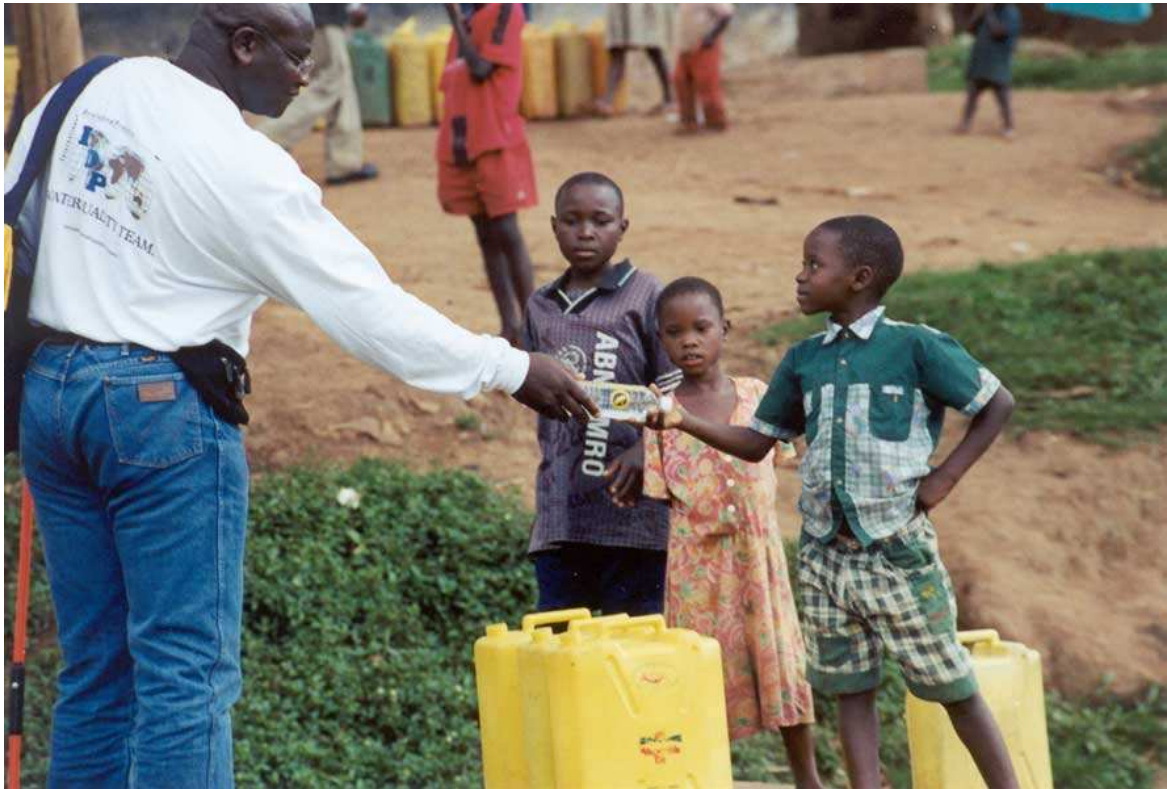


WATER OR SODA

-Volunteers in a Kampala Slum-



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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the Cand. Polit. degree
Department of Social Anthropology - University of Bergen
June 2006

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MY DEEPEST GRATITUDE TO

Professor Leif Manger

For excellent and patient guidance and support through an excessive amount of years

The Community Health Workers, other volunteers and stab members with Caring Community, Community Concern, and Women Aid

For including me in your work and your lives with the uttermost caring hospitability
Because of you my thoughts keep returning to Kampala, and hopefully soon will the rest of me

Everybody associated with Nature Society and Water in Bergen and Kampala

For introducing me to Kampala, and for including me in NSW, a very interesting and highly important project
Especially Prof. Petter Larsson and Prof. Edward Kirumira for excellent guidance and support

All of my co-students and friends with the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Bergen

You are the best
Without you this would have been a terribly lonesome experience

My dear family

For never stopping to believe in me
You are the cornerstone of my life. Without you I am nothing

Geir

For being everything that you are
You are my dream come true

ABBREVIATIONS

CBO(s):	Community Based Organisation(s)
CHW:	Community Health Worker(s)
DISH:	Uganda Delivery of Improved Services for Health
DONGOs:	Donor-organised Non Governmental Organisations
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GFs:	Gap-Fillers
GROs:	Grassroot Organisation(s)
GSO(s)/GRSOs:	Grassroot Support Organisation(s)
GONGO(s):	Government Organised or -supported Organisation(s)
HDI:	Human Development Index
INGO(s):	International Non Governmental Organisation(s)
KCC:	Kampala City Council
LC(s):	Local Council(s)
LRA:	Lord's Resistance Army
MSO(s):	Membership Support Organisation(s)
NGO(s):	Non Governmental Organisation(s)
NNGOs:	Northern Non Governmental Organisations
NRA:	National Resistance Army
NRC:	Norwegian Refugee Council
NRM:	National Resistance Movement
NWSC:	Natural Water and Sewerage Corporation
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PEAP:	Poverty Eradication Action Plans
POs:	People's Organisation(s)
QUANGO(s):	Quasi-autonomous Organisation(s)
RAT:	Rational Action Theory
RC:	Resistance Council
RLI:	Rhodes-Livingston Institute

Abbreviations

SAP:	Structural Adjustment Programs
SNGOs:	Southern Non Governmental Organisation(s)
UN:	United Nations
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
VAT:	Value Added Tax
VOs:	Voluntary Organisations

INTRODUCTION

...We walked into the community, the volunteers and I. Passing a huge refuse heap with all sort of waste: polythene, used tin cans, plastic-bags, household waste, rotting organic remains, you name it, I saw something move, but did not care, or rather dare, to take a closer look at what it was. Near by a woman was cooking on a charcoal stove, and children were playing, some of them climbing the rubbish mountain to get a glimpse of the mzungu (Swahili for 'white person') passing by. An angry woman shouted at us, asking the volunteers to talk to a bar-owner in the area about the pollution his customers produced in the neighbourhood. We walked on at the narrow murram tracks in the extremely densely populated area, and caught a little boy disposing his faeces in a yard right next to us. Looking up and seeing me, he immediately stopped what he was doing. At first his face froze, and then, screaming, he ran into the safety of his mother's lap. On our right, a protected spring-well in need of renovation where small children struggled to fill twenty litre jerry cans. Due to lack of proper draining system leading the excess water away, they were standing in a pool of dirty waste- and rainwater mixed with the 'clean' water coming out of the pipeline. Some of the children were drinking straight from the can, a boy arrived with a big fish and washed it in the contaminated pool water, a cow next to him was having a sip. On our left, not far from the well, a poorly constructed platform latrine had been emptied to the ground, with the resultant dreadful smell and dangerous stagnant cluster of sewage. Trying not to be sick, while balancing on a narrow bridge passing an open sewer filled with stagnant greenish water, I endeavoured to listen to the community health workers' assessments of the sanitary condition in the area. At times they commented on improvements that had been made. I had to admit I could not see how the situation could have been any worse at some of the so called improved spots. In the background there were women singing while braiding each others hair, men shouting orders at each other, carrying heavy loads of vegetables to the market, and the ongoing 'how are you mzungu, how are you mzungu'- chanting from the curious children...

- Description of a walk in the slum area where I conducted my fieldwork, Kampala, 2001

Kampala, the capital of Uganda¹, is a city built on several hills at the border of Lake Victoria. One of the main and most obvious factors separating 'well-off' from poorer communities in this city is the water and sanitary situation. Even though most communities within the city are characterised by a mixture of permanent, semi-permanent and temporary structures the water and sanitary conditions worsen the steeper the hillsides are and the further down towards the wetlands you go. These downhill areas are, in addition to bad sanitary and housing conditions, characterised by high population density, and a high level of poverty, and are by people in Kampala referred to as 'slum'.

The location where I spent most of my time during the fieldwork is by this definition a slum area. I will throughout this thesis refer to this area as 'the Parish'². This community is characterised by high population density, high level of poverty and as illustrated in the description of my walk in the area given above, the natural environment is harsh. Located in steep hillsides and swampy valleys, the area and its people are surrounded by water. It comes up from the ground, down from the hilltops and from the sky during the heavy tropical rainfalls. Water exposes the population to flooding, landslides, and poor sanitary conditions. Water sources are few and in a bad shape, and the drinking water is contaminated. Additionally, people are considered to display unsanitary practices and habits, which make the situation worse for all. All of these factors cause a high percentage of water related diseases among people living here.

Spending time in the Parish, I observed, and participated in the work of a group of volunteers, calling themselves Community Health Workers (CHW). The CHW is one of several departments within a small Community Based Organisation (CBO), which I will call Caring Community. Caring Community's activities started out 15-20 years ago. The founders were a group of young Catholics from the settlement, who decided to identify challenges or problems in the community, which needed immediate response or solution. Many of the problems detected were economic or social in nature, and they found that the ones suffering most were the HIV/AIDS infected and affected. Initially then, their main focus was helping the high percentage of people

¹ For Country Profile, see Appendix A.

² This is the second smallest political and geographical unit within the present political system of Uganda, which will be more thoroughly described in chapter 2.

suffering from this epidemic disease. With time, and with the help of the superintendent at a Catholic hospital in Kampala, the group's activities expanded and got formalised. A Board of Governors and a Director now head the organisation. The few employees and large number of volunteer workers are distributed within five different departments dealing with different problems and vulnerable groups in the area.³ The following Figure (Figure 1), illustrates the CHW-unit's position within Caring Community structure.

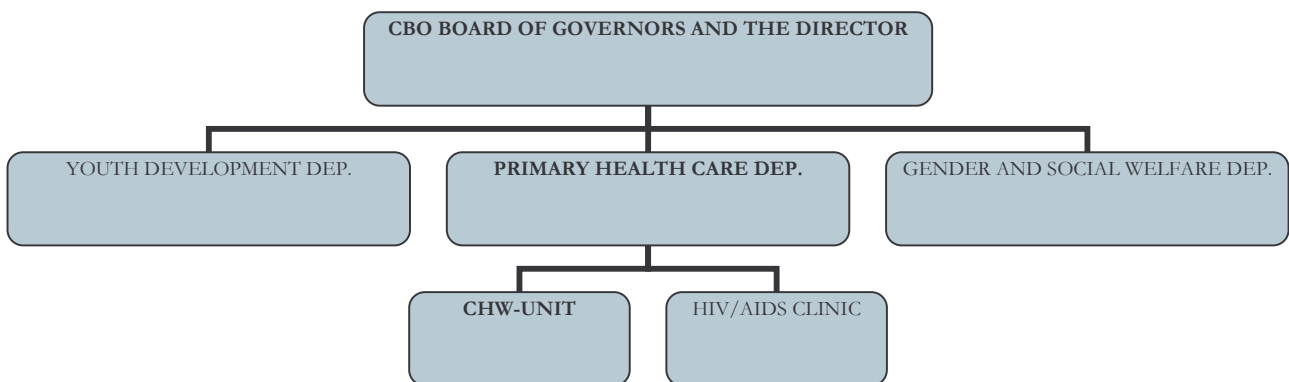


Figure 1: Illustration of the structure of Caring Community. All the departments and units have not been included here as the purpose of this figure is to illustrate the CHW-unit's location in Caring Community hierarchy, marked with bold text.

The CHW endeavoured to improve the water and sanitary condition within the Parish. Their main objectives are creating a clean environment through mobilisation, motivation, sensitisation, and community participation among the masses, and to promote health education and immunisation programmes to prevent diseases. Their overall goal is to eliminate easily preventable diseases in the community⁴. This was however not an easy task. In addition to the fact that the physical environment is harsh constraining their work, and the difficulties experienced in cooperating with other stakeholders like government representatives and

³ Youth Development Department, Primary Health Care Department, Department of Vocational Training, Children's Welfare Department, and Gender and Social Welfare Department.

⁴ See Appendix B.

landlords, internal conflicts was a major problem. The CHW was a unit consisting of about 15 individuals. All of them lived in the Parish or in neighbouring areas, which were also poor. There were about five men and ten women in the group. The men were generally younger than the women, and quite fluent in English. Some of the women, especially the oldest, did not speak English at all. Some of the younger women were single-mothers, others had responsibility for a whole family, and the majority of the men were single, or had spouses, but no children. Looking into the conflict situations, trying to find their essence, and why and in what ways the differences between the CHW influenced their work, directed my attention towards issues that has become the main focus of this thesis.

Main Focus

During my fieldwork in the Parish, spending time with the CHW at their meetings and in the field, I experienced a number of situations. Some of these had features to them, which attracted my attention as particularly interesting and puzzling. Why, for instance, did a number of the members leave to another slum community to mobilise and sensitise the residents there instead? Was it really, as some stated, because they received a soda for their effort there? And why was it mostly women who left? Furthermore, how should I interpret the quarrels among the CHW about whether they should help clean or just encourage the residents into doing so? And why did they see formal registration of their unit as an independent Association within Caring Community, as the solution to some of these problems?

Trying to make sense of features like these, two main contexts came out as imperative to the analysis. First, the CHW are slum dwellers and live in the Parish. Thus, the urban slum context, i.e. people's life in the slum and their adjustment to this particular environment, need to be discussed. There are numerous assumptions and theories about the maladaptive and marginal slum-dweller in the urban environment. Contrary to these conclusions, I observed the existence of political and economic survival strategies and a moral community among the residents in the Parish that worked to control people's behaviour, and laid the foundation for dependency and cooperation. Anthropologist Sandra Wallman, who has conducted a study of women in Kampala, refers to the concept of *empisa*, which is a local ideal of moral community combining

neighbourliness with respectability (Wallman, 1996). This principle was present also in the Parish. Among people living here this concept was referred to as a moral conduct, which included greetings, the way one talks to others, address certain issues, etc. Looking closer into different aspects of life in the slum, however, I became aware of the fact all the residents did not experience life here identically. Gender will be discussed as one aspect that made a difference as to what opportunities the residents had, and what strategies were used.

Second, the CHW were volunteers in a CBO, and there were features to the situations that pointed in the direction of a need to investigate the NGO context more thoroughly. The goals and objectives of Caring Community and the CHW-unit described above are in line with what is expected from NGOs by donors within the development establishment. They are to create a strong civil society by the means of community participation and empowerment at the grassroots. In order to accomplish these goals Caring Community endeavoured to organise the already existing moral community in the Parish. That is, community trust and reciprocity was tried transformed into political attitudes that would empower the residents, enforce a strong civil society, strengthen democracy, and eventually lead to poverty alleviation. This was done mainly through the use of volunteers. There were however also other expectations experienced by the CHW, from the Ugandan Government and people at the grassroots. These were not always and necessarily concomitant with the ones of the development establishment. The expectations directed towards the volunteers in the Parish, and their motivation for entering such a role will be one of the essential issues in the discussion of the NGO context.

Thus, answering the questions, which the situations I observed opened up, require a discussion of the structural relationship between grassroots, NGOs, and the state. The CHW are residents in the Parish, or more precisely, they are female and male residents of the Parish, they are however also volunteers in a CBO, and finally they are Ugandan citizens and have to relate to the Ugandan Government both as residents and volunteers. I will illustrate in what way their choices of action can be seen to take place within and being influenced by structural dynamics, at the same time as they are part of the process of reaffirming, re-arranging and changing these structures.

Looking into how the CHW handled their position as volunteers, in-between the different expectations and values represented by these three different stakeholders in development, following them from situation to situation, is also a theoretical positioning. The relationship between actors and structure, the analysis of practice, and possibilities for change, are topics that are imminent in the analysis that will be given. This thesis can therefore be said to contain three different analytical levels: the experience-near observational situations; the structural dynamics and processes described in the contextual chapters, i.e. the chapters on the urban slum and NGOs; and finally a theoretical conceptual level where some main anthropological issues will be discussed. The latter is related to what theoretical perspective and methodological approach is applied and found fruitful in the search for an understanding of observed realities and the structural dynamics that they are taking place within.

Searching for Perspectives

Understanding the practices and situations that the anthropologist observes and writes down during fieldwork is, I claim, an exercise in closing gaps between micro and macro level of society. To trace the connections from what goes on at the ground level, among people that we get to know and spend time with, to the macro level of structures and systems, or vice versa, we need models and procedures that can help us detect the processes at work and illuminate the nature of the relations between the two analytical levels. In chapter 5 I will discuss the perspectives of Barth, Bourdieu, and Ferguson, in comparison to the situational analysis and extended-case method of Gluckman and the Manchester School, which is the theoretical perspective and methodological procedure applied in my analysis. I will also include empirical data discussed and presented in the previous chapters, in this theoretical conceptual part of the thesis.

Barth, Bourdieu, and Ferguson represent different approaches to the study of the relationship between actor and structure, and all of them have interesting points that is worth taking notice of in the analysis of social life. There are however also limitations inherent in these approaches, which inhibited me in reaching a fuller understanding of the empirical material presented and sought analysed in this thesis. Barth argues for a conception of society that is disordered and open, as such we can not take a region or a community as a unit in which the activities of actors

can be placed and analysed within. He claims that anthropologists need to start with the individual actor and their activities, trace them in order to identify fields of interrelated activities, and thereby detect what structures appear. This is interesting in that it gives agency to the actor, and reveals the processes through which structures emerge. I found however that it did not give sufficient answers to the question of how actors are in fact constrained, i.e. how their choices of action are to some extent limited by the structural dynamics that they live their lives within.

Bourdieu wanted to understand practice, as a means to transcend the divide between individual and society in anthropological analysis. Bourdieu's perspective is interesting in so far as it puts focus on how the activities of individuals take places within and are shaped by structures. He explains the link between people's activities in their everyday lives, i.e. practices, and the structures in social life by using the concept of 'habitus', which consist of embodied dispositions. Dispositions are durable and beyond consciousness, and are adjusted to the objective conditions of existence. This makes habitus almost impossible to alter or undo. Thus, it is difficult to understand how conscious deliberation and awareness fits into Bourdieu's theoretical framework. This is problematic in that it becomes too deterministic and leaves too little room for individual agency and thereby change.

Ferguson on his side argues for the need to replace the concept of culture with that of performance. He claims that the use of culture has been holistic and homogenising even in the effort to transcend such a meaning of it. The relationship between actor and structure is in his view to be seen as taking place through the individual's cultivation of style. Different styles are to be understood not as a total way of life, but as complex forms of social action that must be interpreted in the context of material life and social relations. Ferguson uses 'cultural style' to refer to practices that signify differences between social categories, and 'style' to emphasise the accomplished, performative nature of such practices. Cultural style is not to be understood as total modes of behaviour, but rather poles of social signification like masculine-feminine, crosscut with other such poles like middleclass-working-class. Style tends to stick with a person like a linguistic dialect or accent; it requires not only a situational motive but an internalised capacity that need to be acquired over time, thus, situational shifting of style is only possible to a limited degree.

This perspective is interesting in that it stresses the point that culture difference is not to be conceived as located between analytical distinct cultures or social systems, it is rather continually produced within the logic of a class society. On the other hand Ferguson does not attempt to explore the structural dynamics of particular situations, or the larger more global structural processes affecting action at the local level. He reduces what are presumably very different contexts and their dynamics, into a fixed similarity, and use generalised terms as cosmopolitanism and globalisation. Ferguson's perspective, as that of Barth and Bourdieu, shares similarities in reasoning with the Manchester School perspectives. I found however that in relation to my empirical material, the Manchester approach solved some of the problems and limitations that signified the other models' solutions to the closing of the gap between individual and society.

The main assumptions and advantage with the situational approach as developed by Gluckman will be more thoroughly dealt with in chapter 5 and only briefly mentioned here. First, the main assumption is that human social existence is one of constant change and continual flux. Second, the situation or event is the best entry-point to reach an understanding of the ever-changing society, because the situation is a total context of crisis, i.e. it contains potentiality and multiple possibilities. Third, the situational analysis challenge notions of systems as characterised by homogeneity and overall coherence, and open the anthropologist to the potentialities of the contexts and practices encountered. It does so partly because it makes room for individual agency in the analysis. Fourth, the situation is not intended as an 'apt illustration' of larger processes, but as the problem to be investigated. The situation is the site from which to enter into wider realities, the vehicle to an enquiry into more general features, and thereby it opens up to the exploration of different context of social action.

The analysis of the situation is to do microhistory, i.e. instead of going back in time, going forward, following the emergence and development of social practice in the present as they become the future. This makes the analysis close to lived realities. These assumptions made me capable of tracing the activities and behaviours of the CHW into wider contexts without having initial assumptions about what they should be. The individual is given agency, and the structural

constraints illuminated, without seeing them as holistic wholes. The ‘situation’ as initially outlined by Gluckman has been developed in many directions, and in order to pinpoint how I intend to use it throughout this thesis I will now briefly refer to some of the routes that has been taken.

The social situation has generally been defined as a “temporally and spatially bounded series of events abstracted by the observer from the on-going flow of social life” (Garbett, 1970: 215). If the event is defined as a “subjectively differentiated portion of motion and action” (Ibid), then the social situation encompasses events both as perceived by the actors and the observers. The social situation, e.g. a ritual, that the observer delimits for analysis can however include events that the actor do not define within the ritual as he or she sees it. Thus, the situation as a unit of analysis is defined by the observer, and the events contained within its temporal and spatial boundaries are arbitrarily and heuristically circumscribed in terms of some theoretical perspective (Garbett, 1970).

Gluckman described a bridge-opening ceremony in Zululand, whereby he extracted the important elements, and traced each of these back into the larger society, in order to demonstrate their significance in the ceremony he already described. The events that constituted the situation began some time before the ceremony and continued for some time after. Spatially the boundaries were set to include the immediate surroundings of the bridge and the locations of the participants. Mitchell uses the same formula and describes the performance of the *Kalela* dance among Africans at the Copperbelt. Dominant features of the dance are related to the system of relationship among Africans. This necessitates the inclusion of the overall system of Black-White relationships in Northern Rhodesia. When he has reached some conclusions in this process he returns to the dance and can fully appreciate its significance. In this analysis it is the dance itself which constitute the situation, that is, he does not deal with the assembly and dispersal of the dancers, and the spatial boundaries include the dancing arena and its immediate spectators only (Garbett, 1970; Mitchell, 1956).

One of the routes that have been taken from the original situation analysis as developed by Gluckman is the extended-case method pioneered by Mitchell and further developed by Turner. Instead of describing one situation, i.e. a ceremony, they take a series of different situations

affecting the same persons or groups over time. Furthermore, these situations are related to the development and changes of social relationships among these persons and groups within the framework of their social system and culture (Gluckman, 1967). Thus, these social situations, emerging through time, invoked different contexts of action, created variance in continuities and discontinuities, evoked inconsistencies in self-presentation, and generated values and norms, all the while staying close to lived realities (Handelman, 2005).

Turner brought this technique to its fullest realization. He observed that crisis occurred periodically among the Ndembu, and these situations, which he called 'social dramas' and the events that follow them, proceed through regular phases. Mitchell elaborated the extended-case idea in a more actor and choice oriented direction with his social network analysis. By taking each individual in turn as a focus, and map its relationships, direct and indirect, with other individuals in the situation and external to it, the aim was to overcome the problem of community centeredness and localism. Thus, this method enabled the tracing of relationship through a variety of contexts. Mitchell's social network was true to the key situational concern to analyse complexity and large-scale processes without losing connection with the persons on the ground (Kapferer, 2006).

In light of what has been said here my analysis can be categorised within the extended-case method, without abandoning the main principles of the situation analysis described above. I spent time with the CHW following them from situation to situation, trying to disclose what problems and possibilities they experienced in their effort to solve a development problem. I found that they made their choices of action based on individual preferences that had to do with different motivations for becoming a volunteer. Nevertheless, in order to understand why these motivations was there in the first place, and in what ways these differences caused conflicts among the CHW, I believe it was essential to see them as taking place within and being affected by structural dynamics and processes.

Gluckman, according to Kapferer, point out the importance of being aware that the view presented in any situational analysis, represents one perspective on the larger schemes of things. If viewed from another angle other processes would come into focus (Kapferer, 2006). This is in

line with Bateson who in 1958 stated that any social situation have diverse dimensions to them and, thus, can be analysed from different theoretical perspectives (Bateson, 1958). Thus, it is not the type of situations that separates the different disciplines, but the links they try to establish between them. I want to stress this point also when it comes to my analysis. Having as my entrance-point situations occurring when I was with the CHW, my aim is not to give a comprehensive, totalising description of life in the slum. I depict processes in work in the slum, based on the perspective I gained entering this world through a group of volunteers who were working for a CBO located in the area, and from the angle that a development question, water and sanitation, was trying to be solved.

Another central point is that there is a difference between the complexity captured in the situation and the analytic concepts used to create analytic comprehension of that complexity. When I use concepts like ‘context’ or ‘field’ to describe separate spheres or environments in which the CHW move, this does not imply that they reflect some entities in the real world or that they are experienced as distinct and separate worlds by the CHW or the residents living there. Thus, the concepts employed are abstract constructs used to illuminate the dynamics or processes that are gathered into the situation (Kapferer, 2006). Conceptualisation is a necessary but also challenging tool in the analytical process. This will be reflected on in chapter 6. A number of different analytical concepts have been used in the discussion on how life in the slum should be understood.

The Urban Context

Anthropologists have been considered latecomers in the study of the city. The earliest anthropological explorations of the urban environment took place after the Second World War, and widespread interest in urban issues developed as late as the 1960s and 1970s. Sociologists had at the time already been doing extensive research in cities in America for decades. The Chicago School consisted of a number of sociologists who took interest in studying urbanism, i.e. the way of life in cities, in the beginning of the 20th Century. Robert Park, who was the leading figure at the sociology department at the University of Chicago in the 1920s, was one of the pioneers of this school (Hannerz, 1980).

He argues that the city is more than its streets, buildings, tramways and electric lights, and also more than its constellation of institutions and administrative apparatus. The city according to Park is a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions. The city is a geographical and ecological unit, but it is also an economic unit and finally the natural habitat of civilized man. Park argues that there are forces at work in the city, as in every other natural area of human habitation, that bring about an orderly and typical grouping of its population and institutions. Trying to isolate and describe the typical constellation of persons and institutions that the cooperation of these forces produce is, according to Park, what we call human ecology, as distinguished from plant or animal ecology. Tramways, telephones, newspapers and advertising, communication and transportation are all features that create both greater mobility and greater concentration of the urban population, and are primary factors in the ecological organisation of the city (Park and Burgess, 1967).

Thus, Park found interest in the analogy with plant ecology, and he elaborated on the utility of the concepts of dominance, symbiosis, succession and, most importantly, competition, in his urban studies. The strongest inhabitants of the urban environment would occupy the most advantageous locations and other would adjust to their demands. The principle of symbiosis was a moderating factor. In fact more attention was given to the relation between people and space than between people by the Chicago researchers. In addition they confined themselves to the study of locality, and later institutions, as enclosed spaces, with little effort to study the external forces. Park took interest in the varying characteristics of urban neighbourhoods, some isolated with few ties to the outside world, some anonymous agglomerates, which needed to be described and understood to understand the city. A number of institutions was also worthy of analysis, e.g. the family, the church, the courts of justice, to see what happened to them in the city (Hannerz, 1980; Burawoy, 2000).

Urban Versus Rural Life

Theories of urbanism have often based their reasoning on contrasting the urban to the rural. Thus, there has been a tendency to use dichotomies like modern versus traditional, whether one

is idealising one or the other of these social systems. The main assumption behind the Chicago School project was that the city is a force in world history shaping the human nature and changing social organisation based on factors such as kinship, caste, tribe and ties of locality. The division of labour created a new type of rationalised, specialised man. The relations in the city was according to Louis Wirth characterised by secondary rather than primary contacts, i.e. they are impersonal, superficial transitory and segmental even when face-to-face. Thus, relations in the city were found to be in contrast to Redfield's rural folk societies, where you find homogeneity in thinking and doing, and intimate communication and feeling of belonging among the members. This diametrical opposition is in line with Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* and Durkheim's divide between mechanic and organic solidarity (Hannerz, 1980).

This dichotomisation is present also within an urbanisation perspective. Urbanisation will here be defined as the process by which rural migrants settle in and adjust to urban life. Explanations of urban poverty and the adaptive or maladaptive behaviours of the urban poor have, to a great degree, evolved around theories that take for granted assumptions about where the urban poor come from and where they are, or should be, headed. Having left the rural villages and not yet managed to fully 'enter' the city they are by urban administrators, and development agents given a role as 'the other', bearers of a subculture that exist on the fringe of mainstream urban society. The following quote is taken from a UNESCO⁵ Expert Meeting on Urban Problems:

...A country-dweller cannot adapt himself to town life overnight and squatters tend to settle on land that falls outside the scope of authorization to build – areas regarded as unhealthy, subject to flooding, etc. In these conditions the newcomer begins by reconstructing his former village background ...Very soon, however, the physical or moral barriers of ownership and respect of neighbours are broken down by circumstances beyond the squatter's control. Promiscuity comes to be tolerated, and all that remains of the rules the community life rapidly vanishes. The squatter loses his peasant identity without on that account being accepted as a town-dweller. He becomes one of a mass of idlers where every man for himself is the rule (UNESCO, 1976 pp. 3-4, in Harpham et al, 1988).

⁵ United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation.

The maladaptive perspective on the behaviour of the poor was evident in some of the CHW's opinions about why it was difficult to change the conducts and attitudes of the residents in the community. Simon, one of the most committed CHW and my main informant told me once: 'you see, when people from different regions, with different village ways of leading their lives are mixed, chaos occurs.' The same opinion was revealed to me in an informal conversation with a local politician, a Chairperson of public health in one of Kampala's Divisions. He told me that one of the reasons why the environmental problems in Kampala's slums are so devastating is that people, who live within these settlements continue to live their lives 'the village way'.

This perception of the urban poor is rooted in the modernisation perspective on development that evolved in the 1950s and 1960s. After the Second World War when many of the former colonies became independent, the interest for what happened in the South grew among politicians and researchers in the North. The interest was dominated by great optimism about the development of Third World countries. The common ground for the different modernisation theorists was a dualism between the modern and the traditional. This opposition was manifest in the differences between 'North' and 'South' at a global level, and between the small modern, and the big traditional sector within the developing countries. Within modernisation theory the word 'marginalisation' is frequently used to describe particular characteristics of the urbanisation process (Harpham et al, 1988).

To be marginal is equivalent to being secondary, subordinate, tangential and unimportant. The slums are found to be marginal in several ways. They are considered 'socially marginal' in that most people who live there have migrated from rural areas and are unable to assimilate, and adjust to city life. 'Spatial marginalisation' refers to the fact that most slum and squatter areas are located on low quality and poorly located land areas at the outskirts of cities. They are considered economically- and politically marginal based on the fact that the population in slums are thought to be outside any political organisation and structure. Thus, the term 'marginalisation' is used to separate those who have managed to adjust to the modern urban life, i.e. those who take part in modern sectors like the capitalist economy, from those who have not. The indigenous population, the rural communities and the urban masses belong to the traditional, backwards sector. They have problems adjusting because of some innate incapacity, and are therefore seen

as responsible for their own modernisation, implicating that they have themselves to blame for their own poverty (Ibid).

Culture of Poverty

Oscar Lewis introduced the term 'culture of poverty' to explain the marginalisation of the urban poor, and added the concept of 'alienation' to the debate. Culture of poverty involves, according to Lewis, both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, high individuated, capitalist society. But there is, according to Lewis, more to the concept than merely adaptive processes:

The culture of poverty is not only an adaptation to a set of objective conditions of the larger society. Once it comes into existence, it tends to perpetuate itself for generation to generation because of its effect on the children. By the time slum children are six or seven they have usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities, which may occur in their lifetime (Lewis, 1969: 50).

The adaptation and reaction that is transmitted to children who grow up within a subculture of poverty is visible at different levels of analysis. It is evident in the slum communities' lack of participation and integration in the major institutions of the larger society. One can detect it in the nature of the slum community, e.g. poor housing conditions, crowding, and lack of social organisation above household level. At the level of the nature of the family, the culture of poverty is recognisable in the absence of childhood as a prolonged and protected stage in the life cycle, early initiation into sex and marriage, and the abandonment of wives and children, leading to a trend of mother- and women centred families (Lewis, 1969).

