

Mission of the Centre for Basic Research

To generate and disseminate knowledge by conducting basic and applied research of social, economic and political significance to Uganda in particular and Africa in general, so as to influence policy, raise consciousness and improve quality of life.

Post-Colonial Studies in Africa

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Workshop Report No.16/2003

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Post-Colonial Studies in Africa

Introduction

The Centre for Basic Research (CBR), the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences (CSSC), India, and the Institute of Development Studies, Roskilde University, Denmark, together with the Faculty of Social Sciences, Makerere University, started hosting Cultural Studies workshops in 2002 as part of the ongoing intellectual exchange and development programme by the three institutions.

The workshop is part of the activities of an intellectual collaborative project for the last nine years between the CBR, CSSC and IDS, Roskilde University. This collaboration is funded by DANIDA under the ENRECA (Enhancing Research Capacity in Developing Countries) programme. The collaboration continues to bring together scholars and researchers to interact and advance the production of knowledge in the areas of cultural studies, democracy, politics and economics.

The Cultural Studies Workshop in Uganda

The Cultural Studies Workshop in Uganda is now an annual event and it replicates similar initiatives in India. The Cultural Studies Workshop is a forum for graduate students at Master and Doctoral levels in Uganda to interact closely with senior scholars from within and without on various topics/issues of academic relevance. It is therefore a training forum for promising researchers.

This first Cultural Studies Workshop in Uganda by CBR is in collaboration with the Department of Political Science and Administration, Makerere University. The two institutions agreed to co-host this event annually.

This is a report of the proceedings from this workshop. It is intended to capture the main points of the workshop and not to give substantive details about the academic content of the papers. The papers from the workshop have undergone a process of revision and they will be produced in the Occasional Working Paper Series of the CBR.

This is an initiative that both institutions cherish and we look forward to fruitful collaboration in future.

Opening Remarks by the Representative of the Vice-Chancellor

- The Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Assoc. Prof. Joy Kwesiga, represented the Vice, Chancellor at the First Cultural Workshop.
- She extended the Vice-Chancellor's apology and noted that he had gone to defend the Budget of Makerere University jointly with the Ministry of

Finance, Planning and Economic Development, before the Members of Parliament.

- She thanked the Government of India and the Government of Denmark for the continued support in intellectual growth and assured the Indian High Commission of the University's appreciation.
- She also thanked the Danish Government for the long support to Makerere University staff, mentioning Dr. Edward Kirumira as a progressive graduate of the Danish University who was also educated under other ENRECA sister programmes.
- She said that the University recognizes the importance of the workshop. She echoed (Late) Prof. Mujaju's emphasis on improving the quality of the academic staff of Makerere University. Therefore, there is great recognition and support for the workshop in its attempt to build capacity.

Assoc. Prof. Joy Kwesiga then made the following remarks as outgoing Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences:

- She thanked the Department of Political Science and Public Administration and the Centre for Basic Research for organizing the first workshop of its kind in Uganda.
- She was quick to note that she was grateful to CBR that had diversified its activities from individual collaboration to the involvement of various Departments even outside the Social Sciences. She remarked, "Such workshops will give us a proper linkage."
- She welcomed Professor Mahmood Mamdani to the workshop and said that though he left Uganda, he is still a bona fide member of the Faculty of Social Sciences. She thanked him for his regular support through attending workshops of this type.
- She gave special welcome to all visitors from India and Denmark.
- She thanked all the organizers and participants and welcomed them to the workshop and to Makerere University.
- She thanked the Indian High Commissioner for being physically present to bless the opening of the workshop.
- The Dean then officially opened the workshop at 9.50 a.m. and invited the Indian High Commissioner to give the opening remarks.

Opening Remarks by the Indian High Commissioner to Uganda

- He noted that CBR has had 6 years of collaboration with the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, in India.
- Reflecting on the theme of the workshop, the Indian High Commissioner joyfully remarked that the people of Africa have begun to realize the importance of cultural studies. He made reference to India by observing

that her independence will not be complete if they do not attain social emancipation. He, therefore, noted that this collaboration brings India's experience on the African scene; experiences that he said could be shared.

- He further observed that India has always had solidarity with the Pan African Movement that has been spearheading Africa's struggles for independence.

The Head of Department, Dr. Murindwa-Rutanga, then invited Professor Mahmood Mamdani to give a Keynote Address on the theme of the workshop.

Keynote Address by Professor Mamdani on Citizenship and Rights

- Professor Mamdani's remarks reflected on Africa's experiences in civil wars and state formation.
- He argued that post-colonial countries are susceptible to civil wars – "Not revolutions but civil wars", he said. He then observed that the majority of conflicts in Africa are either over political boundaries or cross-border in nature.
- That European modernity which has structured Social Sciences is a result of European industrialization which led to capital accumulation.
- Professor Mamdani argued that Europe had two universal movements, namely:
 1. One reflected in institutions of modern markets; and
 2. The other reflected in the institution of modern state.

That a modern state speaks the language of human rights, a state based on the rule of law and a decentralized state.

- He strongly argued that instead of addressing critically the ways in which the post-colonial state reproduced and reinforced colonially produced political identities in the name of justice, they ended up once again treating these identities as if they were natural constructs.
- Professor Mamdani's reference to the Hutu and Tutsi origins shows the ways in which the writing of history has been complicit with imperialism, particularly in naturalizing political identities.
- He made reference to the French state whose tendency is to suppress cultural aspects of society.
- Professor Mamdani further argued that tribe is indigenous and race is not. The relationship is how the state defines it. This has a legal significance. All races were governed under civil law but discriminated against. But each tribe was under a separate law, i.e. customary laws.

- That tribes lived next to one another as neighbors but with different cultures thus leading to the enactment of separate laws to govern them.
- Professor Mamdani then posed a question: but why are there these ethnic conflicts? His answer lies in Politics: that the cultural differences were not translated into political and legal systems.
- He concluded that whereas races were meant to have a future, tribes were not. That a tradition without internal changes is an ideological tradition - the new order depicting the old order.
- Professor Mamdani points out two claims made by colonial governments:
 1. Every colonized group has an original tradition; and
 2. Every member of the colonized group must be forced to return to tradition.
- That in the African context, colonized Africa is a single entity with multiple legal systems.
- Post-colonial situation saw customary law completely ethnicized. Membership was not voluntarily but by force.
- Professor Mamdani posed a question that - in a post-colonial context: Who is an enemy or who is a settler?

He gave three answers to this question as follows:

1. An enemy was all those defined in law - "races". So every immigrant is a settler;
 2. Not every immigrant is a settler. Only those absolutely privileged are the enemy; and
 3. The enemy is not everyone; It is only those who defend the white power.
- Professor Mamdani, therefore, noted that an enemy is the settler state. He, however, argued that those who defend the settler state may come from different ethnic groups.
 - In other words, to Professor Mamdani, the colonial definition of who is a native had distortions.
 - An African does not belong to a race - but a tribe. So an African state is a federation of tribes.
 - As a Way Forward, Professor Mamdani had this to say:
 - We should realize that political violence is a result of our culture;
 - There is a link between political modernity and political violence;
 - To whom does the state belong?
 - In a state, who is considered indigenous?
 - In a state, who is considered politically right? and
 - What makes cultural differences in a state explode?

Discussion of Keynote Address

Associate Professor Dent Ocaya-Lakidi

Associate Professor Dent Ocaya-Lakidi made the following observations:

- If Rwanda is being regarded as a severe settler society and having been an implantation by colonial settlers as Professor Mamdani argued, then how can such fighting for power be apportioned to colonial settlers after 60 years or so?
- He wondered whether Professor Mamdani was not sliding off to a rationalism than giving progressive ideas?

Contribution by a Student

- Citing from Nigerian experience, he wondered how to define those who see themselves as being in a transi. He questioned whether those who are mobile cannot make a valid claim of belonging to some place?
- Does the idea of colonial state versus rights of citizens refer to economic rights?

Dr. Julius Kiiza

Dr. Julius Kiiza made the following observations:

- Referring to Professor Mamdani's conceptualization of a state as being despotic, he wondered how one can explain the ability of despotism to create a situation of rights?
- Since Professor Mamdani argues that the post-colonial state in Tanzania was effective, why doesn't he explain why some experiences work and others fail? In post-colonial Africa, why are some states moving to a positive direction and while others move backwards?

Dr. Okello Ogwang

His concern on Professor Mamdani's presentation was that he over-dwells on a historical perspective. He was interested in knowing why this was the case and whether it is the only perspective.

Dr Ray from India

His contribution centred on the need for Professor Mamdani to try to indentify universal features and differences between communities. He was

particularly interested in how negotiation can be effected, and if one group dominates the other, what sorts of experiences emerge.

Mr. Mwambutsya-Ndebesa:

- Referring to Professor Mamdani's experiences of Anglophone countries, he argued that there is the need to note that the French in West Africa were not successful.
- He was interested in knowing where the revival movement was taking the African peoples; whether this was on a positive or negative direction.

Dr. Simba Sallie Kayunga

- Dr. Simba wanted a clarification from Prof. Mamdani about the chief he referred to. To him, there are two types of chiefs: one appointed by the colonial state and the other the indigenous chief. Which of these is Professor Mamdani referring to?

Professor Mamdani's Response:

- There is a debate between two scholars: Prof. Ajayi and Mudimbe: Ajayi puts colonial tradition at the Centre of his analysis. Mudimbe argues that the impact of the problems is not about the length of the colonial states. The central problem is our inability to historicize the phenomenon. How we define "us" or "they" changes over time. Therefore, it is institutions that define us differently that should be the main focus.
- Professor Mamdani points out two cycles of political violence:
 - i) Political violence aimed at race.
 - ii) Political violence aimed at ethnicity.

Hence, the need to focus on the institutions that shape our understanding to these issues is important.

- As scholars, we should note that tradition was also used by the colonized to confront each other. Custom can change and be oppressive.
- The Independence period was pre-occupied with the notion of "justice" and ended with the notion of "reconciliation". At this point, Professor Mamdani referred to "Professor" Mugabe of Zimbabwe. He noted that the land question he is failing to address is a result of the failure to address the notion of justice. How can we

talk of reconciliation with institutions of colonialism. Location of justice is not the market. How to have equal rights without degenerating into revenge should be the focus. A balance has to be located.

- In Africa, the colonial intentions of the French backfired. They moved from Assimilation to Association. Thus, they failed on their first objective. The Africans wanted to maintain their identity.
- As to why some experiences were more effective or how could despotism be effective, Mamdani gave a reference on S. Africa after 1910. There was a key shift from interest of indigenous to those who defined themselves as Afrikaner. Thus, a Boer-Bourgeoisie class was created in S. Africa. South Africa developed in Apartheid era than before. The mining companies re-invested their surplus in South Africa.
- On the question on Universal features, Mamdani responded that: "Let us distinguish between rights and culture." Understand them as domains of a wider concept of culture – not of politics.

The notion of rights, however, puts the legal domain in the political setting; and thus we have embraced colonial political settings and imperialist culture.

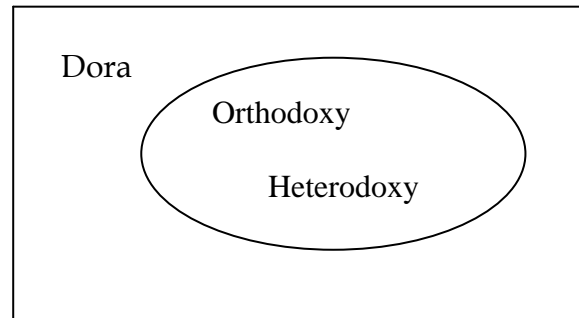
- Who is the real chief? Mamdani argues that although the British did away with the pre-colonial chief, "tradition" remained. This can also explain political violence.

Presenter: Dr. Peter Henriques, Denmark

Topic: *Citizenship, Ethnicity, Human Rights and Conflicts in Africa*

Attach great importance to social science which investigates social relations and identities.

- He noted that with social structure individuals belong somewhere.
- Post-colonial studies maintain the historical perspective in understanding identities, which is a central issue in social sciences.
- He then presented the conceptual framework of a cultural construct.
- Global systems of exchange can be explained.
- What can be experienced provides social safety.



