted Streicher to reproduce the 'political kingdom' the Catholics had lost at the capital to the Protestant party in Buddu. Streicher promptly replicated the royal architectural designs at the capital in the new Christian village created at Villa Maria. Besides, the way he was perceived at Villa Maria also pointed to more

than being a spiritual leader but also a civil one. To make matters worse, he assumed some royal Kiganda trappings in his costume. Chiefs also sent their sons to his court akin to what was being done at in Mengo - the seat of Kabaka's government.

Streicher's enthusiasm in creating a native priesthood was perhaps his biggest contribution to the early indigenization process of the church in Buganda. He carried a strong conviction that the Baganda must be evangelized by their sons and that their training must also be within the local setting and environment. It was for this reason that he was against the idea of training priests in Europe and instead opted to consolidate the efforts of Bishop Hirth who had reopened the seminary at Villa Maria in 1893. He was to see this seminary through its formative and turbulent years and finally the ordination of its first native priests in 1913 in the persons of Victoro Womeraka Mukasa and Bazilio Lumu.

Streicher's heart was not merely on training native priests but first-class priests comparable to their European counterparts. According to Ssettuuma (2013: 91):

> Bishop Streicher shines brightly among the missionaries of his time for his clear vision and his consistent and stubborn insistence on the local clergy, for him having a single indigenous priest was more important than converting ten thousand people.

In the same period, Streicher registered yet another huge milestone in the indigenization of vocations. He started a postulancy in November 1908 at Villa Maria for native Baganda girls. The novitiate started humbly under the direction of Sr. Mechtilde, one of the White Sisters, helped by two of her colleagues, Sisters: Dorothee and Roseline. The three formed the initial staff. Among the first set of twelve girls that were selected for probationship was Angela Kyabalongo (daughter of Buganda regent, Stanislas Mugwanya) and Anne Kirivaamuuki (the daughter of Matayo Kisuule) and their friend Irisa. The three had been transferred from the novitiate for catechists that had been established at Lubaga. Irisa later dropped out.

Two years later, the remaining eleven novices, together with seven juniors took their vows and received their religious habit on 3rd December 1910. The ceremony of their profession was presided over by Bishop Streicher who was excited about the fruition of his dream. Deogratias Muwemba (2014:147), basing on Sr. Gertrude's unpublished work *The White Sisters in Uganda* captures the event thus:

> The big church at Villa Maria was filled by an enthusiastic congregation of relatives and friends of the chosen ones, and a host of those, to whom they had taught catechism, or served in other ways. In the front row, the Regent Stanislas Mugwanya and his wife, Maria, radiated with joy. God had accepted their daughter Angela. The Vicar Apostolic celebrated a Pontifical Mass …

> and declared that henceforth, these Bannabiikira would be called "Maama" in the missions where they would work, like the White Sisters. The newly confessed Sisters received their first appointments to the following mission stations: Narozari, Mitala Maria and Nandere.

Stanislas Mugwanya's daughter, Angela Kyabalongo became Sister Restetuta and Anne Kirivaamuuki, became Sister Aloyzia. This marked the birth of the first congregation of local Sisters–The Daughters of Mary (*Bannabiikira Sisters*); the first of its kind, in modern Africa south of the Sahara. The creation of a local Sisterhood was a huge step in the early indigenization of the church in Buganda. Streicher registered more impressive strides in the localisation of the church in the later years, including the foundation of the first congregation of African Brothers (*Bannakaloori* - named after the leader of the Uganda Martyrs, Kaloori Lwanga), and eventually the episcopacy of Dr Joseph Nakabaale Kiwanuka as the first 'black' bishop, south of the Sahara.

The White Fathers' Devotionist Approach and the Culture of Processions

The early missionaries promoted the culture of commitment to devotions while still trying to fit the Catholic faith into the cultures and understanding of the natives of Buganda. The oldest and evidently most popular of these was the devotion to the Virgin Mary.

The Virgin Mary occupied a special place in the life and spirituality of the White Fathers from Cardinal Lavigerie to his priests. In this regard, the whole mission of Uganda was dedicated to the Immaculate Virgin Mary. A small statue of Our Lady was placed in the makeshift chapel erected around where the current St. Mary's Cathedral Lubaga stands.

The Saturday Masses in this chapel were some of the special attractions to the early Catholics in Buganda. The following years were thus dedicated to the promotion of the devotion of to Mary and this to the early French missionaries was motivated by the apparitions of Our Lady to Catharine in Labouré in 1846 and later to Bernadette in Lourdes in 1858 (Tusingire 2003). The early missionaries through their preaching also emphasized Mary's role in the redemption work of her son - Jesus Christ. Several missions and religious institutes they set up were put under her patronage.

A Similar trend and vigour were replicated in the Mill Hill Fathers' area of operation. The missionaries tried to fit the devotion and veneration of the Virgin Mary into the understanding of the Baganda using the role of *Nnamasole* (the Queen Mother) in Buganda whom the Baganda highly respected. The Virgin Mary, therefore, was introduced to many of their faithful as the *Nnamasole* – the mother of the King – Jesus Christ; – a mother full of love and encouraged many of them to seek her intercession.

They taught the faithful that Jesus Christ would not fail to answer a prayer sent through His Mother - the same way the Buganda king would not fail to grant a favour asked by his mother. This amounted to use of a traditional cultural practice to explain a new Christian concept. It also marked the beginning of the tradition of giving articles such as rosaries (*ssappule*), scapular (*sikapuulari*) and medals (*midaali*) to the newly baptized, not only as a way to increasing the bond among them but also encouraging them to live the life symbolized by the Virgin Mary.

Other than the devotion to Mary, there was also early veneration of the 'Uganda Martyrs'. Their veneration had started shortly after they were declared "venerable" 1912 by Pope Pius X marking their first step to sainthood; this was followed by their beatification in 1920, way before their canonization in 1964. Their persecution and subsequent martyrdom had somehow turned them into heroes of the faith.

In a society that already had a cultural trait of venerating ancestors, it was very easy to develop the veneration of such men who radically lived the faith they had professed to the point of dying for it. This necessitated the formulation of relevant petitions, intercessions, litanies, novenas and hymns for them. The natives were urged to imitate and follow the example of their commitment and martyrdom. This soon became a paradigm on which the missionaries and their African cohorts based to construct an African church in Buganda

The young mission too was soon to adopt the Kiganda practice of processions. In traditional Buganda, processions were a common practice and formal reception of high-profile visitors. According to Yves Tourigny (1979:42) the first Catholic missionaries in Buganda were received at Muteesa I's court on 27th June 1879 in this kind of manner. He further adds that when the missionaries returned from the self-exile in Tanganyika on 12 July 1885, the same arrangement was repeated:

> The Kabaka sent a special envoy to meet the party on their way from Entebbe to Rubaga; a long procession left the court, banner in front, trumpets sounding, a hundred soldiers or so forming a guard of honour, the king's special envoy, Joseph Kaddu, walking under a dais, the mass of people increased whenever a new village was reached until they met the returning missionaries about a half away from the capital.

Thus, the culture of processions shortly became part of the church's liturgical life in Buganda. The Feast of *Corpus Christi*, [Body and Blood of Christ] with its long processions, accompanied by drumming, became one of the most important events on the liturgical calendar. The other popular practice that also picked on the tradition of processions was the *Feast of Assumption* marked on 15th August. This was typically a French Catholic devotion custom that

became prominent during the reign of King Louis XIII after he directed that processions be made every 15th August of a given year in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The French missionaries introduced this practice in Buganda and it became popular among Baganda Catholics and those outside Buganda. In this way, it can clearly be seen that a custom with roots in France, was easily integrated and readily accepted into the Catholic practices of the native Baganda. In the later years, the feasts of Christ the King and All Souls on 2nd November also became popular in Buganda and were marked by processions.

Early Luganda Musical Compositions and Translations

Whereas there were limited efforts to indigenize sacred music in the early years of the Catholic mission in Buganda, a noticeable shift began to emerge a few years to 1900. Missionaries began to make some Luganda compositions – but these tunes were basic and simple translations of the Latin, English or French hymns. They thus sounded more European than African since Luganda words were simply being put to French or English melody and poetry. Although the Catholic converts in Buganda were understandably uncomfortable with this hybridity, they withstood the situation because of their obvious love and affinity for their new faith. This kind of difficulty was still apparent by 1904 when the very first official Luganda hymnal was published (Lukwata 1991). It was a seventy-two-page booklet titled: *"Akatabo Ak'Ennyimba"* [Livre des Cantiques-Luganda]. It contained various Latin and Luganda hymns commonly used in the liturgy at the time.

The faithful were supposed to learn these hymns during intensive post-baptismal instruction at the parish. Many did, (owing to Ganda love for music and singing), but others did not. The limited command of Latin made many sing these hymns in a broken way. This added to the difficulties the natives were already facing because of being made to sing hymns that did not reflect Kiganda poetic sensibilities.

There were more translations of hymns into Luganda as the church moved towards its 30th anniversary in Buganda. Most importantly, voices began to emerge of Africans who wanted an African hymnody and instrumentation incorporated into Catholic worship. Music was taught in the seminaries and some seminarians composed local songs. These, according to Lukwata, were used "only outside liturgy as recitals or for entertainment" (1991: 289).

Although there was limited indigenization of church music in the early years, the little milestones achieved cannot go unmentioned because they were the foundation of the bigger evolution of indigenous liturgical music in Buganda in the later years. This came especially

after the Second Vatican II Council (1962-65) that shaped the Universal Catholic Church liturgy towards local paradigms.

Conclusion

The foregoing historical sketch has displayed how the early Catholic missionaries in Buganda tried to adapt themselves and the church to the cultures of the Baganda, almost, as soon as they arrived. This article has illustrated the role of a seemingly tiny group of Baganda converts that gallantly seized not only the leadership of the young mission after the self-exile of Fathers in 1882, but also demonstrated the unicity of the Bugandan Catholic Church and precisely its earliest indigenization efforts before 1913.

The article has discussed the effective use of Luganda in apostolic works, the vernacularization of church literature and the ministry of indigenous catechists. It has sketched out seminal figures and events that shaped the nature and subsequent heritage of this mission in Buganda by 1913. It has shown how Lavigerie's instructions, the attitudes of the early missionaries and lay evangelizers shaped the type of Catholicism that emerged in Buganda in these years. All these have adduced ample evidence to the effect that even before the first native priests, Bazilio Lumu and Victoro Mukasa were ordained in 1913, the Baganda laity had already taken up an active role in the life of the faith they considered theirs. However, we must appreciate that this was just the beginning; the next fifty years of the Catholic Church in Buganda were to witness more impressive indigenization leaps.

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Beyond Diagnosis: Framing Family Planning in Uganda's Print Media[1]

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Abstract

Family planning promotion through the press is a popular development strategy in Africa. However, few studies have examined how print media content on family planning is framed. Premised on the framing theory, this article examines how two newspapers, namely *The New Vision* and the *Monitor* in Uganda frame news on family planning. A summative content analysis was conducted on 45 articles using pre-determined diagnostic frames that define a problem, prognostic frames that offer a solution and motivational frames that call for action. The findings reveal that most news adopted the diagnostic frame yet more motivational and prognostic news framing could stimulate the demand for family planning services.

Key words: Family Planning, Diagnostic Framing, Prognostic Framing, Motivational Framing, Print Media

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Introduction

Rapid population growth is a serious concern for a number of developing countries as it threatens to jeopardize several development goals. The past two decades have witnessed renewed global advocacy on family planning in sub-Saharan Africa (Dockalova, Lau, and Marshall 2016), so as to reduce high fertility in the region. The use of modern family planning methods, comprising long and short-term contraceptives[2] is integral to enabling governments achieve national and international development goals.

Effective and consistent use of modern family planning methods enables couples to realise desired birth intervals, ideal family size, and a decline in fertility (Ankomah, Anyanti, and Oladosu 2011; Jain 2001). The use of modern contraception and family planning services is also directly beneficial to realizing the sustainable development goals at the individual, community, national and global levels. Family planning can have a major impact on health, wealth, and education by preventing unwanted pregnancies, lowering maternal and child mortality risks, helping safeguard the environment, supporting the rights and empowerment of women and girls and increasing food security for people around the world (Starbird, Norton, and Marcus 2016; UNFPA 2017;[3] World Health Organization 2018[4]).

The mass media is central to the promotion of modern family planning and is considered a major source of information and communication about family planning issues to the public (Alege, Matovu, Ssensalire, and Nabiwemba 2016; Bongaarts et al. 2012; Islam and Hasan 2016). Research suggests that the use of mass media platforms such as radio, television, newspapers, billboards, magazines, and digital technologies can increase the uptake of family planning methods by providing accurate information, building self-efficacy and promoting attitudes and social norms that support the use of modern contraceptives (Ajaero, Odimegwu, Ajaero, and Nwachukwu 2016; Health Communication Partnership 2012[5]).

Family planning programmes often link the mass media with approaches like interpersonal communication, community mobilisation, entertainment

[2] Examples of short and long-term modern contraceptive methods include contraceptive pills, implants, injectable hormonal contraceptives, intrauterine devices, male and female condoms, tubal ligation and vasectomy (World Health Organization 2018).

[3] UNFPA (2017). "Family Planning: The Right Investment to Drive Uganda's Socioeconomic Transformation." *Issue Brief* 03. Kampala, Uganda. United Nations Population Fund. Retrieved 18 November 2019 (https://uganda.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/familyPlanning_BriefEdit%20%284%29.pdf).