Looking at the attitudes, values and character structure of the individual you will find a strong feeling of marginality, helplessness, dependence and inferiority. Other traits include relatively little ability to plan for the future, and a sense of resignation and fatalism. People know only their own troubles, their own local conditions, their own neighbourhood, and their own way of life. These traits are common strategies to common problems and thereby transcend regional and national differences. The chances that a culture of poverty will develop enhances the more

alienated you already are in rapidly changing society. People who migrate to the cities from stable village and tribal communities with a well organized traditional culture are less likely to develop a culture of poverty than landless rural workers arriving in the city (Ibid). In contrast to ‘culture of poverty’ I have used ‘moral community’ in this thesis to describe the norms and values present in the slum. Like Lewis I observed the behaviour of people living in urban poverty. In contrast to him, however, I have tried to keep the complexity of the situations observed separate from the analytic concepts used to create analytic conception of that complexity (Kapferer, 2006). Thus, I have aimed to avoid the fallacy that I claim Lewis falls into, namely using ‘culture of poverty’ in a reductionist and essentialist way. I have done so by analysing the ‘moral community’ (empisa) that I found to exist among the residents in the Parish, without any presumptions about where they come from or where they should be headed.

A Townsman is a Townsman

In 1961 Gluckman wrote: “an African townsman is a townsman, an African miner is a miner” (Gluckman, 1969: 69). This was an important contribution to the discussions of what happens with social relationships and the roles of individuals, with the emergence of fast growing towns and cities in central Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. Based in the modernisation perspective described above, separating the rural/traditional from the urban/modern, the Colonial administrators and the earlier generations of anthropologists had more or less consciously and explicitly assumed that the rural migrant would, when arriving in the city, go through a slow, long-time, one-way process of detribalisation. This was according to Gluckman a serious neglect by the researchers of the obvious fact that the town must be seen as a social system in its own right, and of the fact that different forms of modernity can operate at the same time. Mitchell claims that one cannot generalise about the principles of tribe or class without reference to specific situation in which interaction takes place. He found that the tribe did not disappear in the city but that its meaning and form change in an urban setting (Mitchell, 1956).

Gluckman argued that when arriving in the city the rural farmer or tribesman acts within a field that is structured by the urban, industrial setting, i.e. he enters roles and activities that affect his or her behaviour. The rural aspects that continue to influence him or her now function in an

urban setting. The starting point of the analysis should therefore according to Gluckman not be the ‘tribesman in the city’ but the ‘townsman’, and adherence to tribalism ought to be interpreted in an urban setting. Furthermore, going back to the village the townsman is again under the influence of the tribe, he is ‘tribalised’, i.e. deurbanised again. He also stresses that it is important to be aware that although the on-and-off process of detribalising and deurbanising means moving in and out of the tribe and the city respectively, it does not mean moving beyond the influence of the two contexts (Gluckman, 1969). Thus, contrary to the Chicago School researchers, who assumed that the rural tribesman loses his tribal identity in the process of becoming urban and modern, the Manchester anthropologists found that the rural or tribal identity does not disappear, but acquire new meaning in new contexts.

Gluckman’s theoretical standpoint can also be used in a polemic against Lewis’ theory of a ‘culture of poverty’. Lewis talks about culture as something that is shared and transmitted from one generation to the next. Following Gluckman, taking change to be the very condition of human existence, there can not be any such thing as a stable, unchanging and static condition. Understanding ‘culture’ in these terms, researchers like Lewis mixes the concept of culture as it is used in popular nationalist political processes, an idealised self-perception of a people and their culture, with how it is critically developed in anthropology. Contrary to Lewis, who sees culture as something slum dwellers are ‘stuck with’, culture should be used to mean “that which underlines all human practice as constructive and creative, a uniquely human phenomenon that accounts for the marvelous creative, always changing, and diverse worlds, which human beings constantly generate around them” (Kapferer, 2000: 186). This is in line with Gluckman, who argues for the “...distinction between the often idealized self-perception of a people of their culture and the more messy historically shifting process of cultural formation and practice which he would refer to as a ‘hodge-podge’ (Kapferer, 2006: 92).

My focus is not tribalism as such, but I find Gluckman’s reasoning interesting and relevant for the discussion on how to best approach questions relating to slum and squatter settlements in so called Third World towns and cities, and the slum populations’ adaptation to the urban environment. As has been described above, much is said and assumed about the nature of cultural formations in the slum founded on theories about where they come from and where

they are headed. My aim is, based on Gluckman's theoretical and analytical outlining, to take 'the Slumsman as a Slumsman' as the starting point of the analysis. The Slumsmen I worked closest with in the Parish were not helpless, unable to plan for their future or worried about their own problems only. Quite contrary they had volunteered to work for a CBO, in order to empower their fellow residents in the Parish, and create a better community for themselves and others. The CHW are not alone in entering this role. Becoming part of the 'NGO business', they are participants in a global phenomenon.

Conceptualising NGOs

The last two-three decades there has been a worldwide explosion in number of groups loosely identified as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). In the 1960s and 1970s there were few NGOs engaged in aid. In comparison the 1980s have been named 'the NGO decade'. The total funds transferred through 'Northern' NGOs increased at twice the rate for international aid as a whole. 4000 development NGOs in OECD⁶ member countries, dispersing billions of dollars a year, were working with about 10 000-20 000 'Southern' NGOs who assisted an estimate of 100-250 million people (I'vedt, 1998).

This trend has also made its presence in Uganda. The growth in number of NGOs since president Museveni came to power in 1986, has been massive. In the mid 1990s, there were approximately 1000 registered NGOs, disbursing an estimated 25 percent of all official aid to Uganda (Dicklitch, 1998). In 2000/2001 the total number of NGOs registered was about 3500 (GPRG⁷). The role and impact of the sudden worldwide increase of associations have attracted a lot of attention from development planners, policy makers, activists and analysts. A lot of academic effort has been put down to, in different ways, categorise the vast diversity of organisations. This has been done in order to comprehend the social, economic, and political consequences of this world-wide phenomenon, and to sort out the immense potential that has been attributed to NGOs, especially in the 'Third World'.

⁶ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

⁷ Global Poverty Research Group: <http://www.gprg.org> [Accessed 2004-10-07]

A CBO is not a MSO is not a GONGO

The World Bank defines NGOs broadly as: “groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and characterised primarily by humanitarian or cooperative, rather than commercial, objectives” (Dicklitch, 1998: 4). This is a very general definition including a wide range of formal and informal associations that are part of but not interchangeable with ‘civil society’, which is defined as “that segment of society that interacts with the state, influences the state and yet is distinct from the state” (Chazan 1992, in Fisher, 1997: 447). There is tremendous diversity in the function, level of operation, organisational structure, goals, and membership among NGOs, which include, among others charitable, religious, research, human rights, and environmental organisations. They range from loosely organised groups to those who have several hundreds employees and large budgets. The affiliation and support from governments vary from those who are totally voluntary and independent, to those who are created and run by governments. Some deal with one single issue in one particular location, some with a multiple of issues in one location, while others are support organisations for other NGOs spread all over the world (Fisher, 1997).

It is to deal with this enormous diversity that a number of sets of acronyms have been developed. Examples of such sets of acronyms are separating CBOs (community based organisations), POs (people’s organisations) and GROs (grass-root organisations) from MSOs (membership support organisations), GSOs or GRSOs (grass-root support organisations). This division is based on the difference between membership-based, locally autonomous groups and intermediary support organisations. Another example is separating totally autonomous NGOs from government-organised or –supported groups (GONGOs), quasi-autonomous NGOs (QUANGOs), and donor-organised NGOs (DONGOs). Finally one can distinguish between NGOs in Northern or industrialised countries (NNGOs), Southern or developing country organisations (SNGOs), and international organisations (INGOs) (Ibid).

These distinctions are often used in specific circumstances based on narrow objectives on part of the analysts, and are as such useful in the respective analysis. On the other hand this type of categorisation easily leads to an inadequate understanding of what NGOs do in specific circumstances. Fisher argues that what is at stake, is not whether an NGO is or is not a

QUANGO, a CONGO or a GSO, but what happens in specific places and at specific times, i.e. one needs to be alert to specific contexts, in order to contribute to the rethinking of the nature of NGO relations. A number of the acronyms mentioned here, describe NGOs in accordance to a set of descriptive criteria, like function, organisational structure, and relation to a locality or the state. NGOs have however also been evaluated based on normative measures.

NGOs' Role and Impact in Development

How one imagines NGOs' role in development is according to Fisher partly related to different opinions of the development industry (Fisher, 1997). In the critic of development one can detect two different main perspectives. First, some analysts see NGOs as the solution within the current development process, which is unavoidable and positive but defective. They see development agencies as part of a great collective effort to fight poverty, raise standards of living, and promote one or another version of progress (Ferguson, 1990). NGOs are seen as promoters of universal development goals where governments have failed: they are flexible, unburdened with large bureaucracies and open to innovation. As part of civil society with strong connections to the grassroots their role is to empower individuals and communities to compete in markets, articulate popular demands and take collective action. NGOs then are vehicles of democratic development by creating a robust civil society, which can influence government and powerful institutions. This perspective on NGOs is based in a faith on neo-liberal economics and liberal democratic theory (Fisher, 1997).

Second there are those who find both the dominant development paradigm and the implementation of it flawed. These critics are associated with neo-Marxism and dependency theory. They are critical to the neo-liberal development agenda, which to them is a historically produced discourse "which created a space in which only certain things could be said and even imagined" (Escobar in Fisher 1997: 443). Their argument goes as follows: If the capitalist system in the Third World is the cause of poverty not its cure, an obstacle instead of a promoter of development, then capitalist-run development projects is a contradictory endeavour. Thus, it is not possible to promote imperial capitalism and 'real' development at the same time, if capitalism is a reactionary rather than a progressive force (Ferguson, 1990).

Therefore, instead of engaging with the state, NGOs has the potential to challenge and alter relations of power. Struggling for ideological autonomy from the state they can politicise issues that were not formerly part of the development politics, and henceforth promote alternative development discourses and practices. On the other hand these critics warn against the danger that NGOs become the new ‘technical’, de-politicised solution to development problems, i.e. that the development industry use NGOs to implement their projects in situations where the state is seen as an inhibitor. They claim that the development establishment do not want NGOs to have a political role and thereby ignores, downplays, or co-opts their possibility to attain political power (Fisher, 1997).

Thus, these perceptions of NGOs reflect the tension between those who argue that new or alternative means are needed to reach the goals of development, and those who argue for a re-conception of the ends of development, and an acknowledgement that the means used to reach those goals matter as much as the ends themselves. The differences between these two perspectives are rooted in two opposing perceptions of what it means to ‘do good’, and at stake is the very notion of the ‘good’, the process of deciding what it is, and how to pursue it (Ibid). On the other hand, even though these two perspectives on developments have very different views on NGOs’ role, they can be said to share some similarities. Both the neo-liberals and the ones influenced by neo-Marxism see NGOs’ potential success in their closeness to the grassroots and in their ability to bring about some sort of change among the masses in local communities. Furthermore they both have a set of values as their starting point for analysing NGOs, affecting what role they suggest NGOs ought to fill. This affects the evaluation from both parties on the individual NGOs’ successes and failures.

Fisher explains how NGOs have come to be seen as central within two such diverging political agendas by pointing to the fact that they are not talking about the same set of associations. They base their evaluations of NGOs, divorced from ethnographic particulars, on two essential categories, i.e. NGOs and civil society, which are used in different ways by different theorists. Hence, according to Fisher, there is a need break down the ‘black box’ categories of NGOs and civil society and examine how the organisations actually operate in local, regional, national, and

transnational contexts. To do this it is necessary to unpack the asserted generalisations about the relative advantages of NGOs (Ibid).

NGOs and Civil Society

Igoe and Kelsall argue that in development and government circles it has been considered crucial that African states scale down their activities in order to create a new political agenda. This has been carried out by encouraging; some would say forcing, African states to accomplish Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP). According to these plans the world was to be divided into three sectors: the states, the markets, and the NGOs, all having different functions. While states would ensure political stability, and protect private property in order to create the environment for economic growth, markets would be the engine for this growth. NGOs were to empower citizens with the knowledge so as to make them capable of holding the state to account and ensure that it fulfils its functions (Igoe and Kelsall, 2005).

The different studies that has been collected and edited by Igoe and Kelsall, however, show that African states are so dependent on the aid sector that the opportunity to get hold of foreign assistance overshadowed possible access to market opportunities. Furthermore, civil society appears as a much more diffuse space than the mentioned three sector models implies. They do therefore suggest that the three sectors should be the state, foreign aid, and NGOs. There are, according to Igoe and Kelsall, several reasons making it difficult to designate different function to each of the three sectors. First, the donor role is concealed by the fact that they officially have no role, i.e. they provide funding and promote good governance but are not supposed to have any vested interest in the outcome. Second, the line between NGOs and Governments is often difficult to draw. The relationship between the two parts is radically different from what is envisioned by the normative three sector model. The assumption that NGOs equal civil society makes it difficult to define the parameters of the African civil society (Ibid).

The idea that donors stand outside civil society is, based on the assertion that donors are not supposed to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states. In reality however they do so all the time. The relationship between western donors and African NGOs is also influenced by the

aspect of dependency, whereas African NGOs need western donors. This, in Igoe and Kelsall's opinion, forces them into accepting donor agendas, and makes it necessary for them to take on a certain institutional form, which western donors recognise and are comfortable with. Critics point to the fact that this increasingly moves African NGOs away from the grassroots, when western donors now become their new constituents. As African NGOs become dependent on donor money they find themselves competing with African states (Ibid).

There has been several consequences of this contest for finances: some governments have created GONGOs (Governmental Non-Governmental Organisations), some governmental officials have started NGOs while keeping their governmental positions, some governmental officials take credit for the achievements of NGOs in local contexts, and some NGOs become controlled by their governments, and thereby end up being dependent on their funding and agendas. Increasingly, African governments have also been insisting that NGOs should be an extension of the state, i.e. NGOs should carry out the Government's development policy, be accountable to the state, but involve themselves in politics. This is the case in Uganda, where NGOs are included in the Government's development plans, and are ascribed the role as service providers. This will be described more thoroughly in chapter 4.

All these aspects reveal that African civil society is a complex and contested space. It is however interesting to see, Igoe and Kelsall claim, that the involved parts described, i.e. African NGO leaders, government officials and western donors, do not include the grassroots itself. This is ironic, considering that the popularity of African NGOs is strongly related to their closeness to 'the people'. In Igoe and Kelsall's opinion the greatest challenge met by NGO researchers in Africa today, is to understand the relationship between local NGOs and their constituencies, and at the same time capture the complexity of the communities themselves. 'The People' has been described as being at the bottom of the 'top-down' hierarchy. They are out of the loop, on the margin of society, have little knowledge of and control over the processes and institutions that control their lives, and thus, need to be empowered (Ibid).

Igoe and Kelsall claim that we need to reconsider this paradigm, and quotes James Ferguson: "Can we learn to conceive, theoretically and politically, of a "grassroots" that would not be local,

communal, and authentic, but worldly, well-connected, and opportunist?” (Ibid: 26). They believe it could be useful to look at African NGOs in this manner because many of them have bypassed African states, providing a direct institutional interface between the people and global systems of institutions, ideas and money. Talking about the grassroots in the manner as Ferguson does is, however, in Igoe and Kelsall’s opinion, premature. African NGOs leaders’ orientation towards western donors and their funding, distances them from the grassroots to such a degree that one can question whether they are still part of their own communities. Even though people at community level may benefit from their leaders’ position in the NGO system, they are themselves left out of the process, still not worldly and well-connected, and remaining on the margins of the modern world (Ibid).

Working with a group of volunteers I got a glimpse of what processes are in motion in a local CBO, between its leaders and the grassroots. The volunteers ‘are’, I claim, the grassroots. The CHW live in the very neighbourhoods that constitute Caring Communities constituency, and have to cooperate and participate in every-day activities, with their fellow residents in the Parish. At the same time they are trained by, and involved in the activities of an NGO, which again is concerned with donor agendas. Finally they need to cooperate with local government representatives in the Parish and their policy on how development is to take place within the community. If I were to divide the world presented in this thesis into sectors, they would be the state, NGOs, and the grassroots. I have tried to understand processes taking place in the relationship between the three through the participant observation of a group of volunteers, who find themselves in the midst of it all, in a position between ‘rocks and hard places’. This approach revealed that people at the grassroots are no more passive victims in the process of globalisation, than they have been in the process of modernisation.

Anthropologist, Mzungu and Photographer

During my stay in Kampala I worked with two different organisations and also visited a third. The CBO ‘Caring Community’, that I have already mentioned, is the organisation I spent most of my time with. It is the experiences from the Parish where it was located and operated, and the members and volunteer workers of this organisation that will be the main focus of this thesis.

The second organisation I worked with, Women Aid Project, was also registered with the NGO registration board as a CBO. Its main focus is on domestic violence against women and children, and it operated in five different slum areas. Every week I went to one of these five slum areas, thereby returning every fifth week to the same area. I was walking around with the Women Aid Project's community volunteers in the respective slums. This gave me an opportunity to get a comparative picture of the situation in the Parish.

I got involved with the third organisation through the CHW. The members of this CBO, which I will refer to as 'Community Concern', had been trained together with Caring Community, and operated in the neighbouring parish. While Caring Community worked with a number of issues, Community Concern had water and sanitation as their only focus, with the goal of improving the environment and put a stop to easy preventable diseases. I will come back to the reasons for, and type of contact I had with this organisation in chapter 1. With Caring Community I worked one day a week at the clinic run by the Primary Health Care Department, registering HIV/AIDS patients coming for treatment. In addition I spent some time at the different offices talking to people working there and learning about the work they conducted. My main focus and time was however directed towards the CHW.

In the field I connected with, and got to know some better than others. Some of the CHW were very eager to talk to me, approaching me to inform me about the community, encouraging me to take part in other activities going on there, inviting me to their home, etc. Getting to know their friends and families I learned more about life in the slum, through other lenses than the ones used by the CHW. In my relation to other CHW, however, it was not easy to get their 'life stories', or to become closely involved in their everyday lives. First of all, and perhaps most crucial, a number of the members were absent from a number of meetings during the time I spent with the group. Secondly, the meetings with the members who were actually there was always filled with things to do, i.e. the activities going on around Caring Community's headquarter, and in the community during our walks in the field was the main focus for our interaction.

Thirdly, I felt that when occasionally asking about their lives, people only reluctantly gave me vague and incomplete information. In addition to their seemingly reluctance to tell me about themselves, and my unwillingness to encroach on their lives, I did not live in the community myself. I experienced this as a problematic but necessary, shortcoming of my fieldwork.⁸ Thus, I mostly moved in and out of the locality in accordance with the CHW-unit's activities. This implies that except for my three main informants, I know the majority of the volunteers mainly as Community Health Workers. Finally, my relationship with the different CHW was to a certain degree dependent on their fluency in English. Even though I did learn some greetings in Luganda I was never able to communicate fully in their language. This was an obvious hindrance to get to know some of the older female members well.

It took some time, both for the CHW and me, to define my role within the group. Initially I was treated as a guest, being given a welcome speech at the meetings before the walk in the field. This was of course a very nice gesture by the Chairman, and it made me feel very welcome, but at the same time it created a distance between the CHW and me, which I found problematic. Additionally at the first meetings some of the members asked how I imagined the water and sanitary problems in the community could be solved, believing that I was a student in community health. Hence, at the outset of my fieldwork I repeatedly had to emphasize the fact that I was doing an anthropological study of them, and the achievements and constraints they met in their effort to solve water and sanitary issues in the community. Eventually they got used to my presence, and seemed to accept that I was not just another visitor, but intended to spend time with them over a period of time, to learn about their work.

There were some, however, who became a bit worried about my skills as a researcher. One of the Women Aid community volunteers asked me when I planned to bring the questionnaires.

⁸ I stayed at the Campus area of Makerere University the first two weeks of my stay in Kampala, and was thereafter determined to find a room in the city outside Campus. Because several young female Ugandan students who lived outside Campus had been killed at the time of my arrival however, the professors at Makerere University whom I got in touch with through the Nature Society and Water (NSW) programme strongly recommended that I should stay. The motives of the killings was not yet known, and they expressed that they felt responsible for me and my well-being being the first student from the University of Bergen staying in Kampala for a longer period of time. Consequently, I stayed at Campus during my whole stay in Kampala.

When I told him I did not have one, he told me it would be better if I did, because then I could ask the residents in the different communities about their life in the slum and get proper answers. He could choose some residents who would ensure me good answers. In addition to being concerned about the quality of my analysis, I got the impression that he himself would find it convenient if I had a questionnaire. I believe he found it difficult to explain to the other residents why I kept returning to the area, ‘sneaking around’ asking people random questions.

Being a *mzungu*, i.e. white and presumably wealthy, was both good and bad depending on the situation. For obvious reasons it was difficult for me to mingle in with the CHW and be ‘one of them’ in relation to the residents. I was always the *mzungu* whom the CHW brought along. Being so visible was sometimes troublesome in that my presence became the focus of attention at the cost of issues that were the real reasons for me being there. At other times I experienced my ‘differentness’ as helpful, in that I got in touch with a number of people that I wouldn’t otherwise have had the chance to talk to. Another problematic issue for me was to be an observer when there were so many things that could and should be done to help the situation for the residents in the Parish. I was often asked to help poor families pay school fees, to take their kids to Norway, etc. Many kids repeatedly asked: ‘how are you *mzungu*? Give me money *mzungu*!’ whenever I walked around.

Contribution was also an issue when it came to my involvement with the CHW. It felt wrong to receive all their help without being able to give something back. Eventually however I got the role as photographer. The CHW told me they needed documentation of the situation in the Parish when applying for funding, so I brought my camera and took photos at their request. I also, as mentioned, worked as a volunteer at the clinic once a week. Eventually I felt that I was accepted both as an anthropologist and a *mzungu*, as the CHW and a number of the residents became accustomed to my presence.

Further Structure of the Thesis

The situations that I observed during my time with the CHW are the basis from which this analysis has developed, and in chapter 1 some of these will be presented. The situations that I

have abstracted, from the flow of events that took place during my fieldwork, had features to them that did not 'fit the picture', i.e. some of the CHW took decisions and choices of action that I did not really understand. In fact, this analysis was initiated by the fact that the members disappeared, and the group seemed to dissolve, apparently because of a soda. Trying to figure out why, my attention was directed towards the wider contexts.

Chapter 2 will deal with the history of Kampala. The events taking place here, from pre-colonial times until today, have had important implications for the history of Uganda as a whole. Furthermore, and most important to this thesis, I experienced that knowledge about Kampala's remarkable history is essential in order to comprehend its present demography and socio-political situation.

In chapter 3, I am giving a description of the Parish, the urban slum context that the CHW operated within. This chapter includes a brief sketch of the history of the area, and its main demographic- and topographic characteristics. The main focus will however be on the strategies people use to survive and cope in a difficult environment, and the moral community (*empisa*) found to exist there. I will here disclose some of the myths and presumptions that have dominated the understanding of the slum and slum populations.

As have been stated above, two contexts are needed to comprehend the situations I observed and participated in during my time in the Parish. Chapter 4 deals with the second, namely the NGO context. I will in this chapter focus on the CHW's complex role as volunteers. The individual CHW's motivations will be described in light of benefits that can befall a volunteer worker. Further on the CHW's role, juggling between the expectations from the grassroots, the development bureaucracy, and the Ugandan Government will be discussed.

In chapter 5 I will look into anthropological perspectives and methodological approaches in the effort to close the gap between actor and structure, or individual and society. I will discuss the perspectives of Barth, Bourdieu and Ferguson in comparison to that of Gluckman, and with help of empirical examples speak up for the advantages of the situational analysis and extended-case method, in the analysis of my empirical material.

Finally, in chapter 6 I shall return to the concepts of ‘culture of poverty’ and ‘moral community’. I will here reflect upon two challenges met by anthropologists in our conceptualisation of phenomena observed and sought understood: first, that conceptualisation is participant in the shaping of what we see and how we see it, and therefore has implications for the generation of anthropological theory; and second, that politicians and policy makers apply our concepts in real projects that get real consequences for real people. Dealing with poverty this is a challenge that needs to be taken seriously.

1 SANITATION, SENSITISING AND SODA

The first three meetings I attended with the CHW, ten to fifteen of the members came to the Caring Community-office located by the main road leading down-hill into the settlement, and sat down on the plastic chairs outside. Unlike the other departments and units they did not have an office in the building itself. Although we were meant to begin at ten a.m. people usually came closer to eleven. Before taking a seat on the benches everybody greeted each other shaking hands, and while waiting for the meeting to begin chit-chatted about daily-life concerns and events in the community. When most of the members had arrived, the Chairman held a welcome-speech, followed by a prayer. After this formal part of the session the CHW discussed the sanitary situation in the different zones and decided where to go for inspection that day.

The first to be done in the field was informing the LC1 chairperson⁹ of the zone chosen that we were there on inspection. After his acceptance the members walked around sensitising and guiding residents in the community about how to secure a healthy environment. They told people to pile up garbage and burn it or take to the nearest container, and to clean up the drainages filled with plastic bags and other types of household waste making the water stagnant. They urged parents or other caretakers to take their children to immunisation at the clinic, and to boil water before using it. They sensitised the residents about the links between stagnant water, mosquitoes and malaria, contaminated water and diarrhoea, and other basic health issues that could help prevent common diseases among the residents in the community.

⁹ The political system in Uganda contains five levels of Local Councils (LCs), whereof LC1 is the first. Its representatives are elected by the residents in a village, or in Kampala, zone. The political system will be more thoroughly described in chapter 2 (2.3).

They also taught people how to manoeuvre in the system when wanting to make complaints, in cases where others were responsible for the contamination. Thus, they tried to educate people at the grassroots in skills concerning how to be responsible and take control over their own lives, and how to use the institutions available in the process. Some times we stopped and had long discussions with people, talking about who was to blame for the pollution of their yards, and what could be done. During other field inspections we covered greater distances of the zone chosen to inspect, giving more brief information to people we passed on our way. The residents we talked to, usually blamed the landlords, the neighbours, and people uphill for the appalling contamination of their immediate neighbourhood.

During these meetings and walks in the field I experienced that activities and practices of the CHW was concomitant with what they themselves told me about their work. Even the conflicts that took place were ‘expected’, i.e. they had already told me about them, like for instance the arguments with the residents. This is not to say that the three first meetings with the CHW were to be considered ‘normal’, in comparison to what was to come, but they were closer to the version the CHW had or wanted to have of their own conduct. However, after a month or so I observed situations that I realised were indicative of conflicting interests and ideas between the CHW. Before going into and describing these conflicting situations, I will present some of the CHW’s individual characteristics.

1.1 The Community Health Workers

The majority of the CHW live within the community and are trained in community based health care i.e. basic health and sanitation, immunisation programmes, environmental protection and safe motherhood issues. They all have certificates showing their qualification areas. An elected committee, consisting of a chairperson sometimes called the coordinator, a vice-coordinator, a secretary and a cashier, heads the group.

Simon

Simon quite early stood out as my main informant and friend. He translated many of the conversations and discussions going on among the members and between them and the residents, and explained situations we observed or took part in. We had several interesting conversations on issues concerning the community. He was a quiet young man, approximately 30-35 years old, and a very committed volunteer worker in Caring Community. In addition to being a CHW he was a child councillor, and I met him regularly at the clinic, where he worked registering HIV/AIDS patients coming for treatment on Tuesday afternoons. When I went to Caring Community's Department of Gender and Social Welfare I often found him there busy helping out the employees at the office. He also ran errands in the community, and several times I went with him. Simon was very eager to be one of the paid employees at Caring Community.

Walking around in the Parish with Simon, we stopped to greet people, checked on patients, and sometimes went to the clinic to fetch some medicine to patients who wasn't able to go and get it themselves. Simon knew a lot of people in the community. He listened to people's complaints; always stopped by people's houses; and took time to ask how they and their families were doing etc. Additionally he was very eager to teach me *Luganda* in order for me to greet people in their own language, especially old men and women who did not speak English. He introduced me to several of his friends and acquaintances among the residents. His commitment to the work for the community made its presence also in his role as a CHW. During a time when several of the CHW stopped coming to the Friday meetings, Simon never failed to show up. He was thereby for a substantial period my only and most stable informant there. Coming to the end of my time with CHW, when the rest of the CHW returned, Simon was absent from the CHW activities for some time, because he wanted to become involved in the construction and renovation of a latrine in his zone. This was a project launched by an International Non Governmental Organisation (INGO) and the person getting the assignment as responsible for the toilet construction and renovation would later become the caretaker of the toilet, which would mean a small income.

Simon eventually invited me to his home and introduced me to his companion, Diana, who was pregnant. When the baby was born I was welcomed as a member in their little family. I found

the reason for being included somewhat interesting: Diana did not want to go to the public hospital for the delivery, because the treatment was supposed to be really bad there. Simon had told her that he was going to pay for her stay at a private hospital. When she had given birth however, he seemed reluctant to go and see her. I asked him why, and urged him to go and see his first born son. He then admitted that the hospital would not let him bring Diana and the baby home if he did not have the money to pay for her stay, as in fact he did not. I asked him what he was going to do about it, and he then very modestly announced ‘You know, by now I considered you very close, in fact you are like a very close sister to me’, implying that we were now family and family of course help each other out in situations like these.

I was quite overwhelmed by being included in his family, and at the same time a bit frightened by the possible size of the hospital-bill. As it turned out to be reasonable, I paid, and was announced the boy’s *Ssenga* (‘aunt’). I was thereby given the honour of naming my ‘nephew’. Traditionally a child lives with the *Ssenga* for some years during childhood, and she is responsible for parts of the child’s upbringing and education. Being given this honourable role, I started visiting Simon and Diana twice a week. Both of them were Protestants, and occasionally I also went to church with them. Spending time with Diana during my frequent visits provided me with a close and hospitable friend. In addition I gained useful information about a woman’s role in the household, and what it is like running a home in a slum area in Kampala.

Enthusiastic Young Men: David and Richard

David was a young man who was very eager to talk to me already during my first encounter with the CHW. He was a very enthusiastic and energetic young man, and at one of the first meetings I attended he gave me a pamphlet with information about another CHW- group that he also worked with, Community Concern, and invited me to come there. I told him I might do that some time, and in his mind that was considered a promise. Consequently after my second meeting with the CHW he told me that he wanted to show me where he lived, so that I could return there by myself another time, and go with him to pay Community Concern and the area where they operate a visit. I agreed to come, and we walked down in the community, quite a long

distance through wetlands in a very rural-looking environment, to the parish where he stayed with his sister.

It appeared that he did not live within the Parish at all, but in a neighbouring area, the area were Community Concern operate. David was also very eager to teach me Luganda and he made me greet every person we met on our way, to everybody's amusement. Arriving in his house his sister served me lemonade. I did not know whether to drink it or not, as the bad quality of the water was actually why I found myself doing fieldwork in this area. Even though I did not want to become sick, I did not want to be impolite either and I drank the lemonade feeling like a real anthropologist taking real risks. When I left we agreed that next time we met, we would make arrangements for my visit to Community Concern. However, David only occasionally showed up at the CHW meetings after this, and when I eventually met him again it was with Community Concern.

Another young man who was very eager to talk to me was Richard. Like David he was also absent from the group most of the time, showing up the three first and the two last CHW meetings I attended. This was caused by the fact that he was taking some courses in community health. Richard was very eager to go to Norway to work as a volunteer with an NGO there. He handed me some copies of an application, the certificate showing his qualifications in community health work, and a picture of him, for me to distribute to potential Norwegian organisations.

The Committee: The Chairman, the Cashier and the Secretary

The Chairman seemed a bit quiet and reserved, and I found it difficult to get to know him very well. He very seldom approached me to tell me about the CHW's work or the community in itself, even though he was always very polite and friendly when I asked him something. His English was not very fluent and possibly this was one factor making him seem a bit reluctant to talk to me. But most important, most of the time I spent with the CHW he was not present. This was according to Simon due to his military carrier. He often had to work at night and thereby slept at daytime when the CHW had their meetings. Since he was absent most of the time, it was difficult for me to get the chance to ask him personally why he did not show up, and when he

occasionally was there I did not want to ask him, knowing that could easily be interpreted as if I questioned his credibility as a leader, accusing him of neglecting his duties. During my months with the CHW I got to know that a number of the CHW were at some point not very satisfied with the Chairman. One of the members, who at times expressed this frustration, was the Secretary.

The Secretary was older than the men already described and very enthusiastic about the role of the CHW and their activities. During the meetings, he often stood up and held small speeches, where he pointedly argued his opinions about everything. He had strong feelings about where we should go for inspections, what were the real and most important problems, and how to solve those problems in the community. He was also very active when discussions went on with the residents on our field-inspection-walks. Thus, at several occasions I got the impression that he was a 'preacher' type who seemed to love making speeches, addressing people in a disciplinary tone. Later Simon told me that the Secretary was in fact known in his neighbourhood for making speeches about any subject, especially when being drunk. The Secretary was an alcoholic, or at least had a relatively high consumption of alcohol. Several times he showed up drunk at the weekly morning meetings.