Presenter: Chango Machyo W'obanda

Topic: *African Cultural Renaissance and the Struggle for the Second Liberation. Those who Exist, Resist, those who don't surrender*

- Chango Machyo attracted great admiration when he began his presentation quoting archaeological evidence 43,000 years ago in South Africa and Swaziland to justify that humanity cradleland is Africa. He said: "This is the contribution we have given to the whole world" - i.e. civilisation, thinking and practice began in Africa. He challenged the participants to read Bernal Martin (1978); "Black Athena" and see how the Greeks learnt from the great ancient Egyptians.
- Chango defined globalization as "creating one world, one people, one leader". To him, the concept of a state does not arise in globalization. He further argued that Europe has used education to erase the concept of citizenship.
- Four ideas Chango Machyo raises in his presentation:
 - i) Africans are the most despised. Beggars are not respected. This is how governments in Africa function.
 - ii) What is the African culture? Then, what role can education play in African cultural revival?

He said, Christianity was the most effective means of destroying African culture. If you want to destroy people, you destroy their mind.

- iii) He dismissed the idea that Africans are backward. He argued that we must destroy in order to build. Destroy colonization to decolonize. To create, therefore, is to destroy. It can also be argued that to destroy is to create. He said: "The whole superstructure of independent Africa is a shameful prototype of Europe..

iv) Redesign education. The argument is that education today makes you despise yourself but when we go in history, we gave the world civilization. Africa needs to revive the spirit of her ancestors. Every African must be taught to accept the fact that he is a brother to every other African. Not only must he accept it, he must also live it, and believe in it.

Discussion:

Juma Okuku

- Chango Machyo should revisit his idea of civil society. He should realize that people organize themselves into a state and without a state, there is no civil society.
- Chango was also asked why he belongs to a group of Presidential Advisers? His ideas seemed contradictory to his duty as a Presidential Adviser? The Chairperson intervenes advising Juma Okuku not to go personal.

Mugumya

- He asked: "In many workshops, we argue, make resolutions, but do not implement any?"

Florence Kiyangi

- Chango referred to African governments as "beggars". Colonialists gave us what they gave us. When they left we continued to be beggars. So how can we come out of this begging situation?

Sarah Muzaki

- In every bad situation, there is a good side (referring to her own experience). So how can we take advantage of any colonial advantage?

Danson

- Chango takes what he reads as the Gospel truth. How much can we trust his readings or references?

Chango Machyo's Responses

- He first hit back on the personal question and assured participants that he did not apply for the job of a Presidential Adviser
- All questions asked were of a colonial mentality. But he said he must educate the participants.
- He had no kind words for globalization throughout his responses. He said the challenge of Africa is how to resist and avoid this doomsday.
- To survive, we need a thorough African cultural revival. He said imitative modernists (like some participants here) cannot be a force behind the call for an African renaissance.
- He confidently told participants that way back (in 1975) he wrote that African Social Scientists are incapable of making socially correct decisions.
- The role of education in post-colonial studies in Africa should be to decolonize – to liberate the African mind from colonial intellectual chains and enslavement.
- He reminded participants that Africa is not only the origin of humanity, but of the civilization that has made the world what it is today. He asked participants to read L.S. Leakey (1961) *The Progress and Evolutions of Man in Africa*.
- That it is common knowledge that African progressive cultural developmental values were destroyed by the white predators in search of wealth.
- There is serious need for intellectual mobilization through the correct African-oriented education, and the behaviour and practice of African elite whom Chango termed imitative modernists are incapable of any progressive thinking. We must resist getting exterminated.
- Ended with a slogan “No African renaissance, no African development”.

Presenter: Mr. Fredrick Ssali

Topic: *Citizenship, Human Rights and Conflicts in Africa*

- The presentation focused on key concepts, i.e. citizenship, human rights and tradition and how such concepts have influenced conflicts in Uganda.
- Made reference to former Obote I regime whose socialistic approach threatened the cultural foundations of Buganda, the consequence was the 1966 crisis and the political violence afterwards.
- His argument centred on collection of cultural thoughts, which are instrumental in influencing the attitudes of leaders in abusing citizenship and Human Rights in Uganda (sic). He made reference to past Ugandan leaders and this did not augur well among participants but who impatiently waited for the discussion time to hit back.
- Quoted the 1995 Uganda Constitution, while defining the concept "Citizenship". He then argued that in 1969 there was a registration of Banyarwanda, and in 1980 the same issue surfaced. This was taken as denial for voting rights. To him, cultural backgrounds were manipulated to cause political violence.
- Cultural perceptions have been used as a tool of mobilization and oppression particularly in Uganda.

Discussion:

Dr. Rutanga

- How far can the understanding of cultural background inform people of political crises or problems in post-colonial period? He gave the presenter a hint using the Kabaka-Obote crisis that he should remove his government from Buganda's soil.

Dr. Simba Kayunga

- How the presenter presents his notion of cultural background influencing political actions is ambiguous. How do you single out a particular culture as responsible for political action?
- That the presenter simplifies regimes as individuals is wrong. "A regime is a complex network composed of individuals of multiplicity of background" Dr. Simba informed the presenter.

Nigerian Scholars

- Referring to the Nigerian experience, traditional institutions are very much alive and cannot be separated from active politics. ‘Has this been provided for in your presentation?’ he asked.

His Response

- That leadership evolves on the tradition that one grew in. Traditional setting of a society determines the values depicted of that society.
- To him the crisis of Obote and Kabaka was inevitable.
- Argues that it is the link between cultural background and ethnicity that translates into political conflicts.
- As many questions remain unanswered, Professor Sengendo advised the presenter that his paper did not consult anthropologist writers who would have been beneficial to his presentation and as such, his paper lacked focus on the linkage of his presentation. Dr. Rutanga agreed with the Professor’s comment.

Presenter: Dr. Umar Labdo

Topic: *Globalization Versus Islamisation: Common Destiny or Separate Futures*

- Before making his presentation, he warned the participants that:
 - (a) the presenter is a student of Islamics not Social Sciences
 - (b) Globalisation is every man’s business.
- He also argued that the presentation would show how globalization relates to Muslims.
- He began his presentation by telling the participants that Muslims are one quarter of humanity. Therefore, they are a cultural block and struggling to become a strong political and cultural block; although we no longer talk of blocks in global politics.
- He told participants that a Muslim may not be an Islamist. An Islamist believes in Islam as a complete way of life.
- Desire for Islamisation:
 - This is mostly interpreted. People call it Islamic revolt, others prefer to call it terrorism, etc. However, Muslims call it Islamisation.
- How does Islamisation relate to globalisation.

- Globalisation is a phenomenon that is still unfolding.
- Islam is a religion and a complete way of life. It instructs the way of life. It is with an individual since birth.

Islam is more relevant to humanity today than before.

- Islamisation takes different manifestations:
 - Islamisation of knowledge,
 - Islamisation of Economics,
 - Islamisation of Politics

Islamisation of knowledge is about de-colonising the mind.

- Islam and Globalisation: Islamists believe that "Islam is the first sister of a global village". Therefore, its message is globalized.
- The presenter made reference to the September 11th, 2001. He said to the Americans, it is a turning point to change the world into a habitable place for all. He asked, "Change the world in what way?"

To the Islamists, this shows the bully of western democracy.

- The attack was called Islamic terrorism.
- The presenter wondered why Joseph Kony is not called a Christian terrorist?
- "Islam condemns terrorism and there are punishments for that", he said while quoting the Qu'aran.
- The presenter argued that Muslims accept globalization, that if anything, they were the pioneers of globalization. He categorized globalisation into two:
 - (a) first globalisation
 - (b) contemporary globalization.

But the presenter insisted that Muslims want a just globalization. They reflect the democratic hypocrisy of America.

- Muslims recognize Human Rights as a part and parcel of life. They do not accept Human Rights defined in the context of demeaning any one section of humanity. He argued that no one has the right to sit on a high moral ground to dictate to the entire population.

Discussion:**Prof. Ocaya-Lakidi**

- Islam is Islamising and westernizing - so, is there a clash of civilizations?

Lydia

- Muslims identify themselves with each other and do not want to be with other groups. Isn't this the fundamentalism talked about?
- How can Islam claim observance of human rights and justice; yet a woman is not allowed to marry many men as the opposite is the case? Is this justice?
- Why is fundamentalism identified with Islam?

Responses

- The clash of civilizations was started by America when they had run short of enemies. America wanted to create enemies after the demise of USSR to shift the American attention from local politics to international politics. Islam does not believe in such ideas of clash of civilizations.
- He answered the question on fundamentalism by saying that "fundamentalism is foreign to Islam. Historically, it is a Christian concept." The attack is only on American foreign policy that does not respect human rights.
- At this point, his responses generated a lot of arguments which the Chairperson allowed.

Dr. Mwambusya

- He asked the presenter that as a social scientist, we must analyse social issues justly. There should be separation of westernization from Christianity as a religion.
- That westernization is not good for globalization neither Islamisation nor Christianisation. He concluded that there is need to respect each other's values.

Dr. Herniques

- He argued that a social scientist should be self-critical. It is his duty to question fundamentalism. Why Islamize knowledge? Knowledge is a result of investigative research.

- The above scholars had attempted to redirect the debate to focus on critical and intellectual social issues but to the amusement of participants, the presenter denied being a social scientist but a scholar in Islamics.

Presenter: Dr. Manas Ray

Topic: *Globalization, Displacement and Nostalgia*

- He demonstrated his point by telling a story of Fiji Indians to see if Uganda such experience or learn from the Fiji experience.
- On globalization, the Indian scholar informed participants, it started with the transfer of capital and technology.
- The paper examines the process of the creation of a nationhood feeling among a specific Diaspora of Indian origin – the Fiji Indians. The paper further focuses on how a people of Indian origin far outside geographical boundaries represented their history. For Fiji Indians, India is largely an imagined mother. It is for this reason that the young Fiji Indians are keen on appropriating Hindu popular films to fashion a cultural identity that is their own.
- The Fiji story:

The Fiji Islands were declared a British colony 1874 when a group of indigenous chiefs signed a deed of cession with the British. The British owned sugar plantations in Fiji. By 1919, 60,965 Indians arrived in Fiji as labourers. They called themselves *girmitiyas* while the British and indigeneous Fiji called them coolies. By 1986, the Indian population of 348,704 was the majority compared to 329,305 ethnic Fijians. So, the country's economy was based on Indian management and labour. The Indian immigrants came from 200 villages and developed a lingua franca that reflected many dialects.

Other immigrants of Indian origin, *Cinkaratis*, flooded Fiji in 1920s and 1930s as shopkeepers, money lenders, artisans, etc. They mostly lived in urban areas. Therefore, the Indians in Fiji in a course of time have made much of what today's Fiji is.

The British common law was imposed on the people of diverse culture. The Hindu religion started emerging. Later counter-colonial discourses which were overwhelmingly racism began taking shape. The Indian nationalist leadership became a vibrant critic of this oppression. This resulted into revolts in an attempt to form an identity. Cinema in Fiji also provided platform for the youth romanticisation of the Indian identity.

The Fiji experience establishes India community as a national but global community.

- The culture of motherland was a base upon which the Fiji Indians built their economy and above all, their post-colonial identity.

Discussion:

Ssewakiryanga

- The Indians in diaspora especially those in Fiji re-asserting their original identity can be likened to “Kyeyo” people who want to identify themselves as western people yet want to look back to their roots in Africa.
- The presenter responded that “life lived by a group of people and the strength of cultural ties have a significant bearing on such a group”.

Sarah Muzaki

- Did the presenter consider racial segregation in an attempt to find their (Fiji Indians) identity?
- *Kyeyo* people live like the Fiji Indians and want to identify themselves here but when they come, they tend to show that they belong there too. So they are hanging citizens. Could the presenter throw light on this?
- A participant wanted to know whether there is any categorization of people leaving the country, i.e. those who go as workers; and those who are established there?

Response from the presenter :

Emphasized that there are post-colonial people in the west but with different histories participating in all aspects of western life. Then there are those people living in the west who were not original inhabitants. The categorization has to be there.

- The presenter cautioned participants that globalization is not westernization.