[4] World Health Organization (2018). "Family Planning/Contraception." *Fact Sheet*. Geneva, Switzerland. World Health Organization. Retrieved 18 November 2019. (https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/family-planning-contraception)

[5] Health Communication Partnership (2012). "The Health Communication Partnership Uganda Final Report-May 2012." Batltimore: John Hopkins University. Retreieved 18 November 2019. (https://www.malecircumcision.org/resource/hcp-uganda-final-report-may-2012).

education and investment in service delivery for better impact (High-Impact Practices in Family Planning 2017;[6] United Nations Children's Fund 2005). In view of this lies the potential of the mass media to influence positively the acceptance and consistent use of modern family planning methods by women and men of reproductive age.

The Government in Uganda has repositioned family planning highly on its development agenda (Ministry of Health 2014, 2015), with the mass media as a key stakeholder in promoting family planning to the public so as to achieve the country's development goals. Uganda has one of the fastest growing populations in the world with a growth rate of 3.2 per cent and a total fertility rate of 5.4 children per woman (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and ICF 2018). This rate is higher than the total fertility rate worldwide estimated at 2.4 children per woman (Population Reference Bureau 2019).

Despite evidence on the benefits of family planning, modern contraceptive use in the country remains low at 35 per cent and far from the Government of Uganda's target of reaching 50 per cent modern contraceptive prevalence by 2020 (Ministry of Health 2014). In comparison, other African countries, such as Kenya (62.3%), Egypt (59.7%) and Rwanda (50.2%), have already registered a 50 per cent modern contraceptive prevalence rate (Cahill et al. 2018).

Whereas there are many influential factors, low contraceptive use and high fertility rates in Uganda have been partly attributed to inadequate information on family planning (Ministry of Health 2014; Population Secretariat 2018). As such, the government's key strategies on population management identify the mass media as central to the delivery of appropriate information on family planning to the public for desired behaviour change (Ministry of Health 2014, 2015). Given the important role ascribed to the mass media in publicizing family planning, this article draws on the framing theory to establish what information the print media presents to the public.

Understanding the framing of news on family planning is crucial given that the way news is reported has implications on how the audience understands the importance of a problem and its probable solutions (Stevens & Hull 2013). This enquiry will also show how Uganda's print media – specifically on how information about contraceptives is framed – are contributing to efforts by various stakeholders to ensure family planning promotion in the country.

Health news in the press reaches the public via a particular lens through which journalists, editors, and other actors frame issues reported in the

[6] High-Impact Practices in Family Planning (HIPS) (2017). "Mass Media: Reaching Audience Far and Wide with Messages to Support Healthy Reproductive Behaviors." *Brief*. Washington, DC. USAID. Retrieved 18 November 2019. (https://www.fphighimpactpractices.org/briefs/massmedia/).

media. The framing of health news in print media is crucial because the way news is characterized has an impact on how people understand and deal with the issues in question (Koon, Hawkins, and Mayhew 2016; Lacey and Longman 1999).

Framing as a theory of communication denotes how the media packages and presents information to the public. According to Robert Entman (1993:52), the process of framing involves selecting given aspects of a text to be communicated and making it more salient so as "to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." As part of the framing process, journalists frequently use news frames to help present large amounts of information in coherent understandable and interpretative packages when covering intricate issues (Kim and Wills 2007).

This conceptualisation implies that frames provide patterns of interpretation that enable the recipients to easily make sense of the information they receive. Research further suggests that framing is not only done by journalists but also by other actors such as policy experts and activists. Different actors can deliberately package and frame policy ideas so as to assure the public that certain policy notions entail acceptable solutions to given problems (Campbell 1998; Murphy and Maynard 2000).

Framing can also be done by social actors and individuals to drive an agenda through the media (Vliegenthart 2012). In this regard, such actors serve as media sources, whose agenda becomes part of the frame building system that generates and conveys specific frames to the public through news stories. Perspectives of the framing approach present evidence on the efficacy of mass media framing of health issues. Framing research shows that the mass media are an influential part of the social environment since they identify and prioritize certain issues based on the nature of their coverage (Gallagher and Updegraff 2012; Morrison Sutton, and Mebane 2006).

Similarly, a study of newspaper coverage of health issues in Ghana confirmed that when stories are effectively framed, they can be very good sources of empowerment and help direct people towards improving their health (Diedong 2013). Likewise, Renita Coleman, Esther Thorson, and Lee Wilkins (2011) who tested the effect of framing in health news stories noted that public health framing made readers supportive of public policy changes and encouraged them to change their own health behaviour.

A study on women's reproductive health in Uganda noted that the effect of any particular media message depends on the way information is framed (Anholt and Health Journalist

Network in Uganda 2017[7]). This study observes that through framing, media reflects how health is understood and shapes society's health behaviour (Anholt and Health Journalist Network in Uganda 2017).

Regular exposure to a particular news frame has also been shown to establish a dominant discussion among the public and policy makers (Arroyave 2012; Finnegan and Viswanath 2008). These viewpoints further bring to bear how media's decisions on framing health news could shape public consciousness about family planning related information.

By drawing attention to how the media frames health news, the framing approach gives insights on how stories on family planning should be articulated in the media so as to achieve the most impact. The concept of framing is generally attributed to the frame analysis work of sociologist Erving Goffman who articulated that people tend to categorize and communicate their experiences based on guiding frames of reference (Goffman 1974).

Later theorists, Robert Benford and David Snow (2000), applied Goffman's ideas to classify three framing elements commonly used in social movements, which can also be found in media texts. Namely, diagnostic frames that identify a problem and attribute blame and causality; prognostic frames, which specify what needs to be done to solve the problem as well as who should do so, and motivational frames, which call for corrective action and assigns responsibility for such action.

Whereas these frames are predominant to social movements, they have been employed in frame identification processes examining media content. Accordingly, these frames form part of the recent concepts and definitions of media framing (Roggeband and Vliegenthart 2007; Vliegenthart 2012). However, the application of these frames to news stories on family planning is relatively unexamined. Nonetheless, they provide a methodical and conceptually explicit way of examining extant frames in media texts on family planning. Against the backdrop of the framing approach, this article adopted the diagnostic, motivational and prognostic frame alignment categories by Benford and Snow (2000) to conduct a descriptive content analysis of print news articles from two major dailies in Uganda.

While there is abundant literature about how exposure to mass media messages influences audience awareness, attitude and behaviour with regard to family planning (Andi, Wamala, Ocaya, and Kabagenyi 2014; Gupta, Katende, and Bessinger 2003; Islam and Hasan 2016), literature on how mass media frames such information appears replete. Yet, the quality of information the media

[7] Anholt, Rosanne and Health Journalist Network in Uganda (2017). "Writing Women's Reproductive Health: A Uganda Study." Kampala. Health Journalist Network in Uganda". (http://hejnu.ug/writing-womens-reproductive-health-a-uganda-study/).

conveys to the public is important since it could affect people's family planning choices which would eventually impact the health outcomes of individuals, families, communities, and the nation.

Methodology

In order to examine how the print media in Uganda portrays issues of family planning, a summative approach to qualitative content analysis was conducted. A summative content analysis entails identifying and counting certain words or content in a text with the purpose of understanding the contextual use of words or content (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). This approach was selected because it goes beyond mere word counts to include interpretation of content and context associated with the use of the word or phrase (Bengtsson 2016; Hsieh and Shannon 2005).

We examined print news articles from two major English language newspapers; the *Monitor* and the *New Vision*, with top circulation countrywide (Uganda Business News 2020[8]), published between July 2014 and July 2015. Media coverage of family planning is usually high in the month of July when World Population day is commemorated.

The principal researcher and one trained coder conducted a manual search for articles on family planning from a data set comprising 790 newspapers (*Monitor:* 395 copies*)* and (*New Vision:* 395 copies) published daily during the study period. The unit of analysis was an article derived from sections of the newspaper categorized as news, features, editorials, special reports, health segment, women's segment, commentaries from the public, and paid for supplements on family planning that were authored by in-house journalists.

The newspaper segment from the latter included a rider stipulating that the content, though paid for, did not ineludibly reflect the views of the funding agency. Other paid for content in form of advertisements was not included in the analysis. Articles whose headlines, sub-headlines or pull quotes contained any of the following key words; family planning, population, contraceptives, contraception, fertility, birth spacing, birth control, childbirth, maternal health, reproductive health and pregnancy, were selected.

These articles were read in-depth to identify only those mentioning "family planning" or "contraceptives." In total, 45 family planning-related articles (20 *Monitor* newspapers and 25 *New Vision*), were selected for the subsequent frame analysis. The resulting data set of articles were then coded by the principal investigator using a deductive coding framework derived from Benford

[8] Uganda Business News (2020). "Circualtion Falls for Uganda Newspapers in Fourth Quarter of 2019." Kampala, Uganda. Kabalega Media. Retrieved 1 April 2020. (https://ugbusiness.com/ 8425/circulation-falls-for-uganda-newspapers-in-fourth-quarter-of-2019).

and Snow's (2000) frame alignment categories of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames. Each article was read in totality to determine the frequency of mentions of the aforementioned frames and a description of key variables relevant to each of the pre-determined framing categories.

Findings

Diagnostic, motivational and prognostic frames were derived from the 45 articles published in the newspaper segments of the *Monitor (M)* and *New Vision (NV)*. These comprised editorials (*M*=02, *NV*=02), health section (*M*= 07, *NV*= 01), national news (*M* =04, *NV*= 07), public commentary (*M* = 05, *NV*= 04), special reports (*M*= 02, *NV*= 01), supplement (*M* =00, *NV*= 07), and women section (*M*=00, *NV*= 01).

Diagnostic frames emerged as the clear front runner in terms of frequency of mentions with over a half of the articles (220 mentions, 51.8%) in *Monitor* and *New Vision* reporting on the prevalence and causes of low uptake of family planning in Uganda. Of these, *Monitor* had (117 mentions, (53.1%), while *New Vision* had (103 mentions, 46.8%). Directly after were motivational frames (107 mentions, 25.2%) representing the articles in both newspapers that called for corrective action to the prevalent problem of low modern contraceptive utilization in the country.

Of these, *Monitor* had (59 mentions, 55.1%), while *New Vision* had (48 mentions, 44.8%). The least represented category in both newspapers were prognostic frames (97 mentions, 22.8%) which reported on the on-going strategies by government and other players to promote the use of family planning as a solution to the existing problem. Of these, *Monitor* presented with (44 mentions, 45.3%), while *New Vision* registered (53 mentions, 54.6%).

Most family planning articles in both *Monitor* and *New Vision* used diagnostic frames to present information on the prevailing situation in Uganda with regard to population growth and family planning. The articles framed Uganda's high population growth rate due to high fertility as a development problem in the country. Three common themes emerged from the diagnostic framed articles.

The most dominant themes in the news coverage reflected the low uptake of family planning (*M*=51.9%, *NV*=48%) and the causes of low prevalence of family planning in Uganda (*M*=53.6%, *NV*=46.3%). In contrast, the least represented theme in the diagnostic category was on the impact of low prevalence of family planning in the country (*M*=5.4%, *NV*=4%).

Both newspapers described Uganda as experiencing an increased number of unwanted pregnancies; a persistently high total fertility rate; high maternal and child mortality due to frequent childbirth; a high-unmet

need for family planning and a rapid and unplanned population growth. For example, a commentary writer in the *Monitor* reported observed: "In the last 10 years, the fertility rate in Uganda has remained persistently high, averaging 6.7 births. Uganda has one of the world's fastest growing population and experts say the country's public services are finding it hard to cope" (Oramire 2015:9). Similarly, the *New Vision* in a news story reported:

> Uganda's population is 34.9 million people … which is one of the highest in the world and this rate is projected to rise to 54 million in 2025 and expected to reach 130 million in 2050 (Wandera 2015:7).

By framing the country's rapid population growth as a development problem, the news stories portrayed how such exponential growth was bound to cause a scarcity of resources in Uganda. The print media mainly attributed this situation to lack of access to family planning information and services. For example, a news article in the *Monitor* reported:

> … more than half of Ugandan women have no access to modern family planning methods as the number of unwanted pregnancies remain high in both rural and urban areas […] this has been attributed to ignorance about family planning and contraception (Ainebyoona 2015:5).

Other contributory factors to Uganda's high fertility situation were attributed to conflicting messages against family planning from opinion leaders as well as male resistance and, gender-based barriers to family planning uptake. For example, the *New Vision* reporting on male resistance to family planning, recounted: "most men in rural areas still refuse their wives to use family planning methods claiming that they may make them too fat or thin and also bleed for longer days during their menstrual periods" (Agaba 2015:14).

Women were also portrayed as either not using family planning or doing so discreetly due to spousal disapproval. In other instances, women were depicted as victims, vulnerable to abuse by their partners if they used contraceptives. An anecdote from a special report in the *Monitor* describes a similar context and elucidates the predicaments some women face when they use contraceptives inconspicuously:

> 'I opted for an implant,' Ayite recalls. It was put under my arm but because my husband was not happy with me taking birth controls, when he saw my hand, he used a razor blade to cut through my skin and removed it [….] he threatened to cut off my arm should he ever find anything like that (implant) (Mutebi 2015:15).

Comparably, a story in the *New Vision* narrated how a woman could not use contraceptives since she hoped to bear a son after producing five girls:

> 'I feared that my man would leave me for another woman in search of a baby boy.' Unfortunately, he still left me for another woman after doctors advised me to stop conceiving because of the risk of complications (Kiwawulo & Kiwuuwa 2015:26).

These news representations illustrated the centrality of the press in the construction and presentation of women's narratives and perceptions of family planning based on their lived experiences.