Even though there was one short period, of two-three weeks coming to the end of my stay when the Secretary was not there because he had got a temporary job out of town, he was one of the members that I got to know quite well. He was more than willing to introduce me to the problems in the community. Several times he told me he was going to take me to see his companion, who was a traditional birth assistant. Unfortunately that never happened; some times he decided there were other people we should see instead, or other places we should inspect on the way there, and at other times the CHW did not want me to go alone with him without the group, especially when he was drunk. Both before and after the Secretary's absentee he sometimes arranged group activities without consulting the Chairman. This was not very popular, but he argued that someone had to take responsibility when the Chairman was absent. His go-ahead spirit was impressive.

The Cashier was a very sweet and caring middle-aged woman. Her English was not very good but I was able to communicate with her without anybody translating. The main reason why I did not get to know her very well was again that she did not come to a number of the meetings during my stay there. I never really got any concrete explanation for her absence, but she mentioned once that she had some health- or clinic-related job elsewhere, and she also had family and kids to take care of. Every time we met the Cashier she greeted me warmly like she had some kind of motherly concern for me. When the Chairman was back, coming to the end of my stay, she also returned.

Lillian and the Women

I got to know Lillian through my volunteer-work at the clinic. In contrast to the others who used to be at the clinic registration office she was silent and reserved. She told me she was also a trained CHW and that she used to come to the weekly meetings some time back. She had not been able to go there for a while though, because she spent most of her time and effort trying to find a job. Lillian was a young single-mother originally from Rwanda. Her husband and the rest of her family, except for her sister and herself, had been killed in the atrocities of 1994. Lillian's greatest concern was to be able to pay her son's school-fee. She was worried that he would pick up bad habits playing around in the slum with the other kids when she was out searching for a job, but at the same time she had to get a job to afford getting him enrolled.

Lillian's only income was the small payment she got from cleaning the church and the pastor's residence once in awhile. She occasionally started showing up at the CHW meetings again, and eventually she also invited me to her home. She lived in a small, dark room with her 5 years old son. Eventually a friend helped Lillian with some money. Her son started school, and thereby she had more time to look for work. When she came to the CHW meetings she proudly announced to me that she had to leave early to pick up her son at school. During my time there she did not find a job, and when I left I don't know if she found the money to keep on paying her son's school-fee.

The rest of the group consisted of five-ten women, some quite old, some middle-aged. Many of these ladies came in their beautiful traditional dresses, the *Gomez*. Some of them did not know English at all, and consequently I never talked to these CHW personally, i.e. without a translator except when greeting them in Luganda. They always seemed very happy to see me though, and laughing and smiling they obviously appreciated my attempt to learn their language. Probably they also found my bad pronunciation, and the awkwardness of hearing their language spoken by a white person, a bit funny. Several of these women suddenly stopped coming for two or three weeks, and when I went to see Community Concern I found a number of them there. At the end of my stay they returned.

The CHW was a diverse group of persons, who had their reasons for at times being absent from the unit's activities. There was however one period when almost no member came to the meetings. Trying to figure out what was going on I realised there were several conflicts going on within the unit. I experienced episodes and overheard comments indicative of disagreement between some of the male CHW regarding how the chairperson-role should best be accomplished and who would best fill it. The Secretary's drinking habits was an on-going problem. There were conflicts within the group concerning how they were supposed to relate to their fellow residents and accomplish their own role as CHW. These situations revealed a number of aspects that demonstrated what it means being a volunteer, features that I had not yet seen or been allowed to see.

1.2 No Members and a Drunk Secretary

Several weeks on a row the majority of the members did not show up. The Chairman was not present either, and even though we occasionally met him in the field, he did not come to the office to take the lead of the meetings and field-inspections. When I asked Simon what had happened, and what caused the CHW's absence, he complained about lack of moral and commitment among the members. The Chairman was presumably not present because his career within the military meant working nightshifts. He thereby slept during daytime, and was not able to come to the CHW meetings. Simon seemed very frustrated with the circumstances, and

several times stated that it was problematic to motivate the other CHW when even the Chairman did not show up. The Chairman was however not the only person whose actions seemed to annoy a number of the CHW. The Secretary's drinking habits was for instance obviously considered a setback for the CHW's activities. His behaviour often became quite annoying and embarrassing, as illustrated in the following situation:

...I went to the community around 10 am. Not many CHW present today either. Except for me, only the Secretary, and two women, came. Simon had to help the clinic unit with a patient and did not go with us in the field. The Secretary was drunk again. We visited two zones, and on request from the CHW I had brought my camera and took a lot of pictures. They told me they needed photos to document the state of the sanitary conditions in the area, when applying for funding. The Secretary strongly encouraged me to take pictures of poor toilets and drainages, but telling me not to take pictures of other places. When we arrived in the zone where he lives himself, we spotted a really nasty place with a pipeline coming out of a toilet polluting the area with excrement. The two women were shocked and asked me to take a photo, but the Secretary strongly protested: 'No, no, don't take pictures of that toilet. The man who lives there has tried to improve. It is not good to take snaps [photos] of that place'. Eventually the two women persuaded him, and at their request I took the picture.

Several times the two women and the Secretary also argued about what streets and yards to visit, and the women had to calm him down when he became a bit too loud and aggressive towards the residents. At one point the women had got enough of him and decided we should split up in two groups. The Secretary insisted I go with him. I can imagine we were quite a sight, one drunk, preaching, sometimes shouting CHW with a white young female researcher photographing their worst latrines at his orders, taking notes, smiling to people a bit apologetic, while trying to keep up with his pace. Back at the office I discussed the Secretary's drunkenness with Simon. He was really dejected and worried about the situation. 'How can anybody take us [the CHW] seriously when he is like that [drunk]? He is a problem for this group'.

Even though the Secretary was a bit too much for his own good when drunk, the strong enthusiasm he felt towards the importance of the CHW's mission and role within the community was impressive. He seemed truly interested in making a change, and was not afraid of going his own ways to make things happen. His individuality was however not always appreciated and was in fact at times considered a threat to the CHW-unit's existence.

1.3 The Secretary Arranges a General Cleaning

There had for some time existed plans to arrange a General Cleaning Day one Saturday. The LCs in the entire Parish were to be informed and encouraged to mobilize the residents of their respective areas of jurisdiction. I was really looking forward to that day, as it might be a perfect opportunity for me to see more of the parish, to get a more thoroughly impression of the CHW encounter with the residents and the LCs, and the latter's willingness to mobilise and clean up their neighbourhoods. The General Cleaning Day did however not turn out to be the event I expected it to be, as my main attention and focus was again directed towards the CHW.

I arrived at the office at 10 am. Nobody else was there. I waited for a while, and eventually the Secretary and an old woman came. She was the guardian at an orphanage close to Caring Community office who occasionally joined the CHW. They had brought a megaphone and had already been walking around for a while. Both of them were very enthusiastic and told me we had to move on immediately. They did not want to wait for other members to show up. I was quite sure that Simon and David were going to come because they had called me the night before and reminded me of the event. But as I couldn't persuade the Secretary that we should wait for them, and as I did not want to risk loosing the whole event, I went with the Secretary and the old woman.

We walked around the whole day, and it was quite interesting and fun. Very few people had started cleaning up their yards when we arrived, some reluctantly did some work while we were there and probably quit the moment we left, others refused to do anything and blamed the landlords for not

*providing them with better facilities, the LCs for not doing more to improve the environment, or the people uphill for polluting their neighbourhood by spilling their waste in the drainage leading downhill. Some places the Secretary, the old woman and the residents made the whole event into a fun experience, dancing, singing and joking. Several times I heard the old woman or the Secretary shout the word *mzungu* (white person) in the megaphone, announcing that a *mzungu* was on her way, to encourage people to start working. A man 'kidnapped' me and brought me to his house to show me that his house was very clean inside, and a minute later a group of people made me use the hatchet to show them I could dig, a very important skill for a proper woman in Uganda. Everybody laughed at these incidents. Most people were however ignorant; the women continued to wash their clothes, and the men continued whatever they were doing, mostly hanging out, playing cards and drinking local beer. And as usual, a bunch of kids followed us throughout the community shouting and singing: 'how are you *mzungu*?' The only sentence many of them new in English.*

When I asked the Secretary why so few of the members had come, including the Chairman, he told me that the Chairman had not approved of the General Cleaning. He argued that since the information letter to the LCs had been distributed very close up to the date of the event, the whole thing should be postponed so that the preparation could be more sufficient. Most of the members had therefore decided not to take part in the event. When I later confronted the Secretary with this, he strongly expressed his disagreement with the Chairman. He told me 'The Chairman thinks I have taken control of his project, and he doesn't like it. But you know it is better to do something than nothing. If we are just planning all the time, nothing will be done. In the end, people's awareness will not change! At least now people will be reminded of the necessity to keep the environment clean'.

The Secretary's comment was illustrative of the disagreement between the Chairman and the Secretary. When I later talked to Simon about it he confirmed the situation. He told me the Chairman did not approve of the fact that the Secretary arranged events without consulting him first and without getting his consent. The Secretary was obviously of the opinion that since the Chairman had not been present for some time somebody had to take responsibility for the

group's activities. During this conversation my impression that Simon himself was not very satisfied with the Chairman was strengthened. He agreed with the Secretary in that the Chairman's absence was a problem, but at the same time he did not agree with the Secretary's initiatives and ideas either. He did for instance not like the idea of general cleaning at parish level. To him cleaning one zone at the time on separate days would be a better solution. Finally, my conversation with Simon this particular day revealed to me the questions of the 'missing' members.

1.4 Disappearing for a Soda

As described above, for several weeks on a row I walked around in the community with the Secretary, Simon and one or two women who sporadically came. It had not been unusual for the volunteers to miss a meeting or two for different reasons, but this was something else. This was a massive and striking abandoning of the group by the members. At first, Simon told me that the members had lost their commitment and spirit, and that they needed to be reminded of their responsibility. Some weeks later however he revealed to me that he had now learned the real reason why the members had stopped coming, and where they were to be found. According to him they had started doing volunteer work in a neighbouring community, with another group of community health workers, which was registered as a CBO.

When I asked Simon why they wanted to go there instead, he told me that everybody got a soda after the field-inspection had been accomplished. This was in my mind very interesting and puzzling news. Why did they want to spend their valuable time and effort to travel to another community where they did not live themselves to sensitise and mobilise residents there? How could a soda be considered sufficient payment? What happened to the ideology with 'community-based development' of which the CHW's activities were founded upon? I decided to pay the other organisation a visit to see if 'our members' were actually to be found there and to hear their version of the story.

Simon arranged for us both to go. This CBO, which appeared to be Community Concern, the organisation that David was involved in, met on Saturdays as opposed to the CHW's Friday-

meetings. This information made the members choice of abandoning Caring Community's CHW-unit even more puzzling and difficult to understand. Why couldn't they go to both? Simon and I left an early morning on a *boda-boda* (the local moped taxi) and arrived in the community five minutes later. It was located almost entirely on the wetlands, and was crowded with shacks and people. We walked a small distance through the area and entered their Headquarter, a small one-room house. The members popped in, all wearing t-shirts with the organisation's logo, some of the men organised the distribution of hatches, rakes, spades and hoes. Meanwhile Simon and I were talking to the Chairman. He told us they had 70 members, of which 20-30 was considered active. They had a teaching group, a cleaning group and a tree-plantation team. He also named several local and international sponsors and proudly described the 'health and environmental competition programme' that he had initiated, involving the police, the LCs, and different businesses in the community. On the whole, the Chairman seemed very visionary and talked about the group's activities as a 'wave'.

Simon was right. A number of the vanished CHW, were in fact there. They confirmed what Simon had told me, but also added some information that helped explain what was going on. According to the missing CHW members, the Chairman of the CHW-unit had told them not to come anymore if they kept on going to this other place. 'How can he [the Chairman] expect us to work for nothing? At least here they give us a soda', one of the women told me. Another woman said: 'He does not listen to us. He has told us not to come there anymore if we keep coming here [Community Concern]'. They also complained that the CHW-unit did not have an office or proper tools, which made the work there difficult.

Leaving this well-equipped, soda-providing, and visionary Community Concern, Simon seemed upset. He was frustrated with how the Chairman of the CHW-unit had behaved towards the members and told me he was of the opinion that the two groups ought to work together and learn from each other. 'We were trained together', he told me. 'Most of the members there [Community Concern] came to our community at that time, when the courses were arranged'. He had tried to persuade the lost CHW to return to Caring Community's Friday meetings, and promised them that a general meeting was to be arranged to sort out the problems. I could not

stop wondering: why leave your community, get in trouble with the Chairman and clean up another place, all for the price of a soda?

1.5 Lack of Tools and Stationary

At the general meeting arranged a week later a number of problems were in fact sorted out. Most of the members seemed to have been persuaded by Simon, and had come. The executive board of the CHW-unit, and the Director of Caring Community were present, and they discussed what could be done to get the unit back on its feet. The main problem raised at the meeting was however not the conflict between the Chairman and the majority of the members, but lack of tools like wheel-burrows, hoes, slashes, spades, and rakes; lack of protective gear like raincoats, gumboots, and heavy-duty gloves; and lack of a stationary where they could better programme their work. In the Annual Report the need for these types of equipments was in fact listed as one factor constraining the accomplishment of their work. It was hampering them from going to places where they ought to go, and from developing proper work-plans, record keeping, follow-ups, mobilisation and health education.

Furthermore, Caring Community's Director requested the members to strengthen their team spirit, have respect for their elected leaders, and to work jointly as a group. He encouraged them to look for ways to finance the purchase of tools and protective gear, as Caring Community's economic resources were scarce. He concluded by announcing some good news: Caring Community Board of Governors had given their permission for the CHW-unit to use an old worn-down barrack near by as their stationary. A few days later we heard rumours that the INGO, which was going to launch the latrine renovation project in the area, had decided to finance the tools, and at the Friday meeting two weeks later, the tools had arrived.

We were gathered in the new barrack-office, the Chairman, the Secretary and the Cashier behind a desk, the rest of the members on benches and at the floor, many of the missing members were there, and the tools were distributed. The CHW were very enthusiastic and happy about the donation, which would ease their work, and provide them with more arguments in the persuading of people to clean up their neighbourhoods. Thus, the following week I was very

excited to see if the General Meeting and the providing of the office and the new tools would have any effect on the motivation of the group. When I arrived two of the old women were already there, but the office was closed. Simon came, and after waiting a while he told me he did not think the Chairman or the Secretary who were the only ones having a key, would show up.

He was, on his part, eager to go and have a look at a latrine in one of the zones downhill. The INGO had started the project renovating the toilets there, and Simon needed to get some advice from the man responsible, as he was planning to apply for the job as renovator and caretaker of the latrine in his own zone. This had pre-occupied his mind the last couple of weeks, talking about materials, making budgets and going to meetings with the INGO people. If he got the assignment he would be responsible for setting up a budget and finding a stab of men that could do the work. According to the budget then he would get money from the INGO to buy the material and pay the workers. When the toilet was renovated he would be the caretaker of it, which meant being responsible for charging people a fee for using it, and keeping it in good order. Some of the surplus would secure him an income. After another half an hour of waiting it was, according to Simon, obvious that neither the Chairman nor the Secretary would come to unlock the office. The two old women left and I went with Simon to look at the latrine renovation project. Thus, another Friday had passed with no CHW walking around in the community empowering the residents.

1.6 Who Should do What?

The following Friday however the situation was almost back to normal. On my way there I met Richard who had been sent out to see the Local Council (LC) chairperson of Central Zone to inform him that we were coming on inspection. I arrived at 11 a.m. and found six women and one man there in addition to the Chairman, the Secretary and the Cashier. Simon who was busy with his latrine-renovating project was not there. After taking some pictures of the new office and the group with their newly acquired tools, we were ready to enter the field. As we started walking however, nobody took the lead, and there seemed to be some uncertainty on exactly where the sensitising and inspection was supposed to begin. The Chairman was somewhere in behind talking to some friends.

When one or two of the female CHW started piling up some garbage in the road, a discussion among several of the members was initiated. The women who had started cleaning up expressed that they felt the CHW were supposed to work and act as good examples, and the Secretary and one of the young enthusiastic men argued that they should teach and sensitise people and hand out tools only. According to this latter fraction, people in the community should not get the impression that the CHW appear every Friday cleaning up their yards, streets and drainages. The main aim of the group was to enhance people's knowledge about and attitude towards the importance of a clean environment, and thereby change their patterns of behaviour.

After discussing this for a while we walked on and ended up in a backyard downhill from the main road. There were large piles of garbage close to the houses and the grass was long and bushy. Some of the members began persuading the tenants living there to clean up. The tenants argued that it ought to be the landlord's responsibility, as he did not provide proper facilities, but the landlord did not live in the area. After debating the issue for a while, some tenants all the same started working. Some of the CHW helped them. When the wheelbarrows were full the tenants said it would be impossible to bring them to the skip because of the drainage and the density of the shacks blocking the road. They were tired of working for nothing and argued that somebody else should remove the garbage uphill to the only container in the area some five hundred meters away.

This started another discussion among the CHW. Some of the female CHW argued that the residents who had taken part in the cleaning should be given a small amount of money for their effort, and Lillian told me that their argumentation was based on the fact that making the residents walk through the area with the wheelbarrows full of garbage would embarrass them in front of their neighbours, especially if they did not get paid for doing it. Others disagreed arguing that the tenants should not get money for cleaning up their own backyards. Why should *they* get paid when not even the CHW themselves got anything for their effort?

Some then claimed that the local politicians were the ones to blame. They had been informed that the CHW were coming on inspection but had refused to do any work and had not mobilised

the residents in the area. The field-inspection this Friday ended with the CHW becoming so frustrated they emptied the wheelbarrows full of garbage back in the residents' backyard and returned angry to their office. At the field-evaluation meeting it was decided to report the political unit at neighbourhood level to Kampala City Council (KCC), the highest political unit within the capital, for neglecting their responsibility. The Chairman also informed us that the executive board had decided for the CHW-unit to register at the National Registration Board, as a dependent Association under Caring Community.¹⁰ A founding-document was to be written, and a membership-fee introduced. Every member had to bring their certification and pay the fee to be registered as one of the founding members.

When I left the CHW that day, they were debating whether it was fair to impose a fee on the members who had worked for years. This would perhaps hinder the poorest in participating in the future. On the other hand the CHW needed money in order to register, as they would need the signature of the LC1-5 on the application. The LC secretaries at each level usually charge a fee to sign the forms. Furthermore, making the activities of the CHW-unit formal would set them in a more free position to apply for funding without going through Caring Community. Most funding organisations reject to support groups that are not registered.

The last time I met with the CHW, I found the members down in one of the zones in the community. Almost all of the members were there: Lillian, most of the women, the Secretary, the Chairman, and the Cashier. I did not see Simon around. Everyone was busy using their hatches, spades and rakes cleaning up ditches, drainages and piles of household waste surrounding the houses. KCC had brought a large skip where the garbage and household-waste could be tossed. The CHW were very enthusiastic, and helped people in the community with the cleaning. They were going to clean the area zone by zone. Thus, this particular day, the CHW had succeeded in mobilising their members, the residents, as well as the LCs, in a joint effort to do something about the sanitary condition in the area.

¹⁰ The main body that formally regulates, monitors, and controls NGOs in Uganda is the NGO Registration Board, established in 1989. The Registration Board is overseen by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and has the power to reject NGO applications and to deny renewal or approval of operations (Dicklitch, 1998).

This chapter has contained the description of situations observed and experienced with the CHW during my fieldwork, and as such represents the experience-near level of analysis in this thesis. At the time I was introduced to the CHW, I was prepared to find that they experienced difficulties in the accomplishment of their role as sensitisers and catalysers of change. Based in literature on development, which to a great extent treats NGOs as homogenous units, I did anticipate that these problems were to be found in the CHW's relation to other groups and stakeholder in development in the Parish, e.g. the LCs, landlords, the residents. Thus, witnessing the splitting up of the unit and the internal controversies that emerged during my fieldwork, my initial assumption was challenged. In order to make sense of these observations, i.e. in order to find out what processes were in motion, I needed to trace the diverse choices of action into wider contexts. The structural dynamics of these contexts will be main focus of discussion in the subsequent chapters.

2 FROM KIBUGA TO KAMPALA

The history of the different tribes living in the regions that now constitutes Uganda, to a certain degree circumscribes events that took place in Kampala. The city has a particular history and topography that needs to be taken into consideration when trying to comprehend its present social and cultural situation. Aidan Southall has stated that:

The urban agglomeration of Kampala-Mengo is in many respects unusual if not unique...It is interesting because it contains within itself most of the major factors, combined at different strengths, which are found in African cities of quite varied type, such as older more traditional West African cities and the newer, European-dominated cities of East and Central Africa. It combines both segregation and the political dominance of a particular African tribe; it includes both European and African controlled land, traditional and modern roles, local African residents of long standing and high status, as well as thousands of temporary migrant labourers of many ethnic backgrounds (Southall, 1967: 297, 326).

This chapter will focus on the city, located on seven characteristic hills, surrounded by huge areas of wetlands or swamps, and the remarkable and amazing history of the cultures and societies that have come to develop there, from *Kibuga* to Kampala.

2.1 The Kibuga

There have existed kingdoms around the northern, western, and southern shores of Lake Victoria as far back as the written history takes us, and probably also for years before that. The greatest kingdoms in the area were Buganda, Ankole and Bunyoro. They were characterised by territorial rule of a paramount ruler chosen from among the members of royal kinship groups. Buganda appeared to the Europeans as the largest and most powerful of the three, at their arrival

in the region (Fallers, 1968). The Kibuga, the capital of the Buganda kingdom was established as early as the 1700s around present day Kampala. The Baganda king, the *Kabaka*, administrated and ruled the kingdom from his palace in the Kibuga.¹¹ The basic ecologic unit of the district was the hill, and the Kibuga consisted of a number of hills separated by swamps. The hills were named, and even though they did not invariably correspond to traditional administrative units they tended to create community feelings. They were also the usual basis for political allocation of land. The Kabakas regularly moved their palaces from hill to hill. The palace site *Lubiri*, in Kibuga is known to have moved at least ten times from 1856-90 from one hill to another, and was considered to have accommodated 60-77 000 persons in the beginning of the 19th century. The accurate size of the population is however not agreed upon (Gutkind, 1963: 15 ff).

The problem with defining the actual number of people residing in the capital is perhaps related to the mobility of the Kibuga population. According to Gutkind several accounts refer to the fact that a large number of labourers were working in the city, serving the chiefs whose establishment often comprised a “total of a thousand people” (Roscoe, 1934, in Gutkind 1963: 16). Living houses, cook and washhouses and ancillary buildings had to be constructed and maintained. Fences needed constant repair, as did roads, bridges and culverts. According to Gutkind those called upon to perform these services did not care to live long in the capital because of the difficulty of obtaining food, the hard work, and the danger of being seized and put to death (Ibid).

The Baganda was organised into approximately thirty -forty patrilineal clans, each with a major and a minor totem. A clan was known by the name of the major totem, for instance the Grasshopper or Monkey clan. All the Buganda clans could participate in the kingdom in that all clans readily provided wives to the ruling Kabaka, who had sons with most of them. When the ruler died, the clan elders chose the successor from among the eligible princes, who all belonged to the clan of their mother. In this way the throne was never the property of a single clan for

¹¹ Adding prefixes to noun stems forms the Bantu languages. *Buganda* then is the name of the kingdom or region, the ethnic population of which are *Baganda* (pl. sing. *Muganda*). They speak a language called *Luganda*. Although the freestanding root, *Ganda*, is never used in Luganda, it is commonly used as a simplified adjectival form in English, used to describe ‘Ganda’ things and places (Karlstrom, 1999: ix).

more than one reign. In cases of succession to the headship of the clan, sub-clans and lineages, all candidates were submitted to the Kabaka, and were not able to succeed until confirmed by him. These ties according to Fallers inextricably bound the clans into a central organisation of the Buganda (Fallers, 1968).

The Kibuga was also the centre for the king's officials and chiefs who all came to the capital to pay tribute to or to receive orders from the Kabaka. At the time of first recorded history ten major client chiefs appointed by the Kabaka from those people he felt most confidence in, administrated ten large areas called *ssazas*, with relatively fixed boundaries. These chiefs were usually commoners. Below the *ssaza*-chiefs were sub-chiefs who were chosen by the Kabaka, and whom were under the King and his chief minister, the *Katikiro's*¹² direct control. Special tax collectors were sent out by the central administration, and the Kabaka and the *Katikiro* allocated a share of the revenue to the chiefs (Ibid).

The *ssaza*-chiefs were in one sense courtiers. They played a great deal of their role in the Kibuga and had particular jobs in the Kabaka's court at the cost of the direct administration of their district areas. The *ssazas* were expected to maintain a house in the capital and to be in attendance most of the year. Stewards took care of the official estates in the district while a hierarchy of sub-chiefs resided at the *ssazas'* private estates. Chiefs at all levels were supposed to keep roads open from their residences to those of their superior chiefs, and the *ssaza* chiefs were expected to keep roads from their district to the capital. There is, in Gutkind's view, no doubt that the Kibuga was the heart of Baganda emotions and pride. The king was the symbol of Buganda but also as described above the head of many pyramids of authority, i.e. the clan authorities and the administrative chiefs who all came to see him in the Kibuga. The Capital was the place where matters of dispute were brought to a court of appeal and the ritual centre where the sacred fire and drum were kept (Gutkind, 1963).

¹² The traditional ruling hierarchy in Buganda included the Kabaka, the *lukiko*, which is the Luganda word for 'council' and the *Katikiro* or 'chief minister' (Ofcansky, 1996).

Life in the capital was totally different from elsewhere in the kingdom, and a resident of the Kibuga enjoyed special privileges denied to the unsophisticated country resident. A man who had visited the Kibuga was respected and looked up to. To a village dweller the size of the Kibuga must have appeared enormous, as an average village consisted of 200-300 huts in comparison to the approximated number of almost a thousand in the Kibuga. Non-Africans and non-Ganda were not allowed to enter or leave the Kibuga without the Kabaka's permission (Ibid). At least until the Europeans arrived.

2.2 The Arrival of the Mzungu

Foreigners who arrived in the capital of the Buganda kingdom seemed both amazed and surprised to find such a well organised society in the heart of Africa. This is illustrated in the following quote taken from 'My African Journey', the novel where Churchill addresses Uganda as 'the Pearl of Africa':

The kingdom of Uganda is a fairy-tale [...] The scenery is different, the vegetation is different, the climate is different, and, most of all, the people are different from anything elsewhere to be seen in the whole range of Africa [...] Under a dynastic King, with a Parliament, and a powerful feudal system, an amiable, clothed, polite, and intelligent race dwell together in a an organised monarchy upon the rich domain between the Victoria and Albert Lakes [...] there is a Court, there are Regiments and Ministers and nobles, there is a regular system of native laws and tribunals; there is discipline, there is industry, there is culture, there is peace. In fact, I ask myself whether there is any other spot in the whole earth where dreams and hopes of the negrophile, so often mocked by results and stubborn facts, have ever attained such a happy realisation (Winston Churchill, 1989 [1908]).

The first to reach the interlacustrine area were however not Europeans. Egyptians coming from the north was followed by Arab traders coming from the East African coast around the south end of Lake Victoria already in the 1830-40s. Ahmad bin Ibrahim, an Arabic trader, introduced the advantages of foreign trade, the acquisition of imported cloth, guns and powder, and the religion of Islam to the Kabaka. In 1862 European explorers e.g. Henry M. Stanley and Captain John Hanning Speke arrived. They praised the Baganda for their organisational skills and willingness to modernise. The Church Missionary Society (Anglican) arrived in 1877, and was the

first mission established in Buganda. As had been the case in India, South Africa and West Africa, a semi-private company came after the explorers and the missionaries to set up trade (Fallers, 1968).

In Uganda this was represented by the British East Africa Company, and as had been the case in other places it found itself burdened with much more than trading. One of its most famous agents, Captain Lugard, was convinced that the cessation of slave trade and the introduction of trade would bring civilisation to the area and the Ganda society. He soon discovered however that the activities had to include military and administrative functions in addition to trading, and, according to Fallers, the Company concluded after five years, mainly for financial reasons, that they could not continue. They decided to withdraw from Uganda in 1893. Buganda and the surrounding areas were attractive to several European countries, e.g. Italy, France and Belgium, because it contained the source of the Nile. Germany however represented the greatest danger to Great Britain's imperial designs, and they fought each other in the area. Religion took a great part in these battles as the converted Baganda Catholics were associated with Germany and the converted Anglican or Protestant Baganda was associated with the British. Muslim traders also participated in the fierce religious and nationalist rivalry. The conflict was finally put to an end with the Anglo-German Agreement signed in 1890. The Buganda kingdom together with Kenya and the islands of Zanzibar and Puma was defined British sphere of influence (Ofcansky, 1996).

In 1894 the British Government established a Protectorate both for philanthropic and more strategic reasons. They wanted to keep up with the suppression of slave trade and the fulfilment of their moral obligation to bring social and religious uplift to the natives, and they wanted to control the source of the Nile, and provide an outlet for Indian enterprise. The British Government according to Fallers continued the practice of the British East African Company to centre the main activities upon Buganda, at the expense of the neighbouring kingdoms. The slave trade, religious wars, and inter-kingdom raids had created a state of confusion, and efforts were made to establish peaceful conditions and to define political responsibility. At the same time they tried to establish a workable tax-system, which could help to support the administration (Fallers, 1968).

The British conquest of Uganda¹³ was a slow process mainly because of London's unwillingness to spend large amounts of money on military campaigns. The Protectorate was however gradually extended with the help of Baganda collaborators, and Buganda's political system¹⁴ was used as a model for the country's other kingdoms. By now, there were in Buganda many men who had a degree of Western education and were familiar with British methods. A number of these were sent out to the different provinces to act as chiefs or advisors to chiefs. This 'sub-imperial' system enabled the British to rule Uganda by maintaining a network of African governments that owed allegiance only to the colonial administration. Despite the resistance they met from the different kingdoms in the area, the British, with the help of this divide and rule strategy and superior weapons gradually consolidated their rule and by 1914 controlled most of Uganda (Ofcansky, 1996).

Settling in the Kibuga

At the time of the arrival of the Europeans, the Kabaka had stopped moving his capital around and was firmly and elaborately established on Mengo Hill¹⁵. The foreigners according to custom had to obtain permission from the king to arrive in Buganda, and were accommodated by the allocation of a separate hill to each fraction, party, religion, race or other special interest group. The Church Missionary Society was allocated and established itself on the Hill of Namirembe. The original Roman Catholic White Fathers of Algiers arriving in 1879 was established on Rubaga Hill. The Asians came in the capacities of skilled work and tradesmen and established the central business section around Nakasero Hill. Captain Lugard, who arrived in 1890, did however not pay attention to the needed authorisation from the king. He crossed the Nile without warning, made a forced march to the Kibuga, and established camp on Old Kampala Hill (Gutkind, 1963). Regardless of how the foreigners had entered the capital, the result was that the major religious and social institutions, whether Ganda or foreign, were located on hilltops,

¹³ 'Uganda' is the Swahili term for Buganda and was applied to the whole country as the British Ugandan Protectorate was established (Karlstrom, 1999).

¹⁴ Dividing the territory into counties, sub-counties and parishes, headed by appointed chiefs

¹⁵ The whole urban agglomeration continued to be called 'Mengo' after the Hill on which the King's palace stood as a contrast to 'Kampala', which was the name of the site of the fort of the officers of the Imperial British East Africa Company (Southall and Gutkind, 1957).

surrounded by Upper class housing belong to adherents. Middle-class residents settled further down the hill and lower income-groups, hawkers and traders, were left to occupy the malarial valleys. There was, thus, a distinct cellular structure to the city: series of relatively self-sufficient communities or collections of villages, the majority of which has grown up on and around the hills (Southall, 1967).

The labour migration to the Kibuga, which as described above had been going on long before the foreigners arrived, continued. With the construction of the protestant and catholic churches it enhanced, calling for the employment of hundreds of people. As the British administration settled on Old Kampala Hill, especially after the turn of the century, the Government became the major employer of unskilled labour for capital development projects.¹⁶ By 1907 it was estimated that over 10 000 men were used daily as porters in Kampala alone. The Kibuga population had for a long time been a heterogeneous one, as slaves from neighbouring tribes were to be found as servants to chiefs, and Sudanese and Swahili soldiers were quartered there. In 1902 'Uganda Notes', according to Gutkind reported on a "...mixed population... within a mile of the centre of our mission is a gradually increasing population of Swahilis, Arabs, Indians, Sudanese, as well as Mohammedan Baganda", who were evidently treated as foreigners. Additionally more and more Europeans and Asians settled in Kampala Township (Gutkind, 1963: 18). The growing population density, the presence of two strong political administrative systems and the sanitary and health conditions were issues that became crucial in the development of the city. This is evident in political happenings leading into a new century.