Presenter: Dr. Ernest Beyaraza

Topic: *Effects of Post-Modernism and Globalisation in Neo-Colonial States*

- His presentation focused on how the colonialists colonized us mentally and how to use philosophy to decolonize our mind. When one is mentally colonized, he/she is psychologically sick. Therefore, the medicine is to expose what is happening to the psychologically

sick. Hence, the presentation is basically a philosophical defence of culture.

- He argued that colonialists told us three lies:
 - i) Western culture is superior.
 - ii) All western cultures are cultured.
 - iii) The west has a duty to civilize the rest and that religion was part of this civilizing mission.
- How did they convince the rest in this colonizing path? the presenter posed the question.
- The concept of modernism led to science which is based on inductive reasoning. This led to technology, which was so useful in the colonial process. The colonized people resisted colonialism very hard but were defeated due to superior weapons.
- Culturally, modernism was used to argue that any way of life that was not based on scientific knowledge was unacceptable. It was superstition. The Europeans whose culture was based on scientific knowledge had, therefore, to liberate the rest of the world from ignorance and superstition. This then was a type of globalization.
- The presenter pointed out that racist theorists were and are still in strategic positions. He said that Hulton and J.S. Mbiti quoted in this presentation are still professors in Africa. Many people are products of these scholars.

Post-Modernism Theory:

- However, contemporary relativism is the reversal of modernism, according to which the objectively established facts should be the basis of true knowledge and our culture. It reverses the referential theory of language according to which words get meanings from the objects they refer to. The presenter made interesting remarks to illustrate his point. He said that a thing like water means different things to different people, e.g. water in church is holy; water is life to desert people; water is death to the flooded areas. He concluded that post-modernism challenges unilateralism.

Globalisation:

- The presenter argued that the current globalization where technology is the driving force characterized by information is the continuation of colonial globalization. He said "recolonisation is curving out its hidden agenda under the cover of the current globalization". The presenter quoted Daniel Archibugi, who argues

that new technologies have always played a crucial role in the process of economic and social globalization. Without such technologies, the developing countries will again, be dictated to as what should be done and how to do it. Thus, the developing countries will be uprooted from their socio-cultural context and thus face sure death as cultural entities.

Recommendation:

- The paper recommends resistance to this type of globalization. The presenter then wondered as who or what can halt, or even slow down the current globalization which is even more effective and deadly than the previous one. However, he said one hopes that the awareness the world already has may be manipulated to the advantage of developing countries. He recommended to look at the contribution of post-modernism and use it to our advantage.

Discussion:

- Dr. Manas Ray the Indian scholar asked the presenter that contemporary relativism theory was not so well articulated and translated into globalization.
- Richard Ssewakiryanga told the presenter that he found difficulty in positioning modernism, post-modernism and globalization. This was problematic he said.

Response from the Presenter:

- Concepts mean so many things. Sometimes there is no agreed definition. This generates debate and brings inadequacy. However, he said that those who belonged to such schools of thought used their ideas to influence culture. For example, modernism was misused by colonialists because they argued that it is them that knew reality through science. So he argued that if globalization superimposes such cultural values then realism is lost and therefore meaning.
- He reminded the participants that his approach was a philosophical one and may be difficult for some participants to understand.

Presenter: Isma Kayiwa

Topic: *A Search for African Solutions to African Problems. A Critical analysis of the Lusaka Accord as a Diplomatic Path to Solve the DRC Crisis*

- He began his presentation by giving a definition of diplomacy quoting Sir Earnest Satow. "Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of relations between governments of independent states".
- He referred his presentation to African diplomacy from pre-colonial times. He argued that there was a mechanism of peaceful settlement of disputes but with the beginning of the 9th Century, African societies lost their political standing to the metropolitan states who colonized them.
- Later, the UN General Assembly adopted a declaration in 1963 granting independence to all colonized peoples of the world. To the presenter, this was an era of decolonizing African diplomacy. However, Africans found themselves in a political trap of artificial boundaries that cut across ethnic groups. To him this is the origin of cross-border political violence. He cited the Congo crisis in the Great Lakes Region.
- He focused his presentation on the Lusaka Peace Accord of July 1999. In his presentation, he also pointed out that there was a failure to employ preventive diplomacy by both regional groups the OAU and, UN such that the crisis escalated into an international one.
- The weaknesses of the Lusaka Peace Accord were analysed; and the presenter concluded that though it has weaknesses, it remains the best ceasefire agreement to bring a lasting solution to the DRC crisis.

Discussion:

- Richard Ssewakiryanga advised the presenter to read about the Lusaka Peace Accord and critique it. He should also borrow a leaf from the mineral rich countries and non-mineral rich countries conflict which Professor Mamdani raises.
- Several participants advised him to develop a critical approach to his topic and develop it to perfection.

Tuesday's Session closed at 6.30 p.m. with remarks from the Head of Political Science and Public Administration who thanked the presenters, chairpersons and all the participants for the in persistence.

The Second Day Presentations

Wednesday 21st August 2002

The second day morning session was chaired by Dr. C.N. Bwana. He invited Dr. S. Simba to present his paper.

Presenter: Dr. Sallie Simba Kayunga

Topic: *Ethnicity and Democratisation in Africa*

- His presentation had three sections:
 1. A discussion that ethnicity contradicts democracy. Reference was made on the period 1960s and 1970s.
 2. The strategies devised in the 1960s and 1970s to fight ethnicity.
 3. Resilience to ethnoconflicts.
- The presenter lastly gave an overview whether we can have ethnicity and democracy coexisting.
- Dr. Simba argued that in the 1990s and 2000s, Africa experienced two processes:
 1. Attempts at democratization: In this process, Africans witnessed events challenging military dictatorship, challenges to one party system, etc. So such events demanded for transparency, good governance and accountability.
 2. People rediscovering their roots! This process witnessed critical thinking about ethnicity and expressing their identities in different forms; that is imaging their culture.
- The presenter asked a question as to why these processes appear now? He argued that in the 1960s, it was perceived that ethnicity and democracy were contradictory. There were communal rights and rights which were universal. This presented the ideology of rational choice versus irrational choice. Therefore, ethnicity was viewed as a danger to democracy. This was evident in secessionist movements in Congo and Nigeria. During this period, scholars referred to ethnicity as a pre-capitalist social formation.
- Strategies put in place as a result of ethnicity politics of the 1960s and 1970s were:

1. National building project.
 2. Overcentralisation. It was argued that federal systems give rights to ethnic groups.
 3. Later on multiparty system emerged to stop people belonging to politics of ethnicity.
- Having solved nothing, then one system emerged to stop politics of ethnicity and to enforce unity. In Uganda, this was seen in the movement political system in 1986.
 - When NRM came to power, there was legislation to this effect called Anti-Sectarian Bill. If you referred to someone in form of his ethnicity, you would be taken to court. This was to contain ethnicity.
 - Dr. Simba pointed out that despite the above strategies, Africa has continued to be characterized by ethnicity. He amused participants when he argued that to win elections in Kenya, one must do Ethnic Arithmetic: Luo + Kikuyu - Akamba = Win.
 - In Uganda, he said, new forms of manifestations exploiting technologies are evident, e.g.
 1. Typicalisation on FM radio stations such as “CBS programme depicting a real Muganda”.
 2. Economic “development” taking ethnic lines. Ethnic groupings can develop at the expense of the other, so those marginalized use ethnicity to demand and those who are advantaged use their position to maintain their economic advantages. This has resulted into ethnic conflicts.
 - The 1990s and 2000s saw a school of thought emerging which advanced the role of ethnicity in democracy. They argue that utilizing traditional institutions to form networks for democracy is a development issue to attain political stability. He cited Botswana where elections are almost free and fair after every 5 years. He also argued that this is why in Uganda traditional institutions were restored in 1993 and have restored some stability.
 - He concluded that there is need to have a system where people’s cultural rights and individual rights are respected so as to say a system of this mixture.

Presenter: Wilber Bateisibwa

Topic: *Creating Ugandans in a new Uganda. Unending Quest for National Identity*

- He began his presentation by quoting Professor G. Khadiqala (2002) who said “Identity and citizenship conflicts are a manifestation of inadequate institutions for managing ethnic imbalances, the absence of institutions for explaining national belongingness.
- His presentation categorized two developments:
 - 1) Nation-states caught up in a process of globalization
 - 2) Numerous migrations from small states or minority groups. Here established nation states question whether the culture of foreign immigrants may not threaten national identity.

Therefore, the quest for self identity is essentially a culture of foreign immigrants may not threaten national identity.

- His paper portrays that there is a crisis in national identity in Uganda. The paper also highlights the challenges faced in the process of creating national identity and finally, recommendations to these challenges.
- To illustrate his point of a crisis in identity, the presenter uses two cases:
 - 1) The Buganda question. The 1900 land redistribution had left the Bataka and the peasants deprived of access to land. The peasants rebelled in a bid to secure their tenure and to protest the oppression by the “Bakungu” whom they wanted replaced by elected chiefs. The Bataka led uprisings in Buganda in 1949 and 1949 were a case in point.
- At independence, the Buganda question remained important as witnesses in the formation of DP and UPC political parties.
- Obote later abolished kingdoms and made Uganda a Republic. The presenter argued that the relationship between Buganda and the previous regime has partly been conflicting due to Buganda claims of her “Kitibwa”. Thus, a perception of “we” group as opposed to a “they” group.
 - 1) The lost counties issue. The presenter stated that Buganda’s support to colonialism in military campaigns against Bunyoro was rewarded with one-quarter of Bunyoro’s territory south of River Kafu as lost countries to Buganda. The demand of the Banyoro to return their land remained unresolved up to independence time. These two

examples remained ethnic tensions in the politics of Uganda.

- Challenge to creating a national identity
 - 1) Legitimacy – that the ruled are made to believe that it is in their interests that they are being governed.
 - 2) Participation – a large number of people play a direct role in making decisions and shaping their destiny.
 - 3) Distribution – this means use of government institutions to allocate values to groups and individuals in a given body politic.
 - 4) Penetration – the extent to which government desires are applied in the parts that constitute a state.

- The presenter gave the following recommendations:
 - 1) Need to have public officials who are responsible and accountable for their behaviour and actions.
 - 2) Create institutions for resolving ethnic imbalances and explaining belongingness.
 - 3) Expanding the political space.
 - 4) A strategy of increasing coherence among ethnic groups.
 - 5) Developing a national vision.
 - 6) Government should ensure internal law and order.

- He concluded that the way the state relates to society is reflected in the way people relate to the state.

Discussion:

A question was raised: “Who” will play a major role in creating Ugandans in a new Uganda?”

Response:

- When law is put in place, it must be implemented. There should be willingness on the part of government to create institutions for resolving ethnic conflicts. Expectations of elite and non-elite should be satisfied. And there should be acceptability of government institutions which means legitimacy. Therefore, we all play a role in

creating Ugandans in a new Uganda. The government, however, should play a central role.

Presenter: Caleb Rukundo

Topic: *Nation-States, their Boundaries and Contestations*

- The presenter gave the lay out of his paper:
 - i) Definitions of: Nation, state, authority, legitimacy, sovereignty and government
 - ii) Statehood in post-colonial
 - iii) The nature and significance of African nation-states, and their intra-state politics
 - iv) Inter-state and internal conflicts in Africa and how they reverse the struggle to build nation states in the third world.
 - v) Way forward in building legitimate nation-states.
- Therefore his presentation posed two challenges African leaders confronted, Nation building and state building. The presenter constantly reminded the participants that a nation is not a political concept but a social concept.

However, he said "State building appeared to rest largely upon the bureaucracy, but the African armies remained on the side. In such a setting, the military appeared unessential, perhaps irrelevant.

- The presenter further stated that the failure of political parties to achieve the objectives of Africans and to maintain widespread popular enthusiasm helped to prepare the way for army intervention.
- He reminded the participants how national boundaries were haphazardly drawn separating same ethnic groups that led to inter-state conflicts.
- He argued that the wave of decolonization in the post-war period soon led to single-party regimes. The justification for single-party was to mobilize society for development, and would focus on ethnic backgrounds and integrate diverse people into a new nation.
- By late 1980s, single-party regimes faced domestic discontent fuelled by two decades of economic setbacks.
- The presenter poses a question. Why did western democracies fail in Africa? He argued that the elites really rule in a democracy and the

sophistication of government is beyond the understanding of ordinary people.