Some of the aforementioned problems were framed as contributing to Uganda's high and unplanned population growth hence exacerbating the country's development challenges. These include poverty, hunger, land conflicts, unemployment, environment degradation, political instability, civil disobedience, high dependence burden and poor service delivery in health, education, and infrastructure development. For instance, a feature from a supplement in the *New Vision* illuminated the aforesaid circumstances in the country:

> Uganda is one of the countries that have been ranked as demographically vulnerable, according to the set of challenges that are associated with rapid population growth. The challenges include hunger and malnutrition, poverty, water scarcity (Mugisa 2015:43).

In the same way, a commentary in *Monitor* reported:

> … as a matter of fact, our population is increasing at an alarming rate, outstripping service delivery and this has to be controlled in order to avoid adverse effects on the country's economic, social, political, and environmental aspects (Musana 2015:11).

By profiling the challenges linked to the country's fast-growing population, the press created an interface between news reporting and drawing the public's attention to pertinent development issues worthy of their attention.

Furthermore, both newspapers visibly constructed the low uptake of family planning services with a gender bias reflecting this as largely a women's domain given some of the narratives that manifested in the articles. Such phrases that drew analogies to females included: "unwanted pregnancies", "women have unsafe abortions", "teenage pregnancies", "high fertility", "high maternal mortality", "women's unmet need for family planning", "women to inject themselves", "burden to women", and "frequent child birth". As such, the press risked conveying misleading stereotypes in their discourse about family planning by deploying frames that promoted a gender bias.

We found motivational framing as the second most prevalent frame in both *Monitor* and *New Vision*. Motivational frames in the articles emphasized family planning as a means to deal with the problems stemming from a rapid and unplanned population growth. The articles prescribed actions that needed to be taken by different stakeholders including government, development partners, health workers and individuals, so as to ensure increased and consistent uptake of family planning.

The dominant call-to-action among the articles with motivational

frames in both newspapers implored government (29.9%) to sensitize the masses on the benefits of modern contraceptives so as to influence their knowledge, attitude and behaviour, and improve access (27.1%) to family planning services. A commentary in the *Monitor* noted:

> … we need to appreciate the fact that majority of our people (including decision makers) do not correlate population to development, and we therefore, have to continue sensitising the masses on the interlinkages between the two and encourage couples to have small manageable families (Musana 2015:11).

Relatedly, a call to action targeting the government, in the *New Vision* recounted:

> … you should invest in family planning and address all the gaps there, education to create a strong labour force, encourage investments, reduce mortality rate so that women are not forced to keep producing to replace those who have died (Ariba 2015:6).

Consequently, such motivational-framed stories suggested a multipronged pronged approach that government and other actors could undertake to curb Uganda's high fertility rate.

Though not predominant, a few articles (11.2%) mentioned the importance of reinforcing positive male norms by sensitising men on the benefits of family planning. A writer in the *Monitor* recommended:

> … there is an urgent need to educate men on the advantages of family planning methods as well as educating them on gender equality such that they can realise that women and men are equal partners with equal rights (Nabuunya 2015:10).

Another report in the *New Vision* goes ahead with a similar argument that strengthens this recommendation when it reported:

> … behaviour change communication interventions targeting both women and men especially in rural areas are urgently needed in order to increase demand for reproductive health services and commodities (Wandera 2015:7).

Such motivational frames further prescribed actions, premised on a rights-based approach, that both men and women could adopt so as to ensure their consistent uptake of family planning.

From a gender perspective, the tone of motivational frames in several articles was women-centred in comparison to those articles (11.2%) that accentuated male involvement in family planning. Motivational framed articles in the *New Vision* mainly portrayed family planning as a means to improve on the health of women, children and their families as well as avert unwanted pregnancies.

An editorial in *New Vision* supporting the provision of self-administered injectable contraceptives for women argued, "the rationale behind wide spread use of contraceptives by women is that if women can gain more control

over their sexual choices then it is likely they will have fewer children (Editorial 2014b:12). For the M*onitor*, articles primarily framed family planning as a means to avoiding unwanted pregnancies and reducing the economic burden on families and the country.

Accordingly, an editorial in the *Monitor* weighed in on how population control could avert poverty affirming:

> … population is the worst kind of violence … if Uganda does not stem population growth, it cannot stop the growing tide of people living and suffering and dying in poverty. Control population growth and you can control – perhaps even cure-poverty (Editorial 2014a:10).

The presence of motivational frames in the editorials of both newspapers is suggestive of the special publicity accorded to family planning news by the editors who underscored the importance of family planning to the health and financial well-being of families.

The least manifest motivational frame in *Monitor* (2%) and *New Vision* (2%) was the call on government to ensure a favourable policy environment to support family planning in Uganda. A feature in *New Vision* challenged the government to harness Uganda's national development plan to enable citizens access sexual and reproductive health services; "to address health sector challenges, Vision 2040 should empower communities to take charge of their health by promoting healthy practices" ((Kizza 2015:46, July 16). Although the press under reported policy actions, the manifest motivational frames on policy brought into play the national development plan, which could prompt government policy responses to family planning.

Prognostic frames were the least reported in the articles on family planning in *Monitor (*54.6%) and *New Vision* (45.3%). The articles herein essentially framed solutions to low family planning uptake by presenting the benefits of family planning utilization as well as the on-going strategies employed by different stakeholders to promote the uptake of family planning in Uganda. As was previously mentioned with motivational frames, the core themes arising from prognostic frames in the *Monitor* and *New Vision* further reinforced the significance of family planning as improving the standard of living of women, children and their families, as well as averting unwanted pregnancies and unsafe abortions. Both the *Monitor* and *New Vision* reported on the health and economic benefits of family planning in reference to the President of Uganda's support of family planning. A news article in the *Monitor* quoted the president as having said:

> … family planning is good for the mother so that her health is not ruined by having too many children, parents have children they can afford to look after so that they do not grow like wild plants. The family would spend

> less on children and their needs. In turn, they would save and make wealth (Ayebazibwe 2014:3).

A similar news story in *New Vision* profiling the president's support for family planning quoted him as having said that, "family planning is good for the health of mothers and children and for the family welfare because it saves wealth" (Vision Reporter 2014:3). The editors' choice to quote the president who is an opinion leader privileged prognostic-framed information. Additionally, the president's endorsement of family planning gave more emphasis on the health and economic benefits of family planning. Elucidating more on the benefits of family planning, another article in the *New Vision* noted:

> Fewer children reduce the economic burden on woman and their families thus allowing them to spend more on each individual child, thereby improving nutrition and health, access to education and better living standards. It also frees women from the burden of looking after several children which enables them to access employment thus contributing to increased income at household levels (Asiimwe 10 April 2015:11).

In principle, such prognostic frames that illuminated the health, economic, and social benefits of family planning were presented as mechanisms that could influence the fertility decisions of women and men.

Regarding the on-going family planning promotion strategies, both newspapers reported the current undertakings by development partners and government to promote family planning uptake among the masses as the most eminent among the on-going strategies. The *New Vision* (6.1%) primarily adopted prognostic frames to describe family planning promotion interventions as being supported by development partners, private sector players and government respectively.

Development partners and private sector players were presented as providing funds to facilitate family planning services, information, innovations, good practices and contraceptives to communities, especially in hard-to-reach areas. For example, a story in *New Vision* reported about an initiative by a development partner:

> UNFPA established the Maternal Health Thematic Fund to increase the capacity of national health systems to … ensure safe motherhood … having access to family planning (contraceptives) so that mothers can get pregnant when they are ready and want. Also so that there is no unwanted pregnancies" (Birungi 17 October 2014:34).

By describing the on-going work by development partners, the reporters and editors highlighted their role in promoting family planning in Uganda.

In contrast, articles in the *Monitor* (6.1%) mainly presented policy-based perspectives, which highlighted the policy framework created by the government in Uganda to support family planning programmes

if operationalized optimally. A news article in the M*onitor* titled "Government launches Shs 620b family planning scheme" (Ainebyoona 2014:6) stood out as emblematic of government's commitment to dedicate more funding for Uganda's family planning interventions by launching a National Family Planning Costed Implementation Plan.

Relatedly, a commentary article in the *Monitor* alluded to making policy provisions by the National Population Secretariat more functional:

> … the National Population Council Act that was accented by the president needs to be expedited. The council is mandated to formulate policies to give strategic direction on the implementation of the objectives of the National Population Policy (Musana 2015:11).

Such prognostic framing created a narrative that called on the government to make extant policy provisions for family planning more functional. Whereas *Monitor* framed government initiatives more from a policy-enabling perspective, *New Vision* mostly framed government interventions as increasing investment in family planning programmes so as to improve access to good quality family planning services countrywide. An excerpt from an article in the *New Vision* read:

> … the government intends to reduce the unmet need to 10% by 2020, increase the number of modern contraceptive prevalence to 50% the Government estimates that such a move would cost $235million" (Mugisa 16 July 2015:43).

Another article in the *New Vision* with the headline "Uganda hailed for increased funding to family planning" mentioned that "USAID has commended the leadership in Uganda for achieving and surpassing its commitment to increase the level of annual government funding for family planning supplies from three million to five million dollars" (Ssejjoba 2014:10). In so doing, the press framed news storylines that were national indicative of the political and financial support accorded to family planning programmes by the government.

A greater part of family planning articles from *Monitor* and *New Vision* used diagnostic frames that featured the current problem of low utilization of family planning in Uganda, its causes and consequences on the country and its citizens. The fact that diagnostic frames appeared consistently predominant in both newspapers resonates with an observation by Jesus Arroyave (2012) that journalists tend to use the same themes for stories of similar nature. Although such diagnostic framing is critical in emphasising the severity of a public health issue, previous research reveals that the approach can backfire if individuals perceive it as unsolvable (Simpson 2017; Witte 1994). Nonetheless, an opportunity for balanced framing exists if the media could accord more inclusive analytical coverage to issues on family planning by capturing both causality

and solutions to the problem in-depth. This view is supported by scholars (Schwitzer et al. 2005) who argue that journalists covering health news have a responsibility to mirror a society's needs and issues comprehensively and proportionally.

Moreover, our findings show that whereas the severity of the problem dominated how news was framed in both newspapers, there was little attention paid to the impact of low prevalence of family planning on the country. Ironically, this should be one of the strongest justifications for the need to utilize family planning. In reporting consequences, the media should have focused on issues such as human lives lost due to frequent childbirth, as well as the social, economic, political and environmental impact of rapid uncontrolled population growth on the country.

Lack or low emphasis placed focus on impact and solutions offered could negatively affect how the audiences understand family planning issues. Communication for change professionals believe that journalists, in writing attention-grabbing stories, often negate important information (Hillier 2007; Uzuegbunam 2013). In the same way, previous research observed that media constraints of brevity and simplicity hamper the careful documentation of news that would be necessary (Barnhurst & Nerone 2009; Larsson et al. 2003). This article suggests that both newspapers perhaps represent the aforementioned views given their widespread focus on diagnostic framing and less attention to prognostic and motivational framing.

Prior research on reporting health-related issues in the media found that a common framing device in the news media is to report a health story in a way that underscores the consequences of the issue rather than its prevention (Arroyave 2012; Slater, Long, Bettinghaus, & Reineke 2008). Veritably, the dominance of diagnostic frames in both newspapers overshadowed the motivational and prognostic frames that proposed possible solutions and strategies against the problem of low or non-utilization of family planning. This approach resonates with the framing theory (Entman 2004) that highlights how journalists emphasize certain features of an issue and understate others.

It is, therefore, critical for the media to avoid approaching issues of family planning from mainly a diagnostic frame. Like Lawrence (2004) opines, the way that a public-health-related issue is framed defines the degree to which public attention and public policy can be exerted. We find it pertinent that the press should rather widen the scope of reporting to provide a broader and balanced representation of prognostic and motivational frames as well. The latter could provide insights on possible actions to address the contextual, structural and behavioural issues exacerbating limited use of family planning in Uganda.

Furthermore, much as prognostic framing reflected the print media's awareness of gender issues relevant to family planning decision-making at the household level, they barely focused on promoting male involvement in family planning in their motivational and prognostic framing. Both newspapers became purveyors of incomplete news and missed an opportunity to grab the attention of such a critical audience because they did not adequately highlight male involvement. Yet, enhancing male involvement is a key strategy in both government and global family planning promotion initiatives, particularly considering the gender imbalance in our social cultural context in Africa.

This kind of omission in news framing provides a preview of how an important issue on male involvement may remain invisible to the public because media paid little attention to it. Evidence shows that receiving information about family planning from the media plays a significant role for male involvement in embracing modern family planning (Kabagenyi et al. 2014; Koffi et al. 2018). Therefore, this article bolsters the need for media to take cognizance of the importance of gender roles and norms in family planning decision-making. They should frame information in ways that endorse an empowering discourse that promotes spousal communication, joint decision-making and uptake of modern contraceptives.

Whereas both newspapers reported on the current government's initiatives to promote family planning, the quality of coverage was deficient. It was not enough to report on established policies and funding initiatives but rather they should have presented more comprehensive analytical information on them. For instance, both newspapers could have investigated deeper for evidence on budgetary allocations for family planning, availability of family planning services, the geographical distribution of these services, as well as the cost and quality of these services.

The media could have urged government to act on existing gaps that hinder family planning uptake if they framed news in an accurate and compelling manner. Indeed, Schwitzer et al. (2005) clarify that journalists have the responsibility to investigate and report on the citizen's needs in a balanced manner. A view that is corroborated by the Population Reference Bureau (2017)[9] which elucidates that the media is critical to holding leaders accountable for their commitments and ensuring that they spend public resources wisely and fairly so as to improve lives their people. Given that media attention is critical to setting the development agenda, such news could potentially prompt policy and decision-makers

[9] Population Reference Bureau (PRB) (2017). "PRB, PACE and Zambia. Opportunities for Engagement." Washington DC. PRB. Retrieved November 19, 2019. (https://www.prb.org/resource-guide-zambia/).

to advance more resources for family planning services and products.