The Uganda Agreement of 1900

In 1900 an important event, which according to Gutkind had an essential bearing on subsequent developments for the Kibuga, its problem of land tenure, and its relationship to Kampala, took

¹⁶ While Kampala was the chief city of the Protectorate as the seat for the provincial offices for Buganda, it was not chosen as the capital of the Protectorate. Entebbe, a peninsula jutting into Lake Victoria some twenty miles from Kampala and the Kibuga, was chosen as capital partly because of its beauty, partly because of its supposed superiority over Kampala in conditions of health, and partly of its convenience at the lakeshore for communication by boat. Another reason given in favour of Entebbe was its very aloofness from the vortex of Uganda affairs at Mengo and Kampala (Southall and Gutkind, 1957).

place. In 1899 Sir Harry Johnston was appointed Her Majesty's Special Commissioner for the Uganda Protectorate with the mission to place the Administration of the present Protectorate on a permanent and satisfactory footing (Gutkind, 1963).

One of the most important problems to be settled was the question of land ownership and the allocation of administration offices. Within three months the negotiations were finished and the famous 'Uganda Agreement of 1900' was signed. The most important feature was the creation of *mailo* land, which approximated freehold land to the Kabaka, his chiefs and other notables. The Kibuga was included in this settlement, and small plots were allocated to members of the royal family and senior chiefs either as private freehold or official estates. Thus, the foundation was laid for a powerful land-owning aristocracy instrumental in the administration and future development of the Kibuga. According to Gutkind this was a development that in an African context had to be considered nearly unique (Ibid).

The Baganda interpretation of the Agreement was in Gutkind's view to prove the real source of conflict between the two types of administration, the British and the Baganda. According to the latter the Agreement sealed the approval on all their indigenous political institutions, in the meaning that they as a people were only protected, not conquered, by Her Majesty's Government. The differences in the two administrations' interpretations of the agreement appeared in the long-standing quarrel from 1900 to 1950 between the British Government and the Buganda Government over the question of the appointments and duties of chiefs. The problems generated over the administration and development of the Kibuga could in Gutkind's opinion be understood as just one example of the differences between the two political actors. I will now turn to some events illustrative of the conflict, occurring in the years to follow (Ibid).

After 1900 Buganda was divided into twenty counties (*ssaza*) one of which was *Kyadondo*. Each county was divided into a number of sub-counties (*gombolola*). *Kyadondo* had eight sub-counties one of which was the Kibuga. Each sub-county was in turn sub-divided into a number of parishes (*miluka*) in which the Kibuga had twelve. During these first years of a new century, the Ganda were more and more suspicious, and as it should prove itself, justifiably so, to European intention to reduce the native capital. In 1902 a small area were excised to be used "exclusively as

a European quarter and all native settlements [were to be] strictly prohibited” (Gutkind, 1963: 22). In 1903 the Uganda Township Ordinance was passed providing the first legal framework for urban growth. The Ordinance stated that the Commissioner could declare any place in the Protectorate to be a township. This aroused protests from the Katikiro and the lukiko (Ibid).

In 1906 Kampala, now a growing commercial centre was officially gazetted a township and its boundaries defined as within a three-mile radius of the Nakasero Fort. This included a great part of the Kibuga and the Kabaka palace. The ministers according to Gutkind protested to the Provincial Commissioner, saying that the fear they had expressed in 1903 had now been justified. Sir Hesketh Bell however explained, “Due to the influx of labour into Kampala and the unsanitary conditions in the Kibuga this was a measure which had to be taken”¹⁷ (Gutkind, 1963:23). This was not the last time sanitation was used as an argument for encroaching on Baganda land in the Kibuga.

Sanitation and Conquest

In the years leading up to the First World War small pieces of land was bought from Baganda landowners. Later, during the First World War there was increasing shortage of housing, and Baganda landowners were willing to lease their land. As a result there was a growing number of Europeans living outside the borders of the Kampala Township. One of these areas was Namirembe hill. The sanitary conditions at Namirembe were allegedly very bad, and this was used as an explanation for the decision taken to bring the area under the Protectorate Government’s control. There is however reason to believe that the fact that a number of European church workers, missionaries, educators and doctors, in addition to Asian traders, lived close to the Protestant church and the hospital located there, was a more forceful reason than the health and sanitary situation for the Baganda. This is evident in the following document presented for the Provincial Commissioner in Buganda by the Chief Secretary:

¹⁷ In June 1910 the boundary of Kampala was altered to a one-mile radius from the District Commissioner’s office thereby calming the Baganda suspicions (Gutkind 1963).

[The Protectorate] Government has received numerous letters and petitions during the last two years from Europeans and Asians resident or working at Namirembe. All complain of bad sanitary conditions of the native areas and the rowdy behaviour of Africans, which disturbs patients and churchgoers. I suggest that it is unwise to have so large a group of non-natives outside Kampala. The area involved is less than 350 square yards and Government is reviewing the situation. The incorporation of this area as part of Kampala or the declaration of a separate township is being considered as a measure of control and protection of this population. I expect the ministers will howl when they hear this proposal, but this opposition can be overcome by persuasion. Natives will not be removed from the area (Gutkind, 1963: 126).

To prevent the suggested declaration the Ganda ministers made a plan for improvement of conditions in the Kibuga and the appointment of African health inspectors. These were to be given the authority to burn dilapidated and unsanitary houses and repair others, construct drains and latrines, and clean wells. It was also proposed by the lukiko that the tenants should pay a development tax, but the Protectorate Government did not agree to this suggestion. Namirembe became a township later the same year. The Katikiro protested and wrote to the Governor that he and his colleagues were:

... Surprised to see that the Government has included a portion of our native capital at Namirembe in the Government Township ... This has never been arranged with the lukiko ... and the reason for including that portion in the Government Township has never been explained to us. We are greatly afraid that the Government is beginning to take our Kibuga without reason (Gutkind, 1963: 26).

The Protectorate did by their rejection of Baganda efforts to solve the sanitary conditions and enforce sanitary rules, according to Gutkind, provide evidence of the fact that they were not prepared to relax their pressure for the eventual control over the Kibuga. Additionally in 1921 they openly suggested that the gombolola consisting of Kampala and the Kibuga should be divided in two parts. The Protectorate had until now been anxious to indicate to the Buganda Government that they did not consider Kampala part of the Kibuga. It was however, according to the Protectorate Government, a necessary step to avoid future friction and overlapping jurisdiction between the two governments. The Katikiro strongly objected to the Kabaka:

...The European Township has always been part of our capital...when their place grows larger they will eat it up. Your Highness you must inform the foreigners that we will not permit this and that the two places cannot be separated...this is the way the Europeans have to take everything away from us. We all know that it is the place where the British live but since the day of Mwanga¹⁸ it has always been part of our capital. They took the land from us and now the Europeans wish to live in their own gombolola (Gutkind, 1963: 27 f.).

Even though both camps experienced internal disagreements on issues regarding the relationship between the Kibuga and Kampala, the overall pattern was clear. Despite continuous effort, the Kibuga, according to Southall and Gutkind, felt further and further behind Kampala in the provision of public services, the control of sanitation, the safeguarding of health and in general standards of administration. Secondly there was constant recrimination and suspicion between the Buganda Government authorities, and the Township Council authorities, which was still dominated by Europeans and Asians (Southall and Gutkind, 1957). Finally, while the boundaries of the Kibuga remained relatively fixed, Kampala grew rapidly within it from an encampment of 170 acres in 1902 to a municipality of some 5,400 acres, a large portion of which was annexed from the Kibuga, in the 1950-60s. Gutkind describes the situation in the years leading up to independence in the following words:

The fact that the Protectorate Government has insisted on high building standard in townships has effectively prevented Africans from settling in them and inflated the value of the land outside the townships. This, the East Africa Royal Commission pointed out, has resulted in “isolation and frustration of African town-dwellers, who feel that they cannot by their own efforts, raise themselves above the squalid conditions in which they live (Gutkind, 1963: 52).

2.3 Independence and the Post-Colonial Situation

After independence in 1962 turbulent times characterised by economic decline, civil war and state terror through dictatorship hit the people of Uganda under the rule of Milton Obote (1962-

¹⁸ Mwanga was the 23rd king in the Buganda reign of kings. He is the first king whose seat in power is possible to date. Oral history tells that he reigned from 1740-41: <http://www.buganda.com/reigns.htm> [Accessed 2003-10-24]

71; 1981-85), and Idi Amin (1971-79). Following the attack of the Baganda king's palace in 1966, the king, Kabaka Mutesa II, fled to exile in England where he died three years later, and Obote introduced a new constitution, which abolished Uganda's four kingdoms.¹⁹ Different political parties linked to ethnic diversity and religious affinity were the facilitating factors during this chaotic period in Uganda's history. The military became an increasingly powerful political actor, the central governments were increasingly ineffective and the leaders were weak, brutal and incompetent. Unlike other tyrannical governments' brutal methods, the violent tactics employed by the Amin regime in Ofcansky's view often had no other purpose than to terrorise the Ugandan population (Ofcansky, 1996). As a result people expressed their rejection of the state and the ruling economy in the very idiom in which their oppression had been effected. According to the Swedish anthropologist Mikael Karlstrom, there almost existed a war of all against all, with theft, murder and distrust within the Ganda society, people felt alienated from the state and withdrew from politics and the formal economy (Karlstrom, 1999).

At independence Kampala was declared Uganda's capital. It was not until 1968 however, that Kampala and Mengo was integrated into one single entity. The population was at the time estimated to 30 700. In 1966 when the Uganda's constitution was torn up, the army moved centre stage and political structures, bureaucracies, parastatals, and cooperatives soon became instruments of plunder. Looting and revenge killing began almost immediately after Amin's downfall. In Kampala the looting began with abandoned homes of Amin officials, but quickly spread to commercial and government properties, fuelled by Tanzanian troops. Revenge was taken upon sectors of society that was associated with Amin, such a Muslims, Nubi, and people from West Nile province. In some areas Amin-appointed chiefs were killed. By 1986 after yet another period of Obote rule, roads were impassable, hospitals lacked water and drugs, factories stood idle and the countryside was ravaged by war (Ibid).

The political and economically insecure situation described above affected the urbanisation rate which between 1969 and 1980 fell from 7.3 percent to 3.8 percent for the period 1959-69. During Obote and especially Amin the urbanisation that still occurred in Uganda continued,

¹⁹ Baganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro (Ofcansky, 1996: 41).

according to architect and urban planner John Van Nostrand, on what could be described as an uncontrolled basis. While legally there existed some formal planning programmes and procedures, they bore an increasingly diminishing reference to what actually took place on the ground. The dualism between the native and the foreign towns continued to exist in what could be described as either informal versus formal or traditional versus modern sectors. The tension, according to Van Nostrand was, and continues to be symbolised by the physical planning control, or lacks of control, which Kampala had adopted for itself (Van Nostrand, 1994). The insecurity of the post-colonial situation had the affect of people's withdrawal from political life, extensive corruption in formal economy, and the development of informal or parallel economies in the struggle to survive. People relied on self-help groups along kinship lines or neighbour relations in order to survive. The churches also played an important part, formalising some voluntary services, and as watchdog of the state on human right issues. This was the situation when Yoweri Museveni and his National Resistance Movement/Army (NRM/NRA) seized power with the help of Tanzanian troops, in 1986.

The Movement

Yoweri Museveni has managed to create a socio-political situation of relatively reconciliation, stability and peace, and economic growth in Uganda. He succeeded to do so by several means. First of all, in February 1986 the Ugandan government issued a statement outlining the 'Structure of the Resistance Councils and Committees'. Every village (wards or zone in Kampala) and other towns were structured into Resistance Councils (RC).²⁰ Every individual belonged to a village/ward, and had the obligation to participate in the local council at this level called LC1. Every citizen above 18 years was eligible to vote. From LC1 the LCs was arranged in an ascending hierarchy to cover the parish (LC2), sub-county (LC3), county (LC4), and district (LC5). The LCs had the political and juridical authority to manage local affairs, and has been considered congruent with the old chief-ship system, in that their function and hierarchal structure was the same, both constructed in the bottom-up manner, and experienced viable as means of achieving the predominant political ideas of justice, communication and civility. The

²⁰ The system was renamed Local Council (LC) system in the 1995 constitution (Tukahebwa, 2000). I will from here on use 'LC'.

established mode for political participation in Uganda is still via the LC-system (Karlstrom, 1999).

The establishment of LCs was part of President Museveni's policy from the very start to form a government of unity, encompassing representatives from as many of the country's ethnic and political interest groups as possible. Prohibiting political rallies and campaigning along part lines circumscribed the political parties' influence, and leaders and other political notables from the different parties were invited to join the NRM in ruling the country. Through these means, and most importantly by the restoring of Uganda's four kingships in 1993, Museveni managed to create a coalition between the Baganda elite and the NRM. This was an important move. An inescapable fact in Uganda politics has been that no government has enjoyed stability without Buganda's support (Ofcansky, 1996). The inclusion of youth, disabled and women in Parliament in particular, and in politics and society in general, has no doubt enhanced the support of Museveni tremendously. The same has the Local Government Act of 1997, decentralising power and resources to local authorities, which should be more accountable to community needs (UNDP, 2001²¹).

Other relationships that have been restored are those concerning foreign affairs and different actors in the international community. The introduction of SAP, involving among other things privatisation and liberalisation policies, has made Uganda one of the favourite 'pupils' of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The development of Poverty Eradication Action Plans (PEAP) and sector-wide plans has created a basis for contracts with other bi- and multilateral development organisations. Museveni has succeeded in acquiring impressive amounts of foreign economic aid. Approximately 10 percent of the national budget is donor funded. Additionally the establishment of Uganda Revenue Authority and the introduction of Value Added Tax (VAT) improved revenue collection and widened the tax base, which now constitutes 11.4 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This has made possible the introduction of e.g. Universal Primary Education for four children per family, with the resulting

²¹ United Nations' Development Programme: <http://www.undp.or.ug/documents/uhdr2000.pdf> [Accessed 2001-04-21]

remarkable growth-rates in number of schools and enrolment rates. It has also allowed a persistence and partly successful fight against HIV and AIDS, with a slow-down in spread due to increase in the total spending on health from Ugandan Shillings 1.7 billion in 1997/98 to 8.4 billion in 1998/99 (Ibid). The progress and development Uganda's population has experienced the last 17 years is however still fragile.

A Fragile Future

Economically the difference between rich and poor in Uganda is enhancing. People living in rural areas experience a much slower qualitative social development than the urban percentage of the population in areas like health and education. Uganda's health indicators are among the poorest in Sub-Saharan Africa. Over 75 percent of life years are lost to premature death due to ten preventable diseases, which include prenatal and maternal conditions, malaria, respiratory tract diseases and diarrhoea. Factors adversely affecting the health situation is the immunisation coverage at only 47 percent; limited access to health care; illiteracy; low access to safe water (44 percent); low sanitary/latrine coverage (47,5 percent); and insecurity and political conflict in the Northern and Eastern parts of Uganda (Ibid).

In Kampala and the surrounding areas the controversies and disputes over land continues. As described above this has been an on-going conflict since the British settled on Old Kampala Hill, between the colonial government of Kampala and the Baganda government of Mengo, now with the Government of the Republic of Uganda taking the position of the British colonial government. The New Vision, Uganda's main newspaper, constantly comments on land issues involving the two parts. The Kabaka cautions the Baganda against selling their land, saying the kingdom's development programmes are based on its availability, and reminding people that land is wealth (New Vision, 13 August, 2002²²); on the other hand the lukiko has had to stagger Baganda royal activists who demonstrates against the 'too soft' land politics of the lukiko and the Kabaka, protesting against the lukiko selling-off of Kabaka land (New Vision, 21 May 2002). The Kabaka's Government on Mengo argues for the return of 'our things' (*ebyaffe*) and the re-

²² All the New Vision Online articles in this paragraph was found at <http://www.newvision.co.ug/detail.php?mainNewsCategoryId=8&newsCategoryId=1> [Accessed 2002-10-29]

establishment of the federal system, but at the same time it wants to remain a cultural versus political institution (New Vision, 6 August 2002). Museveni tries to stave off agitation for a federal system e.g. by the Government's decision to return the ssaza and gombolola headquarters to the Kabaka, but at the same time the President urges the Baganda to use their land in a way that also benefits the region and the country, e.g. by allowing investors to utilise their vast land as a way to create more jobs (New Vision 6 August 2002).

There are also other politically issues that the Government of Uganda need to solve. The situation in the northern part of the country is critical: 1.6 million people are internally displaced, i.e. they are refugees in their own country, due to the warlike situation between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), and the Government Army. People living in the refugee camps have no possibility to support them selves, and they lack water, medicine and medical care. The population in these areas live in constant fear of seeing their children being kidnapped and trained as soldiers, or being raped and taken as wives by the LRA commanders. More than 12000 children were abducted between June 2002 and December 2003. The Governmental army and LRA have in the mean time not been able to solve the conflict, and the Government has been criticised for not trying hard enough to stop the LRA. Also the Governmental army has been accused of violence and killings among civilians, and the Government does not allow people to leave the refugee Camps (NRC²³).

Even though the situation in the north of Uganda has lasted for at least one decade, the international community did not direct their attention towards it until two-three years ago. UN's vice secretary-general, Jan Egeland, in 2003 described the situation as one of the world's best forgotten humanitarian catastrophes. I believe that one reason why this critique has not been raised earlier is that the international community has not wanted to criticise President Museveni, who has been one of the best 'pupils' of the World Bank, until now. The opposition against him has however grown after he proclaimed that he was to change the constitution, in order for him to participate in the president election 2006, and thereby be able sit a third term as president. This has changed the international attitudes towards Museveni. He has received international

²³ Norwegian Refugee Council: <http://www.nrc.no/NRC/FR/frames/prosjekt.htm> [Accessed 2006-06-15]

warnings and donors have threatened to withdraw their support. In Uganda politics have been polarised, as numbers of demonstrations has been arranged both for and against him and the politics that he represents. Nevertheless, the constitution was altered, and in 2006. Museveni was re-elected as President of Uganda for another term (Ibid).²⁴

There are also environmental problems. Besides agriculture with coffee as the main cash and export crop and livestock holding, fishing is an important industry in Uganda. A 1998 fisheries survey showed that 20 750 households were engaged in fish catching. One of the biggest threats to the well being of this industry is environmental. Lake Victoria is on the verge of an ecological disaster due to over-fishing, deforestation, rapid human population growth especially in the cities, introduction of untreated sewage into lakes, rivers and streams, and toxic waste run-off from copper mines. These are signs of industrialisation and urbanisation that are considered essential for the modernising process, and claimed to be important for a country's development. At the same time these processes create serious problems for sustainability of the natural environment and in the end for humans themselves. This is an undeniable fact in the fastest growing cities, especially among the urban poor (Ofcansky, 1996).

²⁴ In my thesis I have not included events and political developments taking place during the later years. Thus the political institutions and processes described in this thesis have their basis in the political situation around the time I was conducting my fieldwork, i.e. 2001.

3 THE PARISH - A KAMPALA SLUM

In Kampala old and new live side by side. It is today a city of 1,208,544 people, even though the population is estimated to be higher during daytime when a number of people come to work there. The annual population growth has been 3.8 percent from 1991-2002 (UBOS²⁵). Resembling the city Gutkind's described in 1902 Kampala still has a mixed population. In the mid-1990s, 39.4 percent of Kampala's inhabitants were Catholics, 38.5 percent Protestants and 19.8 percent Muslims. The rest belongs to minor Christian Churches or other religions. The Baganda is the dominant ethnic group in Kampala constituting 60 percent of the population. Next in size are Banyankole and Bahima at 5 percent, and Batoro, Batuka, Basongora, Ifeso, and Basoga at about 3-3.5 percent each. The remaining ethnic groups are quite small (Wallman, 1996). In addition there are Non-Ugandan Africans, Asians, Europeans and Americans.

Another reminder of the fact that old and new lives side by side in Kampala, is that the political LC System follows the former county, sub-county, parish (Ssaza, Gombolola, Miluka) boundaries. Kampala is a District (LC5) that is subdivided into 5 administrative Divisions (LC3), equivalent to a Sub-county²⁶. These are further sub-divided into the smaller units of parish (LC2) and village or zone level (LC1). There are 99 parishes and 998 zones in Kampala (DISH²⁷). Patterns from Kampala's history are however also present in other ways. The population is still not evenly distributed along the growing number of hills that the city is built upon. Today the hill-tops are occupied by Embassies, Ambassador-residences, and headquarters of big development agencies, the best hotels, the most monumental religious buildings, and the residences of the small, rich upper-class. It is along the steepest hillsides, and between the hills in

²⁵ Uganda Bureau of Statistics: <http://www.ubos.org/index.html> [Accessed 2005-10-18]

²⁶ Kampala is the only district that does not have a LC4 county level

²⁷ Uganda Delivery of Improved Services for Health: www.ugandadish.org/kampala.doc [Accessed 2005-10-18]

the wetlands that the majority, approximately 70 percent, of the Capital's inhabitants live their lives. Many of these communities can more or less be characterised as slum settlements, and people here experience to be deprived of most governmental services. In addition to the social and psychological characteristics believed to exist within a slum, as described in the introduction chapter, a slum is also defined by its physical characteristics.

3.1 Defining Slum

Even though Africa is the least urbanised of the continents with less than 30 percent of its population living in urban centres, African urban areas today display the fastest rate of population increase in the world. Over the period 1970-95 the average African country's population grew by 5.2 percent per annum. This is related to the fact that with independence and the establishing of the new African nation states, the cities became the centres of commerce, the seat of government, the source of news and innovation and the point of contact with the outside world. The high rate of urbanization occurred without generating the resources needed to accommodate the surge in population, and has, thus, caused an immense growth of informal settlements within and/or surrounding the urban centres (The World Bank Group²⁸).

The term 'slum' is a very broad concept that can obscure the vast differences between different types of slums. It is generally defined as comprising old areas, at least more than 70 years, of existing cities undergoing deterioration and decay. They are however not necessarily symbols of retrogression, but may also represent the first advance from homelessness into shelter, a station on the road to a better life. Slums are often characterized as being a transition from the rural to the urban way of life for new urban migrants. They are frequently located near the central business area of a town, are often inhabited by single migrants because of the cheap accommodation, and can be either rented or owner occupied, either legal or illegal. Slum shelters include cabins, shanties, dens, dugouts, sheds, stalls and other manifestations of poverty, and

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<http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/External/Urban/UrbanDev.nsf/Urban+Development/06FCBF7D26772E6885256B18007BA532?OpenDocument> [Accessed 2005-11-08]

they flourish in many environments (Obudho and Mhlanga, 1988). A typical African slum settlement is by Akin Mabogunje defined as:

... a collection of insubstantial housing constructed of recuperated waste materials of wood or corrugated iron sheets, ... mud wall and thatch-wood or iron roof. There is ... little in the way of road systems ... [and if] a road system is discernible ... [it is] usually unpaved and gutted by erosion. Many houses have no electricity or piped water and [most of them have] pot latrines. There is no sewerage or drainage system. ... There are also few schools ... and no hospital or health facilities. Yet there is the most active area of the city with its petty traders (Obudho and Mhlanga, 1988: 8).

Squatter settlements, in contrast to the slums, are regarded as transitional and temporary in nature. Some develop over a period of time while others are built literally over night. They are usually located on occupied land in the city centre or peri-urban areas, and the inhabitants, to house themselves in lack of alternatives, construct wood, tin, cardboard, and tarpaper shelters, on a spontaneous, undirected and untrained effort. Richard Stren defines a squatter settlement as:

An area in which the people have built themselves houses with no regard to survey boundaries, whether or not such boundaries have been established... squatter's houses may be as good as [if not better than] many houses built on surveyed plots to which the house owners have the right to occupancy. However, most of the squatter areas have poorer urban amenities than do comparable high-density areas where houses are built on survey plots. Roads, schools, water and electric facilities, refuse disposal services, surface water drainage, and septic tank emptying services in squatter areas are markedly inferior to those in nonsquatter areas (Obudho and Mhlanga, 1988: 9).

The definitions above describe the physical and institutional characteristics of a typical slum and squatter area. The Parish shares a number of the characteristics given in these definitions with other slums and squatters in Africa, and around the world. On the other hand it has its own history and structure which brings nuance to the picture, and which is crucial to the understanding of what really goes on there, and why.

3.2 From Royal Plantations to Impoverished Slum

The slum area I worked in is a parish (LC2) consisting of ten zones (LC1). It is located along two hillsides, at the Northern fringe of Kampala leading down to a wetland area. The expansion as a residential and commercial area started in the 1960s and 1970s. The oldest inhabitants who came to the Parish in its early days revealed that most of the land was then mailo land, owned by the Kabaka. In the early 1960s the King ceded most of his land to a few of his councillors. Some paid rent to the Kabaka and others bought land from him. After the 1966 crises and the demolishing of the kingdoms, a process of fragmentation set in. From only a few landlords there are now many hundreds, and only a few large ones. Most have small plots where they have their own house and some let the house, the land or both. There are two categories of landlords, those who let houses and those who let land and allow people to build their own houses. Many owners are increasingly willing to sell land (Wallman, 1996). I experienced that a number of landowners no longer live locally. A number of times when I walked around with the CHW, the tenants blamed the landlords for the unsanitary conditions in the neighbourhood, neglecting to provide sufficient facilities. Very seldom did we get the opportunity to talk to the owner of the land as they did not live in the locality. Thus, the majority of the inhabitants are tenants who pay rent either officially or unofficially as squatters.

According to the 1991 population census 12 079 persons lived in the parish on roughly half a square kilometre. This gives a population density of 24 158 per square km which was among the highest of all the parishes in Kampala (Statistical Department, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 1992). The population in mid-1994, based on the 1991 population census, was estimated to somewhere between 15 000 and 16 000 giving a density of close to 30 000 per square km (Wallman, 1996). The projection of the population growth since then has been slightly over 5 percent and on top of this there is unofficial squatter growth. Some of the employees at Caring Community claimed that the population today is 30-40 000 people. The expansion is an on-going process, both geographically and number of people. This growth does not come from rural-urban migration alone. Empirical studies of poor urban communities and migration processes in general, in fact reveal that natural increase is a more significant factor to population growth, than net in-migration (Harpham et al, 1988). In the mid 1990s, 38 percent of the Parish'

population was born in Kampala, and the majority of those born in Kampala were in fact born in the Parish (Wallman, 1996).

The uphill areas were the first to be inhabited, and in accordance with the population growth the community has stretched to cover greater parts of the hillsides. Today even the valley is more and more densely populated. According to the CHW, people are not allowed to build on the swamps, but paying an unofficial 'fee', government officials still give people permission to put up their houses in these areas. The prices of land within the Parish varies considerable according to whether the land is 'dry' or 'wet', and the distance to the main roads. Thus, the areas uphill, which are close to the main roads and drier, are the most expensive, with diminishing prices the further down towards the valley you go. Even though the land prices is cheaper in the lower parts, it is more expensive and time consuming to erect a house from permanent material there, because the foundation must be more solid and ideally should be laid three to six months in advance.

The differences in price of land due to the characteristics of the topography obviously coincide with other difference within the community. The poorest tenants live downhill, where they rent one or two rooms in semi-permanent and temporary structures of different standard, some no better than shacks adjoining each other. Up-hill one can find more permanent houses with piped water, electricity, fences, hedges or other demarcations that seem planned as individual residences. The residents who live in these areas are also closer to the containers where garbage and household waste can be deposited. The containers are placed here because of the proximity to the main roads where they are easier collected and emptied, and the fact that there is more room in the less densely populated uphill areas.

The main part of the activities in the Parish is centred in the upper and central parts, where the more permanent houses and most of the communal establishments and commercial activities are to be found. The Churches and the Mosque, the main market, the special-hire taxi park, most of the shops and restaurants, and the main clinic, ran by Caring Community of which the CHW was a part of, were all located in this part of the settlement. Some of these establishments and services exceed the day-to-day needs of the poorer residents, who mostly use the smaller market

downhill, and the several kiosks located throughout the settlement. Many buy their foodstuff at the market in a neighbouring community known to be cheaper. The clinic also attracts patients from outside the community, this was especially so for the HIV/AIDS patients who came for free treatment.

It is not only the quality of the houses that deteriorate the further down towards the valley you go. The standards of the roads, water sources and sanitary facilities also worsen. The three non-tarmac roads usable by vehicles are poorly maintained. In the most dense parts in the lower hillside there are only innumerable footpaths crisscrossing the entire area, intersecting with the open channels and sewers filled with stagnant, dirty greenish water, rubbish, used tins, plastic bags and rotting vegetable remains. People pass them either by jumping or on small bridges. Some have open sewers running right outside their doorstep and frequently experience to have their house flooded. There is several water taps scattered around, but a number of the residents tend to use the protected and unprotected springs where the water is free of charge. The staff at Caring Community told me that a study carried out by KCC revealed E-Coli bacteria to contaminate 90 percent of the water samples from the Parish' shallow wells and protected springs. This is related to the standard of the sanitary facilities and the way they are used by the inhabitants.

The majority of the residents have only on-site sanitation. During the 1990s several VIP latrines has been constructed, but some of them are now heavily dilapidated, and people have to pay a fee to use them. Most of the privately owned pit-latrines are in bad shape and shared by a great number of households. In the swamps, latrines are built on platforms due to the high water table. It is impossible for any vehicle to enter these areas due to the denseness of the structures, the lack of proper roads and the crisscrossing of natural drainages. Consequently, a common method used for emptying some of the platform latrines is opening a trapdoor pouring out the excrements, and hoping that the rain will flush it away. We came across places were people had built 'pour flush' latrines with the flush pipes leading straight to the open water drain.

Some households, which do not have easy access to sanitation of any sort, improvise by using *cavera*, mobile plastic-bag toilets inside their house. These are later disposed indiscriminately by

either throwing them into open-areas or in the drainage at night. On inspection with the CHW, we once entered an empty house in a crowded area, and found that it was used as dumping place for cavera toilets, with the resulting appalling smell in the whole neighbourhood. Because of lack of privacy, some of the women tended to use the latrines after dark only. Because of the bad shape the latrines generally were in, it was considered dangerous for children to use them, and women dug small wholes in the ground, for them to use. The areas where the sanitary facilities were at its worst were also the areas that were most frequently flooded. During the heavy rainfall streams of dirty polluted water came flowing and filled up the drainages.

The area has a fluctuating character. People move in and out of the Parish and within the community itself. This is related to people's insecure income and the high percentage of tenants. People usually do not have any tenancy agreement, and if the landlord decides to throw anyone out they often have to move on short notice. If one of the main sustainers of a family became sick or died, if he or she lost his or her job, or if the husband left the family to live with another wife it meant difficulty paying the rent. Some of the tenants being thrown out had the possibility to move in with relatives in or outside the parish, others had to rent cheaper rooms further downhill in the swampy valley or to even poorer unplanned settlements in other parts of the city, and some became beggars living on the streets.

There is also fluctuation on a daily basis. Many residents leave the Parish every day for work, school and social purposes, and many non-residents as mentioned come there to use its commercial and other services. Another aspect of fluctuation found interesting during the undertaking of this study was the 'mental mobility'. A number of people claimed that they did not feel they really belong in the community and intended to move out; even though they had lived there for years and did not have any concrete plans to leave. Some referred to the village as the place where they really belong although they had not been in the village for a very long time. A columnist in New Vision wrote: "It is common for people here to speak of their 'home village'. In fact most people I know in Kampala maintain they are from some far-flung corner of

Uganda and not from Kampala at all, which is odd, as most of them never leave the city” (Dr Ian Clark, Sunday Vision, 11.Nov 2001²⁹).

The Parish has, thus, changed dramatically the last 40 years, from being sparsely populated, characterised by plantations, owned by the Kabaka in the beginning of the 1960s, to the fragmentation of landownership, and extreme density of people, houses, shacks, latrines, kiosk, churches, markets and bars in the beginning of a new millennium. Today it emerges as a mixed community containing the whole spectre from permanent and semi-permanent buildings to temporary squatter shelters, and being both a self sustained village-like residential area and a more fluctuating and diverse urban-like community. Nevertheless, it is evident that at present the Parish fulfils the criteria given for a slum.