- What should be done for Africa to progress? He argued that though democracy has some deficiencies, it is still helpful and seemed to be the only appropriate system of governance. So he recommended the following:
 - (a) African states should try to deal with problems of tribalism and localism.
 - (b) Need to build a strong and ethical public service.
 - (c) Regional co-operation and more, we should think of Africa without boundaries.
 - (d) Non-state actors to replace state institutions
- The presenter called upon all participants to relinquish the idea of statehood, saying that after all states have caused enough pain and bloodshed to the Africans.

Discussion:

- One participant remarked, "The presenter had something to say but could not articulate his facts well."
- Professor Sengendo told the presenter that his paper did not deal with pertinent issues of nation-states, their boundaries and contestations. He was advised to read extensively, update his ideas and be critical.
- Dr. Murindwa then said, "He should consider these comments positively."

Presenter: Juma Okuku

Topic: *Ethnicity, State Power and the Democratisation Process in Uganda*

- Though his presentation was punctuated with radical political accusations that sometimes left participants amazed, Juma Okuku remained confident and articulate throughout.
- He argued that as long as society is divided vertically, on the basis of religion or ethnic identity, you cannot build democracy. In post-colonial Uganda, ethnicity has proven to be an effective means of political mobilisation for those who seek access to power in order to change the pattern of resource distribution.
- His paper argues that ethnicity in Uganda can be managed mainly in two ways:

- i) Structural changes which address political, social and economic inequity and imbalances in power.
 - ii) Through democratisation – the ensuring of expansion of social and political space, building democratic institutions for peaceful transfer of power and tolerance of alternative political views in society.
- His presentation was divided into four parts:
 - (a) a theoretical overview of the issues of ethnicity and democratization;
 - (b) the nature of ethnicity construction and expression in the colonial period;
 - (c) post-colonial political practices and their enhancement of ethnicity in Uganda;
 - (d) a discussion on the possibility of deconstruction of ethnicity through democratisation under the “Movement” system.
- The presenter argued that although the origins of ethnicity and the obstacles it poses to the democratization process can be located in the colonial politics, ethnicity was at the same time a form of anti-colonialism. He considered three aspects of colonial intervention in the creation of ethnicity:
 - 1) the system of indirect rule
 - 2) treatment of subjects – especially lost counties
 - 3) the anti-colonial movement which manifested ethnic alliances.
- After independence, there was a reproduction of ethnicity.
- The introduction of the military in politics in 1960s was a case in point. This institution was a creation of colonial rule dominated by one ethnic group. The 1970s saw the re-organisation of the army to have a national outlook. In 1986, a group of people captured power shouting nationalism but practising ethnicity. “The scourge of military power that looms throughout Uganda’s post-independence period only exacerbates ethnic question.” Juma Okuku argued.
- To illustrate his point, he told the participants that in 1996 of the 35 army officers promoted and published in the press, 23 were westerners. All of them speak Runyakitara. Of the 23 officers

promoted, 18 were Banyankole. 16 of these Banyankole were Bahima, who form only 20 per cent of all Banyankole.

Discussion:

His presentation attracted a number of questions.

- Are there true nation-states? The presenter seemed to indicate that true nation-states were in the West and not in Africa.
- Who defines identity? Who is the actor? It was mentioned that it cannot be a self-propelling situation.
- His presentation seemed to point out that ethnicity was neither a feature of the past nor of the present. Was this his concern? Is ethnicity causing political problems today?
- The presenter seems to have dodged social networks in his concept of ethnicity. He should have realized that social networks depend on resources not just political power or social status. So we need these networks to make claims on these resources but within a political framework.
- Also in Uganda we pay attention to regionalism and not tribalism because you cannot compete alone – you are too small. You compete as Westerners or Easterners (i.e. regionalism).
- The presenter pointed out colonial boundaries where people of the same family were separated. Where do you place the lines of boundaries/borders in defining nation-states.
- Are the latest technologies, e.g. radio stations and other channels of media promoting ethnicity?
- His argument about production and reproduction of ethnic identities is patriarchal – takes the lineage of the father so it is a patriarchal definition.
- Who is who? Who is native? Who is indigenous? These are questions he would have considered also in his presentation.
- Chango Machyo then laboured to explain the artificial colonial boundaries citing his experience at Uganda-Rwanda border where the Bakiga have gardens across borders and do not use passports when they are crossing to dig – attracting laughter from the participants. He further told participants that the concept of democracy is a hoax. He argued that such concepts may mean party factions of the elite struggling for power. He said he had no kind words for elites whom he termed as imitative modernists incapable of progressive thinking.

Reaction/Responding - Juma Okuku

- He answered the question of who should be the vanguard of creating institutions by saying that the state creates an enabling environment for other players to come in.
- He also responded that the problem is when ethnicity is demobilized to attain power and remain in power.
- He also asked the participants to tell the government not to harass the minority groups but distribute resources in a just way and to create institutions to instil social learning and mobilisation.
- He also told the participants to consider a fifth factor of production which is "Nationalism" according to him. Nationalism plays a historical role in understanding ethnicity in Uganda.

After Break Session

Chairperson: Prof. Gingyera Pincywa

Presenter:: Dr. Julius Kiiza

Topic: *Is globalization a Friend or a Foe of "Late" Economic Transformation?*

- The presenter stated that the purpose of the paper was to examine the link between globalization and "late" economic development in Taiwan and Uganda. That his analysis would take a comparative historical perspective against the backdrop of "early" and "late" industrialization. He then asked a question "Why are some countries like Japan and Taiwan more effective than others?" The answer, he said lies in the functionality of economic nationalism, i.e. using state power and resources to transform the economy.
- Hence, the presentation examined how globalization is a distinctive form of nationalism – that of the dominant industrial economies. A "friend" of the competitive industrial economies and a foe of the commodity late-comer-economies.
- Indeed, globalization has increased the flow of information, diffusion of technology, cross-border movement of capital goods needed for late industrialization and the flow of direct foreign investment from developed capital economies.
- The use or misuse of domestic political institutions brings variations in the levels of economic performance. The inefficiency of the state to mediate the external pressures of globalization and pursue the long-term development goals of the national economy explain the variations between Taiwan and Uganda economies.
- In conceptualizing late economic transformation, the presenter quoted contemporary political economists such as Friederick List, Schwartz, etc.; and the development theorists, e.g. Hirschmann, Dudley Seers and Gunnar Myrdal.
- He then explained the confusion that emerged out of the above theories – economic growth, economic development and economic transformation. These concepts were illustrated by taking a historical perspective in historical cases where the state has been an actor. In France, there were:
 - tax reductions
 - interest-free loans
 - royal subsidies
 - state-encouraged export duties

- socializing the risks of industries
- French diplomats portrayed investment diplomats.

In Britain,

- free markets were the basis of British transformation
- Used state power to capture domestic market
- War and protectionism were used
- Used state power to impart technology

He further noted whereas Britain preached free trade, US preached protectionism.

The Globalisation Debate:

- He argued that the history of effective capitalist development was a history of economic nationalism. A contrast of early industrializers, e.g. Britain and USA with late industrialisers like Japan, “the state itself led the industrialization drive”.
- However, the presenter had his own view and presented five pieces of historical evidence that appear to underscore the centrality of economic statism in both early and late industrialization.
 - 1) economic nationalism in the 17th Century in France
 - 2) economic nationalism and pioneer industrialization in Britain
 - 3) economic nationalism and early/late industrialization in USA
 - 4) economic nationalism and late industrialization in Japan
 - 5) “late” industrialization in Taiwan.
- He also argued that:
 - 1) Both Taiwan and Uganda emerged out of colonialism with an agricultural economy that was structured to supply food and other farm products to the former colonial power.
 - 2) Both emerged out of colonialism with strong wishes to industrialise and transform the national economy.
- Today the two countries are substantially different. How does one account for Taiwan’s effectiveness and Uganda’s incapability to translate its wish to industrialise?
 - 1) Post-colonial Taiwan started with massive agrarian reforms that redistributed land to the tiller. This not only removed a major

obstacle of landlordism, it also effectively created a domestic market for local industries.

- 2) Taiwan also implemented substantial institutional innovations evidenced in the use of high quality bureaucrats, the strategic formulation of national economic goals and the mobilization of long-term investment capital. This was the opposite in the case of Uganda.

Conclusion:

He concludes that comparative historical evidence strongly suggests that no country has ever developed in the context of 'free' global markets. All effective developers have used domestic institutions particularly the state to mediate the external political economic pressures and govern the national economy in the national interests. Globalisation is a distinctive form of economic nationalism of the dominant industrial economies.

The chairperson ruled that the next presenter presents his paper and participants ask question to the two presenters in order to save time.

Presenter: Frederick Mwesigye

Topic: *Turning Back to Move Forward. Implications of the Revival of Monarchies on National Identity*

- He cited the academic work of Barongo (1989) that excessive centralization of power in a multi-ethnic political context has been singled out as a major origin cause of social conflicts in Uganda.
- He argued that the role of the state has always been central in such conflicts. He cited the denial of Ankole of their cultural leader which has instigated two blocks: Ankole Cultural Foundation and Ankole Cultural Trust.

Also the role of the state is clear in the restored monarchies. Cultural leaders are not political leaders though they have a Lukiiko and cultural ministers. It appears there is a government in a government.

- He also referred to the constitutional roles and privileges of the traditional rulers.
- It should be noted that it was the pressure from the monarchies that made a bargaining deal between traditional leaders and the central government.

- “But how did government respond to these pressures” he asked? The colonial government had to suppress Buganda by creating and expanding other kingdoms, e.g. Ankole was expanded.
- His argument is that if Buganda in the present regime had not pressed for their kingdom/monarchy probably we would not have seen Toro, Busoga, Iteso, etc. But in Ankole, he said, they had to ask for a referendum which was not asked in other monarchies restored.
- This has resulted into:
 - promotion of chauvinistic tendencies among the people ethnic tensions (Iteso and immigrants, Bakiga in Kibale, etc.) i.e. parochial sentiments are now fashionable.
 - Demand for separate districts is high in Uganda.

Discussion:

- The discussion was opened by Chango Machyo who commented on Dr. Kiiza’s presentation that the wars of crusade in Britain led by the cross were specifically to rob. They were pirates, he insisted. Merchantilism in US and industrialization in Britain were a result of such robbery and piracy. He assured the presenter that our path has to be different from them.
- Chango Machyo had this to comment: The kings and chiefs had political and administrative role in pre-colonial Africa. When the colonialists came they was reduced to a colonial agent. The method of rule imposed on Africans was indirect rule. He argued that our ethnic groups had alliances through marriages and this neutralized tensions. He amused participants when he referred to the Kabaka of Buganda as a “Luo Bito”. Such historical cultural ties need to be revived to contain ethnic violence.
- Prof. Sengendo remarked that all the previous speakers failed to give us an operational definition of culture.
- Prof. Lakidi commented that what was revived was not culture but cultural institutions. He also noted that culture can stimulate development no doubt. It is also an arena for social-political contestations. This is why there were contradictions when cultural institution were revived.
- Juma Okuku asked Dr. Kiiza, “How do you reconfigure the state in economic nationalism?”
- Richard Sewakiryanga also said global industrialization is not a recipe of late industrialization – referring to musicians who have got new opportunities opened up in different parts of the country.

- He also commented that institutions emerging today are not indigenous. They are hybrid institutions that merge tradition and modernization.
- Dr. Simba wondered, “Were these countries that industrialized at the forefront of the cold war? If yes or no, we need this comparison.
- A Nigerian scholar asked, “When do foreign markets become necessary for a country?”
- He also commented that cultural institutions reinforce political institutions so it is difficult to demarcate the boundary.