Conclusion

This article has provided insights on construction of news frames in a Ugandan context by analysing how family planning news was framed by the print media in Uganda. Striking differences were noted in media representation of diagnostic, motivational and prognostic frames. It is recommended that media should frame information in ways that could positively influence the quality of information on family planning disseminated to the audience. Motivational and prognostic framing is likely to be more effective than diagnostic framing at stimulating the desired behaviour change and creating demand for family planning services, since the former provide concrete solutions to the issues that inhibit family planning uptake.

The findings from this study are valuable to media practitioners, policy makers and other stakeholders engaged in using media to promote family planning and similar communication for development initiatives. The implication is that media coverage must be monitored constantly, so as to understand how family planning issues are framed, what is emphasized, what is ignored and what solutions are offered. Such information is crucial to assessing the quality of information disseminated to readers and how the audiences learn about family planning. With better quality information, the citizens should be empowered to make informed decisions on family planning such that there is better balance between resources available and population growth at both the household and national levels. Ultimately, this should contribute to improved living standards and enhance national development.

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The Anglo-American Newspapers' Reportage of the 1976 Entebbe Hostage-taking and Israel Raid

*Zaid Sekito**

What is dreadful is that during 'peace', these same media bombard the world with holier-than-thou sermons about objectivity, truth and fairness, whereas in war, they are the first to trample these principles underfoot (*Daily Nation*, Kenya, 1 April 2003).

Abstract

Several high-profile hijackings occurred in the 1970s and were covered by the media. One such hijacking was of the French Airbus A300 Flight 139 by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) on 27 June 1976. In this article, I examined the causes of the nature of newspaper reportage of the June/July 1976 hijacking and hostage-taking involving an African state under President Idi Amin whose actions in the affair drew international attention to Uganda. Drawing on archival data, the paper article analyses the four newspapers' portrayal of the Entebbe hostage-taking from 28 June to 3 July 1976 and the subsequent Israel Raid on 4 July 1976. The newspapers' focused on are, the *New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Times* (London) and the *Christian Science Monitor*. In this article, I argue that the four newspapers' reportage ranging from hostage-taking to the rescue depended on the political and social contexts under which they operated at the time, namely, the Cold War politics of the time. The newspapers focused covered more about on the rescue and its aftermath than the events leading to the hijacking and hostage-taking which obscured a clear understanding of the deeper causes of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict that used Idi Amin and Uganda as a pawn.

Keywords: Hijacking, Hostage-taking, Media, Raid, Terrorism

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Introduction

Throughout the 1970s, media coverage of air-hijackings occupied a prominent position in mass media on the public agenda of many countries. Although newspapers often consider themselves dispassionate recorders of terrorist events, conveying objective and factual information about incidents, their roles in such events are seen quite differently by scholars, authorities, media critics, and the general public. This article examines the Anglo-American newspaper portrayals of the 1976 Entebbe raid, with through the nature of the media attention the media placed on the event they being associated with adverse effects including but not limited to increased racial and religious prejudices against Arabs and Muslims in general (Ahmed 2012; Bushman et al. 2009; Ogan, Willnat, Pennington & Bashir 2013; Ahmed 2012; Bushman et al. 2009) in the use of the label "terrorism".

This form of Western media reporting has prompted some writers to argue that violent events involving Muslims and or "Arabs" are more likely to be labelled terrorists than their Western non-Muslim counterparts even if when their behaviours activities are not different (Paul 2015). Beyond these negative portrayals of the Western media bias against "Arabs" and Muslims, some writers have argued that the reportages about events involving Muslims, in general, are themselves biased. They receive considerable attention in the western media and the label "terrorism/terrorist" is more readily applied to events involving Muslims and "Arabs". Whatever endures as part of the living memory has to be continuously interrogated to glean new meaning, causes and conclusion. Thus, the focus of this article is to stretch back and investigate the possible motives and nature of the Western newspapers' reportage that occurred four decades ago on an event that involved "Arabs" (Palestinians), Muslims (Palestinians/Idi Amin), and non-Western non-Muslims.

The Rise of Idi Amin and the Advent of the 1976 Incident

In 1971, Idi Amin staged a coup d'état and overthrew President Apollo Milton Obote's government and took over as President of Uganda, an act which attracted international attention. The coup might have been masterminded by the capitalist Western powers, such as Britain, Israel, and the US under the simplistic illusion that Amin was going to be a stooge to them. The reaction of the White Hall and the British media, for example, seem to suggest illustrated that perhaps Britain had a hand in the coup as Amin's takeover of power prominently featured in leading headlines in British papers, such as *The Guardian, The Times, Daily Telegraph,* and *Financial Times*. For example, in the week after the coup, Amin was voted "man of the week" by The *Financial Times.*

The editorial of the *Daily Telegraph* also stated: that "One good reason that might be advanced for holding commonwealth conferences more often was the number of undesirable rulers overthrown as a result of their temporary absence as has happened to Dr Obote of Uganda, would thereby be increased" (*The Daily Telegraph* 26 January 1971). Three days later, the same paper noted that, with Obote gone, Britain would be at an advantage of pursuing "the course of her strategic interests lightened on one Millstone" (*The Daily Telegraph* 29 January 1971).

The *Daily Telegraph* gave a clearer impression of the British about Amin. In one of its issues, it was put thus: "Amin provides a welcome contrast to those African leaders... who bring African rule to discredit in their own countries... Dr Obote, who violated Uganda's independence constitution, and was justifiably ousted by Gen. Amin was in that category... Gen. Amin has been quick to express this in his country's policy" (*Daily Telegraph* 12 July 1971). The British Prime Minister Edward Heath, who hosted Amin in July 1971 could not hide his sentiments when he coined what he termed as his "own ironic memories about the January coup, which came immediately after he had been sharply criticised by Obote in Singapore" (*Uganda Argus* 14 July 1971).

Israel supported Amin hoping that he would perpetually pursue his cosmetic anti-Arab policy (Kokole 1989:20). Between 1969 and 1971, the Arab-Israel rivalry had reached its peak. While on the one hand, Obote was trying to construct his anti-Zionist stance by supporting Egypt, Amin, on the other hand, was conniving with Israel in supporting the Anya-Nya rebels against the Arabo-Muslim government in Sudan. Ironically, Amin was neither a staunch practicing Muslim nor a Muslim fanatic. It appears, therefore, that his tilt towards promoting Israel interests against Arabo-Muslim government of Sudan was a consequence of his entanglement in a quest for political, and personal survival. In doing this, Amin was not only jeopardizing the Uganda-Arab relationship but was also undoing Obote's policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of a neighbouring state.

President Obote's regime was, therefore, viewed as socialist, anti-Zionist and anti-British especially concerning its former colonial master's policy in South Africa. Thus, the rise of Idi Amin to the Ugandan Presidency had much to do with the dynamics of Cold War politics. However, the capitalist powers which had originally welcomed President Amin's coup with enthusiasm lost the fervour. The loss of fervour began with Amin's adoption of a pro-Arab policy and turning against the west starting in 1972. This was followed by the expulsion of foreigners many of whom ended up in Britain and USA, and impulsively allowing a hijacked plane to land at Entebbe airport on 28 June 1976. The former

act fundamentally contradicted a key aspect of the country's foreign policy with Britain and the USA: countries that are committed to the sacredness of the Jewish State of Israel. The question, however, is: Did Idi Amin's foreign policy shift in a way to influence the nature of the reportage in USA and Britain in 1976 or the reportage was dependent upon the social contexts under which the four newspapers operated?

The 1976 hostage-taking at Entebbe led the capitalist powers to lose the fervour passion to unreservedly support for Amin due to what was perceived as Uganda's involvement in the hostage-taking. The event received worldwide press attention; press reports, editorials, a "60 Minutes" television show in America, and Barbet Schroder's film *Idi Amin Dada*, all of which kept people around the world aware of events in Uganda. The hostage-taking and raid at Entebbe revolved around the hijacked Air France Airbus A300 on 27 June 1976, on its way from Tel Aviv (Israel) to France, which was diverted and forced to land at Entebbe on 28 June 1976. The hijackers were said to have been a branch of the PLO and subsequently, hostage-taking from 28 June to 4 July 1976, at Entebbe (Uganda), marking it popularly known as the Entebbe-Air France hostage crisis.

The illegal diversion and attempts to divert aircrafts from their scheduled routes by armed persons using force or threat of force were familiar occurrences in the world throughout the 1970s and were often described using different terms, such as "air piracy", or "skyjacking", "aerial hijacking" or "aircraft hijacking." (Arey 1972; Clyne1973; Hubbard 1971; Knebel 1971; Minor 1975; Phillips 1973; Rich 1972; Turner 1969; Whelton 1972). However, the hijacking that shocked the world, and attracted media narratives involved the hijacking of the above said airbus under Captain Michel Bacos on a flight from Tel Aviv to Paris on 27 June 1976, (Boers 2012). This historical event of international hostage-taking was the first of its kind in the East African region and Uganda in particular, and it formed the benchmark of the historiography of terrorism in Uganda.

The hijacking and hostage-taking thrust Uganda into the world press; with the aftermath of the daring Israeli raid to rescue the hostages at Entebbe airport, leading to the deaths of a sizeable number of people and the disappearance of Mrs Dora Bloch, an Israeli-British citizen. The hijacking and hostage-taking are historically important in helping to understand the roots of global terror and terrorism as well as international perception and media framing of issues involving Africans.

This article, therefore, endeavours to make an account for the nature of reportage as expressed in the four newspapers on the 1976 Entebbe incident in which Idi Amin seemed to take centre stage. Because the impact

of the newspapers' coverage of Idi Amin on public opinion is difficult to assess (Gallup 1989), the article is not about newspaper influence on public opinion; it is about why and how the newspapers reported on an event that involved a man – Idi Amin – the capitalist powers, such as Britain, France, USA and Israel were jittered with. The selected newspapers under analysis are; the *New York Times* (New York), *the Guardian* (Britain), *The Times,* London and the *Christian Science Monitor* (USA). These newspapers were surveyed in terms of their coverage for twenty days; covering seven days during which the hostages were held at Entebbe and thirteen after the Israeli raid. The central question that the article seeks to answer is: What motivated these newspapers' coverages of this hostage-taking and raid at Entebbe? Was their information filtered according to the preferences of the political spaces to which they belonged or the audience they served?

Brief Literature

Studies on news media have produced evidence that news content is not an objective entity, independent of political, social, ideological or socio-psychological influences (see, Shoemaker and Reese 1996; Graber 1997; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Gans 1979). Gerbner (1964) for example, pointed out there is 'no fundamentally non-ideological, apolitical, non-partisan news gathering and reporting system'.

Several researchers have identified many factors that influence the selection and production of news. For example, Edelman (1993:232) asserts the news frame is 'driven by ideology and prejudice rather than by rigorous analysis or the aspiration to solve social problems. Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (2000) found that the dominant ideology of a nation was a major source of the frame in their analysis of US press coverage of the Fourth UN Conference and the NGO Forum in Beijing. Reta (2000) reached the same conclusion in his analysis of the 1994 South Africa elections in US media. Ideology here concerns a person's, an organization's or a nation's value or belief system. Since foreign policies usually guide the direction of news items texts (Chang 1989; Dickson et al. 1995; Kim 2000; Chang 1989) then, the question is: Was this the case with newspaper reportage of the 1976 incident?

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) summarise the influences of media content ranging from the general and indirect to the direct and specific: ideological and other macro-system factors, media organisational constraints, and the micro-characteristics of individual media workers. According to the above two writers, a combination of these influences make a significant contribution to the final product of news and eventually defines the landscape of media content. Scheufele (1999) proposed that at least five factors that potentially

influence how journalists frame a given issue: (i) social norms and values; (ii) organisational pressures and constraints; (iii), the pressure of interest groups, (iv) journalistic routines; and (v) ideological or political orientations of journalists.

Yang (2003) pointed out that national interest is a potential variable that influences the framing process, especially in the international news-framing process. According to his earlier study, national interest, as the primary source of foreign policies, play a central role in influencing news coverage (Lee and Yang 1995). Brands (1999:239) noted that national interest is a 'conception of an overriding common good transcending the specific interests of parties, factions, and other entities smaller than the nation as a whole'. Nye (1999:25) on the other hand observes that 'national interests are the fundamental building blocks in any discussion of foreign policy.' He goes on to define national interest in a democracy as 'a set of shared priorities regarding relationships with the rest of the world'.

Henry (1981) noted that ultimately journalism is patriotism and reporters all become nationalists in the time of crisis. Therefore, in the process of producing international news, journalists select, prioritise and structure the narrative flow of events by identifying with their own countries. They frame news accounts based on their own country's ultimate interest. For example, research on indexing focus of international events suggests that the positions of key governmental leaders tend to influence, or "index," the perspective employed by most media when they report the news (Althaus et al. 1996; Bennett 1990, 1994; Mermin 1996). Thus, their News coverage sometimes involves reliance on governmental sources, which makes "the indexing effects most powerful" (Mermin 1996:191).

The preceding explanation and arguments point to the nexus between, ideology, organisational, national interest on the one hand and foreign policy considerations on the other in international affairs' news coverage and reporting. It is pertinent to examine which of the stated factors motivated the four papers to frame the news emanating from the Entebbe event the way they did.

The Choice of the Four Newspapers and the Guiding Theoretical Framework

For an analysis of the 1976 hostage-taking and raid at Entebbe, four newspapers, (*The Christian Science Monitor* (USA), *The Times* of London, The *New York Times* and *The Guardian,* UK) newspapers were chosen. The four newspapers were chosen because of their prominence and influence, especially regarding their coverage of international political news (Kim 2000). For example, the *New York Times,* which is generally considered to be the 'paper of record', was

chosen because it provides extensive coverage of international news and influences the content of other mass media (Gitlin 1980).