It is built in an area prone to environmental hazards, and the main part of the human induced environment, such as buildings and infrastructure, is in a very bad state. The services the residents receive from the government, especially those related to infrastructure, are few. Roads are poorly maintained, making it impossible for vehicles to enter. Water and sanitation facilities are falling to pieces. There are only four garbage containers to cover waste from the whole community, and all are located in the up-hill part of the Parish. These were hardly ever emptied, and were falling to pieces from corrosion. The housing conditions are bad with a high proportion being temporary and semi-permanent structures. The population density is high, and there is a high degree of poverty. In addition there are no governmental schools in the Parish³⁰ and the clinic ran by Caring Community had scarce resources. The residents in the Parish used a variety of strategies to cope in this environment.

3.3 Economic Strategies: The Concept of Empisa

Informal conversations with people in the slum revealed that a majority run a small ‘business’ to make a living, and that the term ‘business’ include a wide range of informal economic activities. Women work as market vendors selling vegetables, brew local beer, and run small bars or kiosks,

²⁹ <http://www.sundayvision.co.ug/> [Accessed 2001-11-20]

³⁰ One was under construction during my stay there

take-away restaurants, and hairdressing saloons. In addition they have the sole responsibility for a variety of activities associated with the household: washing clothes, cooking, carrying water, nursing for sick family members, and taking care of the children. Down in the valley a number of women grow some food crops, mainly for household use, but sometimes also for commercial purposes. There are also some few women who have turned to prostitution.

Men are taxi-drivers, boda-boda drivers, tailors, barbers, butchers, runners of wholesale or retail shops, and repair houses, bicycles, radios, shoes, etc. Sometimes they get paid assignments outside of the Parish' borders, and thereby occasionally leave their families for periods of weeks or months. Some go to the city centre and spend the day there looking for a job, visiting relatives or acquaintances with office-jobs during lunch hour, lobbying for an opportunity to get an assignment, or at least enjoying the obligatory lunch offer. Through these different coping mechanisms, most families manage in a hand-to-mouth manner. An unexpected imbursement however could be catastrophic to the household economy.

In immediate need neighbours help each other out with small loans or services. When Simon's companion, Diana, gave birth, a neighbouring woman helped her with the daily doings like cooking, and shopping at the market. She had herself received the same service from Diana only a couple of months earlier. The reliance on the other residents in the community, and the appreciation and acknowledgement of their existence became clear to me when walking around with Simon, Diana, or other friends. At every other house we passed, we stopped to greet people, regardless of the fact that we were sometimes in a hurry. In the appropriate manner we asked them how they and their family were doing, and thanked them for 'all that they had done or were about to do' (*Jebale ko*).

As mentioned in the introduction, Wallman in her study of women in Kampala refers to the concept of *empisa*, i.e. a local ideal of moral community combining neighbourliness with respectability (Wallman, 1996). This is a principle I found to be important also in the Parish where this study was conducted. According to Simon, *empisa* is what you have learnt from your parents or the elders. It includes greeting community members as a form of respect, the way one talks to others, the way one address certain issues, the way one walks, eats, and even laughs. Thus, being

on good terms with the neighbours has more to it than the economic aspect. In a society that could easily dissolve into chaos and lawlessness, there were rules about what was considered appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. Thus, the greetings and mutual recognition of the neighbours were also about a need to create bonds in a world that could otherwise consist of potentially dangerous strangers. This moral community was inclusive but also worked to correct or exclude those who did not behave according to what was considered proper. Diana told me that she was suspicious of women who did not greet others, invite others to their homes, or help neighbours in the community. These women, rejecting the moral community, do not receive any help from their neighbours, and thereby become isolated in addition to becoming more vulnerable to economic distress.

Moreover the residents often turned to close or distant family members for financial help. It is for instance not unusual, especially for single mothers, to send their children to live with female relatives either in Kampala or in the village. Sometimes the reason stated for sending children to the village was that schools are cheaper there. With the children safely located in the company of family members, the women could spend more time trying to get a job and save some money. In addition, by doing this they did not have to be afraid of the fact that their kids would pick up bad habits running around in the slum. People also approached acquaintances they were not actually related to when in need for economic assistance, most often people from their own village who had made a carrier in Kampala. A Ugandan friend of mine who had started a successful business guiding tourists, experienced to be approached by family members in Kampala and people from his village, people he had not even met before, who needed his help. Even though he was at times frustrated, he never refused to help them.

Some people in the Parish achieved help from Caring Community, which eased their economic situation. Through the micro-finance projects run by the Gender and Social Welfare Department, women in the community got a small loan to start a business. The educational programmes taking place at the informal and the vocational schools ease the situation for families that do not have the possibility to pay school fees, and improve the children's chances of getting a job later in life. Caring Community also administrates a project through which private donors can fund school fees for children of poor families in the community. The clinic offers

free medicine and vaccination. A number of people approach Caring Community to get financial or other types of help in immediate crises. The employees often talked about the frustration they felt when not being able to help because their finances were too scarce.

At times people in the Parish take economic decisions, which might initially seem economically irrational. It is for instance a common sight to see women sitting in the street outside their house for a whole day with 10-30 tomatoes for sale. Even if they would manage to sell all the tomatoes, the income would be close to nothing. An outsider could get the impression that it would be wiser for them to spend their time finding something more profitable to do. It also appeared to be a waste of economic valuable time, to go all the way to the neighbouring community to save a few shillings buying foodstuff at the market there. Furthermore a ten minutes walk through the area, usually took close to an hour, because of the obligations to stop and greet people. To anyone who has grown up in a part of the world where effectiveness is one of the most esteemed values, this appears to be very inefficient use of time. Finally it seems surprising that some residents spend their small surplus on expensive furniture or a mobile phone, even though they have children who do not go to school, because the family lack money to pay school fees.

Ethnographers have suggested that what may seem irrational economic behaviour, are really survival skills that make perfect sense for the poor, who work on the margins of the labour market in high-turnover, low wage jobs. They have found that, instead of laziness and work avoidance, making ends meet involves hard work and management skills. Households are often organised in complex ways. Adult and child members contribute with income from different informal economic businesses and together they manage to survive the day. Informal savings can be achieved by storing wealth in expensive goods like furniture that can be pawned, and are therefore not the irrational spendthrift consumption that it may seem like. Informal sharing networks, based on kinship or fictive kinship, in which friends and neighbours act like kin, works as an economic insurance and it therefore worth spending time on (Goode, 2002). In addition to the coping strategies mentioned above, I also experienced that being poor is a time-consuming life-situation, which often necessitates short-term economic solutions.

The women with their 30 tomatoes know that if they do not work the whole day, they will not earn anything, and there will be no food on the table. Even if the income is microscopic, some money is better than none. Combined with the small income from the other members of the household the amount each of them brings in, will perhaps be enough to cover some of the household expenses. The large effort taken to earn so little is actually quite the contrary to laziness, and a sign of strength and willingness to work hard to make a living. In addition women have the sole responsibility for the household tasks. The domestic duties make them bounded to their house and economic activities that is possible to accomplish there. That buying expensive furniture can be a way to store wealth has already been mentioned. Another aspect that needs to be taken into consideration here is the fact that when your income is both low and insecure, saving enough money to for instance pay school fees is an almost unachievable task. It is therefore perhaps not illogical to instead invest the little you have to buy a mobile phone as a strategy to become more available, and thereby enhance the possibility to get a profitable job offer.

It has been claimed that the reason why the provision of services and facilities are less widespread in the slum than elsewhere in the city is because poor people are less willing, or able, to pay. In reality however poor people pay more than others for services of much lower quality than average. The water tariff for the urban poor in Kampala has been subsidised by the National Water and Sewerage Corporation (NWSC) to a low price at Ush8 per 20 litre jerry can. The poor end up paying a much higher price though, as operators and landlords finance the construction and maintaining of the stand post by putting up the prices. Most also include a surplus for themselves, and charge Ush50 to Ush100 per 20 litre jerry can. Thus, poor families spend an unreasonable high percentage of their income paying for e.g. water and use of sanitation facilities, approximately 10 percent on a minimum supply.

Thus, long-term observation in the context of their everyday life can disclose myths about the urban poor and help to make sense of seemingly irrational behaviour. Looking into economic strategies people use to survive in the Parish, I found that people help each other out financially. Later I learnt that this was part of a community obligation, related to the norms established within the existing moral community. Thus, the acknowledgement of each other through mutual

greetings, visits, and other activities that falls under the concept of empisa has an economic aspect to it.

3.4 Political Organisation: Democracy and Freedom

In the same manner as with economic issues people cooperated to manage practical matters and household tasks, often related to lack of infrastructure and services. These informal agreements could be considered political in that they establish norms that serve to restrict and correct people's behaviour. There were for instance common strategies to cope with the insufficient water and sanitation facilities. Most of the latrines and bathrooms were as mentioned poorly constructed and shared by a number of households, sometimes as much as a hundred. Groups of neighbours construct pit-latrines and restrict their use by locking them and passing the key amongst themselves.

Women are responsible for cleaning the shared latrines. There are rules concerning the organisation that takes place by the water posts in the process of purchase and distribution of water by vendors. The residents also agreed on where to toss and burn household waste. Thus, faced with lack of facilities, the residents made arrangements that were supposed to ease the difficult situation, and make it easier for all to live together in densely populated neighbourhoods. These rules are also related to the concept of empisa described above, encouraging people to act according to a moral standard or custom. Some times however, people did not follow the established rules, e.g. if they experienced the rules to benefit others at the cost of their own interests. This sometimes led to overt conflicts, and the residents approached the local political institutions to help solve the controversy.

The Movement system indicates that all the residents are in fact political actors in that every citizen above eighteen years are members of the LC1 council and are eligible to vote. The LC1s elects an executive committee from the members that are eligible to be voted for. All the LC1 executive committees within a Parish constitute the LC2 which again elect an executive committee amongst themselves. At the LC meetings problems can be raised, solutions offered and conflicts solved. It is a channel for people to take active part in politics and have a voice in

decisions being made. As such, the LC system was intended to become an important source of development, mobilisation, self-help, security, defence and leadership building, through decentralisation. The government's stated objective of decentralisation launched in 1992, was to give communities "...increasing responsibility to formulate their own development activities, which will be supported by the district administration with the help of NGOs and other community based organisations" (World Bank according to Dicklitch, 1998: 82).

The LCs has been successful in the settling of disputes and maintaining security. According to Karlstrom the LC system has been considered congruent with the old chief-ship system, in that their function and hierarchal structure was the same, both constructed in the bottom-up manner, and experienced viable as means of achieving the predominant political ideas of justice, communication and civility (Karlstrom, 1999). On the other hand they have not achieved much in the development-project or service-providing sector at the grassroots. There are several reasons to explain this. First, the LC1s and LC2s are administrative units only; they have no decision-making power above the very local level, and no finances to implement projects. The percentage of the retained revenue, which is supposed to be distributed to the parish and zone level often disappear into somebody's pocket on the way. Corruption in Uganda is ubiquitous. Additionally the LC councillors and secretaries at zone and parish level do not get paid. This has led some of them to charge people who come to ask for help or advice, i.e. an informal user fee has been introduced. Moreover, it is a problem that the Local Government Act has been quiet about the frequency of council meetings at LC1 and LC2 level. It says that local governments ought to meet at least once in two months, but as the LC1s and LC2s are administrative units only, this does not pertain to them (Dicklitch, 1998).

Secondly, some of the LC secretaries in the Parish told me it was difficult to mobilise people to come to the LC1 meetings. They explained this by poverty; that people had to work all day to make a living and thereby did not have time to attend meetings. Another explanation given, was the high percentage of tenants causing a 'lack of belonging attitude' among the residents; if people do not feel that they really belong in the community they do not necessarily see the point in involving themselves in local politics either. A third problem was illiteracy; having attended school for a few years only, some of the residents feel alienated from taking part in political

decisions involving a certain language and codes they feel they do not master. These accounts are supported by research done on the subject. Tukahebwa states that decentralisation has not enhanced participation in local affairs by the majority of the citizens. In his study Tukahebwa found that many seemed to be disinterested in what is going on in councils. This apathy can he claims, be attributed to the failure of the executive members to mobilise the people, but also to lack of civic competence, or poverty. Above all, it is caused by the fact that decentralisation has been a top-down approach. Though not authoritarian, participation is largely seen as a government obligation rather than a people-driven process (Tukahebwa, 2000).

The factors named above are necessary knowledge for understanding people's reluctance to take active part in politics in general, and to improve the health and environmental situation through political means in particular. Poverty is, as described in the section on economic strategies, a time-consuming life situation, and an important factor directing people's choices of action. I claim however that the reasons stated may not be sufficient, and that there are other aspects, which also needs to be taken into consideration. Karlstrom in his dissertation on the restoration of the Buganda kingship in Uganda, deals with the relationship between people and state, rulers and subjects, based on an analysis of topics like 'good governance', 'democracy' and 'local governance'. He points to the fact that rural and non-intellectual Baganda define democracy and the relation to the power-holders differently than within the western model of democracy. This has taken place in that there has developed a fusion in popular consciousness between two different political systems (Karlstrom, 1999).

Within the traditional administrative and political system under the Baganda king, the power-holders do not depend on 'the people' as their representatives. Leaders are the immobile centre of power. It is the people who come and go, and who use this mobility to swat their rulers to better conduct and more free communication. Thus, a good leader is one who listens and consults with the people before taking a decision. Museveni has, by rural Baganda, been regarded a good leader by these standards, not by obeying his subjects' wishes as their representative, but by listening to their complaints and judging cases by virtue of his position as a ruler. The concept of legitimate authority, as hinging upon open lines of communication between the ruler and his

subjects in contrast to the reversal or equalisation of authority relations between them, is evident in the stories about the pre-colonial kingship.³¹

One of the main positive and central liberties within a democracy, in the popular opinion among the Baganda is, according to Karlstrom, freedom, especially freedom to speak ones mind and to have ones opinion considered by the decision-makers. Democracy and good governance then is built on the absence of oppressive constraints upon people's behaviour. At the same time it presupposes the existence of a legitimate authority dealing judicially with violations of certain basic norms and rights. Democracy, then, is by people Karlstrom talked to, defined in the following terms: "From what I understand [democracy] means that under that form of rule I can have my ideas and they are taken into consideration. That's the main thing. I can get what I need, provided I ask for it". "Democracy is *ddembe lya buntu*, each person speaking for himself, without reprisals, saying what you care about the most and saying it openly, and having it answered properly". "Presently we can say there is democracy, because we can stand up and say something and the authority listens to it without much conflict" (Ibid: 417).

These statements illustrate that the applied audience for free speech do not include or prioritise a general audience of equals. The speech is directed to the singular power holder and the willingness of the ruler to respond sympathetically to the concerns of his subjects as built into the very definition of free speech. Furthermore, the Ganda concern with freedom of speech is different from a generalised western liberal conception, in that it is not rooted in a model of politics as a competition for power among the plural representatives of various political views. Quite contrary it is based on a model of legitimate unitary authority as founded on the willingness of power-holders to hear the voices of their subjects (Ibid).

Several of Karlstrom's informants warned against the danger of an individualistic interpretation of freedom (*ddembe*): "When *ddembe* is taken too far it is a bad thing [...] someone might refuse to

³¹ The last pre-colonial king succeeded to the throne under the name Mukaabya meaning 'he who makes people cry/scream'. After torturing his people for his own amusement, people began to flee. This made him realise that he had to change his manner, and he thereby began to discuss with them instead. To show his change of heart he took the new name Muteesa, which means 'he who discusses' (Karlstrom, 1999).

work, to pay taxes, to dig wells, saying: I have my freedom”. One insisted that liberty is communal in itself, as evident in the following answer to the question of what she understood democracy to mean: “I think it is the freedom which a person should have [...] freedom to work with your friends as you like and as they like, not just to get yours and keep it for yourself. We are all equal [*twenkanankana*] in our freedom, and we should share it together”. Another linked democracy to standards of conduct: “I understand democracy as self-governance [*kwefuga*]. That is, you have to have good manners/habits [*mpisa*] in order to govern yourself. You have to change your manners/habits so that you are doing good things, and then you can call your self democratic”. The freedom is therefore not the freedom to do what you want. Both rulers and subjects should conform to certain standards of civility, a social morality (Ibid: 421-22).

The LC system is as mentioned in chapter 1 considered legitimate because it resembles the old chiefship system. At the local level, the councils took over many of the administrative and judicial functions of the civil service chiefship, and both were constructed in the bottom-up manner. Thus, both systems have channels for communication between rulers and subjects. One of Karlstrom’s informant stated: “It seems like there isn’t much difference, because the chiefs were there too, ruling their villages, and they called people to court when there where charges, and they decided cases, and if a case was too difficult they would send you to the magistrate court” (Ibid: 435).

Understanding the LCs lack of success in accomplishing development projects and service-provision can be explained by politics at a national level. With lack of finances and political decision-making power transferred to the grassroot level, taking action to solve community problems is difficult. The fact that the LCs were used in an ad-hoc manner, i.e. that the residents did not attend the LC1 meetings, and approached members of the LC executive committee when they had some complaints only, was, I argue, not merely about top-down politics and a resultant disinterest in politics. It was also influenced by another way of thinking and organising politically. Thus, in addition to poverty, illiteracy, and fluctuation, I believe that one needs to at least ask whether the fact that the relationship between people and the power-holders are slightly different than within the western model of democracy may have an effect on our evaluation of political participation in the Parish. Understanding the slum resident as a political actor one

needs to include factors that are particular for life in the slum, but also norms and values attached to political organisation in a wider context.

So far I have treated 'the urban poor' as one group of people who handles things in a certain way based on the fact that they share the same physical, social, political and economic environment, i.e. the slum. This, of course, is too simplistic. Within these structures, the individual residents has different possibilities in choosing between coping strategies based on factors like among others gender, age, and region of origin. To illustrate how these factors can make a difference, and how they may affect the solving of the water and sanitary situation, I will include a section on gender differences within the slum.

3.5 Gender Differences: Slumsmen and Slumswomen

Caring Community has both male and female employees, and the CHW-unit both male and female volunteers. In the same fashion it is considered unproblematic for women to be elected LC secretaries. Three representatives in every nine-member LC council are in fact reserved for women. Museveni's NRM Government has persistently promoted women's role in public life, a policy that has made the President very popular among many women. Since 1986 there has been one position reserved for women on every nine-member local government council at all levels LC1-LC5. This has been expanded to require three women's representatives on each executive council. Each of the country's 40 districts sends one female representative to parliament. From 1994 to 2003 the vice President has been a woman. Karlstrom found that both men and women seemed to agree that it was not considered problematic to have a female leader; in fact some argued that women could constitute even better leaders than men (Karlstrom, 1999).

In the private sphere however things have not changed and both sexes according to Karlstrom agreed on the fact that there should not be greater equality between husband and wife in the household. Household equality is unimaginable, and so the alternative to male domination would have to be female domination. Altering the status of women and men in the private sphere would revolutionary reverse and destabilise household relations of hierarchy; a situation perceived undesirable by both women and men (Ibid). As a result women experience that if they

are to take part in public life they have a double workload on their shoulders. This is a situation that women in the Parish share with a great number of women in the world.

As described in the section on economic strategies certain tasks were considered women's work and others men's work, i.e. certain rights and duties were ascribed to the residents based on their gender. The identification of women with the private household sphere and men with the public sphere is a model that has been used to explain gender differences around the world (Moore, 1988). I argue that this model can be used to describe the social classification based on gender in the slum area, even though this categorisation is neither static nor fixed. It is also important to be aware of the fact that the gender categorisations need to be seen as a relation; men are defined, and define themselves in relation to women, and vice versa (Eriksen, 1994).

I have already claimed that women's duties in the household make them more bounded to the community and the immediate neighbourhood than men. Consequently they suffer more from bad housing conditions, lack of proper water and sanitary facilities, poor refuse disposal facilities, limited access to health services and so forth. Women spend a lot of time and effort, collecting water, upholding a certain liveable and hygienic standard in the house, and taking care of sick children who suffer from water related diseases like diarrhoea, and malaria. The more limited the facilities are, the more time and energy they have to spend on these domestic activities, and the less time they have to perform income generative activities, which are therefore, like in the example with the tomato selling women, usually also centred at home.

Thus, experiences in the field showed that the women frequently engage in men's work, bringing in an extra income to the household, either because they are single, because the men are absent or because the man's income are not sufficient to support the family. Men on the other hand seldom take part in what was considered women's work. Men never cook, or wash clothes, and only randomly collect water to household use. The time and energy-consuming character of women's domestic activities is also, as mentioned above, extended to the neighbourhood, with the responsibility for cleaning the shared latrines. These duties put upon the women are an obvious hindrance to seek employment in the formal sector outside the community, a situation further strengthened by the fact that women in the Parish have generally lower level of education

than men.³² Consequently, women are to a greater extent than men dependent on a reliable moral community and on being on good terms with the neighbours. They need to cooperate with neighbours in accomplishing their daily tasks and duties, and they need to be on good terms with them in case of emergency and need for economic assistance.

Lack of proper housing and poor water and sanitation facilities, and health services etc, affect men in a different way. Larsson have conducted a study of Botswana women and housing, and argue that in the urban setting, housing is to men a symbol of social and economic achievements, and about boosting their own image. Men are considered responsible for the greater household expenses, e.g. paying the rent, and school-fees (Larsson, 1993). Informal conversations with men in the Parish revealed that many blamed themselves for not being able to carry out their role as main providers and protectors of their family. Some proclaimed that their self-esteem was low because they did not own their own land and house, and were worried about not earning enough money to pay the rent.

The feeling of insufficiency made some men turn to drinking, and some ran away from the responsibility, leaving the women alone with their children. On the other hand, men have greater possibilities and flexibility in the public sphere. The fact that they generally have a higher level of education than women, and are less bounded by tasks and duties in the household and immediate neighbourhood, gives them greater opportunities to take active part in politics. They also have greater chances in seeking formal employment outside the parish borders, which will secure them a more reliable income. Thus, both men and women experience difficulties living and coping in the slum, but because the expectation directed towards them are different they face different challenges. Being a Slumman is not equivalent to being a Slumswoman.

³²According to the 1991 Population and Housing Census, 61.6 percent of the women and 71.2 percent of the men in Kampala completed Primary School, and 27.8 percent of the women and 41.4 percent of the men completed secondary school. The totals were 66.4 percent and 35.0 percent respectively. It is reasonable to assume that the Parish being a slum area has a lower score than the one given for Kampala in general (Statistics Department, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 1992).

3.6 The Slumsman Revised

In the rhetoric used by some development agents and politicians, the Slumsman is a rural man, arriving in the city to settle in the slum. He re-establishes his village ways of life, and is being drawn into a culture of apathy, and immoral behavioural patterns. He has no formal employment, and is not involved in politics or any other 'modern' institution or sectors. As such he lives not only on the fringe of the city, in a poor and difficult natural environment, but on the fringe of the modern world. Living his traditional way, in a modern context his adjustment to the urban environment is taken to be maladaptive, and unsustainable. He loses his rural identity, without being able to establish an urban one. It is this picture of the slum-dweller that I have tried to bring nuance to, by taking the 'Slumsman as a Slumsman' as the starting-point of the analysis.

I have focused on the economic strategies used, and the political organisation and participation that takes place in a local setting, in order to illustrate how people are dependent on each other, and hence cooperate in order to survive. I have also illustrated that people in the slum are not one group of people with the same possibilities and aspirations. People who settle in the slum, acts within a field that is structured by the slum, i.e. he and she enter roles and activities there that affect his or her behaviour, but which are not limited to it. Norms related to fulfilling the role as a woman is not set in the slum or to Kampala or Uganda for that part. But they are being played out there, and hence get their meaning created in this setting.

The meaning of the physical environment also needed to be reconsidered. As described above it is characterised more by mixture than by general decay. There is a mix of temporary, semi-temporary and permanent constructions, and the quality of the infrastructure varies within the area, even though deteriorating the further downhill one gets into the area. When Simon took me around the community to talk to people in the Parish about their opinion of life there, I partly assumed that most would state that their intention would be to get away as soon as possible, and many of course communicated the difficulties of life in the Parish. On the other hand I was surprised to learn that a number of people had chosen to live in the Parish because of the cheap rent, the relative closeness to the city centre and to good markets. According to Wallman the

Parish had, in the troubled years of the 1970's and up to the mid-1980s, a reputation of being a rough red-light area with several nightclubs and a number of bars. Since then, it is claimed; its character has changed appreciably, and has become more respectable. Thus, as the population has increased dramatically, the moral standards have improved (Wallman, 1996).

The Parish contained within its borders a lot of commercial activities and services that did not only benefit the residents but also attracted people from outside. Going by *matatu* (local bus-taxi) to the Parish on a Friday morning, as I did every week, was fascinating. The buses were packed with people, most of them loaded with goods to sell at the market. You could buy everything from second-hand clothes and shoes, fruits and vegetables, to all kinds of knick-knack there. The market was arranged at an open place close to the main road. Below the market area was a number of small kiosks and restaurants. Tailors, mostly old men, sat outside their houses with their old sewing-machines, and butchers shouted from their small booths advertising for the meat, while trying to keep the flies away. Truckloads of the *matooke* banana came driving in from the village. On the other side of the road from the market the special-hire taxies were lined up, the drivers making comment to people passing, as did the boda-boda drivers located next to them. On a day like this the Parish seemed to be the centre of the city, not a marginal slum area at the outskirts of it.

4 BETWEEN ROCKS AND HARD PLACES

Turning now to the second of my ‘contexts’, NGOs, it has been claimed that leaders of African NGOs find themselves ‘between a rock and a hard place’ (Igoe and Kelsall, 2005). On the one hand they must relate to western donors, being dependent on their financial support, even though their agendas do not always match. On the other hand they must be on good hand with government officials who often find the work of NGOs threatening, and whom they compete with for funding. In the process, however, the NGO leaders accumulate economic, social, symbolic and cultural capital that enable them to effectively play the game of state elites, and master the discourse necessary to capture support from western donors. Their constituents on the other hand lack this knowledge, easily becoming estranged from how to make the system work for them (Ibid).

Thus, even though the NGO leaders may bring benefits to their communities, there is, according to Igoe and Kelsall, a danger that ‘the grassroots’ or ‘the people’, becomes a reified concept of marginal communities, waiting to be empowered by NGO inventions. ‘The people’ then has become an important symbolic capital for African NGO leaders and their western donors, with the danger that they are becoming commodities of a global NGO industry rather than participants in real processes, programmes, and institutions. Accordingly, while connection to the grassroots is an essential justification of intervention in Africa today, people at community level are often left out, wondering what these new institutions do, who they are for, why donors give them money, and what is being done with the money (Ibid).

The emerging distance between NGO leaders and the grassroots mirrors that which have been said to exist between the grassroots and the government, in countries where decentralisation has not taken place or is malfunctioning. I will in this chapter argue that volunteers involved in

development work have an important role in trying to close this apparent gap between the grassroots and both governmental institutions and the leadership of the local NGOs. This is not an easy task. I claim that people at the grassroots are not passive victims, being left out from the process of creating development; they have their own development values, goals and means to achieve them. Thus, volunteers, operating in a complex intermediate position find themselves 'between rocks and hard places', manoeuvring between the anticipations directed towards them from the development bureaucracy, represented by the organisation they work for and their donor NGOs, the needs and expectations from 'the grassroots', and from Government officials. Before looking into the different prospects on what volunteers apparently can, or rather should, achieve, I will present some of the benefits that have been said to befall the volunteer worker. Some of these benefits are, I claim, motivating factors for the CHW in the performance of their role, and is important information in the aim of giving a broader picture of the CHW as volunteers.

4.1 Benefits of Volunteering

“Volunteer service is defined as non-profit, non-wage and non-career action that individuals carry out for the well-being of their neighbours, community and society at large. It may take the form of traditional customs of self-help to community responses in times of crises and effort for relief, conflict resolution and the eradication of poverty” (UN³³) This definition reflects the common opinion of the volunteer as a person who involves his- or herself in activities to help others, without any expectation of economic or any other material payment. Research being done on the subject has however established that even though volunteering is supposed to be an unselfish and altruistic activity, this does not imply that volunteer work has no consequences for the volunteer (Wilson and Musick, 1999).

Wilson and Musick have looked into some of the studies done on voluntarism, and in their paper discuss four different benefits that are expected to befall the volunteer worker, as well as the

³³ United Nations: <http://www.un.org/av/photo/subjects/iyv2001.htm> [Accessed 2005-12-10]

society in which it takes place. First, volunteering is thought to contribute to society's social capital, creating a bond of trust and norms of reciprocity that make democratic politics possible. Second, there is thought to be a link between volunteering and 'leading the good life', in the meaning of prevention of anti-social behaviour. Furthermore voluntarism is believed to make a positive contribution to people's mental and physical health; enhancing the length of people's lives, and contributing to positive feelings of well-being. Finally volunteering is supposed to be a path to good jobs, by indirectly providing the self-confidence and skills needed to secure good jobs, or help the volunteer do well in the jobs already attained. With growing number of volunteers involved in development work world-wide, it is emergently important to reveal new insights and disclose myths or mistaken assumptions about what it means to be a volunteer. More than giving any final conclusions, Wilson and Musick establish that there is a need for more research on which of the benefits actually comes about for the volunteer worker, under which conditions (Ibid).

The CHW no doubt had individual motives like the ones mentioned above for becoming volunteers, besides real concern for the community, and their Christian altruistic urge to help the needy. I believe that benefits like achieving a job, being socially accepted and included, creating trust amongst themselves and amongst the residents in the community, etc, were aspects of all the CHW's aspiration to become a volunteer worker. Some of the motives were however more obviously associated with some of the members than others. Both Simon, David and Richard were ambitious young men who clearly wanted to use their role as volunteers in order to promote their own carriers; Simon within the latrine-caretaker business, or as employed staff in Caring Community, Richard wanted to go abroad to work in an NGO there, and David was trying to make a career in Community Concern.

Building a career was, I believe, a motivating factor for joining in the first place, and in Simon's case for being a committed worker in several of the departments within the organisation. Sometimes this strategy worked and sometimes it did not. Caring Community is depending on funding from donor organisations to run their organisation, and it was not easy for them to promise a future job to any of the volunteers. The motivation to achieve a job, with the help of

his skills as a volunteer in sanitary and health, was evident when Simon in fact stopped coming to the CHW meetings, having the opportunity to get a job as a latrine constructor and caretaker for the INGO. Only when this did not work out he returned to the CHW. Eventually, however, his prolonged commitment to Caring Community gave results, and he got a job in Caring Community. I believe that stories like Simon's encouraged others to evaluate the volunteer role as one possible step-stone to a carrier. This was not so for all the CHW though. The secretary who was a committed volunteer seemed to enjoy the role of being an organiser. He boosted his self-image by talking to people in a demanding way, instructing the residents on how to lead their lives, and thus, achieved an authoritative position as some kind of leader in the community, through his role as volunteer.

A number of the women also seemed to have motivations that had to do with social acceptance. As described in the previous chapter, women are to a great degree the ones responsible for household activities, which also extend to the neighbourhood. They are therefore more dependent on the social integration in the community and relations created there. As described by Wilson and Musick volunteering could have the benefit of creating social ties and thereby integrating the volunteer in the group or the respective community. Additionally it could enhance ones self-esteem, creating a feeling of being needed, and establish anticipation that help could also come your way when needed. This seemed to be a motivating factor for several of the female CHW. To Lillian, for instance, being a foreigner and a single-mother, becoming a volunteer was no doubt a way to create relationships to other residents, expanding her social network, and creating a feeling of belonging in the community. She was also in search for a job, and expanding her social network becoming a volunteer was one strategy to accomplish this.

The benefit of creating trust and norms of reciprocity in society, as a means to make democratic processes possible was something the CHW explicitly talked about as a motivating factor for doing their job. They wanted to empower the residents by encouraging them to participate in community activity. This was supposed to make people more responsible, not only for their own lives but the community as a whole, and help them work together to solve common problems. As described in chapter 3 a moral community based in mutual trust and interdependence already

existed in the Parish. The CHW's task was to organise this trust into political attitudes that will create a strong civil society, and thereby strengthen the democratic processes in Uganda. However, I observed that trusting each other within the group, or trusting other stakeholders like the LC, was something also the CHW struggled with in practice. The reason why can be more thoroughly understood when seeing the creation of trust not only as a benefit, but as an expectation from donors within the development establishment. Furthermore this expectation must be seen in relation to other co-existing expectations directed towards the CHW-volunteers.