Responses:

Dr. Kiiza

- Those industrialized countries used primitive accumulation to build their strong economies.
- He argued that there are primary factors which condition an outcome and secondary factors which facilitate an outcome.
- For the Ugandan case, we practice piracy, for example, in Congo. This is primitive accumulation of capital too. Piracy enriches the national treasury. What is wrong with it for Ugandans? We can build a strong economy out of this piracy.
- When Americans preach democracy, listen but do what they did to become what they are. We pirate, and not do what they tell us.
- Mwesigye responded to his question that culture has been negatively used to mobilize economic development. The boundary of political institutions and cultural institutions is porous. Everyday, we see more and more intolerance in these cultures. This may yield to undesired end as in national cohesion/unity.

Afternoon Session

Presenter: Dr. Murindwa Rutanga

Topic: *An Overview on Agrarian Question and Contestations within the Agrarian Domain.*

- He categorized contestations within the agrarian domain as:
 - 1) at household level, i.e. micro-level
 - 2) at community level
 - 3) between different classes
 - 4) that they are occupational based

- 5) against multi-national corporations.
- Contestations take different forms, e.g. violence, homicide, social movements and to desperate ones - suicide. The first category is common and diverse. They may be between individuals at household level or between genders or groups. They revolve on land whether individually or communally owned.
 - Take different forms as trespass or take-overs, sometimes described by magistrates as trivial. In some societies if you temper with land you have tampered with my manhood.
 - Land conflicts may be class-based, e.g. in Brazil.
 - Religious institutions, commercial companies, NGOs, credit schemes and banks also own large pieces of land.
 - Fraudulently, communal property. e.g. swamps, forests, bushes were given to emerging commercial capitalists, e.g. in Kigezi.

Also Ugandans with state connections reward property to individuals. This has led to several cases of murder. This is state-inspired deprivation.

- cultivators vs. grazers (hoe and cow battle)
 - sale of property at household level (for men to satisfy their needs, e.g. alcoholic and concubinage)
 - court bailiffs
- Implementation of neo-liberal IMF policies have also fuelled and contestations, e.g. the NTO to decide on Mexico and US conflict and sparked off a peasant movement to challenge it.
 - New struggles are likely to emerge against multinational corporations
 - Referred to medicinal struggles in India.

Presenter: Ndebesa Mwambutsya

Topic: *Social Capital: the Challenges to the Neo-Liberal Orthodoxy in Africa?*

- He first explored the neo-liberal theories which he concluded resulted into global apartheid.
- Today, there is a new shift within the neo-liberal camp. There is now celebration of tradition and work culture that is more oriented to equip rather than individuals. This tradition and group work is now celebrated as a means to achieve good governance, participatory development, etc. This is what is called *SOCIAL CAPITAL*.
- What is social capital?

Social capital has been added to other forms of capital – physical, financial, natural and human. The presenter quoted Serageldin and Grootact (1996) who defined social capital as “A glue that holds society together”.

- Role of social

He asked the following question: why do certain communities become successful among certain societies? He gave examples of the Jews, Chinese, Indians in E. Africa, Greeks, etc.

It is thought that besides the traditional forms of capital, the secret behind the relative economic success of the above communities lies in the specific cultures – their social capital.

- Social capital in form of trust facilitates business transactions. When there is trust among people, it is cheaper to carry out transaction because you do not have to spend a lot on enforcement mechanisms.
- Social capital makes it easier to share information.
- Social capital is also important in facilitating participation.

Social capital and African development: Studies have been carried out and results show that in almost all rural areas in Sub-Saharan Africa, there are rural associations of one kind or another which have contributed to the survival of the rural masses in the face of externally and internally caused economic crises.

- These are community-based organizations such as credit institutions, burial societies, mutual self-help groups, elders, association, farmers, groups, etc.
- If social capital is to emancipate the African masses, it must play two roles:
 1. the defensive role
 2. the promotional role.

These roles will assist in removing obstacles to development in Africa which are both internal and external in origin.

- We should harness the potentials of social capital to our advantage.
- Promotion of social capital promotes collective responsibility.
- He attacked the neo-liberalists and World Bank who have captured the popular language of social capital, e.g. participatory democracy, participatory research, etc. He said that this is a populist language which they use to dominate.

Discussion after the next Presenter

Presenter: Charlotte Karungi

Topic: *Politicisation of Ethnicity*

- She began her presentation with a comment that “traditional conflict resolution mechanisms ignore the intellectual contributions”.
- She argued that the Japanese experience talked about by previous presenters is relevant in cases of Karamoja and Kibaale. These two experiences have commonality. As long as you believe you are a minority you work harder to survive in that society. The Karimojong considered themselves minority and therefore ignored by the government.
- Now efforts by the government to resolve conflicts manipulates ethnicity and exacerbates the conflict.
- The solution to disarm the Karimojong is not a simple one. So long as they are at the border they will never feel secure. Any solution must be cross-border.
- In Kibale, the area in conflict was Bugangizi. Immigrants performed so well and Banyoro felt insecure.

Remote Causes of Ethnicity

She outlined the following:

1. Disunity
2. Lack of respect for elders
3. Historical precedence
4. Redundancy among the male youth
5. Illiteracy
6. Need for cattle (in the case of Karimojong).

Causes of insecurity:

- acquisition of weapons
 - food insecurity
 - marriage
 - poverty
 - social relations and cultural practices
 - government intervention.
- Whom should we turn to in solving the conflict?

Government intervention is always biased. She read a title of an article in a newspaper "Movement backs Museveni over Kibale take over". "Who sits to resolve the conflict?" she further asked. Some personalities are self-centred in such negotiations. The chief negotiator should not be the Head of State. It will look political.

- We should go through the traditional way. Bring them around and discuss with them what their problems are.

Discussion

- Prof. Sengendo asked Mwambutsya that in his presentation he wondered why foreigners come as a social group and do much better! "Were you condemning it or not? If not, then it must be seen as an asset to us. Learn it! He also referred to the Buganda case - when the Europeans referred to them as Japanese of East Africa. Professor Sengendo remarked: "Instead they Copycats".
- Question asked for Charlotte to answer: How do you resolve a particular conflict in a particular area? Why is there an influx of immigrants in one locality?
- How do you combine traditional and non-traditional means to solve the conflict?
- From an Indian Professor:

How do we address the unresolved and unfinished problems of the land question?

- He further asked: How do we use the importance of studying culture to resolve conflicts?
- A Nigerian student asked:

In Nigeria, any place where there is a resource/mineral automatically becomes government property and people are evacuated. So, can natives claim ownership of this land as a customary property?

- How can we keep our culture and values secret and steal other people's culture?
- Okello Ogwang asked Charlotte that the question of Karamoja is not poverty and culture. The problem is climatic, e.g. why is food insecurity a threat?
- Okuku commented on double standards in the Constitution article which says "One has a right to move anywhere".

Responses:**Mwambutsya:**

- Use social capital concept to network and get global connections – so that people in state power become accountable.
- Social concept is not a new concept. It could be translated to an ideology so that Africa benefits.
- Europeans had exaggerated calling Buganda the Japan of East Africa for their needs. However, social capital of Buganda was destroyed. We need more research to locate when and how it was eroded.
- Social capital has “trust” as a base. Exploit this challenge – although others say it is not quantifiable so it is not capital.
- Karungi recommended:
 - stop referring to others as minority. Do not politicise that concept of minority.
 - Stop politicising conflicts
 - Neglect on the role of “we”. It is now particular personalities, e.g. LC V.
- Strategy of government to solve the conflict. Do not politicise the conflict. Government should revisit its strategy and adopt a consultative strategy. “Has Makerere been consulted on Karamoja issue? Do not neglect intellectual contribution.
- Dr. Murindwa concluded: let us acknowledge the role of imperialism in our problems. He argued: if you evict people, they will stand up for their rights. So, they fight the state.

Presenter: Dr. Okello Ogwang

Topic: *An Overview on Popular Culture, Music, Oral Literature and Languages, Media and Cultural Productions*

- He gave an overview on popular culture, music, oral literature and languages, media and cultural productions.
- He said that a definition of cultural studies is a contested one. Cultural studies does not have a clear demarcation or field for investigation. Its interdisciplinary nature makes it very rich.
- He pointed out that the experience of the colonized and coloniser was not in one era. That up to now, we are still consumers of these experiences. Then what forms this consumption? How do we consume them? This emerged as a critique in academia.

- He lamented no serious agenda to help students investigate cultural studies. However, he said that this workshop will finally chart out the framework to study and teach cultural studies.
- He also noted that oral literature was taught in the University. So cultural studies has been in existence but in a silent way.
- Another question to examine is: who sets the agenda for development? Whose development?

Presenter: Austine Bukenya

Topic: *Letter and Word: Oracy and Literature in Development*

- His presentation was concerned with the use of both the spoken and the written word in sensitisation, mobilization and conscientisation.
- He emphasized that oracy is a skill which most of us/our people possess to a certain extent. Therefore, approaching developmental messages through oracy will make such messages more accessible to them.
- He argued that literate messages should be 'oracised', while orate messages are literacised.

He gave a conceptual framework for his presentation on p.39 of his paper.

- He argued that oracy and literacy can be regarded as two pillars which support the operation of communication. That communication, including development communication, will be richer if founded on two pillars, than if it was based on only one of the pillars.
- The perception of our people is that without literacy one is incapable of any action, let alone developmental action. Thus, people say we who did not read cannot do anything. This is tragic, he commented.
- He argued that literacy is a "lack" among most of our people. They just do not have it. So, they cannot use literacy to acquire literary or any other developmental information for that matter.
- Oracy should be systematically taught, learnt and mastered to levels which ensure its effective utilization in developmental communication.
- Spoken communication is so effective like technology channels of communication. We are able to handle quantitative and qualitative thinking.
- Conflicts are a result of failing to listen or talk to each other effectively.

Presenter: Monica Chibita

Topic: *Indigenous Language, Broadcasting and Democratic Participation. A Theoretical Framework*

- Language plays an important role in both constructing and conveying meaning in the media.
- Therefore, the presentation seeks to develop a theoretical framework for studying the significance of the relationship between the language of broadcasting and the effectiveness of the media in enhancing democratic participation.
- She gave a historical background of broadcasting in Uganda. It started in 1954, and until 1993, broadcasting was government controlled. Now we have 6 television channels and over 40 radio channels broadcasting in English, and other indigenous languages. In this plurality of the media, value must be placed in indigenous languages.
- Is broadcasting programming meaningful and equitably representing the various sections of Ugandan society? People are now finally getting the programming they want. Broadcast programming is also made linguistically, culturally and conceptually appropriate to their needs and realities.
- She elaborated on the right to information and the right to communicate as good ingredients of a “good society”.

Presenter: Eva Nabulya

Topic: *Oral Literature and Language*

- She used the Ugandan case she asked, “What happens if we lose oral literature and language. She referred to the old days when parents had not gone to school but had to instruct young ones to perform specific duties.
- Colonial intervention:
 1. colonialists suppressed language and oral literature because language is a seat of culture.
 2. They could not allow us possess what they could not understand, e.g. our stories, myths, songs, etc.
 3. Used religion and told people that your culture is uncouth.
 4. Education – language of instruction was foreign. So it alienates you from your people.

- The 1950s rise of nationalism was a realization that they had lost much to the colonial government.
- Why oral literature and language important?
 - form of instruction. People learn more when they listen to stories.
 - myths and legends keep information about our ethnic backgrounds.
 - helps us to improve our creativity.
 - a means of keeping our languages alive.
 - for proper thinking. There are some things you cannot access using foreign language.
 - You cannot depend on written word in an illiterate society.

Presenter: Nixon Okello

Topic: *Language as a Social and Cultural Emancipation*

- Language is a tool for social and cultural emancipation.
- The presenter quoted several writers, for example, Ngugi who argued that writers and their audiences must dislodge from their minds those symbols and images of fear, silence and lies which colonialism and our post-independence petty bourgeoisie have constructed as a binding feature of our new culture.
- Using our language can liberate us or our culture from colonial distortions and the political dilemma of post-colonial independence.
- He categorized orature into three aspects:
 1. orature acted, performed and danced.
 2. tool for empowerment of colonial subjects
 3. to rid of colonial mentalities.

Orature, therefore, is a tool in addressing social issues in our societies.

- The presenter further quoted Ngugi that:

“By writing in European languages, is another predicament because it means that European Bourgeoisie once again are stealing our talents and geniuses as they have stolen our economy”.