In 1989 it was also described in the following terms: "for better or for worse because of its reputation as a quality newspaper, there is a common feeling in the US that if something is printed in the *New York Times,* then it is credible" (Goulden 1989:15). Its circulation peaked at over 1.1 million (Kurtz 1993). *The Times* (London) described the *New York Times* in 1977 as the finest newspaper in the world and the second largest after the *Wall Street Journal* with a daily circulation of 854,000 copies in the United States. (*The Times* 1977:73). It was also described as "the platinum bar by which editors across the US judge and measure their newspapers" (ibid:172).

The Times of London, has also been described as "a newspaper of record that is read by influential opinion-makers of government, nobility, the ruling class and of business and financial circles (Merrill and Fisher 1980:320). *The Times* of London, was further called the standard-bearer that "embodied the highest standards of newspaper journalism and earned the respect of opinion makers, financiers and statesmen in Britain and around the world" (Welke 1982:925).

On its analysis of issues, the *Christian Science Monitor* was described as "more interested in presenting in-depth, a selection of the significant news which shapes its readers' lives, than providing a daily surface-depth record of the events. It is both professionally excellent and a respected moral force." (Merrill and Fisher 1980:10). In 1982, its credibility was described as "not merely a newspaper but also an institution and a moral force in its own right with the 3rd wisest readership" (Kurian 1982:959). The *Guardian* was characterised as, "the spokesman of progressive liberal thinking and social reforms" Welke (1982:926) and an "analytical, careful, serious, honest and truthful newspaper" (Merrill and Fisher 1980:184).

The presumed quality and reputation of the four newspapers provide ground for the analysis of their coverage of the June/July 1976 Entebbe hostage-taking and raid, historically significant revelation of the terror, terrorism and struggle against terrorism on the international and national scenes. These newspapers had a wider readership and above all had sufficient coverage to merit content analysis. All four newspapers are also among the top national newspapers in their respective countries.

Theoretically, this article is anchored in the Social Identity Theory and Galtung-Ruge Theory of International news. According to this theory, people have social, group-based identities as well as personal, individual identities, national and are motivated to see their groups in a positive light (Considine 2015). Consequently, people tend to judge members of their groups more

positively than members of other groups. For example, one experiment found that White mock jurors judged Black defendants as guiltier, more violent and more aggressive than White defendants, (Sommers & Ellsworth 2000). Another study found that participants ascribed more negative motives to politicians' behaviours when those politicians did not agree with the participants' political views (Reeder, Pryor, Wohl, & Griswell 2005). Similarly, both Palestinian and Jewish Israelis are less likely to judge their in-group's behaviour as terrorism, and more likely to judge the others' behaviours as such, (Shamir and Shikaki 2002).

According to Galtung and Ruge, 'if an event has direct or indirect consequences to the audience, if it impacts audiences' lives or is at least relevant to their experiences, it is more likely to become news'. This usually means that a story needs certain geographical or political proximity (Schulz 1976) or temporal proximity (Herbert 2000) and cultural proximity ('the event-scanner will pay particular attention to the familiar, to the culturally similar, and the culturally distant will be passed by more easily' (Galtung and Ruge 1965:67), geographical or political proximity (Schulz 1976) or temporal proximity (Herbert 2000). Thus, Galtung and Ruge's idea of political, geographical or cultural similarities are, thus, reinforced by the ideas of writers, such as Shamir, Rosengren and Shikaki. The use of the terrorism label is primarily based on social identity concerns, and a more negative judgment will always be passed on to the opposite group. According to this theory, therefore, it looks like reportage is based on group identity. This re-affirms the idea of critical terrorism theorists that claims that terrorism is a social construct.

Methodology

To examine how the four newspapers covered the 1976 hostage-taking and raid on Entebbe, I analyse whether or not a newspaper published the story daily, on the front page. A newspaper's front page represents a scarce resource used to publish stories that the newspaper believes most interest its readers. Stories on the front page are more likely to be read than those buried in the paper's website or back pages. Also, their presence on the front page provides a clue to the reader that the newspaper believes the story to be very important. I purposively chose four newspapers from a list of over 100 major newspapers in the US and Britain, a listing of newspapers comparable to those chosen as representative of the Entebbe hostage-taking and raid reportage. Given the emphasis of these major newspapers on international news, they make for a more challenging control group than having to go to all newspapers randomly chosen.

To examine the motives behind the nature of reportage by the newspapers of the hostage-taking and raid at Entebbe, I analysed the way stories

were framed. This took the forms of aggregate, daily, and content analysis, each of which required a different analytical method. In the aggregate analysis, I counted how many times the Entebbe related story appeared in each of the four newspapers' pages during the entire period chosen for this study.

In the daily analysis, for each day of the paper studied, I did a daily analysis, examine examining whether or not a story about the Entebbe hostage-taking and raid appeared on the newspaper's front page and the framing of its headlines. As the most important index for a news story, the headline is the first place to skim in newspaper reading. Pan and Kosicki (1993:59) pointed out that "a headline is the most salient cue to activate certain semantically related concepts in readers' minds; it is thus the most powerful framing device of syntactical structure." Finally, I did a qualitative content analysis of 120 of Entebbe-related stories published in the four newspapers.

In conducting content analysis, I utilised Bennett's referential symbols and condensational symbolism to identify how the newspapers appealed to their audience's feelings.

> 'Referential symbols are economical, concrete, and not prone to attract emotional baggage. They are made in specific and precise terms. Condensational symbols, on the other hand, appear in abstract contexts that are often ambiguous or have powerful emotional concerns for the audience' (Bennett 1980:256).

For example, headlines, such as "Seeking Solutions to terrorism" "Uganda events conflicting, sensitive for the UN debate", "UN Security Council ducks Entebbe issues: Sovereignty supporters vs opponents of hijacking cancel each other out. Britain's Move Uganda's Plight", "Woes Pile Up on Uganda's Amin,", "Israelis jubilant as Amin Laments", "The Cavalry Pounds in Pat on Cue", "Entebbe Raid: 'Subject for Song and Legend'", "Breaking with a Dictator", and "Uganda might have been part of the Plan".

All these headlines state the facts in concrete language and therefore employs referential symbols. On the other hand, an example of condensational symbols in the reportage was, 'Israel attack on Uganda was a right to self-defence, unlawful but tolerable' because of the usage of ambiguous terms of 'lawful' and 'intervention', 'tolerable'. Tolerable' also indicates the tendency of the paper to appeal to the audience's feelings and understanding. Other condensational symbols were in headlines, such as "Amin is a Tyrant but Without Admirers", "Amin is 'Finished with Terrorists'."

Analysis of the Four Newspapers' Coverage of the Entebbe Hostage Situation and raid

The four papers were sympathetic to Israel and its actions and as such, they ran articles and editorials that praised its actions and response. For example,

the *New York Times* described the raid as **"**a daring night-time raid on Entebbe airport in which the hostages were freed and terrorists killed in the skirmish" (Terence Smith, *New York Times* 4 July 1976:1 & 10). The paper added that the decision to undertake a raid was taken when it became clear that the hijackers would not relent in their demands.

On 5 July 1976, the paper described the raid as the "audacious airborne rescue". The editorial went on to assert that the Israelis top officials had made the plan to raid Entebbe to rescue the hostages from the beginning of the hostage-taking (*New York Times* 5 July 1976:2). The *Christian Science Monitor* (USA) described the raid as a "bold, meticulously organized and an exceptional feat of daring" but with ramifications that eventually led to were to raise a lot of questions. It also considered the Israel raid on Entebbe to have "soared Israeli's morale" in many respects while it dispelled any hopes of Arab victory against the Jewish state.

On 7 July 1976, an editorial by David Anable, did not only describe the raid as "the daring Israeli rescue mission and an actual blow to international terrorists", but he also demarcated defined Uganda as one of the 'sanctuaries of terrorism'" (*Christian Science Monitor*, 7 July 1976:4). On 6 July 1976, the *New York Times* Editor, Terence Smith, in another editorial, described the success of the raid as a "substance of the long hours of confusing and often contradictory negotiations with the hijackers, mounting tension over the willingness of the hijackers to extend their initial deadline and the central role of General Idi Amin" (*New York Times*).

On 9 July 1976, the same editor continued to reveal how the raid was planned. The description of the raid, he wrote went as follows, "Israelis staged raid rehearsal before Uganda hijack rescue" (ibid.:41) and on 12 July, he reported Amin telling Israel of his disillusionment with pro-Palestinian terrorism. Israel, however, through their Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, denounced him, saying, "for years he (Amin) had given refuge, training, assistance and support of all kinds to the Palestinian terror organisations that worked against Israel" (*New York Times* 12 July 1976:39).

Such reportage suggests that the four Anglo-American newspapers were in support of Israel's actions. The reason for this could have been that given Britain and USA's role in the creation and consolidation of Israel, and the Jewish populations in both states, on the social context demanded that they had to report the way they did. It is as though they feared to look unpatriotic in a time of crisis. For example, the *Christian Science Monitor* broke stories about how Israel had violated state sovereignty (Uganda), and how the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) was political in the matter.

The paper went ahead to advocate for "some better formula

for preventing hijackings and better means of responding to hijacking than sheer force" (*Christian Science Monitor* 6 July 1976:32). On what it called a scarcely overlooked side, the paper described the raid as

> … an action involving the violation of the sovereignty of an independent state without permission or notice, justified on grounds of expediency, or criticized on grounds of impropriety (ibid.:39).

On 9 July 1976, the same paper informed the international community of the upcoming UNSC debate over the Israeli raid. Envisioning a challenge of preventing the discussion from bogging down into a verbal war of invective between critics and proponents of the raid, Anable identified two conflicting and deeply emotional emotive issues that were to come ahead of the UNSC meeting. (*Christian Science Monitor* 9 July 196:4 & 28). The paper also envisioned that Israelis would try to prove the complicity of President Idi Amin, and the Western countries would reject any "unbalanced" resolution that attacked Israel but failed to condemn terrorism.

The two prophecies came to pass when on 16 July 1976, true to the paper's postulations, it followed up UNSC failure to resolve the two issues when one of its editors Anable aptly put it as follows:

> By failing to condemn either terrorist hijacking or the Israeli rescue raid, the UN Security Council has managed to duck taking any decisions at all on two important legal and moral issues of the day: international terrorism and national sovereignty. (*Christian Science Monitor* 16 July 1976).

The answer to the failure of the UNSC to resolve the issues can be found in Piero Vinci's submission to the Security Council 1943rd Meeting. He argued that "there seemed to have been little ground for agreement on the issues international terrorism and national sovereignty, also because the UNSC was essentially a political body and not an appropriate forum for settling such delicate issues." (UNSC 1943rd Meeting, 14 July 1976).

Thus, The *Christian Science Monitor* was to some extent journalistically value-embedded on what took place at Entebbe during hostage-taking and after the raid. However, while its stories would have stimulated journalistic values of scepticism and inquiry, they were instead overridden by values of patriotism and unity with Israelis. The *New York Times*, *The Times,* and *The Guardian* blacked out such stories entirely.

In their defence, the three newspapers went on to praise the Israelis' raid. For example, on 5 July 1976, *The Guardian* (UK), in one of its editorials, argued that although the action was "a moral and diplomatic nullity", it was a "tactically brilliant overnight raid" and above all a "practical triumph" (MacManus & Eric, 5 July 1976:2). In a congratulatory manner, it added that "for 36 minutes on a hot airfield in the Middle of Africa, they saw a tin pot dictator and

a terrorist gang brutally humiliated … and condemnation (from OAU) seems somehow irrelevant … they got what they asked for" (*The Guardian* 5 July 1976:10).

While Amin had never been designated a terrorist, the paper labelled him so. On 5 July 1976, *The Times* published Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's message to the Israeli Parliament (Knesset). In his address to the parliament, he described the Entebbe Operation as "a remarkable manifestation of Jewish fraternity and valour" (*The Times* 5 July 1976:4). The glorification of the successes of Israel, a proxy state whose creation and sustenance was a substance of Anglo-American efforts might have been aimed at appeasing the Anglo-American Jewish community some of whom were already jittered jittery about with Amin.

On 4 July 1976, the UN Secretary-General Mr Kurt Waldheim described Israeli's raid as "flagrant aggression against the sovereignty of a member state of UN". However, none of the four Anglo-American newspapers heeded to his voice. Instead, on 6 July 1976, *The Times,* for example, responded in defence of Israeli's action by stating that Israel had the right to defend her citizens against terrorists. The paper went on to argue that since Uganda seemed to have been defending the terrorists rather than their state image, it was, therefore seen and treated as a terrorist. (*The Times* 6 July 1976:13). This reportage in defence of Israeli actions shows how the paper blacked out the role of Amin in the negotiations leading to the release of over 100 passengers who were on the plane. They also forgot that it was the French Ambassador who requested Amin to grant the plane permission to land as French Representative to the UNSC Meeting put it:

> The French authorities, when informed of this hijacking, alerted some of their embassies, including that in Kampala, asking them to take steps for the plane to be permitted to land since it was soon going to run out of fuel... We (French authorities), therefore, asked the plane to be allowed to land when it seemed that it would be able to fly for only another 15 minutes (UNSC Proceedings of the 1939th Meeting, 9 July 1976 par.182).