4.2 Creating Trust

The definition of the volunteer role given above illustrates that the norms and expectations attached to the volunteer role by the development industry are compatible with those relating to NGOs. Volunteers, as NGOs, should help people, preferably at the grassroot, without any self-interest in mind. The definition of the goals of volunteers and NGOs are also concomitant. The literature on NGOs relies upon a set of key terms, namely participation, empowerment, local, and community (Fisher, 1997). As such, involving volunteers in their organisation can be perceived a measure for an NGO's success, in creating participation and empowerment within the local community. Caring Community is successful in that they have attached a great number of volunteers to their organisation. On the other hand the volunteers felt responsible for the furtherance of the participation and empowerment process in the Parish. The degree to which they managed to do so reflected back on Caring Community and the development establishment's evaluation of their success or failure.

Thus, volunteers are supposed to ensure NGOs' closeness to the grassroot; being close to the grassroot is regarded useful for building and maintaining civil society; and a strong civil society is considered vital to the survival of democratic politics. How is this process supposed to come about? De Tocqueville in his mid-nineteenth century analysis of American democracy stated that voluntary associations created the general trust, a trust that extends the boundaries of kinship and friendship, on which democratic life depends. This idea has experienced a renewed interest with the fall of the Soviet Union, the effort to build or re-build the infrastructure of participatory

politics by newly democratising countries, and the concern expressed in established democracies that fewer people seems interested in politics, evident in the fact that fewer people vote, run for office, or support political organisations with their time and money (Wilson and Musick, 1999).

The American political scientist Robert D. Putnam has looked closer at participation and democracy in the contemporary USA, and he argues that voluntary associations and the social networks of civil society, contribute to a strengthening of democracy in two different ways. First they have external effects on the larger polity by allowing the individual to express their interest and demands on government, and protect him- or herself from government abuse. Second and internally, associations and formal networks have the effect of instilling in their members the habit of cooperation and public spiritedness. Additionally it teaches the individual the necessary skills in order to take active part in public life. Voluntary associations then are to be regarded 'schools of democracy'. The concept of 'social capital' is fundamental to the assumption that voluntarism enhances democratic processes. It refers to the connection among individuals, i.e. social networks, and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. Social capital theory has as its core idea that social networks have value, i.e. social contacts affect the production of individuals and groups (Putnam, 2000).

Also social capital has two aspects to it, both an individual and a collective, that is, it can be both a private and a public good. Individuals form connections that benefit their own needs and interests, for instance finding a job, a helping hand, or a shoulder to cry on. On the other hand social capital has an effect also on the wider community, benefiting others than those who made the original social connection. A poor connected person can for instance get advantages from living in a well committed community, if this leads to low crime-rate in that community. The residents in the Parish benefit from the fact that they live in a community where some people have decided to take action to improve life for the vulnerable there. Even the more fortunate residents get advantages from the services Caring Community offer and the social capital this imply. Social networks are important also because they introduce certain rules of conduct. Inherent in social connections are norms of reciprocity, whether specific, 'I do this for you and you return a favour for me', or general, 'I do you a favour and will receive a similar favour from

someone else sometime in the future'. A society characterised by general reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society in that the balance of exchange do not have to be exchanged immediately. Thus, trustworthiness lubricates social life (Ibid).

Finally, the trust and reciprocity that emerges in a participating and well-connected population have consequences also for the wider political scene. Putnam gives evidence from Italy to prove that civic engagement leads to better and more successful governments. Citizens in communities with high social capital expect good government and get it. People living in areas where there is less engagement in social and cultural associations experience government to be inefficient, lethargic and corrupt. It is therefore possible to say, Putnam claims, that neighbourhood empowerment is undermined by civic disengagement and vice versa, as disengagement and disempowerment are two sides of the same coin (Ibid).

The background for the renewed interest in Tocqueville, evident in Putnam's book, is as mentioned a concern for diminishing interest in politics and participation in voluntary associations in the established democracies. Tocqueville's ideas have however also been considered a substantial ingredient in the remedy subscribed to mend the poor democracies established in African and other 'Third-World' countries. NGOs have for the last two decades been seen as the solution for democratisation in Africa, based in their ability to facilitate the process described above; mobilising people into participating in political and social issues at community level, as a way to strengthen civil society and ensure democratic processes. Number of volunteers attached to the organisations has as mentioned been a measure for the NGOs success in achieving their goals. With the diminishing closeness of NGOs leaders to the grassroots, however, the activities of volunteers are increasingly important, not only as a measure for grassroots activity, but for the furtherance of mutual trust and connectedness in the rest of the community. Thus, using volunteers is one way of ensuring closeness to the grassroots for the NGOs, fulfilling the expectations from the donor community.

There is one other obvious reason for NGOs to involve volunteers in their projects, besides the ideological one described above, namely economy. As described in the introduction chapter the

growth of NGOs has been tremendous from the 1980s until present. In Africa as a whole there were approximately 8000-9000 NGOs in 1988. At present there is close to 99 000 NGOs in South Africa alone. This growth has been accompanied by a large transferring of money from western donors to African NGOs, illustrative of the tremendous expectations directed towards them. Lester Salomon in 1993 proclaimed: “A veritable associational revolution now seems underway at the global level that may constitute as significant a social and political development of the latter twentieth as the rise of the nation state was in the latter 19th century” (Igoe and Kelsall, 2005: 4).

According to Igoe and Kelsall the unprecedented enthusiasm for NGOs caused a neglect of what these associations actually were capable of achieving, based in their socio-historical context. Donors expected NGOs to do “everything from promoting good hygiene to promote women’s rights, from introducing micro-credit to introducing rural Africans to the value of resource conservation, from planting mandarin orange groves to planting the seeds of democracy across the continent (Igoe and Kelsall, 2005: 7). These expectations were way too unrealistic. Furthermore because the number of NGOs in Africa in the 1980s and early 1990s was still small, the transferring of money went uncritically to any NGO that was able to appear as reasonably respectable. This led to a popularisation of briefcase organisations, which only existed on paper (Ibid).

Together, these facts made donors and researchers very disappointed with African NGOs at the end of the 1990s, and the uncritical flow of money stopped. This was of course sometimes adequate, but also hit those associations that were actually doing a good job. According to Igoe and Kelsall the NGO analysts, in their critique, made the mistake of confusing the institution with the process. Fisher claims that “the transformation potential for the NGO sector may emerge less from ordered and controlled participation than from relative chaotic sets of multiple opportunities” (Fisher, 1997: 458). Some individuals took advantage of the new types of socio-political space that emerged with NGOs to enrich themselves, some used the new opportunities to create grassroot participation, and some accomplished both. In the future new types of activities and progressive initiatives can emerge in the space created by such activities, and it is

the fluidity of these spaces that should be the focus of NGO researchers rather than the success or failure of a particular NGO (Igoe and Kelsall, 2005). Nonetheless, with funding becoming smaller and more insecure, dependency on volunteers has increased for local NGOs.

The volunteers I observed were an important ingredient in Caring Community's recipe to empower the residents in the neighbourhoods. CHW's goal was to organise already existing attitudes of trust and participation among the residents, by encouraging them to participate in their activities. In the actual performance of this sensitisation process I witnessed conflicts among the CHW, evident in the argument about who should do what described in chapter 1. Some of the members here argued that their role was to teach the residents the importance of taking responsibility for the sanitary conditions in their immediate surroundings; others claimed that the residents should be paid; and some of the CHW wanted to help with the cleaning themselves. From what has been argued above this conflict need not be seen as a measure for the success or failure of the CHW in their fulfilment of the development establishment's expectations towards them. Rather it needs to be understood as a conjunction and negotiating of different expectations directed towards them in different situation occurring.

Thus, I believe it is important to be aware of the fact that the socio-political space where volunteer activities take place is not new in that it is a *tabula rasa* open for the development establishment to define only. Norms and values of other stakeholder in development are already present, and new ones emerge in the process. Governments for instance are not indifferent to NGO activities, and neither are people at the grassroots. The growth of NGOs happened simultaneously with a down sizing of government activities in social welfare and service provision. As NGOs were frequently taking over many of the governments earlier responsibilities, a need emerged to control what goes on in this sector, sometimes to the level of absolute control. This was also the case in Uganda, where the Government both fears and needs NGOs.

4.3 Service Providers

The number, types and influence of NGOs in Uganda has changed tremendously the last 20 years. The fact that NGOs did not become important actors in the political and economic arena earlier than the mid 1980s is reflective of Uganda's colonial and post-colonial history. In colonial times the churches led some voluntary services in education and health care, and a few international organisations, like Uganda Red Cross, were present. Most people did however rely on self-help groups, based e.g. along kinship lines. In the post-colonial period under Milton Obote (1962-71, 1981-85) and Idi Amin (1971-79), local government was centralised, the state regarded itself the main provider of services and motor of development, and independent organisations were curtailed. During Amin's rule the situation worsened with collapse of state services, general economic decline, state terror, and civil war. Most NGOs, according to Dicklitch, either fled the country or cancelled services during these years. The churches however continued to play an important role as watchdogs of state-power and as service providers. Most Ugandans were too terrorised by the state to engage in any overt political or economic activity and relied on self-help groups like burial societies, and neighbourhood associations, on a small scale, non-political, basis (Dicklitch, 1998).

The picture changed after Museveni and the NRM Government seized power in 1986. Museveni's government has as mentioned, managed to create a situation of stability, peace, and economic growth, at least in the central regions. The economic recovery and progress is related to the fact that Uganda has implemented the World Bank's neo-liberal SAP. This relationship has on the other hand led to cut in public spending, and the state's withdrawal from service provision in favour of market delivery system. It was in this political and economic environment that the explosion in number of NGOs, took place. Thus, the existence of NGOs in Uganda is not new. What is new is the fact that they, in addition to being poverty alleviators and emergency aid providers, now are heralded as important vehicles for empowerment, democratisation and economic development. The question is if they really manage to fulfil that role (Ibid).

Dicklitch has categorised NGOs in Uganda on the basis of the function that they perform, focusing on what they actually do. She has come up with the following ideal-types: Voluntary

organisations (VOs), Gap-fillers (GFs) or service-provision organisations, People Organisations (POs) and Briefcase Organisations. The first type consist of organisations that perform a watchdog role in civil society and monitor regime excesses and abuses. Examples of VOs are human rights organisations, environmental groups, civic education groups etc. POs also give voice to popular demands and engage in collective action. Contrary to VOs however they are more narrowly focused on a particular constituency like women, and aim to empower not only their members but also the wider community. They are often driven by strong values and member interest aimed at empowering groups that have, traditionally, been disempowered. Briefcase NGOs are organisations with questionable origins and objectives. Some could be classified as scams. VOs and POs are, according to Dicklitch considered to be the most efficient NGOs in developing a strong civil society, but there are too few of them to really have an effect, and many NGOs are relegated to be GFs, fulfilling service providing roles (Ibid).

GFs are organisations that have moved into service provision where the state has moved out or failed to provide its citizens. These organisations tend to be apolitical and focused on certain practical activities such as provision of education, safe water, the formation of income-generating groups, and AIDS services. This definition fits well on Caring Community. Because such organisations fill in where the state has not succeeded, they have tended to buttress the legitimacy of the state, a fact arising from the cooperation of the NGOs with the regime in national development schemes. Even though these organisations are often crucial in essential service-provision they do not necessarily create the foundation for the development of a democratic civil society. The fact that most NGOs in Uganda fall under the category Gap-Fillers, fulfilling the function as service providers, is according to Dicklitch part of a trend that characterises Africa in general (Ibid). The situation in Uganda is, however, somewhat special, considering its no-party political system prohibiting any political activity outside the Movement system.

In the late 1980s the government decided that to be able to manage the fast-growing NGO sector there was a need to register NGOs operating in Uganda. In 1989 the NGO Registration Statute was established, and since then the NGO Registration Board has been the main body

that formally regulates and controls NGOs in Uganda. The Board is overseen by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This is, according to Dicklitch, a clear indication of the fact that the state is more concerned about security issues pertaining to NGOs than development issues. This concern is reflected also in the Board's definition of NGOs as: "...non governmental organisations established to provide voluntary services including religious, educational, literacy, social or charitable services to the community or only part thereof" (Republic of Uganda, according to Dicklitch, 1998: 101). The Board has the power to reject NGO applications and to deny renewal or approval of operations. It also stipulates that NGOs must make a written report to the District Administrator seven days in advance before contacting people in the district. This is according to Dicklitch part of the Movement's attempt to integrate NGOs in its national plan (Dicklitch, 1998).

The regime does not want the NGOs to be bastions of democracy in Uganda, since that is what the LC system, at least at the local level, is supposed to be. Thus, even though the Government, in development reports like the 'Poverty Eradication Action Plan 2001-2003' (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, 2001), expresses the importance of cooperation and coordination with NGOs, stating that it needs them in terms of poverty-alleviation and service provision, the State of Uganda is suspicious of NGO activities, especially those that are considered 'political'. NGOs are considered a possible threat to the Government in that they are bodies of potential hidden political activity, challenging the non-party Movement system (Dicklitch, 1998). As such the development bureaucracy and the Ugandan Government agree when it comes to the development goals, but disagree on how to get there and who should accomplish what.

The need for cooperation and the potential for tension between these two stakeholders in development are present also at the local level. Caring Community no doubt had political and economic power within the Parish, especially considering the fact that the LC1 and LC2 have, as described in chapter 3, little political influence or economic resources due to poor decentralisation. Thus, it seemed like the residents were as prone to go to Caring Community as the LCs when they needed financial help or experienced some other type of problem. The CHW

was often asked to solve conflicts between the residents, between residents and landlords etc, when walking around on their weekly inspections. I believe this situation caused a somewhat ambiguous relationship between the two parties.

The CHW always went to see the head of LC1 when entering his or her zone, to inform the proper authority about their inspection that particular day. I never experienced that this caused any problems, or that the LC chairperson refused the CHW to inspect his or her village. Other episodes however displayed conflicts between the two institutions. The situation described in chapter 1 when the CHW, in frustration, threw the garbage back into the tenant's backyard, ended with an agreement about the fact that the LC1 in that zone were to be blamed. They had not taken their responsibility to mobilise the resident into cleaning up, serious enough. According to Simon the CHW sometimes have meetings with the LCs to inform them about immediate sanitary problems in the area, and if the LCs do not take action, they risk being reported to KCC for neglecting their responsibilities. During a seminar with the toilet-constructing INGO that Simon wanted to work for, the CHW was urged to evaluate their own work, and named the relationship with the LCs as one of the factors that needed to be improved. My main impression is, however, that even though there were potentiality for both conflicts and cooperation, and some episodes displayed CHW's distrust to and frustration over the LC councillors, the LCs and Caring Community's volunteers worked 'side by side' without interfering to much in each others activities.

Another interesting fact is that Caring Community was in fact comparable with an LC2 in structure. The departments within the organisation resemble the secretaries within the LC executive board, having different missions and working to fulfilling different needs. The staff and volunteers were deliberately chosen to make sure that all the zones within the Parish were represented. This similarity could of course be a source of conflict. On the other hand, some of the individuals involved in Caring Community were also elected councillors in the LCs. The Chairman of Caring Community was for instance also an LC2 councillor. Another employee, head of one of Caring Community departments, was absent for a period of time running as

candidate for the Parliamentary election.³⁴ This was not, as far as I know, considered or debated as problematic. Having influential individuals running the organisation was seen as a possibility to attract attention towards problems in the community, which could ensure financial support to the projects implemented by Caring Community. Strong individuals are an important aspect of grassroots values of development that I will now turn to.

4.4 Pulling Projects

Development is a concept that has different values attached to it, and consequently must be understood in a local context. Susan and Michael Whyte have conducted a study of development at the grassroots in Uganda that I find useful to the understanding of the volunteer role of the CHW in the Parish. The word for development in Lunyole is *obubulabulana*, an intensifying form of the intransitive verb *obubula*, which means to grow or to progress³⁵. This is etymologically similar to the Luganda term *okukulaakulana* which is defined as ‘grow’, ‘develop’, ‘advance’, or ‘go forward’. These terms are used in ordinary conversations, but have also been important in the rhetoric used by Museveni and his government in that politicians and donors are to promote *okubulabulana/okukulaakulana* (Whyte and Whyte, 1998).

According to Whyte and Whyte, people use the terms in a very wide range of situations to cover not only development projects, the very prototype of development, but also elements that could be translated as modernity, progressiveness and prosperity: “In order to develop you must put up building on your land. You can’t talk about development without buildings” (The Honourable Member for Bunyole). “We need someone to pull projects to Bunyole so we can develop” (elite professional man). “When I finished S6 [Sixth grade at primary school], I got accepted for Makerere, but I preferred to go into business so that I could develop myself” (Young businessman in Busolwe). Furthermore it seems like education, bureaucratic forms of

³⁴ In Women Aid, the community volunteer they had chosen in each slum area was also involved in the LCs at some level.

³⁵ Lunyole is a Bantu language spoken among the Banyole in the Bunyole county in Tororo District (Whyte and Whyte, 1998).

organisation with officers, modern amenities, fine houses and wealth are not only signs of development or means to achieve it, they are in fact defined as development in themselves. “You will never develop unless you go to meetings. I call upon you to attend meetings and seminars when you are summoned” (The Honourable Member for Bunyole). “Our children should study so they can go forward” (clan leader). The mediums for clan spirits should form an organisation so that we can develop” (spirit medium) (Ibid: 230).

Some of these statements do not fall within the concept of development as defined within the development establishment. Whyte and Whyte have developed a distinction between three different co-existing sets of values that constitute the way people talk about or practice growth or development in their everyday lives. These are: ‘kin group prosperity’, ‘individual achievement’, and finally ‘common good/universalist values’. The first set of values, to develop as a family, lineage or clan, means growth both in human and material resources. The ‘we’ of kinship assumes a group that shares resources and shows solidarity, it incorporates individuals in that the success and property of one belong to all, and the needs, difficulties, and losses of individuals are ‘ours’. My inclusion in Simon’s family when he needed financial help can be seen in light of the obligation to help each other within the family. Only when he had included me in his family could he suggest that I ought to contribute by paying the hospital bill. Kin group prosperity is of course a discourse on the common good, but the community is limited to kinship and clan membership; our clan should develop, our children should go to school, and our son working in Kampala should help us (Ibid).

Thus, family development also depends on access to the kind of resources that a successful member can mobilise. This leads on to the values of individual achievement, which include accumulation of private wealth, the ability to live a luxurious life with a fine house and smart clothes, possession of power through money and position and having contact with other influential individuals. It means the independence to use resources for your own benefit and enjoyment. Individual achievement is at times threatening for family values as well as for the universalist emphasis on community welfare and equity. However, individual achievement is also seen as the motor for community development, whether in terms of kinship or in broader terms.

A kinship group is believed to need eminent and wealthy individuals to act as representatives and agents of family advance (Ibid).

There is no doubt that individual achievements are highly esteemed in Uganda. People thank each other constantly for everything that they are doing or have been doing, whether it is working, building, studying, or buying something. When clans, lineages or families desire that their members should study, have successful careers and get rich, it is partly because they assume the 'we' of kinship. There is the hope that a successful person will pull others up, as a kinsman the successful individual is obligated to help others and redistribute wealth. The weight of this obligation is known by every modern Ugandan. Paying school fees for poorer relatives, finding them jobs, setting them up in business, building houses for rural parents, giving lodging to country kin who comes to town to search for a job, is all part of the process of individual and family development (Ibid).

The individual achievement must also be related to the good of the broader non-kin community. As have been mentioned above, the universalist values is a cover term for notions of the good of a group or category not defined in terms of kinship, i.e. ideals promoted by the state, the universal religions of Christianity and Islam and by the development bureaucracy. Thus, they are associated with institutions and reflect commitment to wider goals sought by a community imagined as a nation or a fellowship of believers, neighbours or a congregation. These values often have an altruistic flavour to them in that one should serve the community as a good citizen. It would, according to Whyte and Whyte be mistaken to believe that universalist values are simply imposed on local communities from the outside. The ideas of the common good *are* in fact local values that existed also in pre-colonial times (Ibid).

What can be considered new are the forms of organisational rationality that underpin these values. This was firmly established in colonial times, and has been adapted to multiple of purposes in a variety of contexts. Organisational form is not only considered a means to realise universalist values, but has become a value in itself, i.e. to organise is to develop, choosing officers and identifying members is progressive and modern. All organisations that bring

together non-related people for activities oriented towards a shared goal and the common good is by definition developmental. The introduction of the LC brought modernity into every village, being modern not only because they promote values of democracy and political participation, but by their very structure (Ibid).

Hence, NGOs become an additional opportunity for people to participate in development and thus, be developed. At several occasions I got the feeling that being organised was an important part of the aspirations of the organisations I worked with, so also for the CHW. At meetings in even the smallest groups, as when only a few of the CHW turned up, there were always formal greetings and welcome speeches. The solutions agreed upon after the turbulent day in the field, when the CHW had argued about who should do what, and the garbage was tossed back in the backyard of the tenants by the CHW, was to register with the National Registration Board as an association under Caring Community. Thus, order was to be reinstalled by establishing their status as an association, which per se is structured and modern, instead of discussing in what way they could actually better solve the difficulties and disagreements amongst themselves in the field.

In the Parish the universalist values were promoted through the churches, the schools, the LCs and through organisations like Caring Community. According to Whyte and Whyte organisers within such institutions in Uganda often tend to take an instructive position, informing people about their needs and necessary policies. They often speak to people in a disciplinary tone about their behaviour. At the same time they pass on moral advice and exhort people to participate in activities for the common good (Ibid). The CHW Secretary displayed such educational responsibility approaching people in the community. Whyte and Whyte relate this to the relation between individual success and the social good. For all the development rhetoric about grassroots participation and common involvement, few projects for the common good go far without sponsors. A successful individual has obligations towards his community and family.

Universal development values were not unfamiliar to the residents in the Parish. As described in chapter 3 reciprocity and trust, which was part of the concept of *empisa*, did not include family

and kin members only, but was extended to people in the neighbourhood. Thus, rules that in the villages might only pertain to kin or family members were extended to neighbours, congregation members, or others in the community, creating networks of reciprocity within the community. Bigger issues and problems of a common universal character however needed strong individuals. The CHW's was by the residents expected to 'pull projects', being engaged in development activities they were to persuade donors to finance projects to lift the standard of the environmental and health facilities in the Parish. People who have the position to lift the community out of their misery according to Whyte and Whyte then urge local residents to put in an effort "to show we are serious, because these days you have to help yourself before the government or other donors will assist - there are no handouts anymore" (Ibid: 240). The resident on their side is not always comfortable with the fact that someone is trying to force them into working without payment. Some feel that as long as they live their lives according to emписа no authority should tell them what to do, others try every opportunity to earn a shilling, and others again is, of course, just lazy.

As mentioned above, people who engage in development activities for the common good have also been suspected of looking out for their own welfare and private gain only. A volunteer in Women Aid Project told me that she had tried to persuade her neighbours to contribute with a small amount of money to construct a new bridge across a sewer passing right next to her house. The last one had disappeared in a flood. The drainage was at least two meters deep, and she was worried that kids playing around would slip and fall into it. The reaction she got from her neighbours was not very positive, many refused to pay on the ground that they had no guarantee she would not disappear with the money. Another example I was told about concerned the construction of a water tap. The pipeline had to pass a man's yard, and he wanted a huge amount of money for letting the initiators dig on his property. He argued: 'why should I give away my property, so that some other person can earn a lot of money?' The whole water tap project, which would have benefited a whole community, lied fallow for a long period of time over this conflict.

Thus, at the grassroot in Uganda development means the realisation of family prosperity, individual achievement and the common good. Some times these values are in dissonance and sometimes they are seen as consonant. Whyte and Whyte argue that the notion of community control over projects and community participation are justifiably popular today, but that it is misleading. Local conception of how development works focus on individuals rather than communities as agents. There is a tendency to expect 'big people' to attract donor-funded projects and make generous contributions. This illustrates the allocation of responsibility and authority to successful individuals, i.e. those who are strong should lift others. The emphasis on patronage does not fit well with the universalist values of democracy, equity, and community participation, but is, in Whyte and Whyte's opinion, one pathway to link family, and individual values to universalist goals that actually works (Ibid).

The CHW have different reasons and motivations for becoming volunteers, and some of the motivations are easier compatible with some of the expectations than others. The women who were bounded to the community by their household obligations wanted to help their fellow residents because they had more to gain from being on good foot with them. The men on their side considered their involvement with Caring Community more as a step-stone to a carrier than the women and thereby stood firmer on the sensitising aspect of their role as volunteers. When the men wanted to achieve a job within the NGO business it was however not only because they have obligations towards sustaining their family, it can also be seen in light of their wish to be able to create development. To do so they need to have influence, to be strong individuals who can pull projects that can help people in their neighbourhood but also their family and kin in Kampala or in the village. The CHW did on the other hand not have much decision-making power or financial resources. This made it difficult for them to pull projects, and thereby weakened their authority in relation to the residents. To solve this problem they decided to register as an association, which would make it easier for them to apply for funding and enhance their possibility to be evaluated as successful development promoters.

When the women left for another organisation it was not merely about the soda, it could also be seen as an opportunity for them to express that they were dissatisfied with the Chairman in the

CHW-unit, and a wish to take part in a well organised association, and thereby be 'developed'. Being well organised was as mentioned not only about reaching certain development objectives, but considered a development goal in itself. Finally, their choice to operate as volunteers in another area could be seen in light of their fear of becoming unpopular among their neighbours, a risk that could have serious consequences for the women. The neighbouring area was not totally unfamiliar to them, as some of them regularly went to the market located there to buy their foodstuff, and at the same time they did not depend on people living here to the same degree as their fellow residents in the Parish. Thus, the expectations directed towards them constrained their choices of action, but at the same time the CHW used the different opportunities left open to them, and thereby took part in the processes through which development is accomplished, and thereby was part of the making and re-making of structures.

In some situations conflicts occurred because the CHW did not agree on how to best solve disagreement amongst themselves, or amongst them and the residents, or the LCs. This was however not always the case: As described in the introduction chapter, the last day I visited the Parish, the CHW, residents, and LCs worked together to clean one of the zones in the area. The CHW had managed to mobilise the residents into participating to solve a joint problem, they had gotten hold of a container from KCC, which made the work simpler and more efficient, and they were all cleaning the area. On a day like this expectations from all the parts seemed to be synchronized in a way that made everybody satisfied. The CHW had pulled a project in that a container had been transported down into the community, a service was provided in joint effort with the LCs, and with a number of residents participating in joint community activity, trust was hopefully being built.

I will now return to the issue raised in the beginning of this chapter, i.e. the volunteers' role in closing the gap between the grassroot and NGO leaders, or perhaps even more important between the government and citizens. This was, as stated above, considered one of the main motivations for the CHW in their work, and the main expectation directed towards them from the development establishment. To be able to illuminate whether they managed to fulfil this

expectation, I believe it is necessary to look closer at the concept of citizenship, and the role that NGOs have played in the relationship between the state and its subjects.

4.5 In Whom Will They Trust?

As has been described in this chapter, there is widely accepted among political scientists and the development establishment today that to rescue and ensure a well-functioning democracy it is important that people at the grassroots participate in issues at community level, and form social networks and associations that can work as control mechanism on governmental activities. Reciprocity and mutual trust is an important ingredient in these grassroots networks. Being a citizen is however not only about controlling the government, but also about achieving something from it, i.e. reciprocity is important also in the relationship between a state's and its members. To be able to answer the question of 'who people end up trusting', it is necessary to know more also about the relationship between the citizen and the state.

Citizenship and nationality has been important in the definition of what it means to be a full worthy member in society. Citizenship was to replace kinship or cultship, while the nation-state was to replace the region, neighbourhood, or city as the scope of that society. Thus, nation-states have tried to establish citizenship as that identity which subordinates all other identities like religion, estate, family, gender, ethnicity, region, etc. Citizenship then erodes local hierarchies, statuses, and privileges in favour of national jurisdiction and contractual relations based in principles on an equality of rights. The relationship between nation-states and its members has however changed during the last two decades. This trend is, according to Holston and Appadurai, particularly evident in the cities (Holston and Appadurai, 1999).

Even though the nation-states have tried to replace urban citizenship with the national, the city has been a strategic arena for the development of citizenship. With its concentration of the non-local, the strange, the mixed and the public, cities engage most deliberately the tumult of citizenship, and as such the modern urban public signifies both the de-familiarising enormity of national citizenship and the exhilaration of its liberties. In the city, identities of territory and

contract conflate with that of race, religion, class, culture, and gender to produce the reactive ingredient of both progressive and reactionary political movements. According to Holston and Appadurai, cities today experience an unsettling of national citizenship that promises unprecedented change. The nation is no longer a successful arbiter of citizenship, or the substance of membership has been changed or altered to such a degree that the emerging social morphologies are radically unfamiliar (Ibid).

To explain this transformation it has been common to use the dichotomy between the national and the global. The city has been dropped out from the analysis because globalisation has been said to neutralise the importance of space. According to Holston and Appadurai this dematerialisation is mistaken. In their opinion place remains fundamental to the problems of membership in society, and cities are to be considered privileged sites for the current negotiation of citizenship. Cities are the sites where the business of the modern society takes place, including that of transnationalism, they claim. Politics in the cities have always been different from that in the surrounding rural areas, but in a time of globalisation of economy, mass migration, and rapid circulation of rights discourse, cities represent the localisation of global forces as much as they do the articulation of national resources, persons and projects. Thus, Holston and Appadurai's point is not to argue that the flow of ideas, goods, images and persons is obliterating the salience of the nation-state, but that it tends to drive a deeper wedge between national space and its urban centres (Ibid).

The distinction between formal and substantive aspects of citizenship can be useful when sorting out the dimensions of citizenship in the city. While formal aspect refers to the membership in the nation-state, the substantive refers to the collection of civil, political, socioeconomic, and cultural rights people possess and exercise. The current crisis concerning citizenship is that formal membership in the nation-state is neither necessary nor sufficient for substantive membership. That it is not sufficient is something the poor are familiar with. Even though they are formal citizens they are deprived from enjoying the rights that this entails, and from participating in the state's organisation. That it is not necessary is experienced in that legally resident non-citizens often have the same socio-economic and civil rights as citizens. The rights

that are exclusively for citizens are often considered more like duties or burdens than rights, like jury duty, military service and certain tax requirements (Ibid).

I will here focus on the instances where people experience that formal citizenship is not sufficient for substantive membership. I suggest that the effort to create trust among people at the grassroot described above can be seen as a means to restore or establish a fair relation of reciprocity between citizens and the state. Thus, engaging people in the work of NGOs, will apparently help them out of apathy, open their eyes to their rights versus de facto politics, and thereby enable them to force the government into providing the rights and services that they feel entitled to. But is it the state people automatically end up trusting in this process?

As described in the chapter on Kampala's history (chapter 2), the capital was important as a power centre in the area controlled by the Kabakas, and has continued to be so in the establishment and maintenance of Uganda as a nation-state. The Parish is an urban community with a mixture of people from different tribes, religions, regions, class, culture, etc. Thus, from what has been described above, it should constitute a suitable spot for discussing the question of citizenship in Kampala. Living in a poor urban area, the residents in the Parish, as formal members in the Ugandan nation-state, experience to be deprived of a number of the substantial rights that normally follows from citizenship. People live their lives quite removed from and unaffected by government decisions. There are several explanations to this.

From the mid-1980s until present, a great number of NGOs have, as described above, emerged on the scene. Ironically, as NGOs in Uganda ended up as gap-fillers more than vehicles of political empowerment, people seemed to depend on and trust these local associations more than they trusted government institutions to provide for necessary services. Thus, a relationship of reciprocity and trust developed between people and NGOs instead of between residents and the state. This is quite the contrary to the claimed aims of both the government and the development establishment. Because people have felt they get something back to their community from NGOs, like free medical care, school-fees for their children etc, they have been more prone to participate in NGO activities than fulfilling government obligations like paying

the taxes. Following this reasoning, one could say that the entrance of NGOs, as a global transnational network, has been contributing to the problem with the weakening of state-citizen relationship apparent in the city, instead of solving it.

But is the relationship with the government and the outside world outside actually experienced as a new phenomenon to people at the grassroots? The connection between citizen and state, as described in chapter 3, has since the introduction of western democratic principles as we know them, been somewhat different than that in western democracies. I referred here to Karlstrom who has found that the power-holders in Uganda do not depend on the people as their representatives. Museveni has been regarded a good leader, not by obeying his subjects' wishes as their representative, but by listening to their complaints and judging cases by virtue of his position as a ruler. He also found that one of the main positive and central liberties within a democracy, in the popular opinion among the Baganda is freedom, especially freedom to speak ones mind and to have ones opinion considered by the decision-makers. Democracy and good governance then is built on the absence of oppressive constraints upon people's behaviour. At the same time it presupposes the existence of a legitimate authority dealing judicially with violations of certain basic norms and rights.