Orature is, therefore, necessary to fight imperialism.

- Orature is necessary for cohesion and transformation of cultures and societies, in that it makes and maintains order, deepens and

strengthens communal bonds and allows for personal and social transformation to be fully alive.

- The presenter argued that African writings are not a defence of race or values but rather an expression of African ways of life where life is looked at in a holistic way.
- Orature needs to be incorporated in our local Bibles and school syllabi so that another front can be created intellectually to demobilise the European antitheses among the young ones.
- Orature can, therefore, be used as a tool to answer questions of survival and as a universal search for meanings.

Presenter: Joel Isabirye

Topic: *Movie Culture, Imperialism*

- He posed a question: what is the relationship between movies and the imperialistic project?
- Movies are a branch of popular culture but an entity relevant to post-colonialism movie culture as seen as a social evolution and is being transmitted into other cultures, and this traffic in popular culture needs to be investigated.
- The presenter referred to James Bond, Michael Jackson, etc. to beauty contests that have broken bonds that once held societies together.
- Movies developed as the 19th Century form of entertainment and this has developed into the most captivating global audiences. These movies are therefore an agent of imperialism.
- That there is an input and output effect in studying the movies. Input effect relates to making of movies, i.e. production and post-production where the movies are kept ready for consumption.

Output effect, i.e. after they are transformed into movies, how does the audience perceive them? What behavioral changes are created?

- There are other questions to understand. How do movies collaborate with western empires? Intentionally or non-intentionally movies are an agent of imperialism.
- What lies in the mechanics of movies and dynamics of movies? Movies spread pre-conceived notions. In movies America is always depicted as always victorious. They inspire the young generation. All portray western civilization.
- Consumption patterns:
 - branding of movies is very vital.

- Promotional strategists are all fascinating to non-western communities, and surpass the local produced movies. So, language is no longer hindering the demand.
- Agents in non-western communities take the blame.

Discussion

- A participant was concerned about advertising as a political campaign strategy, e.g. using skulls, or you can view the movement of UPDF in Sudan. What should be given and what should not be given to society? How do you determine this?
- People must realize that language does not matter but the message.
- Theatre for development. Whose development? Is it a re-education of Africans? When do we separate education from western literacy?
- When does language become language? Does it start with voice, a figure or language?
- Crimes are not only committed by the pen, but by the tongue. So who is going to transmit this oral language to the people?

Response

- Question on when does democracy begin?

It starts when one speaks. Even signals are part of communication. Much of the processes will be retrieval but we rebuild and integrate oracy.

- Interdisciplinary does not mean disappearing of disciplines.
- Need to avoid replicating other forms of imperialism.
- Using one language question. This does not mean we kill other cultures and ethnic identities.
- Issue of advertising skulls relates to policy. Anyway, who was behind these skulls? Though the profession can regulate itself, the state comes in also to regulate the media.
- We should stop listening to English stories. Its time to tell our own stories.

Day Three

Chairperson: Dr. Grace Bantebya

Presenter: Dr. Tabitha Mulyampiti

Topic: *Women and Gender Studies in Contemporary Africa: A Reference to Post-Colonial Studies and Gender Studies*

- The presenter made an opening remark that the post-colonial theories do not show of understanding of gender relations.
- The assumptions often made are western-centred and ignore particular relationship between gender, post-colonialism and patriarchy. She called for a more focused debate on gender in post-coloniality.
- She asked a question – Does post-colonial pose any peculiar experience for women and gender studies in Africa?
 1. Women studies: Women studies began in the 1960s and has its roots in the women's struggle for liberation. It is aimed at changing the androcentric nature of universities by posing new questions and seeking new answers that place women at the centre.
 2. Gender studies: This was born out of the field of development practice. It aimed at examining the dynamics of female and male experience and identity. Gender studies involve analyzing femininity and masculinity.
- She argued that gender studies rests on three pillars:
 - (a) Women consciousness of discrimination and subordination.
 - (b) A holistic approach to social organization.
 - (c) It is an object of development.
- She then pointed out what should not be assumed in gender studies.
 1. Gender studies does not assume that women have perfect knowledge or understanding of their social situation.

2. Gender does not assume that men in their turn are aware of the social bases of male dominance; that not all men act actively to promote male dominance.
 3. Gender studies does not assume that women are in some way unquestionably right in all forms of behaviour, aims and objectives; and that men are invariably wrong or wicked.
- She said in examining the impact of economic development of society, gender studies asks questions such as: who benefits? Who loses?
 - She then analysed and identified methodological issues in undertaking women and gender studies:
 1. Sexism:
 - (a) Androcentricity
 - (b) Gender insensitivity
 - (c) Overgeneralisation
 - (d) Double standards
 - (e) Sex appropriateness
 - (f) Feminism
 - (g) Sexual dichotomism
 2. The problematic relationship between post-colonialism, patriarchy and gender.

She had this to say: post-colonial policies are remembered by gender activists for exacerbating relations between women and men, e.g. introducing cash crop economy and post-colonial employment policies that favour men.

She concluded that history is being rewritten. Silence does not mean submission. Women have been regarded as objects of research but this is changing soon. Cultural backgrounds should not be erased. Need for more focused and sustained debate on post-colonial studies.

However, post-coloniality offers us this debate.

Discussion:

1. From a Nigerian Scholar: How do we expect the women to get their goal right when, majority of them live in rural areas and cannot access intellectualism of the small elite group?
2. Is it true that African women in a bid to promote humanity are no longer human?

3. Question from Patrick Nsambu: Is there any time limit that if we meet at such and such point, we shall stop these arguments of women emancipation? Don't you think at one time we shall have men overpowered?
4. From Jacky Katana: In order for a woman to be empowered she must be economically empowered. How does the village woman benefit from women emancipation?
5. Richard Ssewakiryanga noted that there is a powerful analysis coming out of African femininity. We cannot see enough of academic attention of what womanism is?
6. Dr. Murindwa referred to the statement asked that African women were being transformed into objects of research by western scholars. He argued that not only women but all the people of Africa. How are we going to get out of this situation and how are we going to retaliate and turn western women into research objects also?
7. Dr. Murindwa also made a comment that culture must be understood in colonial history distortions. This culture needs to be re-examined to direct productive debates.

Dr Mulyampiti's response:

- We need to look at Gender Studies as a legitimate field; not as a favour for women in Africa.
- She also argued that rural women are not illiterate, nor are they poor or helpless.
- She strongly noted that the percentage of women in academia is a double standard - a dangerous form of sexism.
- She also noted that womanism is quite essential in understanding Gender Studies.
- She said that the African woman is capable and her understanding is stronger but we need to dig out strong cultural aspects on African womanism. Who was this African woman? she emphasized.

Chairperson: Josephine Ahikire

Presenter: Dr. J. Gupta

Read the Paper by Prof. Partha Chatterjee's on "The Rights of the Governed" and there was no discussion. She then went on to present her own paper.

An Overview:

- The presenter opened the debate on women and their access to arable land. Reference was made to the Indian experience.
- The paper focused on the relationship between gender and property rights.
- “A gender analysis of women’s access to land has revealed the inability of formal law to ensure women’s rights to land when laws contradict the customary laws” – Dr. Gupta told the participants.
- She emphasized that system of land tenure and land ownership must, therefore, always be considered in conjunction with other bodies of law which form a framework for the economic system such as contract law, family law, inheritance law, tax law, water law, and environmental law.
- She gave her personal experiences in West Bangal studying the impact of land reform programme on production conditions in agriculture, labour intensity, changes in labour relations, rise of new forms of tenancy, etc.
- She also considered post-colonial civil law, customary laws, constitutional, criminal law, etc. and argued that the first attempt of the Legislative Assembly to address the land question and property rights was in 1937. The agrarian question, however, was kept out of property rights.
- The Hindu legislators, she said, opposed it and from 1937 to 1956 several committees to reshape the agrarian structure were formed.
- The Government of India then intervened in the agrarian structure and dealt with general reform in economics and politics.
- She concluded that if we address the issue of property rights, many of the contradictions will reduce.

Ppresenter: Apollo Nkwaka

Topic: *Gender and Religion: Alternative Avenues for Women Empowerment in Uganda*

- In his presentation, he said that 48% of the illiterates in Uganda are women. Such an indicator shows how far we are to go in emancipating women.
- We should work towards gender equity and work on those factors that bog them down.
- What religious organisations do empower women? Church of Uganda Provincial Assembly in 1991 emphasized to have a woman representative in church activities.

- Credit schemes and rural schemes and seminars equipping women with skills, sharing problems and giving advice to each other, organized visits and social support.
- Need to create space for women to carry out economic activities. This is the greatest tool to emancipation. But the more we misinterpret the rights of women the more we prolong the debate.

Presenter: Sarah Muzaki

Topic: *Gender and Orphaned Minority Property Rights Question in Uganda*

- The problem of orphans is widespread in Uganda. By 1992, 1.3 million out of 8 million were orphaned. Presently, out of every 5 children, one is an orphan.
- The rights of children emerged bearing in mind the suffering of children; thus a legal framework in which to operate was established.
- Orphanhood in Uganda is escalated by AIDS and wars.
- The presenter asked the following question to guide her presentation:
 - What are the contemporary social contestations regarding a child in Uganda?
 - How is the issue of orphans' property rights perceived in Uganda?
 - What mechanisms of struggle are in place concerning orphanhood in Uganda?
- Psychologists look at children not as adults. Those children do not exist in their own right as human beings. They are still in process of transition. That they are unable to own property.
- Conceptually, marginalisation of minors takes two forms:
 - (a) Age
 - (b) Gender
- But who is a child?
 - Source of pride and prestige
 - Security for parents
 - Protection for women in marriage
 - Source of household labour
 - Property for family and clan
 - A person too young to know what is right or wrong, i.e. has to wait until he/she is told what to do.

Orphans

- Orphans are viewed as economic burden
 - Commodity for sale either in whole or in bits
 - A child whose parents have died
- A person belonging to the state
- However, in African tradition a “child” never existed. Children belonged to the clan. His property rights were the concern of everybody.

Gender, Legitimacy and Patriarchy

- Which child is entitled to property?
- Which wife can claim her children’s property rights?
- Which property for which child?
- Gender roles after death (property ownership Vs children)
- The presenter concluded that:
 - Orphanhood crisis has increased the vulnerability of children.
 - The emerging social dynamics in the conceptualization of the child or orphans have worked to the disadvantage of the orphans more.
 - The concept of children’s rights is still largely viewed as foreign.
 - Violations of orphans’ property rights are rooted in the old tradition and in the emerging social individualism.

Presenter: Richard Ssewakiryanga

Topic: *Challenging Transnational Feminisms in Kampala, Uganda*

- He began his presentation by reading a core sentence in his abstract: Drawing on a series of Uganda-based interviews, focus groups and media analyses, I describe the way in which the ‘gender and development’ discourse is positioned within Ugandan media culture as being European feminist agenda, and the gendered forms of cultural nationalism that are articulated in challenge and response.”
- He insisted that terms like “empowerment” and “participation” are problematic in feminist research.
- Quoting several background texts, the presenter explained a transnational flow of ideas and discourses about gender and

feminism which he termed transnational feminisms. He said our use of the term transnational feminisms comes from Grewal and Kaplan (1994), who see it as a way of describing the movement feminist ideas, whilst moving beyond the global-local and centre-periphery debates. He also argued that it is a term that can be used to locate feminist practices within transnational economic processes.

- He also quoted media reports in Kampala (1995) with interesting but biased outlook. He emphasized that gender may be a “business” or “symbolic politics”, but it has irreversibly politicised and made visible debates over equality in Uganda.