The aforementioned fact was ignored and what was emphasised was Amin's hand in the affair but appearing to forget that he acted on the French government request. For example, *The Times* in one of its editorials stated that "Entebbe was the first instance of the government of a 'country of refuge' participating in the terrorism that followed the hijacking. The Ugandan government authorities, for example, are said to have provided guards for the hostages while the hijackers were asleep and perhaps even in its preparatory stages" (*The Times,* 13 July, 1976). For either ideological, social or institutional reasons, the four papers ignored a discussion on why a country the French Ambassador diplomatically requested for landing

permission in a time of crisis turned against the hostages.

The papers also tended to gravitate towards the visually dramatic stories, not the one behind-the-scenes ones. For example, *The Guardian* described the scenes of rejoicing on the streets of Tel Aviv as unparalleled in Israel since the Six-Day War of 1967. *The Times* also gave a wide coverage on the operation and described the dancing and jubilation that went on in the streets of Israel in celebration of the success of the Entebbe raid (*The Times* 5 July 1976:1).

By focusing on military achievements, showing heroic images of the troops and downplaying the casualties and the humanitarian crisis, little or no incentive for analysis or in-depth coverage was done. Thus, the era of investigative journalism was beginning to come to the end, especially when it related to parts of the world thought to be distant. This view was later emphasised by Tim Allen (1999) when he said, "rapid-fire, bullet-point summaries of events, combined with images that are heart-rending but sanitized, 'real-time' but manipulated have become the dominant model of reportage." This form of reportage left little scope for a more detailed examination of the event, its history and its possible causes.

The fact that these newspapers portrayed the raid as remarkable, heroic stunning, daring, audacious, tactical brilliance and embarrassment to Amin; this type of reportage reflected two things; ideological inclination to capitalism in favour of a proxy state and communication of what Anglo-American masses wanted to read. Quick profiling of the four newspapers reveal that Anglo-American newspapers sympathetic to the Jewish cause and could not afford to be objective on any Jewish issue, as a matter of national policy. For example, *The Guardian* may have deemed it impractical to be objective on the Jewish matter: Charles Prestwich Scott, one of the most revered editors of *The Guardian*, was an ardent Zionist and helped in the realization of the 1947 Balfour Declaration. (Robert Philpot 2019).

Conclusion

Historically, it might be very difficult to provide a clear - cut objective behind the nature of the four newspapers' reportage of the 1976 hostage-taking and raid at Entebbe. However, given the bilateral relations between Israel and the two countries (USA and Britain) and Israel, it is difficult to ignore the Cold War ideological factor entirely. Both Britain and USA were pro-Israel because the creation of the Jewish state of Israel dating as far back as 1917 was a matter of British foreign policy in action intended to win the American Jewish community to the allied side during World War I. The promise and fulfilment of the creation of the state in 1948 was, therefore, a strategic gain for Britain. To the Americans, they believed in the creation of the state of Israel but were more concerned with the

sustenance of the Judeo-Christian tradition as the hallmark of the American civilizational experiment and experience. While the Judeo-Christian idea was not American, its operationalization was.

During the Cold War politics, therefore, the US elevated the idea to the level of a political imperative. Thus, any actor that was seen or even imagined to undermine the sacredness of the Jewish state of Israel was assumed to be directly undermining the foundations of the US. Such an actor was to the US, a terrorist. By supporting Palestine against Israel, Amin was projected through these lenses. This casts the Cold War factor in the 1976 Entebbe incident(s) reportages. As cited above in the literature, the ideological or political orientations of both journalists and states, and the national interests of their countries is a key factor in the way newspapers report on international crises.

It could not also be possible for the four newspapers to provide unbiased reportage given the audiences they were serving. In both the U.S and Britain, a sizeable number of people still had memories of the expulsion of foreigners by Idi Amin from Uganda. US and Britain were also still unhappy with Idi Amin's defection to the Arab side, a communist wing and considered closer to socialism than to capitalism. It was, therefore, logical for the newspapers to focus on the Israeli military achievements and not on the casualties of the raid especially on the Ugandan side. Publishing only the sanitized version of the hostage-taking and raid on Entebbe, showing only the heroic images of the Israeli troops and the jubilations in Tel Aviv was expected. This was because, given that the Uganda government had censored the press, it was uncommon for a foreign journalist to be on the ground in Uganda. They were either fed by their home governments or the Uganda media.

The reportage was, therefore, intended to appease the social groups (home audiences) they identified with. This obscured the detailed analysis of the event, its history and the possible causes of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in which Idi Amin and Uganda were used as a pawn. Consequently, as a result of their reportage, Uganda came to be seen as a terrorist state or an accomplice of terrorism. Awareness of such biases in reportage should encourage a certain amount of caution when reading newspapers and describing their reporters one or the other as objective or subjective reporters. The roots of anti-terrorism and or counterterrorism in the region can historically be seen to have first manifested rooted in this event. This study provides a first step in establishing the newspapers as a critical link between war and international politics.

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A Chronicle of Language Policies in Uganda and the Status of Kiswahili

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Abstract

Uganda's history regarding the search for a national language has been characterised with by different language policies across different historical periods. These include both macro and micro policies that have had an impact on the promotion and development of Kiswahili in Uganda. Mainly, in the pre-colonial period, there was an unwritten policy in Buganda which gave Luganda, Kiswahili, and Arabic official language status, but following the declaration of Uganda as a British protectorate in 1894, the language policy changed from Kiswahili, Luganda, and Arabic to English as the official language. This examination of historical evolution of language policies demonstrate the bottlenecks that Kiswahili language has encountered in its promotion and development in Uganda. This is mainly attributed to colonial language policies that have influenced policy decisions across the different periods of time in Uganda's history. This article, therefore, examines a historical narrative on different language policies that have been proposed in Uganda across the different historical periods, namely, the pre-colonial period (1844-1894); the colonial period (1894-1962); and the post-colonial period (1962-2005). These periods represent historical milestones during which different language policies were proposed about Kiswahili. The article critically examines those different policies and how they affected the Kiswahili Language, and it seeks to demonstrate that language policy in Uganda needs re-thinking.

Keywords: Kiswahili, Chronicle, Language policy, Status, Uganda.

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Introduction

This article presents a historical analysis of the position of Kiswahili in the different language policies that have been proposed in Uganda across the different historical periods of time. It interrogates the question of language policy and how the policies have affected the status of Kiswahili in Uganda ranging from the pre-colonial period to the present. While the article examines the status of Kiswahili in Uganda, it refers to policies where the implementation of the use of Kiswahili has been successful, especially in Kenya and Tanzania (Mulokozi 2004; Vilhanova 1996).

The data for this article was collected through the use of interviews and document analysis. This helped the researcher to examine the meanings and implications of the Kiswahili language in Uganda in the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial Uganda. Bearing in mind the socio-linguistic characteristics of Uganda, four language policy experts were interviewed with a view to better understand the debates around language policy's history and implementation in light with a specific interest in Kiswahili.

A documentary review of language policies was carried out in order not only to historicise language policy, but also to see how its language policy implementation has either promoted or hindered Kiswahili use in Uganda. The article examines the socio-historical narratives surrounding language policies regarding Kiswahili, the beliefs, attitude, opinions, ideas, positions and politics behind the language policies in Uganda. This article is done to explain why Kiswahili, despite several policies for its promotion and development continues to have a low status in the country.

The history of Kiswahili in Uganda dates far back to the year 1800. Since then, colonial governments and the preceding governments up to date have each made attempts toward the promotion and development of Kiswahili in Uganda. Unfortunately, all the efforts made so far have not yielded significant achievements and the progress has been slow.

This article particularly sets out to examine the obstacles and constraints that account for the disillusionment to implement the various language policies that have been geared toward the promotion and development of Kiswahili in Uganda. In trying to unravel this emerging problem, the researcher attempted to situate the current problem into a historical perspective.

Methodology

This article engages with the qualitative research approaches to examine Uganda's language policies and establish the place of Kiswahili during different historical periods of time. According to Silverman (2016), qualitative research approaches are valued over the quantitative methods because most of the techniques that they employed lead to the acquisition

of help in getting the first-hand information from participants and, this therefore, reinforces the authenticity and reliability of the research data obtained.

These "first-hand-methods" of data collection, in addition to generating in-depth data, help to get the emotions attached to the information collected. The study was positioned as a phenomenological study, that enabled the researcher to interview language policy experts about their experiences and positions with regard to the promotion and development of language policies on Kiswahili within the context of language policies in Uganda.

The article analysed policy documents such as the constitution, court rulings, policy guidelines, bills, political declarations and decrees, Acts of parliament to help understand the residence of Kiswahili during different epochs of time. The interpretive paradigm located this study as interpretivists, are concerned with "understanding the subjective world of the human experience" and rather, as part of our consciousness and due to our interaction with the world in which we live.

Interpretivists believe that behaviours can be understood by researchers only via those who are involved perform them in the context in which they occur (Assalahi, 2015). This study applies to Uganda as a country and its people. Four expert participants were engaged in interviews to generate in-depth understanding of language policy formulation, development and application. Document analysis too was utilised to generate data for this study. Data were analysed using Braun & Clarke's six-phase framework for doing a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006).

Theoretical Orientation: The Historical Structural Model of Language Policy and Planning

This article is guided by the historical-structural model to language policy as presented by James Tollefson (1991). This model examines the social structures which put limitations on the choices that people make. In this regard, historical and structural processes shape human behaviour and, therefore, issues of power, ideology, the state, hegemony, dominance, and social structure play a crucial role in the analysis of policies. Policies are evaluated in terms of their effect, by for example, on changing the existing social structure.

Tollefson criticized earlier approaches which saw language policy as efforts entirely intended by governments efforts to plan language development by governments. They were problematic because they ignored the ideological basis of language policy and the role of historical-structural processes that shape language policy and planning. To him, any researcher interested in language policy should explain the role of historical-structural processes

or the factors that shape language policies.

Researchers also ought to explore the philosophical keystones that legitimate or affect these policies. Tollefson's historical-structural analysis points to new avenues in research and the importance of incorporating issues of history and structure in the analysis of language policy. Drawing on Tollefson's understanding of language policy as a product of socio-historical experiences, I argue that the uncertain position of Kiswahili in Uganda is a result of policies that have been created without analysing the country's socio-historical experience. In this regard, the policies, despite being well intended, have disfavoured Kiswahili use in Uganda.

Historicising Kiswahili and language policy in Uganda.

To understand how the position of Kiswahili in Uganda has evolved, it is important to understand the history of the Kiswahili language and the policies that have shaped its status in Uganda. This thus calls for a discussion of the different language policies across the different periods epochs of time in Uganda.

I start with the precolonial period to show the economic importance of the language at Kabaka Muteesa I's court. I go ahead to examine the colonial policies on Kiswahili language. Finally, I discuss the policies on Kiswahili in post-independence Uganda. How these policies have affected Kiswahili promotion and development in Uganda the country is central to the discussion in this section.

Kiswahili in the Pre-colonial Period: 1843-1894

In Uganda, the first Arab trade caravan reached Ssekabaka Sunna's court in 1843. By then, Kiswahili was already a lingua franca in the Kabaka's court (Whiteley 1969). According to Mukama (1995), Kabaka Muteesa of Buganda who was reigned ruling around this time had a high proficiency of in the Kiswahili language.

By the first decade of the 19th century, Kiswahili had gained root in Uganda. By the time the first explorers, such as H.M. Stanley arrived in Uganda in 1864, the use of Kiswahili in this country was not different from that of Kenya and Tanzania (Gerard 1981). Later in 1882, when Rev. T. Wilson, the first missionary arrived in Uganda, he observed that "the most useful result of the traders from Zanzibar with the Baganda is the introduction of Kiswahili language." He observed that though the people in general did not have the command of the language, two or three natives were found confidently conversing in it.

Muteesa I had succeeded his father, Suna after the latter's death in 1857. Muteesa tightened his trade relations, the legitimacy of his trade relations with Zanzibar and according to R.A. Snoxall (1942) the only medium of interaction in trade with the people from the coast was Kiswahili. His

close contact with Arab traders helped him to buy manufactured articles for his kingdom in exchange with for whatever the Arabs wanted.

The acquisition of guns helped to strengthen Buganda's fighting power, as R.A. Snoxall (1942) observes: "Kabaka Muteesa was in touch with the outside world through Arab traders and the medium of Swahili even before the arrival of Speke at his court in 1862." However, Muteesa began to learn Kiswahili in early 1862 to converse with his White guests. This was because, for all the explorers who came to Eastern Africa, spoke only Kiswahili.

According to Pawlkov (2006), the above made Kabaka Suuna the first Kiswahili scholar in Buganda and in 1875, he participated with Stanley in translating the Holy Bible into Kiswahili. Muteesa possessed an abridged Anglican Bible in Kiswahili embracing all the principal events from the creation in Genesis to the cruxification of Christ as presented in the gospels (*Voice of Uganda* 10 March 1975; Pawlkov 2006).

This impressed Stanley for what he had seen in Buganda and the potential of the country and its people. The king was thus converted to Christianity through the medium of Kiswahili. Stanley then persuaded Muteesa to admit missionaries into Buganda and as a result, the Protestant missionaries reached Rubaga in 1877 followed by the Catholics in 1879. Whiteley (1969) notes that the process of evangelization at first involved the use of Kiswahili medium.

By that time, Luganda was still an unwritten language of the 'heathen'. This power play at the court and in evangelisation shows that Kiswahili occupied a central space in how the Kabaka was then seen. Kiswahili held a noble position such that those who did not know it could not ascend the realms of both nobility and power, and limited their knowledge of God.

The missionaries were determined to show the Baganda new light by transforming their speech from Luganda as a heathen language to the noble Kiswahili. Perhaps the most prominent supporter of the use of Kiswahili at the time was Alexander Mackay, a missionary of the Church Missionary Society. He wrote, in December 1878, from his station in Rubaga, stated that "every Sunday I have held service in court in Kiswahili, without an interpreter, I feel much encouraged at the attention paid and desire to listen intelligently" (Whiteley 1969).