In relation to the world outside, a number of aspects of life in Kampala have of course changed the last decades. The multitude of organisations and associations, access to internet and mobile phones, etc, are quite recent phenomena that connect people in Kampala with the outside world on another scale than ever before. Looking at historical facts, however, people in Kampala has for a long time been in touch with people from different religions and regions of the world. As described in chapter 2, the Egyptians and the Arabs arrived in the 1830s and -40s, the British explorers in 1862, followed by missionaries and business men. In 1902 the city was described to have a population consisting of Swahilis, Arabs, Indians, Sudanese and Mohammedan Baganda. The most constant aspect through this history is that services received, both from their own governments and the world outside, has been random and uncertain.

The British as described in chapter 2, provided mostly for their own kind. After independence Obote and Amin caused chaos and economic bankruptcy, and the main part of the few NGOs present at the time left the country. When the development establishment currently has started to hold back their funding because they are disappointed with local NGOs in Africa, people is again left to tend for them selves, shopping for an opportunity to achieve something from either NGOs or the Government when possible. Mainly however they survive through means that they are familiar with, namely through relations of kinship, neighbourhood associations, and burial societies. Thus, people living on the wetlands have always needed to take care of themselves. It is tempting to claim that with the arriving of NGOs “things are not what they used to be, to be sure: but they never were” (Mintz, 1998: 131).

It may seem that the result is that the gap between people at the grassroots and NGO leaders or the government is not closed, but I suggest that this is not necessarily the case. The fact that processes taking place at the level of structural dynamics forces people to take care of themselves, strengthens or creates trust among people at the grassroots. This does not have the intended effect that they automatically start going to LC meetings or participate in community activities. What I found to happen is that people make complaints to the CHW when someone is not behaving according to an established norm for acceptable behaviour, and thereby the CHW have become a vehicle for communication with the powerholders, which in this case are both the LCs and NGO leaders and donors. They should on the other hand not imprint their power on their subjects as long as they behaved according to *empisa*. As such one could state that the CHW manage their role ‘between rocks and hard places’, but in ways that were not easy to anticipate.

Thus, again there are reasons to claim that that people at the grassroots among them the CHW, are not passive victims of structural dynamics, but part of the process of changing, making and remaking of structures. This can be considered a theoretical statement in a debate about the focus on actor versus structure in anthropological analyses. The issues illuminated and the conclusions given throughout this thesis is closely related to the theoretical perspective and methodological procedure chosen as a basis for my analysis. In the subsequent chapter I will go

on to discuss some aspects of the extended-case and situational analysis, in order to shed further light on the empirical data presented and discussed in this thesis so far. I will do this by referring to the theoretical frameworks of Barth, Bourdieu, and Ferguson, who have applied other approaches than the ones represented by the Manchester School, in the study of social practices and lived realities.

5

ACTOR AND STRUCTURE: CHOOSING FIELDS

OF THEORY

Throughout this thesis I have tried to understand the activities and choices of actions of the CHW, in light of the wider contexts that these took place within. Thus, I have tried to go with Gregory Bateson's call to 'follow the loops' from the women's choice to leave to work for another organisation, and from the CHW's discussion about who should do what, to the structural dynamics (Bateson, 1972). Tracing the analytic connections between individual and society, or actor and structure, has been at the heart of the development of anthropology as a discipline, and many different proposals have been offered as to how this best can be accomplished. Structural-functionalists like Durkheim and Radcliff-Brown had as their main point of entry that society is a unit where different social institutions work together and complement each other in fulfilling certain functions, mainly that of sustaining a certain level of equilibrium and stability. The individual actors were within these perspectives interesting only in so far as they realised values in society, and thereby contributed to the maintenance of the social structure (Eriksen, 1994).

As a reaction to this view of the social world, ordered by rules and norms, a number of approaches and methodological procedures labelled rational choice or -action theories were developed. Within these perspectives the presence of institutional organisations and cultural patterning was recognised, but their relevance for understanding social life was sought minimized (Ortner, 1984). The rational actor perspectives has on their part been criticised for putting too much weight on the rational aspect of actors' choices of action. Critics, like Dag Østerberg, point to the fact that actors often behave in unanticipated ways and that they are not always capable of explaining the reason for their behaviour. Another line of critique asks where the values and interests of the actors come from. The rules of transaction and the values and interests put into it

must have an origin somewhere, and that 'somewhere' is to be found in social structures already there (Eriksen, 1994).

Both of these two directions went perhaps too far in their emphasis on the importance of either structure or actor in the formation of social life. Consequently, new efforts have been, and still are made, to close the apparent gap between the two levels of focus in anthropological analyses. In the introduction chapter I briefly presented the perspectives of Barth, Bourdieu and Ferguson, which I found interesting in the search for different perspectives that could illuminate aspects of my empirical material. All of these represent 'gap-closing' perspectives, even though in different ways and from different theoretical points of view. I will now go more thoroughly into the advantages and encumbrances these different analytical solutions imply, seen in relation to the perspective that has been applied in my analysis, namely Gluckman and the Manchester anthropologists' situational analysis and extended-case method. Throughout this discussion a number of different analytical terms, e.g. practice, change, history, and culture, will constitute the basis for a discussion of the approach chosen in this thesis, at a theoretical conceptual level of analysis.

5.1 The Structure of Social Action

Barth is critical to the traditional complementary perspective on society and culture, in which 'society' is seen as an unproblematic term, while 'culture' is tricky and needs to be further investigated. He claims that this is based on a misinterpretation or misunderstanding of the concept of society as a comparative unit that is ordered and fixed, and thereby incorporates the groups and institutions investigated, which again must be seen as part of this encompassing whole. The misconceptions of the term 'society' are manifold. First, that society can be summarized as an aggregate of social relations. This is false, according to Barth, as evident in the fact that relationships between people are indeed affected by actors and institutions, which none of the parts have any social relation to. Second, society can not be seen as the sum of the institutions in a population, because this limits social reality to include only what is normative (Barth, 1992).

Third, the whole idea that society can be defined and described as a ‘whole’, made up of parts, is too simplistic. The individual actor will always be found to have membership in, and commitment to groups at different levels and scales, as well as to groups outside the particular region’s boundaries. Statuses will always be combined in overlapping structures. Fourth, the problem is not solved by seeing the whole world as one society or system, as too many connections in the world are asymmetrical or indirect. Furthermore society can not be deduced from the material context, because all social actions are ecologically based, and thus, it is meaningless to separate society from environment, in which one affects the other. Finally, the concept of society, like that of culture, serves to homogenise and essentialise the social, and thereby complicates its character. Social life contains conflicts of value, as well as of interests, and what some people claim to be facts about reality are opposed by others. The solution to these misconceptions is, according to Barth, to realise that ‘society’ needs to be understood as disordered systems, which are neither bounded, nor fixed (Ibid).

To be able to model and describe disordered, open systems there is a need to establish a new analytical fundament, and according to Barth this fundament is to be found in a particular understanding of the structure of social action. In an effort to accomplish this, he separates the event, which refers to objective and measurable data, the observable aspect of behaviour; from action, which signifies the intended and interpreted meaning of behaviour, i.e. its meaning to people who reflect over and manage a set of specific attitudes and experiences. The action’s intention is to be understood as the effect of a person’s aim, i.e. the goal the actor orients from, and from which the action originates. This is not to be exchanged with mere rationality, as intentions do not necessarily involve a clever plan, through which the actor aims at specific goals. Actions will usually be instrumental and expressive in relation to the actor’s orientation, state of mind, and position. At an even more basic level they are related to plans and strategies, claims of identity, and values and knowledge. When the intentions are transformed into motion and sound, they have, according to Barth become objective events (Ibid).

Going in the opposite direction, starting with events, these can be transformed into an action when a spectator gives a diagnosis of the actor’s intention. The interpretation of actions, both one’s own and others become embedded in a person as experiences. With enhanced distance,

knowledge and values are synthesised from this basis, and this again affects future plans and intentions. Interpretations are often made in interaction with others, in conversations, and retrospective glances of what was taking place. This means that knowledge and cultural schemes are transmitted between people, and new information can be introduced. Furthermore the event will always have objective unintended consequences. Thus, social action generates events and chains of consequences that can be acknowledged, and which can provoke new insight (Ibid).

Barth further claims that, if his assumptions give an applicable image of the structure of social action, in its diverse emergences, it must have serious consequences for the types of systems that are produced in social life at an aggregate level and finally for 'society'. He emphasise the following: First, that the account he has presented do not connect the social to patterns, norms, and common ideas, as a necessary matrix for social action. On the contrary, he sketches interactional processes, which can generate a degree of convergence with patterns as a possible result. The system is something that emerges, and is not to be seen as a structure that the action needs to subject to and necessarily reproduce. Second, his account grasps level of disorder in the social, by allowing continued incongruence between actors and second and third parts in their construction of the meaning of events. Third, his outlining suggests a problematic connection between the objective consequences of events and the interpreted construction of the same events. Finally it brings out the striking lack of stability in the meaning of past events. Through his model for understanding the structure of the social action, we are forced to realise that people have an active relationship to their past, in such a way that events taking place in the past, can later be interpreted differently, and thereby get new consequences in the present (Ibid).

This model postulates that society is characterised by a low level of order, ever present mobility in people's interpretations of the past and present, overlapping social networks with cross-cutting borders, a certain ability by people who meet frequently to unite about a common interpretation of action, but no convergence towards unity and commonality in culture. What we need in order to understand systems characterised by these determinants, is not a deductive theory about how these systems necessarily must be like, but procedures of discovery in order to find out how they actually are. The level of order or disorder, and what form characterises the systems in each situation must be explored and described, not defined and assumed. In order to

identify and limit relevant units it is necessary to place oneself in a position where it is possible to discover what is 'going on'. Furthermore in order to avoid prejudices about what are the most significant scales and patterns in such disordered systems, it is, according to Barth, wise not to start at the top, but with social actors, tracing their activities and networks, i.e. 'follow the loops'. One such procedure is presented by Grønhaug, in his analysis of the Herat Region in Western Afghanistan (Ibid).

Grønhaug's procedure involves tracing connections between mutual dependent tasks, relations, and material factors, and thereafter he identifies fields of interrelated activities. Consequently, he was capable of illuminating surprising differences in scale between the diverse ways in which activities in different fields were organised, and show the processes whereby groups were constituted in connection to these fields. By tracing and mapping the connections in Herat, he related people's activities to a greater set of tasks and issues, i.e. fields. Each field was connected as an aggregate system, and each of them illustrated typical traits considering territorial distribution, scale, pattern, and level of integration. Grønhaug did not, according to Barth, find any evidence for choosing one of these fields, scales of organisation, or territorial structures, and define them as a coherent whole or 'society' (Ibid).

Barth's perspective and Grønhaug's methodological procedure, as presented by Barth, are crucial vehicles in the understanding of 'society', and it is, I believe, congruent with the Manchester School's conception of how anthropologists are to understand the structure of social life. In my effort to learn more about life in the slum I did indeed try to 'follow the loops', and learned that people were not bounded to the Parish, but had connections, e.g. to other slum areas in the wetlands intersecting the hills. People here as described above (chapter 3) belong to different tribes, come from different regions of Uganda, belong to different religions and churches; they have different ways of making a living, some leave the Parish everyday, some sell tomatoes outside their house almost never leaving their own neighbourhood; there are squatters, tenants, and landlords; some have special responsibilities like being an LC secretary, other were volunteers or employees in Caring Community. The female CHW left to the neighbouring area to work there instead, the women in the Parish usually went to the market in this same area because it was said to be cheaper than the one in the Parish. The male CHW left to do

temporary jobs outside the Parish, and some of the more well-off residents left everyday to go to work, and had their children attending schools outside the Parish' borders. Thus, tracing the CHW's activities I was able to detect that they are affiliated with different groups and institutions, which again could help explain some of the conflicts that emerged.

Trying to understanding how the structures that people live their lives within, and indeed are participant in creating and shaping, also affect their possibilities of choice of action, however, I found that Barth's perspective did not give me sufficient answers. Without seeing society as a homogenising term that can be used to determine people's behaviour, I found that there are certain constraining factors in the structural dynamics that people in the slum live their lives within, both economically, politically, and socially. Bourdieu, in his outlining of a theory of practice, also wanted to close the gap between actor and structure. In the effort to find out where the systems come from, how they are produced and reproduced, Bourdieu was interested in how the system determines or effects human action, by a process of socialisation and internalisations where structures are imprinted in the human mind and body.

5.2 Practice and Change

Through his focus on practice and the concepts of habitus and field, Bourdieu wants to transcend the divide between individual and society, action and structure, and freedom versus necessity that has dominated the development of the anthropological discipline through history. His concept of practice is built on the following assumptions: First, all practice is situated in time and space. Time is both a constraint and a resource for social interaction. Interaction occupies time, and occurs in space, and even though time and space are socially constructs that can be modelled in different ways, practice, as visible, objective social phenomena cannot be understood outside the time-space dimension. Temporality must therefore be treated as a central feature in any adequate analysis of practice (Jenkins, 1992).

Second, practice is not wholly consciously organised and orchestrated, neither is it random or purely accidental. This can be explained by what Bourdieu refers to as a 'practical logic' or 'sense', which has two sides to it. First, it has to do with the fact that we take the world for

granted. Actors do not only confront their current circumstances, they are an integral part of those circumstances. Growing up we learn a set of practical cultural competences, including a social identity, a sense of ones position on social space. Thus, most people take themselves and their social world for granted most of the time, and do not think about it because they do not have to. This learning process can be compared to learning not only the rules of, but the ‘feel for the game’, i.e. one need to master the logic or imminent necessity of the game, which must be experienced, because it works outside conscious control or discourse³⁶. Bourdieu has called this doxa or doxic experience, defined as:

The coincidence of the objective structures and the internalised structures which provides the illusion of immediate understanding, characteristic of practical experience of the familiar universe, and which at the same time excludes from that experience any inquiry as to its own conditions of possibility (Bourdieu, 1990: 20).

The business of social life would in fact, according to Bourdieu, not be possible if we were not taking it for granted most of the time. The other side of practical sense or logic is that social life is not accomplished only through rules, recipes and normative models. It has an aspect of ‘excellence’ to it, i.e. a fluidity and indeterminacy. There is improvisation in the pauses, intervals and indecisions that can be strategically used by the actor. Not that the actors choose to improvise, it is rather that no other approach could work (Jenkins, 1992).

The third assumption behind Bourdieu’s concept of practice is that even though practice is accomplished without conscious deliberation, it is not without purpose. This is a point that sums up his rejection of structuralism as a theoretical move from rules to strategies. He uses the notion of ‘strategising’ to locate the source of people’s practice in their own experience of reality, i.e. people do have goals and interests. Thus, his model of strategy and strategising wants to

³⁶ Bateson uses a concept of learning that is similar to that used by Bourdieu. Deutero-learning, according to Bateson, refers to that level of learning that is of an abstract, higher order. The subject not only learns the increased frequency of the conditioned response in the experimental context, he or she also improves the ability to deal with contexts of a given type. The subject, with time, increasingly acts as though contexts of a certain type are expectable in the universe. It is a sort of character formation, in that it affects the manner of interpreting and participating in the interaction with others (Bateson, 1958).

move away from the dualism between freedom and constraints, and consciousness and the unconscious. Practice is the product of processes which are rooted in an ongoing process of learning starting in childhood, and through which the actor knows, without knowing, the right thing to do. Bourdieu, according to Jenkins, taking these two points together, describes the practical accomplishment of successful interaction as 'second nature' (Ibid).

Part of the second nature is the actors understanding of the pattern of how things are done or happening. There are certain statistical regularities that the 'feel for the game' abides by, and this is recognised practically by playing the game. Thus, knowledge of the social world is an integral aspect of the production and reproduction of that world. From this it is clear that Bourdieu is critical of models that see human behaviour as rational and calculative. He claims that it is understandable why the rational choice perspective seems empirically sound; when people adjust to environments surrounding them they do so in the belief that they are successfully aiming at a future. Rational choice theory, which he labels Rational Action Theory (RAT), is therefore to Bourdieu, only the sociological version of the actors' illusion that they have their own rationality and decision-making power (Ibid).

Bourdieu's emphasis on the concept of social practice has to do with his interest in what individuals do in their daily lives. But how can practices, observed in social life, be understood? He is insistent on the fact that it should not be seen as the aggregate of individual behaviour. In addition he, as mentioned, both rejects that practice can be understood in terms of individual decision-making, and that it is determined by supra-individual structures. Bourdieu's concept of habitus is the bridge-builder between the two extremes. The Latin meaning of habitus refers to a "habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, particularly of the body" (Ibid: 74). Bourdieu's definition of habitus is according to Jenkins, affected by how it appears in the work of Hegel, Husserl, Weber, Durkheim and Mauss, and is defined as follows: "As an acquired system of generative schemes, objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted, the habitus engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions consistent with those conditions and no others" (Bourdieu, 1977: 95).

The dispositions and generative classificatory schemes, which are the essence of the habitus, are embodied in real human beings, and this embodiment has three meanings in Bourdieu's work. First, habitus only exist in so far as it is 'inside the heads' of actors. Second, habitus only exist in, through, and because of the practices of actors, and their interaction with each other and the rest of the environment, i.e. ways of walking, talking, making things, etc. Third, the practical taxonomies, male/female, front/back, up/down, etc, are rooted in the body. They are primarily sensible, both in terms of making sense, and being rooted in sensory experience, from the perspective of the embodied person. Hexis is another concept used by Bourdieu that can express the embodiment of habitus. This is used to signify the manner and style of the actors, and it is in the bodily hexis that the individual and personal combines with the systematic and social, i.e. it is the mediating link between the subjective worlds of the individuals and the shared, cultural world. The bodily hexis is placed beyond the reach of the consciousness, and can not be made explicit, or be deliberately changed by the individual. The body is, according to Jenkins to be understood as the mnemonic device which the culture and the practical taxonomies of the habitus are imprinted and encoded, in a socialising or learning process which start at early childhood (Jenkins, 1992).

Bourdieu's basic definition of the habitus necessitates further investigation of dispositions. They are, according to Bourdieu, not mere attitudes but thinking and feeling, i.e. everything from classificatory categories to the sense of honour. Dispositions encompass three different meanings. They are at the same time the result of an organising action, a set of outcomes described as approximate to structure; a way of being or a habitual state; and a tendency, propensity or inclination. This is not unproblematic. First, the fact that dispositions are the result of an organised action, indicate that they are in fact defined and identified by their own consequences. This is, according to Jenkins, a tautological explanation, which leaves no room for failed or unsuccessful dispositions (Ibid).

Second, the stress that is put on dispositions as beyond consciousness is problematic when considering for instance speech, which clearly involves both conscious and unconscious operations. Thus, it is difficult to understand how conscious deliberation and awareness fits into Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Bourdieu seems to judge calculation and rationality as

unimportant and without relevance more than actually denying their presence as social phenomena. He claims that in crisis when routine adjustment between subjective and objective structures is interrupted, rational choice does take over, but it does so because the habitus has commanded its option (Ibid).

Thus, decision-making at surface level is either a shadow or a reflection of what the habitus is doing anyway; an option which, at certain circumstances is part of the repertoire of habitus; or an illusion because the principles behind it are constrained by and derive from habitus. This is, according to Jenkins, what Bourdieu means when he says that the dispositions, which make up habitus, are the generative basis of practices. Bourdieu uses words that suggest a causal relationship between habitus and practices that are not mechanic or deterministic:

The habitus *disposes* actors to do certain things, it provides a *basis* for the generation of practices. Practices are produced in and by the encounter between the habitus and its dispositions, on the one hand, and the constraints, demands, and opportunities of the social field or market to which the habitus is appropriate or within which the actor is moving, on the other hand (...) this is achieved by a less than conscious process of adjustment of the habitus and practices of individuals to the objective and external constraints of the social world (Jenkins, 1992: 78).

He does on the other hand not explain how dispositions produce practices. Dispositions are durable. This is based on their foundation in learning during early years of life, their habitual, un-reflexive nature, their adjustment to the objective conditions of existence, and their inscription in bodily hexis. This makes habitus almost impossible to alter or undo. What then about change? According to Jenkins, Bourdieu in his explanation of history and change makes the mistaking of putting the cart before the horse, and his reasoning bears strong relationship with structural functionalism. In the possibility of change it is necessary to return to the subjective habitus and the objective world. Bourdieu expresses three different views on this: First, objective conditions produce habitus; second the habitus is adjusted to objective conditions; and third there is a reciprocal or dialectical relationship between them (Ibid).

Thus, habitus is formed in the individual through a process of experience and socialisation in early life, and the further life and experiences is a process of adjustment between the subjective and the objective. Habitus, as a shared body of dispositions, generative schemes, and classificatory categories, is the outcome of collective history. People then create history, but not by their own choosing. Habitus is not a collective wisdom of the group. The objective world that people live their lives within, from the point of view of the individual, is the product of past practices of previous generations. History culminates in an ongoing series of moments and is carried forward in a process of production and reproduction in the practices of every day life. Thus, history is an ongoing set of likely outcomes or probabilities, which are the product of what people do, i.e. their practices (Ibid).

Consecutively, practices are the product of habitus, and at the same time serve to confirm it and reproduce it. Furthermore, the habitus is the product of history. The question, how habitus creates practices, returns, and is not solved. Bourdieu explains this by the idea of the subjective expectation of objective probabilities. History repeats itself because, the most improbable practices are excluded as unthinkable, the agents make a virtue of the necessity, refuse what is anyway denied, and will the inevitable. This happens because the dispositions, which are inculcated by the possibilities and impossibilities, freedoms and necessities, opportunities and prohibitions inscribed in objective conditions, generate dispositions objectively compatible with these conditions. Thus, according to Jenkins, if the habitus is the source of objective practices, but is itself a set of subjective generative principles produced by the objective patterns of social life, Bourdieu's model is either another model of determinism or a sophisticated form of functionalism (Ibid).

Bourdieu do share some of the same principles as Gluckman in his theoretical reasoning. Gluckman like Bourdieu was interested in what people do in their everyday lives. They both wanted to understand practice, as a means to transcend the divide between individual and society in anthropological analysis, without saying that either the actor or structures had any determinant effect on the other, even though structures was seen as the dominant. Gluckman was like Bourdieu also critical to the concept of culture. The way this concept had been used by anthropologists was, he claimed, only moments in a differentiating and open process. Bourdieu's

concept of habitus, whose dispositional import is continually shifting, is not unlike the concept Gluckman wanted to replace culture, namely customs. In Gluckman's view, cultural abstractions come into being through a practice of interpretation in which value is always in process and never static or stable (Kapferer, 2006).

Thus, Bourdieu's perspective is interesting in so far as it explains how the actor is indeed limited by structural dynamics. People in the slum, among them the CHW, acted in ways that could be seen as evidence of the fact that they 'know without knowing' how things are done or happen in the slum, they have a 'feel for the game'. Growing up in the slum, certain practices, practical cultural competences and social identities were learned. To some extent they chose solutions that were within their repertoire of possibilities. They have, like all people everywhere, been through a process of deuterio-learning, at a higher order level (Bateson, 1958), thus, they have learned how to improve their ability to deal with the slum context.

But is the CHW's effort to change the situation in the Parish determined by the opportunities given them by learnt, unconscious, embodied dispositions? This is problematic in that it shares some similarities in reasoning with Lewis' theory of 'culture of poverty' described in the introduction chapter. Lewis also talked about how certain practices are learnt and internalised in young age, and which therefore strangles urban poor's opportunity to radically change their situation. I claim however that the residents in the Parish, in response to historical changes, with the emergence of NGOs and new political situations, act creatively, based in previous experiences, but by no means determined by it. The way the CHW managed their role between rocks and hard places can be seen as evidence of the fact that they use their experiences in new ways to solve new emerging problems. Thus, looking at groups as units that share some similar strategies, values, and norms, Bourdieu might find that the map he applies fits with the terrain. I claim however that opening the time-space dimension to practice as process, at micro-level of analysis, another picture appears.

5.3 Situational Analysis as Prospective Microhistory

Handelman claims that there is no epistemological distinction between anthropology based in the study of social practice, and an anthropology that does microhistory. Microhistory emerges prospectively from the temporal practices of social life, and therefore the practice, as doing and therefore the creation of social life, produces microhistories of living, just as these microhistories shape the living of lives. There are two main paradigms that relate anthropology and history. Anthropological history refers to the decoding of collective representations within historical periods, and historical anthropology addresses theoretical issues that are not limited to period, place or group. Both of these paradigms exclude an important development in the history of British social anthropology, that which Handelman calls ‘microhistorical anthropology of social practice’. The perspective emerging from the Manchester school, he claims, is highly suggestive for the study of social practice in real time, engaging with the problematic of emergence in social life, especially in the domain of the micro. Hence it is less dependent on scale reduction than the other two paradigms mentioned (Handelman, 2005).

In order to explicate crucial aspects of microhistorical anthropology, Handelman compares it to atemporal microhistory, seen as the interpretive, hermeneutic, microhistory undertaken by both anthropologists and historians, and in which social practice is minimal and scale reduction major. Within microhistorical anthropology represented by the Manchester School’s situational analysis and extended-case method, social practice is linked with temporal trajectories, in fact social practice is shown to be a temporal trajectory. In Geertz’s theoretical and methodological framework, representing atemporal microhistory in Handelman’s analysis, social practice is almost absent, and consequently the link between small-scale setting and temporal movement is limited (Ibid).

History can be atemporal when it ignores movement through time, and thus, microhistory moves towards the atemporal when its practitioners start to ignore the conditions of its formation and movement through time. Large conclusions about culture can be drawn from small facts embedded within it if historical phenomena are held constant and treated as if they contain the cultural formation on social practice needed to decode their meaning. Time is spatialised and

consequently disabled, and social practice is subordinated to cultural themes and symbols. Geertz treats culture as text. He refers to stories as historical, but gives them little significance as moments of temporal process; instead he finds interest in the story's thickness of scope, and "the mesh, tear, and clash of cultural categories, the interwoven messages of convergence and contradiction (Ibid: 33).

Treating culture as text, according to Handelman, essentialises culture in that the frame of the text does not change, and neither does its characters. Its parameters are closed, and thereby change cannot be generated from within the text itself, only from without. This is, in Handelman's view, evidence of the fact one of the premises for Geertz model is that culture can only radically change through contact between cultures. Temporal process is fought by textual metaphor into a framed snapshot, which can be scrutinised, read and re-read in search for meaning. When Geertz does not except that the microscopic is also a microcosm of the macro level of cultural order, the linkage between micro and macro that he applies seems forced, thus, it appears as an artifice of the interpreter. As a result, persons are denied a capacity to invent culture through their practices. It refuses that form and meaning often are emergent processes, emerging from practice itself, whose significance is first and foremost in the micro domain of everyday living. In atemporal microhistory time is sliced into periods, with each slice seen as an atemporal reservoir of culture and social organisation. This kind of history is vulnerable to losing the ground of its own formation, i.e. the construction and shaping of movement through time, and the emergence of structured process (Ibid).

Scale reduction is part of all description, as one necessarily must select the details included, emphasise some and forget some. If the analysis is based in practice, however, the discontinuity between description and analysis, without sacrificing conceptualisation becomes smaller. Additionally this opens the way to the emergence of microhistory. Gluckman's insight, according to Handelman, was to treat the very description of social life as a means to the expansion rather than reduction of scale. In contrast to Geertz who assumes discontinuity in cultural integration, and thereby uses the microscopic and the ritualistic to protect himself from this discontinuity, Gluckman lets the practices of others lead to and reveal conflicts in the disordering and ordering of their social life, without bounding off the discontinuities that were revealed (Ibid).

Thus, the bridge-opening is not presented as a story somebody told him, about a story, retold to the reader by the anthropologist, or an authored text that tells the story about an event. If so, the text, story and the event would have been treated as one and the same in the analyst's interpretation. On the contrary, the bridge-opening is a quite straightforward piece of ethnographic description from the viewpoint of the anthropologist. The social situation is not treated as a microcosm of colonial South Africa. If he had done so the issue of scale reduction would have been problematic. Instead, and close to the scale of that which occurred on the bridge, Gluckman's situation offers certain social categories for analysis. As described in the introduction chapter the categories of people gathered at the bridge, and the combination of their behaviour is taken to be threads to follow into the wider society (Ibid).

The first understanding of the social situation was still distant from microhistory, process and issues of emergence. Gluckman himself claimed that "it was still the social morphology that we were aiming to present" (Gluckman, 1967: xiv). That is, when wanting to compare different situations it was intended in a more static sense, to expose the complexities of social structure. This however changed with the development of the extended-case method and the prospective vision of emergence and change. Now following the social practices from situation to situation the ethnographer learns that they lead more in one direction than in others, and this will keep the analysis close to the scale at which people in interaction shape their lives. Hence, the relationships between persons were neither categorical nor static through time. Instead they were changing, sometimes in patterned ways, sometimes in new ones. Furthermore, the actions, relationships, and phenomena that emerged were only some times anticipated or predicated from initial assumptions or conditions, and often not (Handelman, 2005).

The extended-case's serial approach opened time-space to the practice of process, i.e. to the recognition that new social and cultural phenomena are continuously practiced into being. The Manchester anthropologists' study of process through a series of emerging observable events or social situations is to do a form of microhistory. But instead of going back in time they go forward, following the emergence and development of social practice in the present as they become the future. Consequently the microhistory of reproduction and emergence is prospective

history, in contrast to retrospective. A prospective microhistorical approach has better chance of reducing scale than has that of retrospective, because the time when the ethnographer experience events is resonant with the period where he or she analysis the field material. This makes the story told more theirs, than the ethnographers'. The story becomes more in line with the ones people experience, than with the ethnographers story of what goes on, and thereby the theoretical choices more in keeping with the spirit of what was happening to people (Ibid).

Handelman points at some important theoretical issues characterising the extended-case method and situation analysis, which I feel resolve what was found problematic with the two previous theoretical perspectives. While Barth's model is ideal in the understanding of society as disordered and open, and thereby could help explain social actions, without seeing them as bounded within a particular structural or territorial 'whole', his model could not help me explain the structural limitations that I in fact found the CHW, and the residents in the slum, to live their lives within. Bourdieu's theory of practice, seeing practice as guided and determined by dispositions, as embodied structures, became to deterministic. The Manchester anthropologists on the other hand, represent a perspective that in Handelman's terms are 'scale near', that is, it brings the anthropologist close that what is 'going on' at the ground. At the same time it makes the ethnographer able to expose the direction these practices take, i.e. to expand from the description of social life at micro level, to the conditions of its formation.

In order to illuminate another aspect of Gluckman and the Manchester School's perspective, which have had significance for the analysis presented in this thesis, I will now refer to a critique that has been raised against it, from the post-modern wing within anthropology. Also these perspectives, here represented by James Ferguson' performance theory, endeavour to close the gap between actor and structure in anthropological analysis. Ferguson's critique of the Manchester school's approach concerns the conception and use of the analytical term 'culture' and has not only methodologically but also political or ideological implications.

5.4 Culture as Style

James Ferguson critiques the dualist thinking that has dominated the understanding of cultural difference, i.e. that is appears between analytically distinct societies. He claims that efforts made to explain culture differences *within* societies have continued the dualist thinking in invoking an evolutionary pluralism. According to Ferguson, culture difference is, within these perspectives, seen to reflect the simultaneous presence of two social systems or two development stages within a single social formation, may that be tribal versus industrial, tradition versus modernity, or domestic versus capitalist mode of production. The Rhodes-Livingston Institute (RLI), later Manchester based anthropologists, Ferguson claims, represent one such dualist perspective in their understanding of urban contrasts. In their wish to oppose a sort of dualism that would stigmatise the urban African as tribal, rural, and primitive, they embraced another, namely that the migrants snap back and forth between cultural orientations, as they moved between two completely different systems, spatially and socially (Ferguson, 1999).

In search for an alternative understanding of cultural difference Ferguson claims one has to move from Manchester to Birmingham and the approaches to subculture as style developed there. He refers to Dick Hebdige who have studied youth subculture, and found that “notion of style as “signifying practice” can help to explain how difference is actively produced and used within a society” (Ferguson, 1999: 94). Within this perspective difference is not to be conceived as located between analytical distinct cultures or social systems, but is on the contrary continually produced within the logic of a class society. Thus, different styles are to be understood not as a total way of life, but as specified and semiotically complex forms of social action that must be interpreted in the context of material life and social relations. This perspective has also been used in analysis of gender (Ibid).