Discussion

- Referring to rural women as illiterate is colonial and therefore pushing them further.
- Nabwire commented that there is over-exaggeration of the role of religion. It is through religion that women were pushed behind, citing examples of few priests who are women. She argued that religion be looked at as still perpetuating women degradation.
- Dr. Gupta asked that concerning individual rights: Does civil society come as a hindrance or a facilitator?
- Chango Machyo also commented: “Africa is the origin of civilization, myth or reality?” He then quoted his unusual references causing amusement in the audience. He said the problem of women is foreign not African. That in Africa land belonged to the dead and the living.
- Chango Machyo’s comments prompted Lydia, a participant to react. She said “African women were always in submissive situations. She said Ugandan women do not own land. So we need to address the issue of land.
- Dr. Murindwa argued that “Nyabingi” cult/religious wars were led by a woman. He asked what would be the material elements in the existing religions to empower men and women. He also said the concept of Gender is misconceived. That is why we call our grandmothers illiterate. He also added that to address the issue of gender, we need to address the question of land.
- Ndebesa advised women to develop gender theology that is not repressive.
- One participant wondered, “No woman has risen to the ranks of General in the Army.” He insisted that the army plays a leading role in global politics and yet there is not a single General woman officer.

Responses:

- Dr. Gupta said civil society should address the property rights much as the government should be willing also.
- Religion and gender, the responses were that these organisations have not done something to emancipate women. While others have attempted to do so though they can still take the blame of degrading women. We should not generalise on issues of religion and gender. There are changes so far in Church of Uganda and women priests are increasing.
- Agreed with Chango Machyo that children were a concern of the community and no orphans for the case. Today, custodians of children's property violate this in the name of culture. But if it is culture, then they should be protecting these children.
- Another response was that a man is a man and a woman is a woman. This has different meanings to our cultures. In a male- dominated society a woman belongs somewhere.

Afternoon Session

Presenter: Dr. Edward Kirumira

Topic: *Identities and Discourse on AIDS*

- There is a shift in the discourse on AIDS from what is about the disease to the prevention of the disease.
- Need to take into consideration the concept of dualism – the way something is presented is not necessarily the property of that something.
- He further said that the concept of identity is a complex one. Therefore, the dualism concept becomes essential when we look at identities.
- Urged members to revisit anthropology theories of 1980s and 1990s – those that concern use of medicine. He said, good medicine and irrational use of medicine have various interpretations and meanings.
- That the issue of gender power being equal to the social gender and natural gender makes a challenge for the discussion.

Presenter: Stephen Kirya

Topic: *Culture and Gender-related Ecological Factors: Predicting HIV Risk Behaviours Among Adolescents and Young Adults in Iganga District*

- In his introduction, he said that at least 90% of the population has heard about AIDS. However, it has caused huge deaths.
- The study explores the extent of and factors that make avoidance of HIV/AIDS risk sexual situations seem limited before adulthood.
- The study was done in Iganga District in 64 villages, 1,021 households and targeted both male and female between the ages of 14 and 35.
- He presented the methodology of his study. He said he used qualitative and quantitative methods, administering questionnaires and guide interviews for particular respondents.

Results of the Study

- Sex, age, education are variables that contribute to early sexual contact.
- Early coital debut is highly significant in young adult females.
- Females grow faster and experience sexual maturity earlier.
- Excessive control over girls denied them opportunity to relate properly with sexual advances from the opposite sex.
- Cultural rituals, e.g. pulling clitoris initiates them into adulthood prematurely.
- Unlike in the past, children of the current generation rarely view early sex as abominable.
- Sex is sometimes used by females to verify fertility; to win over a partner and build intimacy.
- Mothers often discuss marital issues in presence of their daughters.
- Strong beliefs that:
 - those who delay sex drop sexual potency
 - those who die without a child disappear from sight
 - for young girls, it is pleasurable to have sex
 - early marriage reduces promiscuity, unwanted pregnancy, HIV, etc.
- Results also found out that:
 - Females-married and least educated - are the most vulnerable.
 - low economic status of females and reliance on men

- adoption of expensive life styles
- “the-give-me-in-I-give-you attitude”.

All the above make them vulnerable.

- Multiple partnership was also investigated. It was found out that:
 - partner change is higher among young and least educated.
 - Early autonomy and unrestricted participation in recreational activities for children.
 - Gender-related occupations like living far away from a spouse (fishing, driving, etc.)
 - Ridicule of women and praising men with many partners.
 - Cultural sexual phrases which condone male infidelity.
 - Cultural acceptance for men to seek other partners in case of sexual deficiency.
 - Unprotected sex was also investigated in his study and found out the following in:
 - females, educated married persons, older rural persons stand a lower chance of using a condom.
 - belief that a condom as a condom is adulterous.

Conclusion of Study

- Sex, age, residence, level of education, marital status are essential in predicting various HIV-risk behaviours.
- Female, unmarried, less educated, rural and young are more vulnerable.
- Programmes of uplifting welfare and addressing economic imbalance need to be sought.

Discussion

- Professor Sengendo wondered about the age the researcher used in his study. Why did he start at age 14 not an early age when sexual activity starts at an early age today?
- Hughes Stuart asked: “Did you have a clear definition of sexual activity?”
- Patrick Nsamba asked if his study/research focused on negotiated sexual relationship not forced relationship which is also prevalent in our societies. Why?

Responses

- On the question of age, the researcher responded that he had stretched as far back to 10 years but very few observations and responses were obtained and were too negligible to make meaningful analysis. This is why he raised the age to 14 years.
- Concerning the definition, this research adopted a definition of a child, i.e. 18 years and below.
- On the question of who are the partners of these girls, the study found out that the partners were older than them. Girls also regarded boys of the same age as immature.
- For negotiated sexual relations, the researcher said that this was his main focus. He said information of other forms is also available as it featured in their research.
- This response provoked another question from the participants:
 - A participant Margaret said if he neglected forced sexual relations than results appear contradictory, e.g. 43% of sexual- related cases reported to police were incest. So translating these results into policy is dangerous.
 - Further experiences of people are not quantifiable, so she wondered why the questionnaire was used? She said the researcher should have gone on to observe behaviours.
 - A participant commented that good conclusions would tend to suggest recommendations to policy-makers. This was not done by the researcher.
- The researcher responded that he notices these deficiencies and will incorporate them while revising his presentation.

Round-table and Wrap-up Session

The concluding session was chaired by Dr. Murindwa Rutanga - Head, Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University.

- Dr. Murindwa thanked the participants for the 3-day attendance and assured them that their efforts had been realized.
- Thanked all the presenters, chairpersons and all the foreign participants for their contributions.
- He then called upon Dr. Peter Henriques to give a conclusive keynote.

Dr. Peter Henriques

1. Dr. Henriques said that he was extremely impressed by the eagerness to present papers.
2. The ability of the audience to engage in productive debate.
3. That since this had been the first Cultural Studies workshop in Uganda, he recommend that in future the workshop be under one theme not several.
4. Throughout the workshop, he realized a common project that research problems are inherent in the country's problems. He said this is good, and it gives dynamism to researchers.
5. He commented on papers presented whereby references were made in relation to the West and Africa. The subject, therefore, looked like a conspiracy. It appeared that we belonged to the two blocks, i.e. the West and Africa.
6. He noted that the presenters had a problem of diversity of ideas. So they needed to be specific, e.g. who suppressed people? Instead the problem was addressed as the West suppressed Africa or the East.
7. Dr. Murindwa commented that some research aimed at studying the behaviours of people in the West won't be funded; and he cited a case of a Kenyan who had a proposal to study them.
8. He noted that there are restrictions in the west that stop Africans to stay there and study their behaviours. He said "the more you inform the European Union that visas must be open so that we can travel to the West and study them, the more they close you out with more visa restrictions.

After these brief comments, Dr. Murindwa Rutanga invited Dr. Ray to make concluding remarks:

Dr. Ray

1. He wondered how the periphery would study the metropolis.
2. Economic relations as they continue to change globally must also be studied.
3. He said that he gives the Indian experience as valid to Africa because they both passed through colonialism.
4. Elements of the past be reconstituted and redirected by nationalist leaders for our struggles to be meaningful.
5. He said there is a new rise of ethnicisation in the west and in Africa. We should not assume a monolithic categorization of the West.
6. Plural and homogeneous intervention of governments in post-colonial period should be studied widely. How is it functioning?
7. He made a remark that cultural studies in Britain are not popular.

Dr. Murindwa then invited a member of Centre for Basic Research,

Mr. Richard Ssewakiryanga

Noted the following lessons from the workshop:

1. The possibility of asking many questions shows we are moving to a critique and ideological control of the practice of post-coloniality. If we keep asking questions, we get answers.
2. That imperialism has taken various forms but the vocabulary of imperialism is getting off the language of academia. We must recapture and reposition this language and use it to reformulate our understanding of the world. For example, young people through rap music have been able to redefine the terrain and meaning of music by taking western modes of doing and applying them to their own settings.
3. Cultural studies involve discussions of many interdisciplinary disciplines.
4. Task ahead is to challenge post-coloniality as a tradition of thinking and doing academic work.
5. African women should start questioning their counterparts in the West as a means of understanding and interrogating the notion of womanism as opposed/related to feminism.
6. We do a lot of theory but need to follow this with action especially in countries like Uganda where the separation between the activist and the academic is very blurred.

Dr. Murindwa closed the workshop with the following remarks.

- He thanked the delegates from Denmark and India. Thanked elders like Mr. Chango Machyo, Professor Ocaya Lakidi, Prof. Sengendo, Prof. Gingyera Pincywa, Dr. Beyaraza and Mr. Susanta Ghosh, the Department of Political Science and Centre for Basic Research for organizing the workshop. He also welcomed Dr. Abbasi Kiyimba, who completed his Ph.D in Tanzania recently.
- He echoed the objectives of the workshop whose aim was to trap young scholars to pursue their Ph.Ds. He said "We hope there will be a forward movement in the field of intellectualization." He told those who were going back that they were most welcome to Uganda again. He wished all participants a safe journey to their homes.

Appendix 1: Timetable

Draft Workshop Programme
1st Cultural Studies Workshop in Uganda
Theme: Post-Colonial Studies in Africa
20-22 August 2002

Venue: Women and Gender Studies Conference Room

Day One

Timing	Activity
8:30 – 9:00 am	Arrival and Registration by Participants
Opening Ceremony Chair: Dean Faculty of Social Sciences	
9:00 – 9:10 am	Opening Remarks by the Executive Director CBR
9:10-9:20 am	Opening Remarks by the Head of Dept Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University
9:20 – 9:30 am	Opening Remarks by Vice Chancellor of Makerere University
9:30 – 9:40 am	Opening Speech by His Excellency the Ambassador of India
9:40-10:40 am	Keynote address by Prof. Mahmood Mamdani (First Executive Director Centre for Basic Research, Kampala, Current President of CODESRIA and Professor of Anthropology University of Columbia, USA) on: Post-colonial Studies and Studies in Citizenship and Rights in Africa
10:40 – 11:00 am	Tea/Coffee Break
Session 1: Citizenship, Ethnicity, Human Rights and Conflicts in Africa	
Session Chair: Dr. Bazaara Nyangabyaki	
11:00 – 11:30 am	Session overview by Scholar from Denmark Dr. Peter Henriques (Denmark)
11:30 – 12:00 p.m.	Presentations “African Cultural Renaissance and the Struggle for the Second Liberation: Those Who Exist Resist, Those who Don’t Surrender” Chango Machyo, W’Obanda “The Politicization of Ethnicity and Minority Rights: Cases from Kibaale and Karamoja in Uganda” Chalotte Karungi “Citizenship, Human Rights and Conflicts in Africa”, Fredrick Ssali
12:00 – 1:00 p.m.	Discussion
1:00 – 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break

2:30 – 3:00 p.m.	<p>Keynote Address by: Prof. Eric Aseka Masinde, Professor of Political History and Dean School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Kenyatta University, Kenya, on “Reinterpreting the Quest for Rights and Citizenship in African Politics”.</p> <p>Presentations “Globalisation Vs Islamisation: Common destiny or separate futures”, Dr. Uman Labdo, Islamic University in Uganda. “Ethno Centralism and Movement Politics in Uganda: An Examination of Governance Crisis in Kibaale District, Bunyoro Kingdom” M. Kulumba</p>
3:00 – 3:30 p.m.	Discussion
Session 2: Globalization and the new Cultural Forms	
Session Chair: Prof. Dent Ocaya-Lakidi	
3:30 – 4:00	Session overview by Dr. Manas Ray (India)
4:00 - 5:20 p.m.	<p>Presentations “Effects of Postmodernism and Globalisation in Neo-Colonial States”, Dr. Ernest Beyaraza “The Neglected Aspects of the Asymmetric Relations between Developed and Emerging Economies in the Globalization Game”, David Wasike “Globalisation and Cultural flow: a smoothed out particle Hydrodynamic model”, Julius Mulumba/Daniel Lubowa “A Search for African Solutions to African Problems. A critical Analysis of the Lusaka Peace Accord as a diplomatic path to solve the DRC crisis”, Kayiwa Isma</p>
5:20 – 5:5.35 p.m.	Tea/Coffee Break
5:35 – 6:15 p.m.	Discussions
6:15 p.m.	Close of Day One