It is from this contextual background that I argue that Kiswahili remained the official language of the church and education in Buganda for many years. It had the power to not only reach the king but also maintain his noble position without it being threatened. However, after 1892, there was a gradual change over to the vernacular as portions of the Bible began to appear in Luganda. Kiswahili, nevertheless, continued to occupy an official position in Kabaka

Mwanga's court as a language of prestige and diplomacy.

It is worth noting that several early treaties with Buganda had Kiswahili versions. It is also interesting to note that even the 1900 Uganda agreement was negotiated in Kiswahili between Sir Harry Johnston and the three Buganda Regents, namely, Apollo Kagwa, Stanislas Mugwanya, and Zakaria Kangawo. All letters preceding the final treaty were written in Kiswahili by Baganda chiefs themselves (*Voice of Uganda* 10 March 1975:2). In this case, Kiswahili, as a language of negotiation maintained its central position of power and elegance and diplomacy in Buganda.

Kiswahili in the Colonial Period: 1894-1962

Following the declaration of Uganda as a British protectorate in 1894, an attempt was made to bring up English as the official language. Whiteley (1969), notes that in Uganda where colonial language policy favoured the use and development of local languages; and Also, Michelman (1995) acknowledges that the British encouraged the use of indigenous languages in their colonial schools, in literature, and even occasionally in administration in Uganda. Despite this tendency, English was seen to offer the best hope for national unity and international cooperation.

Uganda's acting Attorney General, during a debate on the newly promulgated constitutional proposals, regarding the official language of Uganda noted:

> Official language that need not delay us. The official language of the government of Uganda shall be English. Now I hope that people will not spend a larger expense of time on asking the minister of Education when he is going to be teaching Swahili and Zulu: we are concerned here with the official language not with teaching another language altogether, which is altogether strange. Yes, if you teach Kiswahili, teach also Gujerati (Whiteley 1969).

The Attorney General in this address ignored the fact that none of these countries he referred to was linguistically uni-focal. No one language in the countries served adequately in all the complex patterns of social, political and cultural life. It can be argued, therefore, that if English had the potential, as an obvious choice for inter-territorial communication, so would the need to develop some African languages. This development would be geared at achieving national identity and unity.

The *Voice of Uganda* of 10 March 1975 acknowledges the fact that the 1900 Buganda Agreement gave the Buganda kingdom a special status in the protectorate. In 1903, Kiswahili was made the official local language in which all European officers had to pass examinations within one year after of their arrival at the protectorate. Furthermore, Kiswahili was made the official language of the Kings African Rifles and the Uganda

police Force and thus, in the period 1900-1912 Kiswahili as the official administrative language alongside English.

This was contested by the missionaries who vigorously campaigned against Kiswahili language by alleging that it encouraged the spread of Islam. Because of the relationship between Kiswahili and Arabic, the missionaries feared that the continuation of Kiswahili as a medium of Christian instruction could easily increase what they used to term as the "Mohamedan danger" (fear of Islamic dominance).

With this in the way, their power at the king's court and in Buganda would be under threat. Eventually, the British government accepted the arguments of the White missionaries. The colonial secretary had substituted Luganda for Kiswahili as the official language by the end of 1912. When the missionaries introduced formal education, Kiswahili was given a raw deal (*Voice of Uganda*, 10 March 1975:2; Pawlkov 1996).

Whiteley (1969) further adds that in 1927, Sir William Gowers, the then Governor of Uganda, saw the importance in the promotion of Kiswahili, he made his major bid to pull Uganda into the mainstream of Kiswahili. The governor wrote a memorandum entitled: "The Development of Kiswahili as an Educational and Administrative Language in the Uganda Protectorate." By that time, Kiswahili was being looked at by Gowers and other colonial administrators as one of the tools which would make their East African federation a reality. With this great ambition, Governor Gowers issued a language policy statement elevating the position of Kiswahili. The policy statement read in part:

> Kiswahili should replace Luganda in government business in Buganda, Busoga and Bugisu ……. A policy by which a local dialect is encouraged at the expense of this widely spread alternative can no longer be maintained. The range of Luganda is in my opinion far restricted for it to be regarded as a dominant union language [Cited by Whiteley (1969); Sekamwa (1977)].

Sekamwa (1984) notes that between 1900 and 1912, the Uganda protectorate government had passed a regulation which strengthened the use of Luganda. Governor Gowers, however, dismissed the reason advanced to promote Luganda in that year as inadequate and prejudiced. He even doubted the ability of Luganda to spread in to all parts of Uganda. In his view, Luganda would have done it already since it had been enjoying great favours right from 1900. He further said that Kiswahili would bring Uganda closer to the other east African territories since in Tanganyika and Kenya already had had Kiswahili as an administrative convenience. In Uganda, on the other hand, where the missionaries had concentrated on using vernacular languages in mission schools, the governor saw the need

to make Kiswahili the medium of instruction after the elementary stage.

Despite the above advantage mentioned by the governor, his policy aroused a lot of opposition from Ugandans and some Europeans living in the country. The strongest opposition, however, came from; the traditional rulers of Buganda, Toro, Bunyoro, Busoga and Ankole. In Buganda, the '*Lukiiko*', that is, the parliament of Buganda held a very long discussion on the governor's language policy. Following this discussion, the then Kabaka, Sir Daudi Chwa II, issued a statement objecting to the governor's language policy. The Kabaka said in part:

> I feel, however, it is my duty to add here in conclusion that it is quite unnecessary to adopt the Kiswahili language as the official native language in Buganda and I am entirely opposed to any arrangement which would in any way facilitate the ultimate adoption of this language as the official native language of the Baganda in place of, or at the expense of, their language since I feel convinced that such a course will assuredly bring about the loss of our tribal status and nationality among the native tribes of Africa (Sekamwa 1984).

Kabaka's negative attitude towards Kiswahili was mainly because the Kings and Chiefs as custodians of culture and customs were duty-bound to defend these cultures and customs from anything that looked threatening to them. Besides, the idea of an East African federation was unwelcome and undesired by the traditional rulers who thought that such a move would reduce their political, social, and economic power. It can be argued that Kiswahili would not only adulterate the cultures that the cultural leaders represented and led, it would also take away the power of the kings and the people.

Another group that strongly opposed governor Gowers pro-Swahili language policy were the Christian missionaries who associated it with Islam. The missionaries had to encourage the growth of native languages as a matter of policy in a bid to achieve their major objective. Native languages gave them access to people's cultures and ideologies. Taking away these languages meant that it would be hard for the missionaries to show the natives how God would be a welcome topic in their local languages and cultures.

Welbourne (1965) asserts that the teaching of Kiswahili would have meant encouragement of a foreign language and that such a policy was in direct conflict with the development of local language policy. However, though the policy of promoting Kiswahili through the education system failed, Kiswahili remained alive in Uganda. It remained the medium of communication in the police force and the king's African Rifles (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998).

Kiswahili in the Post-independence Uganda: 1962-2005

The teaching of Kiswahili was gradually thinned out after 1932. By the time the Second World War broke out in 1939, Kiswahili was no longer the official language, except in the Uganda Police and the Kings' African Rifles. However, despite this neglect, Kiswahili continued to feature as one of the best candidates for the national language considering its neutral status with no ethnic background in Uganda.

In 1962, Ugandan leaders started to see the need for a unifying language in the country. Kiswahili was the language which could satisfy that need adequately. The Obote I Government made positive steps towards the promotion of Kiswahili. In his speech at the inauguration of Makerere University on 8 October 1970, he made the following declaration:

> The mission of this University as an instrument of the African revolution makes it imperative that here at Makerere, African languages be studied and developed. It will, therefore, be the responsibility of the University authorities to organize and establish a proper school of African languages and I hasten to add that the Government of Uganda will endeavour to introduce at least one African language in the schools feeding this University and that African language is Kiswahili.

From this declaration, it was obvious that the Obote Government was determined to bring Kiswahili back into the Education System. The government, made steps towards Africanising the study of languages at institutions of higher learning. Before this declaration, debates on having Kiswahili as a national language kept coming up. However, this did not see complete fruition.

Another policy pronouncement came in 1972 when President Idi Amin issued a decree declaring Kiswahili as the national language of Uganda. However, as Vilhanova (1996) observes, this decree was never implemented despite being supported by a Bill of parliament declaring Kiswahili the national language. This Bill is still in place up to date but non-operational.

Besides, as observed by Sekamwa (1997), the NRM government through the National Council decided that Kiswahili besides English would be one of Uganda's national languages. The Uganda National Educational Policy Review Commission in 1986 also recommended the strengthening of the teaching of Kiswahili in secondary schools in Uganda and to prepare for the training of teachers of Kiswahili. Similar to the earlier pronouncements, these recommendations have not been implemented and remain largely on paper.

Equally, a 2005 amendment of the Uganda 1995 Constitution recognizing Kiswahili as "the second official language to be used in such circumstances as Parliament may by law prescribe." Despite this

amendment, the parliament has up to date not 'by law prescribed' by law how Kiswahili should be used as the second official language. Just like the Government White Paper of 1992 that stipulates that Kiswahili be taught alongside English as a compulsory subject to all learners throughout the primary level of learning, all policies aimed at making Kiswahili a functional second official language, have also, simply remained on paper.

There exists no law to support this recommendation. Because of this, the Ministry of Education's effort to introduce Kiswahili as a subject for from primary One to primary Seven during the 2008 Curriculum Review for Primary Education suffered the challenge of implementation in the absence of such enabling laws. This shows that despite policies being in place for a defined position of Kiswahili, laws have not been enacted to enable the implementation of this position.

The historical contextualisation of the Kiswahili language policies in Uganda underline both macro and micro perspectives. This can help juxtapose the status of Kiswahili across the different periods, from the pre-colonial, colonial to the present. This investigation of historical evolution of language policies has brought out the bottlenecks in the effort to promote and develop Kiswahili.

This draw back may be attributed to colonial language policies that have had influence on policy decisions across the different periods of time in Uganda. In this case, I have adopted the position that language policy consists not just in the official or explicit statements about language that are found in constitutional provisions, laws, or administrative notices, but also in the implicit, popular, unofficial, ad hoc usages, and practices that are empirically observable especially in the pre-colonial period.

In certain circumstances, the lack of official policy is not the same as the absence of a policy. Similarly, it can be concluded that having a language policy in place is not congruent to its implementation and achievement of its desired effects. Furthermore, it is of the utmost importance to find answer to questions being asked about Kiswahili in the country. Now, I turn my attention to a discussion of the findings by showing why these relationships are in/significant, and weak /or strong about the phenomenon.

Language Policy and Indigenous Languages

Language policy is defined as a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, groups or systems (Jairo and Sawe 2013). Language policy determines which languages should get status and priority in society by being belled standard, official, local or national. Kaplan and Baldauf, (1997); Ruiz (1995) used the terms endoglossic and

exoglossic, coined by Kloss (1969) to distinguish three major types of language policies, each hinging on the great tradition and related to the twin goals of nationalism and nationism (Cobarrubias 1983; Fishman 1971).

Endoglossic (community-oriented) policies give primacy to and promote an indigenous language of the community. Where the indigenous languages are also the language of wider communication (LWC) with high prestige value inside and outside their native contexts. On the other hand, an exoglossic (externally-oriented) policy gives primacy and promotes a foreign language, frequently a former colonial language.

Lastly, the third type of language policy is a combination of the first two. The mixed language policies are essentially bilingual in nature. They accommodate the promotion of both indigenous and foreign languages. It should be noted that in Uganda, Kiswahili does not fall under the three categories of language policy. While others identify it as a foreign language, its origin and history are rooted at the East African coast. It can be argued that Uganda is partly exoglossic policy oriented since it gives primacy and promotes a foreign language, English.

The adoption of a language in a non-native context is a major indication of language of wider communication status. This is typical in multilingual states where none of the indigenous languages are LWC and there is a history of prolonged contact with the chosen LWC state, tonically. Even after independence, many countries often found it necessary to adopt the former colonial language for official and public purposes given that the former colonial power and its institutions had pervaded the life of the colony. This has been true for most of the sub-Saharan states of East, and West Africa as well as Southern Africa (Omoniyi 2003).

In Uganda too, none of the indigenous languages could be described is a language of wider communication. However, Kiswahili, which would be a better choice of a language of wider communication (because of its neutrality in terms of ethnic background) still faces several political and cultural impediments. In several government institutions, English is widely used, superseding other local languages and their development. As a result of this, various compromises come into play where language related issues, especially those issues to do with education and wider communication, are concerned.

Language policy is, therefore, about language choice (Taddese 1985; Dzahene-Quarshi 2011; Kingsley 2013). The policies adopted to promote one or more languages specifying their usage in different domains, like such as education, administration, and media. This is usually necessary in a multilingual country like Uganda. In such similar countries, there are high competing language interests, hence recognition

is given to more than two languages either as national or official languages (Lambart 1999).

Spolsky (2004) asserts that language policy includes efforts to constrain what is considered as bad language and to encourage what is considered as good language. Language policy can, therefore, exacerbate or mitigate the growth or existence of a language.

Language policy is importance in a multilingual country like Uganda, a country where all other indigenous languages are fighting for influence to be at the top; demanding their functionality roles in their respective structures. Uganda has had several policies in education since independence, and other government and non-government institutions to address indigenous languages. Indigenous languages are languages that are native to a region and spoken by indigenous people, often get reduced to the status of a minority language in sight of an LWC being promoted to the status of a national or official language.

Spolsky (2009) argues that language policy comes with the concept of a nation-state when "one language, one nation ideology" is prominent. According to Singh et al. (2012), the emerging states were interested in controlling and manipulating the linguistic behaviour of their citizens. This led Such countries to enact policies that categorize languages as either mother-tongue, national, official, native, non-native, and many more.