Differences in gender are according to Ferguson at the heart of any social system, and cannot be reduced to any sort of combination of sub-societies, stages or social, types. The enacted differences of gender, then, can be understood as the motivated stylistic performances of historical and socially located actors, i.e. it is not given, but continually produced in the context of power relations. Gender subjectivity and masculine and feminine styles are not emerging as a

mechanical effect of structure, but as a form of self-fashioning, where room for subversion, ambiguity, and play is present. This does not mean free creation by every individual, as gender is a performance created under a situation of duress, and in response to social and economic compulsion (Ibid).

Style then is a concept that can serve as a general analytic tool, in that it can be extended to all modes of social action through which people place themselves and are placed within social categories. Ferguson uses 'cultural style' to refer to practices that signify differences between social categories, and 'style' to emphasise the accomplished, performative nature of such practices. The former concept is not to be understood as describing total modes of behaviour, but rather poles of social signification like masculine-feminine, crosscut with other such poles like middleclass-working-class. The latter concept, 'style', is not to be understood in the manner of the RLI anthropologists, namely that different styles can be slipped on and shrugged off manipulatively, in response to the situation. Ferguson claims that situational shifting of style is only possible to a limited degree, because style tends to stick with a person like a linguistic dialect or accent; it requires not only a situational motive but an internalised capacity that need to be acquired over time (Ibid).

Thus, cultural style is a performative competence that includes more than the concrete know-how, namely a certain ease. This is similar to Bourdieu's concept of the 'feel of the game', which also is, as described above, related not only to knowledge, but to the mode of acquisition over time. One can not therefore, according to Ferguson, choose style according to situations coming up, because the availability of such choices depends on internalised capabilities of performative competence and ease. This must be achieved, not simply adopted. Cultural style implies a capability to deploy signs in a way that positions the actor in relation to social categories. Ferguson claims that seeing cultural style this way holds open the questions of identities, values, beliefs, and worldviews, because sharing a number of the same cultural-stylistically performances does not mean that these individuals share any such commonalities.

The fact that there has existed assumptions that this is in fact so, i.e. that shared experiences and values is prior to stylistic practice, has been a way of turning specific shared practices into a

posited shared 'total way of life', 'way of thought' or 'culture', assuming too quickly from what is observable and real to some asserted depths that are being expressed. Thus, according to Ferguson, culture is not to be seen as clothing, but rather as fashion, in that the key is not wearing a particular outfit, but being able to wear it. Although style always includes knowledge, it is a practical knowledge, i.e. 'knowing how' more than 'knowing that'. It is a kind of knowing that is inseparable from doing, like knowing how to ride a bicycle, which is something you do with your body, often with little conscious elaboration or awareness (Ibid).

In order to close the gap between enacted styles at micro-level, characteristic of performance approaches in social theory, to wider fields of historical socio-economic structures and social relationships, Ferguson claims that styles are enacted under a situation of duress, motivated, intentional, and performative, but not simply chosen or lightly slipped into. Like gender they are strategies of survival under compulsory systems. Ferguson situates the urban workers within a nexus of political and economic contestation, aiming to relate specific signifying practices of urban workers to relations of power embedded in their immediate social context. He traces the way in which the urban culture is shaped and constrained by the power relations between urban workers and rural allies, hoping to bring the political economist's concern with power and struggle and the fieldworkers concern with on the ground social relations together with what the cultural analyst calls a view of specific enacted styles (Ibid).

Ferguson emphasises that style have a certain durability, in contrast to the situational approaches that he claims sees them as easily acquired and slipped off when ceasing to be convenient. Cultivating a certain style has certain costs, both economically and in terms of investment of talent and energies, and choices between repertoires of styles. This is not done through calculated choices only, as there are structural constraints on stylistic development. Nevertheless he claims that on the Copperbelt where he has conducted his study there are great many aspects of social life that is not rigidly determined, and thus, a fair amount of aspects are left up to creative improvisation. It is the dimension of active and purposive style-making that he wants to capture. Style is neither simply received, nor adopted, as in the Manchester school's idea of situational selection, it is rather cultivated through a complex and only partly conscious activity

over time. This implies an active process spread across time, situated both within a political-economic context and the individual life-course (Ibid).

In his effort to distance himself from the RLI and Manchester School's 'cultural duality' perspective, Ferguson conducts an analysis of a social situation in (post) modern Zambia. He describes a scene from a bar where he finds a diverse crowd: a number of different languages are spoken, among the French, English, and Bemba; there are bar girls and prostitutes, smugglers and traders, etc, in the room, and people are mixing quite easily. According to Ferguson there is also an international feel in this bar. Present are stylish Zairean traders, with their best clothes, Senegalese emerald smugglers with Hollywood glasses and gangster chic, salaried officials who proclaim that they are just back from an official visit to London, or from training programmes in Moscow or Kansas, and finally, the white upper-middle-class and his assistant who are originally from Colombia. The white upper-middle-class anthropologist and his assistant talks with a prostitute who wishes she was white because she had given birth to two children with a white man who took her to the UK, where she saw the backwardness of Zambia, but who later left her and returned to England without her. They also talked to a young man who wore a sports jacket and gold, glittering pants who wanted to change dollars for him (Ibid).

This very ordinary situation on the Copperbelt has, according to Ferguson, nothing to do with culture. Even though a number of ethnic and language groups were present, it could not be reduced to any combination of tribal cultures. The scene could not be described as part of some giant Western cultural whole either, even though a number of Western cultural elements were on display. The 'modernising Africa' or 'societies in transition' clichés will in Ferguson's view not bring any understanding of the scene described. The 'cultural whole' idea can not help us understand what was taking place. Ferguson's solution is to apply cultural style as an analytical tool. As described above cultural style refers to signifying practices that mark socially significant positions or allegiances. The stylistic practices signify things as class position, or ethnic or gender identity through practices as dress, speech, manner and lifestyle. The particular axis of cultural style that Ferguson applies and is most concerned with is the stylistic opposition between cosmopolitanism and localism (Ibid).

Cosmopolitanism and localism are contrasting urban stylistic modes that signal different forms of relationship to a rural base. Localist stylistic gestures signal a readiness to accept responsibilities for rural allies and an intention to return to a 'home' community, while cosmopolitan styles on the other hand mark the rejection of allegiance with a rural social base and establish distance from the conventions and properties of localism. Among the cosmopolitan markers were relaxing in bars, drinking bottled beer or liquor, listening to fashionable music, speaking English, dressing smartly, i.e. displaying at any moment that one was tuned-in to a wider world. The localist mode was marked by drinking home-brewed African beer in private homes or in taverns, speaking local languages, dressing in plain, humble clothes, listening to traditional African music, and displaying respect for custom and ethnic identity (Ibid).

Ferguson stresses the point that the terms 'localism' and 'cosmopolitanism' are not referring to a whole way of life, or a coherent package of values, attitudes, or worldviews. If people who share a style do in fact share these attitudes and values, this must be demonstrated and not simply assumed. According to Ferguson, subculture theorists like Bourdieu draws the conclusion that commonality of style, i.e. what is actually and concretely shared, signifies a shared set of values and worldviews, i.e. habitus, too easily. Styles are neither culture, nor residues of once-distinct cultures, and they are not manifestations of transition between distinct social types distinguished as traditional and modern. Ferguson himself sees style as what they seem to be, namely modes of practical action in contemporary urban social life. The ability to 'do' a cultural style, and bring it off successfully, is an achieved performative competence, an empowering capability acquired and cultivated over time (Ibid).

One could say that there is something performative about the volunteer role. The CHW do in fact cultivate a certain style, and this cost them, both economically and in their investment of talent and energies; it is developed over time through a complex and not entirely conscious process; and is, thus, not based in calculated choices only, but takes place within structural constraints on stylistic development. In fact this outlining is not far from Gluckman's and the Manchester anthropologists' perspective on culture, and it may seem like the critique Ferguson

raises against Manchester from Birmingham, is based on a misconception of the use of basic concepts (Kapferer, 2006).

Ferguson's critique of the Manchester School anthropologists is both directed towards the use of culture as an analytical term and a political-ideological standpoint that he claims they inhabited. First he found that their use of culture was holistic and dualistic, in that they separated between the rural/traditional and the urban/modern in their analysis of social situations in the city. Second, he claims that even though they wanted to free themselves and anthropology from stigmatising the urban African as tribal, urban and primitive, they ended up enforcing the same dualist thinking, with their focus on the urban dweller as altering between tribal and urban cultural orientation and social systems. As such they tended to continue dominant white colonialist ideology through their use of 'tribalism' (Ferguson, 1999; Kapferer, 2006).

This critique, according to Kapferer, fails on both points. First he misinterprets and misunderstands the Manchester anthropologists' use of the concept 'culture'. Mitchell and Gluckman, as mentioned earlier, argued for a perspective on cultures that did not involve coherent wholes, as evident in Gluckman's preference of the concept 'custom' to culture. Gluckman deliberately argued that, taken the assumption that everything is change; there can be no unchanging primordial condition or static point of fixity, in relation to which change can be measured. What has been called and described as 'culture' by anthropologists, is according to Gluckman merely moments in a differentiating, open process. The Criticism that Ferguson raises represents, according to Kapferer, a post-modern, cosmopolitan version of the arguments embedded in the situational analysis. In Ferguson's reduction of culture to style, the performances he describes, in fact echoes that of Mitchell's material, and the broad points about the cultural concept presented by Gluckman and Mitchell (Kapferer, 2006).

Handelman argues that the commitment of the Manchester anthropologists to the study of social practice in fact foreshadow developments in aspects of postmodernist thinking. This is particularly so for the prospective microhistory of the extended case. Within this perspective it is stressed that temporal rhythms and shapes are created rather than enacted, or created while enacted. Second it is open to the fact that narrative is not necessarily linear, with its awareness to

the twist, turns, and surprises of living. Finally, with its focus on the local in the emergence of history, there is always a plurality of prospective microhistories and trajectories. Thus, with its lack of fixed boundaries in time, space, and place, the prospective microhistory of the extended case resonates with some post-modernist views on dimensionality (Handelman, 2005).

Ferguson's analysis of a social situation is according to Kapferer, a total trivialisation of the situational analysis approach. Ferguson does not attempt to explore the structural dynamics of the situated particular, or the larger more global structural processes affecting action at the local level. Furthermore, he reduces what can be suspected to be very different contexts and their dynamics, into a fixed similarity, and use generalised terms as cosmopolitanism and globalisation in order to describe and explain them. Ferguson claims that the people present in the bar are shopping and choosing significant modes of behaviour in order to be able to perform a certain style. They do so according to some local or cosmopolitan markers. As such he claims that there are some things that can be labelled 'local' and some things 'cosmopolitan' without investigating further what structural dynamics they are part of.

In Ferguson's model urbanisation becomes a 'way of life', which is in fact a universalising process. According to Kapferer, Ferguson, with his critique actually ends up supporting a conservative position that he actually opposes. Mitchell and Gluckman opposed the colonialist, racist, interpretation of the African as tribal people in town, and were interested in "examining migration and urban processes as taking place in a complexly interrelated field of social and economic relations that include an understanding of the importance of rural ties" (Kapferer, 2006: 117). At the very heart of their theoretical assumptions is the methodological procedure of the situation analysis.

5.5 Situational Analysis and Extended-Case Method

The Manchester School evolved from the close link between a group of researchers at the RLI in Northern Rhodesia, and Department of Social Anthropology at Manchester University. The theoretical innovations developed by the anthropologist associated with this school, were made in time of change and crisis between, and following, the World Wars. Gluckman and his

colleagues wanted to grasp these new emerging processes and concentrated on issues, which at the time was considered marginal within anthropology in general, e.g. urbanisation and industrial processes, migration, dilemmas of modernisation. At Gluckman's time the European imperial and colonial expansion was past its peak and were in rapid decline, and the sovereign nation-state was in almost universal ascendance. According to Kapferer both colonialist and state ideologies were ingrained in the anthropology that emerged both in Britain and elsewhere (Kapferer, 2006).

Today the circumstances have radically changed: the post-colonial nation-state has declining power, and its borders, sovereignty, and territory are redrawn or transgressed, a fact that give way to new social and political formations and processes. New crisis has led to new concepts and concerns within anthropology. This has not led to the obliteration of the importance or relevance of Gluckman's perspective, even though Ferguson, among others, has suggested otherwise. Quite contrary, many of the opinions he held has become commonplace, e.g. the importance of abandoning the concepts of culture and society as totalising and homogenising terms (Ibid).

The main assumption behind the work of Gluckman and the Manchester anthropologists was that human social existence is one of constant change and continual flux, and the situational analysis was developed from the wish to mark out the domains as well as the forces that are engaged in the generation and production of such complexity and flux. The situation or event is according to Gluckman the best entry-point to reach an understanding of the ever-changing society, because the situation is a total context of crisis. It contains not just contradictory and conflicting processes, but is a particular turning or tension. Inherent in the situation is potentiality and multiple possibilities. For the anthropologist it becomes an entering point to the vital forces and principles already engaged in social action (Ibid).

The situational analysis challenge notion of systems as characterised by homogeneity and overall coherence and opens the anthropologist to the potentialities of the contexts and practices encountered. It does so partly because it makes room for individual agency in the analysis. Even though individual creativity is conditioned within structural dynamics, it can according to Gluckman realise the potentiality of social forces and switch the course of history. The stress on

individual agency without losing focus on structural processes was an important development from the perspectives of Durkheim and Radcliff-Brown. Another important innovation inherent in the social analysis is that the situation or case should not be in a passive relation to the production of ethnographic understanding and the construction of theory. It is not intended as an 'apt illustration' of larger processes, but as the problem to be investigated. The situation is the site from which to enter into wider realities, the vehicle to an enquiry into more general features. Thus, it opens up to the exploration of different context of social action (Ibid).

Gluckman's analysis of the social situation, and the extended-case method developed on the same basic principles, made me capable of seeing the creative innovation of the actor taking place within structural dynamics. It did so because the social situation analysis makes it possible to stay close to practices, and to 'follow the loop' from micro level to macro dynamics. Seeing the situation as crisis, this procedure does not essentialise culture as holistic wholes. The main principles of the situation analysis and extended case method then solved some of the analytical problems that the other methodological procedures and theoretical framework presented could not. The Manchester notion of 'culture' and 'society', as epistemological concepts used by anthropologists, in order to close the gap between individual and society and thereby better understand processes taking place in social life, made it possible for me to discard myths and prejudices about life in the slum. It opened my eyes to the agency of people living in urban poverty.

6 CHALLENGES OF CONCEPTUALISATION

In between the empirical levels, i.e. the experience-near and the contextual, and the theoretical more abstract discussions of methods and procedures, there is a level that can be called 'conceptual', i.e. based within a theoretical framework the anthropologist use concepts in order to comprehend and describe what is being observed. It is this process of categorisation, which is at the heart of all anthropological enterprise that I will refer to as 'conceptualisation'. Conceptualisation has certain challenges to it, and I will in this final chapter briefly reflect on two. First; the concepts we use are involved in the shaping of what we see, and how we see it. I will hereunder return to the concepts of 'culture of poverty' and 'moral community', and reflect on how these can be seen to influence our understanding of and perspective on poverty and agency. This leads on to the second challenge, namely that concepts used by anthropologists have potential real consequences, when politicians and development bureaucrats apply our concepts, and materialise them through actual policies and projects. This is a challenge in that it necessitates awareness of the responsibility anthropologists have, in relation to those people we observe and write our papers about.

6.1 Poverty and Agency

The concepts we use as anthropologists, refer to 'something', that is, they are put into the anthropological vocabulary to name or describe a phenomenon, an occurrence or tendency, in the real world. There has been much debate concerning the use of certain concepts with the emergence of globalisation processes and the postmodern critique of traditional anthropology, of which the disagreement between Ferguson and Kapferer referred to in the previous chapter, is one example of. The postmodern critique has led to the dismissal of some terms, and the introduction of new ones. I will not go into the nuances and distinctions of this debate, but

merely claim that it is not necessarily the concepts per se that constitute the problem, but how they are used and perceived.

The theory of 'culture of poverty', as described in the introduction chapter, was developed to explain the behaviours of the urban poor. Lewis observed that the behaviour of people living in urban poverty appeared in certain patterns, which he described and categorised at different levels from individual strategies and aspirations, to the family sphere, and community organisation, and conceptualised as 'culture of poverty'. I read from this that Lewis wanted to illuminate that people behave as they do in the slum, not because they are 'stupid' or less rational than others, but because they share a culture that is transmitted to them from early childhood, and which makes it difficult for them to change their manners. As such he aims at understanding their choices of action without judging them, but at the same time determines life in urban slums as something that people 'are'. Thus, through his conceptualisation of the culture found within the slums, he ends up describing the urban poor as powerless and passive victims, using the concept of culture in a holistic, deterministic and essentialist way. This, I claim, makes him blind for the agency and possibilities of change that is immanent in all human action and activity.

In order to distinguish my analysis from the notions inherent in Lewis' conceptualisation of culture of poverty, I have used 'moral community' within this thesis. I have aimed to see the rules and norms guiding the CHW's and other residents' choices of action, and the structural dynamics that emerge, as something that people 'do'. Empisa is normative in that it contains of values and norms for accepted and unaccepted conduct, but people are free to follow these informal rules, and as described above people do break them, and sanctions are implemented. Moreover, I found that the residents are not equally hit by the sanctions that follow from breaking the norms inherent in this moral community. Women are, as described above, more dependent on staying on good foot with their neighbours than the men, thus, they are more vulnerable to the sanctions employed by the other residents, and thereby more preoccupied with upholding them. Finally, the norms and values are not stable and unchangeable, but are continuously adjusted to new circumstances; evident in the fact that with the emergence of NGOs and volunteers in the Parish, values associated with empisa was applied to new situations in order to solve new problems.

The point I want to make, contrasting the two concepts, is not that ‘moral community’ is necessarily a better or more adequate term than ‘culture of poverty’, in describing life in urban slums. The crucial point is how they are used, and to avoiding the fallacy of homogenising and essentialising the patterns that emerge. Thus, the process of conceptualisation is ‘risky business’ in so far as it can potentially conceal what is actually going on among the people that we study, in this instance how people living in, or with urban poverty have agency and constantly adjust their strategies facing new situations, in order to survive and create a certain degree of order amongst themselves. The challenge for the anthropologist is to grasp the epistemological value of our concepts in that they can keep our minds open to the ever changing and creative innovation found in lived realities. If not, the anthropological comparative project of generalising and developing theory from the observation and analysis of human activity, risk losing important insight. But it is not only anthropology as a discipline that can potentially ‘suffer’ from conceptualisation; the subjects of our investigation can also feel the consequences when they are put into practice.

6.2 Political Implications

Policies and projects implemented by politicians or development bureaucrats are often based in theoretical assumptions, models or concepts, as outlined by scholars within different disciplines. These are again influenced by the political ideologies and thoughts, characteristic of the time in which they are developed. Among anthropologists it has, as briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, been debated whether anthropology in the past have challenged or supported colonist ideologies and policies. Those claiming that anthropologists were participating in the maintenance of power structures inherent in the colonial project, can today be criticised for supporting new relations of power, with their perspective that people are no longer bounded to a community, territory, history or culture. I believe that controversies like these, discussing the political implications anthropological conduct may have, is crucial in that it keeps us constantly aware of the fact that our conceptualisations can bring about real consequences. Studying poverty, this is a challenge that should not be taken lightly.

As described in the introduction chapter, UNESCO has defined urban poverty in terms that are in line with the main assumptions inherent in the theory of 'culture of poverty'. Rural dwellers are seen to enter the city, and settle in slum or squatter areas where they endeavour to reinstate rural village life, but ends up being victims to circumstances beyond their control. Consequently, physical and moral barriers of ownership disappear, respect for neighbours is broken down, promiscuity is tolerated, and community rules vanish. Slumsmen end up losing his or her rural identity without being accepted as a townsman.³⁷ Like Lewis', UNESCO's definition is probably applied in order to understand the poor without judging them, as evident in the statement that squatters are victims of circumstances beyond their control. Thus, the intended consequence of both Lewis' and UNESCO's definition of the 'culture of the urban poor', may well be to contest the view of slumsmen as backwards and uncivilised. Nevertheless, a potential consequence, when applying this conceptualisation in practice, is that the urban poor end up being blamed for their own misery, as evident in examples of efforts taken to solve the problem with urban slums.

If people who grow up in, or settle in the slum, become victims of a culture that has developed there, then one possible solution to this problem could be to eradicate the slum, and thereby remove the essence of the problem, by dissolving the communities where slum culture emerge. There are in fact numerous examples of slum areas being torn down and replaced with new buildings and infrastructure based in this line of thought. People who originally lived in the slum and squatters are then given the opportunity to settle in these new communities. This solution has not led to the wanted results, in that people who used to inhabit the slums can not afford to live in these new residential communities, and new slum areas usually develop at the outskirts of them. For the urban poor this means losing their housing, social network, workplace, etc, it means saving and working hard to buy material to be able to put up a new shack, and in the mean time, it means living without a roof over their head. Whether this is an intended consequence of UNESCO's conceptualisation of the culture found within slums, is not for me to say. Nonetheless, it provides one example of how conceptualisations of what we define as characteristics of social life, can have concrete and radical consequences when applied in development policy.

³⁷ Cf. introduction chapter

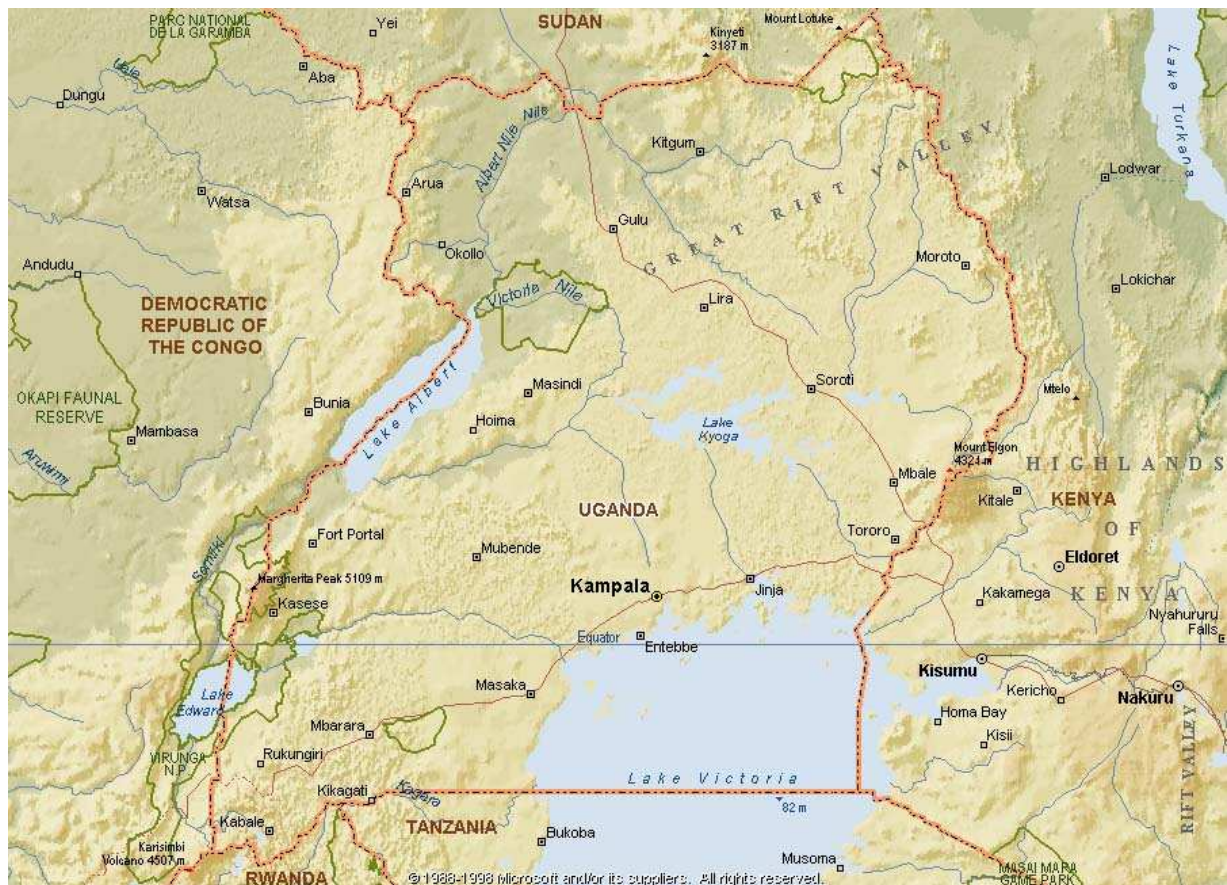
Every researcher and scientific discipline needs concepts, and the process of conceptualisation always, and necessarily, involves a degree of simplification when categorising a diverse and complex reality. The fact that politicians and policy-makers redefine or simplify scientific conceptualisations, putting them into practice, is an ever-present risk that researchers within all disciplines have to live with. The essentialist and deterministic usage of culture in political nation-building and in defining of subcultures like that of the slum, is merely one example. My use of 'moral community' can also have both intended and unintended consequences. When I argue that people in the slum have agency, i.e. that they find ways to cope, and have the possibility to work upon and change their situation, my intension is not to say that people living in slums have chosen this way of life, or that they manage just fine, i.e. 'they are poor but happy'. This would be to state that they share a moral community, as in one set of values and norms that all the residents agree upon, which would not only mean an essentialist use of the concept of moral community, but could have the implication that nothing would be done to eliminate urban poverty. Furthermore, this would in fact be to support existing power-relation.

Using 'culture' to define a group's characteristics, has often been done in order to execute certain wanted political or economic developments, which also includes the enforcement of political power, as in the eradication of slums. In order to prevent misunderstood and deterministic use of anthropological concepts, I believe it is crucial that we conceptualise our observations and generalisations in a non-essentialist way, and that we are not afraid of engaging ourselves in public debate to share the insight that anthropologists have, for instance about culture as ever changing, creative worlds that people generate around them. Following the CHW from situation to situation and getting to know the slum and people living there it became obvious to me that poverty is not something that people 'are', it is something they cope with. Poverty is a result of power-relations evident in structural dynamics, and in the mean time people living in slums use their creativity in order to survive in a difficult environment. Thus, taking the challenge of political implications of conceptualisation seriously can not only prevent misuse of anthropological concepts, but also enable us to direct critique were injustice and abuse of power is taking place. In order to understand what it is like being a volunteer in a Kampala slum, I endeavoured to see the CHW's choices of action as taking place within structural dynamics,

without losing sight of the creative innovation emerging in the social interaction that they engaged themselves in. Thus, I needed to understand the complexity of life in a slum, which goes deeper than the question of water or soda.

APPENDIX A

Uganda is located along the equator, about 800-1000 km from the Indian Ocean. It borders to Sudan in the north, Kenya in the east, Tanzania and Rwanda in the south and The Democratic Republic of Congo in the west. Because of its many rivers and lakes and the fact that most of the total area of 197,000 square km is situated on a plateau 900-1500 m above sea level, the climate is good and the soil fertile (Ofcansky, 1996).



Estimated population in Uganda was 22.2 million in 2000 whereof about 50 percent are under 15 years old. The population growth is estimated to about 2.5-3 percent. Approximately 75 percent of the population live in rural areas, but the rural-urban migration-rate is growing, as are the natural increase of the urban populations. Uganda was rated number 158 in UN's Human

Development Index (HDI) in 2000, ranging 174 nations on literacy, level of education, life expectancy, and economic criteria: 45,8 percent of the women and 25 percent of the men are illiterate in Uganda; life expectancy is 41,5 years for women and 40 years for men; and GDP per capita is approximately US\$300, even though 44 percent of the population still earn less than one US\$ a day, living in what is defined as 'absolute poverty'. Approximately 30 different ethnic groups live within Uganda's borders. Baganda is the largest group and their language, Luganda, is the most commonly spoken of the indigenous languages. English is the official language used by media and the government. 70-80 percent of the population is Christian with Catholicism slightly outnumbering Protestants, mostly Anglicans (UNDP³⁸).

³⁸ United Nations' Development Program: <http://www.undp.or.ug/documents/uhdr2000.pdf> [Accessed 2001-04-21]

APPENDIX B

ANNUAL REPORT FROM CARING COMMUNITY'S COMMUNITY HEALTH WORKERS³⁹

31st December 2000

Introduction

The Caring Community's CHW are men and women who have been trained in Community Based Health Care and are voluntarily workers to up-lift health standards in their communities and neighbouring villages.

Objectives

- Create clean living environment through mobilisation, motivation, sensitisation and community participation among the masses.
- To promote Health Educational and Immunisation programmes to prevent diseases.

Goal

The ultimate goal is to eliminate easily preventable diseases in the zones and beyond

Activities

- Frequent field-visits and help residents put up hygienic living programmes
- Constant home visits are carried out to assess health conditions
- Where need arises, we offer referral advice to our communities for proper medical attention
- Mobilise communities for specific purposes as may come up
- Offer extension Health Education and sensitisation on issues like: TB, Meningitis, Dysentery, Ebola, Cholera, Fungal infections, STDs, HIV/AIDS
- Put up calls for participation in seminars and work shops

³⁹ This report is copied by hand. The real names of the area and the organisation are changed to the pseudonyms used in the thesis.

- Traditional birth attendants offer advisory and safe delivery services

Achievements

- Increased awareness on health issues among our people
- Garbage collection and disposal have greatly improved
- Calls to proper sanitation are now heeded to
- More people now seek professional medical care
- Child and maternal deaths are now minimal
- There is steep decline in easy preventable diseases – no recorded cholera since 1999

Constraints

- The four garbage skips around the Parish are too few
- Lack of tools like wheel burrows, hoes, slashes, spades, rakes, forks, etc slows the work of CHW
- Lack of protective gear like raincoats, gumboots, heavy-duty gloves etc for the CHW hampers them from going to places where they ought to
- Lack of stationary makes programming our work difficult
- Illiteracy and our ignorance among our masses in most cases block progress

Recommendation

- More skips and space be sought so that rubbish is systematically collected
- Tools and implements be procured so as to keep the communities clean
- Avenues should be sought to have our CHW availed with protective gear
- For proper work-plans, record keeping, follow-ups, mobilisation and health education, CHW must be sustained with stationary
- Traditional birth attendants be supplied with necessary kit
- Adult Literacy Campaigns be vigorously held at all levels of leadership

Plan Forward

To improve the quality of our work, the activities of our CHW will be centralised in units whose personnel will draw up programmes as per the tasks to be handled. These units when ganged up will form nucleus of Community Health Workers Activity Focus.

1. The Health Education Unit:

- Will draw up literacy campaigns programmes
- Will provide materials and visual aid to be used
- Will prepare and plan health issues to talk about
- Will research and set education venues
- Will work on new and refresh courses for CHW

2. The Information and Mobilisation Unit:

- To search, gather and report accurate info to CHW and the communities
- To mobilise specific groups for marked causes
- To liaise with other organisations with similar objectives

3. The Sanitary Inspection Unit:

- To design home visitation programmes
- To plan on the spot inspections
- To draw up general community participatory cleaning exercises
- Emphasis will be directed towards:
 - Food beverages handlers
 - Shop and bar owners
 - General sanitation
 - Drain up-keep
 - Mosquito/rodent breeding areas
 - Garbage dumping places

4. The Environmental Protection Unit:

- To create awareness in environmental conservation
- To sensitise masses on proper disposal of polythene, plastic, metallic, glassy, grease or oil waste
- To initiate rural urban farming

- To design home improvement plans
- To put organic farming projects

5. The Safe motherhood Unit:

- For quality services, this unit will have two sections:
 1. Traditional Birth Attendant Section
 - Will make frequent visits to expectant mothers and offer antenatal advice as may be required
 - Will offer safe delivery services as need may be
 - Will make follow-ups in mothers and assess child development
 2. Reproductive Health Care Section
 - To create awareness on safe motherhood in our community
 - To identify target groups and offer counselling services
 - To sensitise masses on STD and HIV/AIDS
 - To offer reproductive health services

6. The Social Welfare Unit

- To examine the welfare situation in the community
- To draw up disaster preparedness programmes
- To work out entertainment plans for CHW

7. The Evaluation and Monitoring Group

- To examine and assess each unit's performance
- To guide each unit to proper operation
- To co-ordinate all CHW activities
- To make recommendations for future work plans

Conclusion

Having examined our success and failures with these units in place and working together dedicatedly, we believe that the objectives and aims of the Caring Community's CHW will be realised and we shall attain our goal of Health for all by the year 2010.

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