Day Two

Timing	Activity
8:30 – 9:00 am	Arrival and registration
Session 3: Nation-states, Borders and their Contestations	
Session Chair: Prof. Mahmood Mamdani	
9:00 – 10:00 am	Keynote address by; Prof. Eric Aseka Masinde, Professor of Political History and Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Kenyatta University, Kenya
10:00 – 10:30 am	Tea/Coffee Break
Session Chair: Prof. A.G.G. Ginyera-Pinyewa	
10:30 – 11:00 am	Session overview by Dr. Simba Sallie Kayunga (Uganda)
11:00 – 12:20 am	Presentations “Ethnicity, State Power and the Democratisation Process in Uganda”, Anthony Juma Okuku The Survival of post colonial state: Managing Secondary Conflicts” Muiya Musoke “Nation States, their boundaries and contestations”, Caleb Rukundo Cultural reproduction, war and prospects for peace in Uganda”, Daniel Lubowa. “Creating Ugandans in a New Uganda: The Unending Quest for National Identity” Wilber Bateisibwa
12:20 – 1:00 p.m.	Discussion
1.00 – 2.00 p.m	Lunch Break
Session 4: Agrarian Question and Contestations within the Agrarian Domain	
Session Chair: Dr Charles Bwana Ngobi	
2:00 – 2:30 p.m.	Session overview by Dr. Murindwa Rutanga (Uganda)
2:30 – 3:10 p.m.	2 papers “Social Capital and the Agrarian Question in Africa: The Challenge to Neo-Liberal Orthodoxy”, Mwambutsya Ndebesa. “Agrarian Relations of Production, Contestations and Implications for Rural Poverty: Selected Areas in Eastern Uganda”, Steven Arojjo.
3:10 – 3:30 p.m.	Discussion
Session 5: Popular culture, music, oral literature and languages, media and cultural production	
Session Chair: Patrick Mangeni (Uganda)	

3:30 – 4:30 p.m.	Session Overview by Dr. Okello Ogwang on “Overview of Cultural Studies in Post-colonial Ugandan Academia and Public Life”
4.30 - 5.50 p.m.	
	Presentations “Language. Broadcasting and Participation: A Critical Commentary on the Uganda Media”, Monica Chibita “Social Movements and the Media: A Proposal for an Alternative Communication in Uganda”, Elijah Dickens Mushemeza. “Letter and Word: Oracy and Literacy in Development” Austin Bukonya “Oral literatures and languages”, Eve Nabulya “Movie Culture and imperialism”, Joel Isabirye “Language: Social and Cultural emancipation”, Richard Nixon Okello
4:30 – 4:45 p.m.	Coffee/Tea Break
5:50 – 6:30 p.m.	Discussions
7:30 – 9:30 p.m.	Cocktail hosted for participants at the Centre for Basic Research and launch of ENRECA Publications and Doctorial Thesis

Day 3

Timing	Activity	Resource Person
8:30 – 9:00 am	Arrival and registration	
Session 6: Themes: Gender and Women Studies in Contemporary Africa		
Session Chair: Dr. Grace Kyomuhendo Bantebya		
9:00 – 10:00 am	Keynote address by Dr. Joy Kwesiga (Former Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Makerere University), Post-colonial Studies and Gender Studies in Africa.	
10:00 – 10:30 am	Tea/Coffee Break	
Session Chair: Josephine Ahikire		
10:30 – 11:00 am	Session Overview: Dr Jayoti Gupta (India)	

11:00 – 12:20 am	Presentations “Changes in household structures and the marriage institution: Implications for single-parent families headed by women in the rural areas of Uganda”, Musoke Rapheal Mukuuta “Gender and Religion: Alternative Avenues of Women Empowerment in Uganda”, Apollo M. Nkwake. “Gender and the Orphaned Minority Property Question in Uganda”, Sarah Muzaaki “‘That Beijing Thing!’ Challenging Transnational feminism in Kampala “ Richard Ssewakiryanga
12:20 - 1:00 p.m.	Discussion
1:00- 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break
Session 7: Identities, Ethnicity and Religious fundamentalism	
Session Chair: Dr. Consolata Kabonesa	
2:30 – 3:00 p.m.	Session overview by scholar Dr. Edward Kirumira
3:00 – 4:00 p.m.	Presentations “Medicine and the reproduction of identities: A Cultural perspective on the HIV/ AIDS discourse”, Samson James Opolot “Culture, Gender and Sexual Behavior in Uganda”, Z. Namunyolo
4:00 – 4:30 p.m.	Discussion
4:30 – 5:20 p.m.	Closing Round-table on: Reflections and Challenges of Post-Colonial Studies in Africa Panelist: Prof. Mahmood Mamdani, Dr. Tajudeen Abdul Raheem, Dr. Joy Kwesiga, Josephine Ahikire, Dr. Peter Henriques, Dr. Manas Ray, Dr. Jayoti Gupta
5:20 – 5:30 p.m.	Closing Remarks by the Dean Faculty of Arts

Appendix 2: List of Participants

1. Apollo M. Nkwake, Alfa Development Contractors and Consultants
2. Austin Bukenya, Department of Literature, Makerere University
3. Wilber Bateisibwa, Department of Social Sciences Makerere University
4. Caleb Rukundo, Dept Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University
5. Chango Machyo W'Obanda, Senior Presidential Advisor
6. Daniel Lubowa, MISR
7. David Wasike, Centre for Basic Research
8. Dr Jayoti Gupta CSSSC, India
9. Dr. Bazaara Nyangabyaki - Executive Director Centre for Basic Research Kampala Uganda
10. Dr. Charles Bwana Ngobi, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University
11. Dr. Consolata Kabonesa,
12. Dr. Elijah Dickens Mushemeza, Dept Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University
13. Dr. Ernest Beyaraza, Department of Philosophy Makerere University Kampala
14. Dr. Joy Kwesiga, Faculty of Social Sciences Makerere University
15. Dr. Manas Ray (India)
16. Dr. Murindwa Rutanga - Head of Dept Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University
17. Dr. Peter Henriques (Denmark)
18. Dr. Simba Sallie Kayunga, Centre for Basic Research
19. Dr. Tajudeen Abdul Raheem. Pan African Movement Office, Kampala
20. Dr. Grace Kyomuhendo Bantebya, Department of Gender and Women Studies
21. Dr. Mulyampiti, Department of Women and Gender Studies
22. Dr. Okello Ogwang, Department of Literature Makerere University
23. Dr. Umar Labdo, Dean Faculty of Social Sciences Islamic University in Uganda.
24. Gladys Kirungi, Centre for Basic Research.
25. His Excellency the Ambassador of India
26. Joel Isabirye, Centre for Basic Research
27. Josephine Ahikire, Centre for Basic Research
28. Julius Mulumba
29. Anthony Juma Okuku, Department Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University
30. Karungi Charlotte, Department of History Makerere University
31. Kayiwa Isma, Department Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University
32. Kearsley A. Stewart, MISR

33. Kulumba M, Dept Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University
34. Madeline Ondua Liguemoh
35. Monica B. Chibita, Ag. Head of Department Mass Communications Makerere University
36. Musoke Rapheal Mukuuta, Centre for Basic Research
37. Muiya Musoke, CADI
38. Sarah Muzaki, School of Education Humanities and Social Sciences Nkumba University
39. Mwambutsya Ndebesa, Department of History Makerere University
40. Eva Nabulya, Department of literature Makerere University
41. Z. Namunyolo
42. Okello Richard Nixon, Department of literature Makerere University,
43. Patrick Mangeni, Department of Music, Dance and Drama Makerere University
44. Prof. A.G.G Ginyera-Pinycwa, Department Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University
45. Prof. Dent Ocaya-Lakidi, Dept Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University
46. Prof. Eric Aseka Masinde, Professor of Political History, Kenyatta University, Kenya
47. Prof. John Ssebuwufu - Vice Chancellor of Makerere University
48. Prof. Mahmood Mamdani, Professor of Anthropology University of Columbia, USA
49. Prof. Oswald Ndolelire, Dean Faculty of Arts Makerere University
50. Richard Sewakiryanga, Centre for Basic Research
51. Samson James Opolot, Centre for Basic Research
52. Ssali Fredrick, Centre for Basic Research
53. Stephen K. Kirya, Uganda Aids Commission.

CBR Workshop Reports

1. **Pastoralism, Crisis and Transformation in Karamoja**; Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR and held at the Faculty of Science Makerere University, August 14 - 15, 1992, by Joe Oloka-Onyango, Zie Gariyo and Frank Muhereza; 26p.
2. **Women and Work: Historical Trends**; Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR, and held at the Faculty of Science, Makerere University, September 7-10, 1992, by Expedid Ddungu, James Opyene and Sallie Kayunga; 61p.
3. **Workers' Education**; Report of a CBR Workshop held at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, Makerere University, March 19-20, 1993, John Jean Barya, Sallie Simba Kayunga and Ernest Okello-Ogwang; 47p.
4. **Pastoralism and Crisis in Karamoja**; Report of the Second CBR Pastoralism Workshop held at St. Phillips community Centre, Moroto, January 28-29 1994, by Frank Emmanuel Muhereza and Charles Emunyu Ocan; 19p.
5. **Regional, Workshop on Public Interest Environment Law and Community-Based Initiatives for Sustainable Natural Resources Management in East Africa** held at Colline Hotel Mukono, in August, 1996 by Samson Opolot and James Opyene; 37p.
6. Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR on **"A Dialogue on Gender Dimensions of Agricultural Policy in Uganda"** held at Fairway Hotel Kampala, May 3-4, 1996, by Samson James Opolot and John Ssenkumba; 58p.
7. **Report on the Proceedings of the NOTU/CBR Seminar: Worker' Social Conditions in Uganda Today** held at held at Pope Paul VI Memorial Community Centre on 22-23 July 1997, by John Ssenkumba and Crispin Kintu; 27p.
8. **Report of the ENRECCA Workshop on "Modernity, Development and Institutional Change: A Dialogue Towards the Next Millennium"** held at Lake View Hotel Mbarara, 21 – 28 February 1998, Charity Kyomugisha; 38p.
9. Report of the **Workshop on the Survey: "Constitutionalism Project Phase Three"** held at Colline Hotel Mukono, 29-30 January 1996, by John Ssenkumba; 22p.
10. **Lessons of Constitution-Making in Uganda** by Samson James Opolot and Chrispin Kintu Nyago; 29-30 January 1996. 52p.
11. **Report on A One-Day Dissemination Workshop on the Study "Civil Society, Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: A Review Essay** by Bazaara Nyagabyaki and Kintu Nyago Held at Centre for Basic Research on 2 September 1999, 21p.
12. **Peace, Democracy and the Human Rights in Uganda: A String of Fragile Pearls**; held at the Conference Centre, Kampala, on 20th October 1999, by Samson Opolot. 31p.
13. **GWESA Research Methodological Workshop Report**; held at Hotel Triangle, Jinja, on 21-23 July 1999, by Winnie Bikaako and Raphael Musoke. 41p.
14. **Building Healthy Cities: Improving the Health of Urban Migrants and the Urban Poor in Africa**; held at Hotel Africana, Kampala – Uganda, on 2-3 July 2001, by Charity Kyomuigsha. 74p.
15. **Frameworks for Citizen Participation in Local Governance**; by Samson James Opolot and Frederick Ssali, Held at Hotel Africana, Kampala – Uganda, on 26th July 2002; 28p.
16. **Post-Colonial Studies in Africa**; Report of a workshop held at Hotel Africana, Kampala – Uganda, on 2-3 July 2001, Prepared by Dr. Yasin Olum, edited by Richard Ssewakiryanga, 2003. 68p.