Singh et al. (2012) further argue that after World War II, many states that started attaining independence retained the policies of their colonial masters, often favouring the colonizer's education policies in general and language policies in particular. Many African states kept either English or French as their official languages. However, later, the wave of linguistic nationalism started inspiring the African countries to start efforts of promoting African languages to national as well as official languages became rampant.

Nationalism, with its search for national identity and 'great traditions', is a strong motivation for language management (Spolsky 2004). This continues to dominate language policy efforts up to date and also places indigenous languages into very ambiguous spaces to the indigenous languages because they are pushed to the periphery while the former colonial master's languages gain a superior and privileged position. Consequently, an ethnic liking and non-liking for a certain language might affect a policy in its favour. This could explain reasons why certain local languages in Uganda affect the national language policies in relation to Kiswahili.

Findings

This work used Braun & Clarke's six-phase framework to do a thematic analysis of legal and policy documents such as the constitutions, government papers, policy guidelines, political

declarations and decrees, and Acts of parliament in order to answer the core questions of the study. The six-phase framework involved transcription (looking for segments that are relevant to the research and research questions and assign a word or phrase to it that captures its meaning); generate initial codes; search for themes; review themes; define and name themes; and present the themes. More so, data was generated using interviews and document analysis as discussed below.

With regard to Kiswahili and language policy in Uganda, for any language to develop, it needs a language policy that is fully supported by the government in terms of policy, planning and implementation (Esman, 1992). In such a case, the government either officially through legislation, court decisions or policy determines how languages are used, cultivate language skills needed to meet national priorities or establish the rights of individuals or groups to use and maintain some of the languages. Although Kiswahili is an East African lingua franca and has been the official language for the military since the era of the Kings African Rifles (1902-1960s), its use in Uganda mainly occupies a symbolic space rather than the practical one.

The proposal to make Kiswahili a national language of Uganda was opposed several times by Ugandans, and most especially, the Baganda (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998). Nonetheless, in 2005, the constitution was amended to recognise Kiswahili as the second official language of Uganda. The article states that: "Kiswahili shall be the second official language of Uganda to be used in such circumstances as Parliament may by law prescribe" (The Constitution Amendment Act 2005). However, no law has been ratified to make Kiswahili an operational official language in Uganda fourteen years later since that amendment.

Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) note that there have been recurrent debates over several years on the possible promotion of Kiswahili to the status of a national language of Uganda. The two regimes under Milton Obote (1962-1971 and 1980-1985) failed to deal with this question. Therefore, this inability to make Kiswahili a national language left English as the only official language of Uganda. At the time, Kiswahili was more a language of economic influence than political participation. It was used by traders in both Uganda and the other East African countries.

In 1972, the government of Uganda, under Idi Amin declared Kiswahili a national language by decree. It also introduced it as a major language for Uganda's electronic media. The military rule under Amin increased the use of Kiswahili amongst Ugandans. On national radio and television, for example, employees were, for the first time, ordered by the government to use Kiswahili as one of their languages. Myers-Scotton's (1972) notes that this increased the use of Kiswahili

in Uganda during Idi Amin's regime. This shows that Kiswahili could have become Uganda's lingua franca with the largest number of speakers at the time. The post Amin era led to a drop in the use of Kiswahili. The civilian government of Obote's government (1980-1985) removed Kiswahili from the prominent position his predecessor had placed it in.

As a language, Kiswahili has been an important language of communication within Uganda's armed forces. The status of Kiswahili in the Uganda's armed forces and police in Uganda in the post Amin era period was originally purely instrumental. It was considered the language of command and order. The adoption of Kiswahili as a military lingua franca facilitated communication in the armed forces of Uganda who were at the time (the 1960s to the 1980s), multi-ethnic, largely uni-regional (drawn from northern Uganda). They were also considered not to have been well educated. This would hamper their use of English (acquired through the school system) to communicate within the armed forces.

It was this situation that led to the adoption of Kiswahili as the preferred language of use in the armed forces. As a language that did not belong to any specific ethnic group, Kiswahili could be adopted without fear of any ethnic group dominating the other in the armed forces. The uni-regional nature of the Ugandan army eventually created a sentimental attachment to Kiswahili, virtually as a northern lingua franca (Mazrui & Mazrui 1998).

Besides the use of Kiswahili as the language of command and order could have been considered as an advantage, but other dynamics made Kiswahili discredited its adoption as a national or official language in the country. Firstly, it was used by undisciplined soldiers who terrorized local people in the period of political unrest, (1971-1985). This created negative associations with Kiswahili since Ugandans associated the language with political turmoil. In addition, because Kiswahili was widely used as a language of command in the army, by people who were especially drawn from southern Uganda, the rest of the country did not accept it a language for social interaction.

For example, the Baganda posed the strongest opposition to the proposition adoption of Kiswahili as the national language. They saw Luganda, rather than Kiswahili, as the preferred national language. There was also a case of language competition, where Baganda perceived Kiswahili as a rival to their language. They thought it would eventually threaten the use of Luganda in schools Whiteley (1969), Nsibambi (1971) among others. Additionally, because Kiswahili was widely used as a language of command in the army, especially under the military regime, many people, especially from Southern Uganda were not comfortable using Kiswahili. This was because they

viewed it as a language of command rather than a language for social interaction.

The hatred of Kiswahili by Ugandans due to its association with Amin's tyranny was now counterbalanced by more positive prospects, as a result of the National Resistance Army's (NRA)'s liberation efforts. However, since the political wing of the NRA's (now the National Resistance Movement NRM) assumed power in 1986, the government did not commit itself to introducing the Kiswahili language issue.

The President spoke about language issues and went ahead to meet experts to discuss language development strategies, but in the words of one linguist, Professor Ruth Mukama, formerly of Makerere University's from the Department of African Languages, there was no political will to implement a national language for the country. She further said that the absence of concrete support programmes and sound investment into the development of a national language development has affected Kiswahili's progress.

The interviews conducted for this study brought out the lackadaisical attitude towards the use of Kiswahili and its status as some of the sentiments from the interviews. It became clear that some Ugandans still associate Kiswahili language with criminal elements and bad memories of its use by the violent troops of previous governments. Although it is well stated in the 1995 Constitution that Kiswahili is the second official language of Uganda after English, participants revealed that its uptake has been poor due to the bad attitude Ugandans have against it. This is because many associate with the past trauma they suffered under the previous regimes. Uganda civilians are reluctant to the use of Kiswahili because they believe that doing so would portray them as wrong doers and criminal elements in gangs and the military. A participant noted that:

> Up to now we suffer at the hands of military, and which language are they using? Kiswahili and you expect me to speak that language? What will people think of me? Robbing now is done using Kiswahili, so, Kiswahili is a threatening tool.

This negative attitude puts the speaking of Kiswahili behind other local languages, like such as Luganda. Some people still associate Kiswahili with historical hostilities between the central government and the kingdom of Buganda, which occurred in the 1960s, which houses the capital city that occurred in the 1960s. The hostilities started when the Kabaka's kingdom was attacked and the king fled into exile. At this point, Kiswahili was the command language of the military and the lingua franca of the attacking forces. A participant observed:

> We have a very bad perception towards Kiswahili because of its historical problems with the Buganda kingdom. More so, the language is associated with crime, toughness, brutality and soldier-

> like attitude. You have seen, up to now, when the police are beating up people, they are using Kiswahili.

It is clear that with this unenthusiastic attitude towards Kiswahili, it would be difficult to promote its use among Ugandans, despite many language policies suggesting so. Speaking Kiswahili creates anxiety and fear among a big number of Ugandans. It should be noted that the education system of Uganda is not immune to this unenthusiastic and rather hostile attitude towards Kiswahili as it is further discussed in the next section.

While English is predominant in the medium of instruction in the Ugandan education system, some participants in this study believed that it is English that is associated with class school instead of Kiswahili. This perception is because English is widely used in almost all the school activities and functions while Kiswahili is given less attention. In other instances, Kiswahili is treated as another vernacular in some schools. This renders English an added advantage in terms of promotion and development. It was noted from by one of the participants thus:

> You know, English is associated with class, Kiswahili is not. If I told my children at home to speak Kiswahili, they would say no. they do not know yet the importance of speaking Kiswahili. One of my children tells me they never use Kiswahili at school.

In relation to the above, English as the language of instruction in education, it dictates the language used in disseminating knowledge at various levels. Government has in most scenarios reiterated its commitment to the promotion and development of Kiswahili. The important role that a language, such as Kiswahili could play in learning and teaching should be recognised. Several roadmaps to popularize and streamline Kiswahili in the education system have been drawn and several plans and efforts have been put in place to try and implement its teaching and learning in the Ugandan education system.

According to Nelde (2000), one of the strongest influences on language planning and policy is that of its use in education. The Ugandan Education Language Policy was enacted in 1992 in the Government White which embraced the Ssenteza Kajubi Commission Report of 1987 that attempted to evenly consider the position of Kiswahili and its subsequent realization and promotion in schools amidst social, economic and political tensions of various dimensions in the country.

To address the medium of instruction predicament in the education system, the Government White Paper stipulated that Kiswahili and English languages would be taught as compulsory subjects to all learners throughout the primary education level of learning, in both urban and rural areas. It further emphasized that time and instructional materials be allocated and provided to enable the

start of Kiswahili in Uganda's school system.

Despite this recommendation, no law has been passed by parliament to see to its implementation. Thus, the Ministry of Education's efforts to introduce Kiswahili as a subject from Primary One to Primary Seven during the 2008 curriculum review for primary education suffered the same challenge in the absence of such legal support mechanisms (White Paper 1992:19).

The White Paper pointed out the need for a systematic development of the main official and national languages in Uganda and recommended to the government on policies and programmes for the promotion of other Ugandan languages. The White Paper maintains that to ensure rapid social development in the country, efforts were to be made to strengthen Kiswahili language since it possesses a greater capacity for uniting Ugandans and as it is a language that would not raise ethnic rivalries.

While the government White Paper of 1992 stipulated that, Kiswahili and English languages would be taught as compulsory subjects to all learners throughout the primary school level of learning, in both urban and rural areas, this has not been done up to now. In line with the National Curriculum Development Centre, Kiswahili comes at a transitional stage of Primary Four after while the learners have engaged with the mother tongue up to Primary Three.

Despite this, many schools do not do this. They prefer English language right from the lower primary. Therefore, this also presents Kiswahili as a subject, rather than a medium of instruction or both. Nonetheless, learners and community members engage in a competition of which language to adopt given the diversity of indigenous languages in Uganda. The subsequent section interrogates issues in language policy vis-a-vis the functional role of indigenous languages in the context of a multi-ethnic landscape.

Data from interviews also reveals that the position of English language in most government institutions, relegates Kiswahili to a minor position very much like the other indigenous languages insubstantial, due to lacking prioritization by the government. It is evident from the data collected that despite several endorsements by the government to elevate Kiswahili to the position of Uganda's second official language, its implementation has not been prioritized by the government.

Some participants felt that the government has done little towards the establishment and implementation of policies, legal and institutional framework required for setting standards for the effective promotion, development and usage use of Kiswahili at all levels of education and in all domains. For example, it came out from the data that people feel the that government has not provided sensitization to Ugandans about the value of Kiswahili. This would help

reduce the fear that the people have about it. A participant observed:

> There has not been a calculated effort by the government to sensitize the masses and shade off the language off those excesses, to me, I consider is a foreign language, Kiswahili is not Ugandan. So, bringing it to me, you need to convince me.

This perception from a participant puts Kiswahili speaking in a fragile tenuous that will require a lot of effort on the part and insubstantial place that would instead need government to prioritize its acceptance and development. The Constitution of the Government of the Republic of Uganda provides for Kiswahili as the second official language after English. However, Kiswahili's development has not been given any attention nor has any attempt been made at its official use in any way as much as English.

This argument is supported by Spolsky (2004), who notes that English as a global or international language affects the choice of national or official languages in most countries. According to Spolsky (2004), some countries adopt policies that are made to fight the growing influence of English by adopting a different language, while in other countries, English automatically becomes the official language.

The other factor outlined by Spolsky as influencing language policy is the notion of language rights. Spolsky argues that with the growing recognition that language choice is a fundamental part of human and civil rights, various countries include in their language policies the language rights of all their citizens, especially the minority groups to use their own languages.

Such recognition affects how language is used, with the minority agitating for use of their languages in various domains as recognised by law. This has become a characteristic of language policies of most African countries that recognise, at least in policy, the recognition and promotion of the indigenous African languages, which is not the case in Uganda where English language is prioritised over other languages.

Conclusion

The article examined language policies and the status of Kiswahili in Uganda across the different periods. The study found that the problems that Kiswahili has encountered in Uganda are not accidental but have historical roots. The study also revealed that the ambivalence in laws creates ambiguity in the space occupied by Kiswahili hence leaving it at crossways. Therefore, apart from several declarations and policy pronouncements, Kiswahili is just a proposed second official language but one that is not operational and cannot be used in all official contexts such as in parliament and courts of law among others.

This is because the policies about Kiswahili are not in tandem with the cultural-politics that would have

favoured its development of the time. This, in turn, has rendered language policy pronouncements about Kiswahili to turn out to be no more than public relations statements rather than a blueprint for action. This has meant that Kiswahili in Uganda has continued to register slow progress. The main argument is that the language policy in place, at any one time, has not corresponded to its implementation to lead to the desired outcomes in Uganda. The study recommends that if Uganda wants results, it should adopt a policy similar to the Tanzanian language policy model that formalised Kiswahili as a national language for all purposes, which has been a resounding success.

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