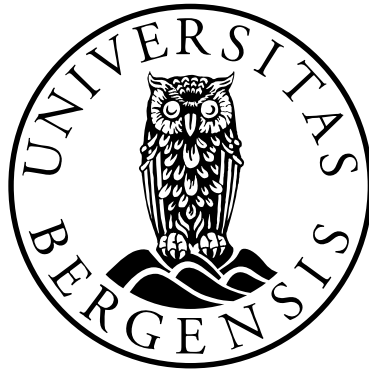


Glocalizing Catholicism Through Musical Performance:

Kampala Archdiocesan Post-Primary Schools Music Festivals

Nicholas Ssempijja



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Abstract

This study examines the extent to which musical performances in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals serve both global and local interests of the Catholic Church. Considering music making as essential to the liturgical ritual process, I examine to what extent this entails global as well as local characteristics that enable it to achieve its purpose. I establish the level of influence that the Vatican has over the local church musical practices particularly in Kampala Archdiocese. From an ethnomusicological perspective, I draw on a number of multi-disciplinary theoretical concepts to explain the place of the Vatican in this competitive music festival and also to analyze how the local church serves the Vatican (the global church).

Glocalization, a concept that embeds the complex relationships between the *local* and the *global*, particularly addressing the hybrid cultural expressions resulting from these interactions, has been used to address my study's concerns. My primary research question in this dissertation is thus: How can the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals be understood as *glocal* phenomena? In other words, how can the festivals, as a hybrid religious and cultural expression, be understood as embodying the articulation in space and time of the globalized religion of Roman Catholicism and local culture in Buganda? The particulars of history and geography in this articulation have led me to adopt a broadly postcolonial approach to answering this question, thus putting questions of power at the center of my inquiry.

In this study I argue that music not only plays a significant role in the rituals of the Catholic Church but also participates in articulating and defining the nature and level of subordination of the local church, Kampala Archdiocese, to the Vatican. This festival is not limited to being a space for merry-making but it is also a place where group identities are redefined, reaffirmed, negotiated and solidified, as well as a glocal arena where power is redefined and wrestled from the traditional authorities to create a more seemingly glocal balance. The study asserts that there is a symbiotic

relationship between the Catholic Church's liturgy, whereby music as an essential part of the ritual helps to define and effect rituals, while rituals also provide music with a context which makes it very crucial for analysis. The study conclusively asserts that in glocalization, there is no polarity since the local powers work in sync with the global so as to enhance the power, control, authority and influence of the global power structures, which in this case is the Vatican.

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Abbreviations Used in the Dissertation

M.T.O.	Mujje Tutendereze Omukama
CACEMCHO	Catholic Centenary Memorial Choir
KAMUCO	Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee
CABCU	Catholic Association of Broadcasters and Cinematographers in Uganda
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society
M.D.D.	Music Dance and Drama
M.H.	Mill Hill Missionaries
W.F.	White Fathers - Missionary Congregation (Now known as Missionaries of Africa)
S.S.A.	Soprano, Soprano, Alto (arrangement for feminine voices only)
S.A.A.	Soprano, Alto, Alto
T.T.B.	Tenor, Tenor, Bass
S.A.T.B.	Soprano, Alto, Tenor Bass
NIPCHO	National Interdenominational Pontifical Choir
N.D.	No Date

Chapter One

1.0 Socio-Religious Influences on my Intellectual Development

When I was conducting research for my master's degree in music earlier in 2003 about *Compositional Techniques in the Roman Catholic Church Music in the Metropolitan of Kampala*, I encountered an interesting phenomenon in the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals. I discovered that the festivals are both a religious and a culturally centered performance space. Given the knowledge I had about Uganda's history, especially related to the missionary approach to teaching of Christianity, I greatly questioned the two being performed and articulated in sync. While the Catholic Church had earlier greatly opposed the inclusion of Kiganda music in the church, this festival seemed to be promoting some of these very practices including the much debated issue of dancing in the church. I therefore started getting rather more inquisitive as to where this festival derives the mandate to do this while utilizing the sacred space reserved only for promoting Catholicism. By the time I completed my master's degree, one of the recommendations I made was to critically examine this festival to find out why, how and what it does as far as Catholic Church music is concerned. So when an opportunity came up, I had to satisfy my earlier inquisitiveness by finding answers to some of these pertinent questions.

The hybrid term *glocal* – made by joining together the terms *global* and *local* – has been introduced into academic discourse to encapsulate the complex relationships between the local and the global, and especially the hybrid cultural expressions resulting from these interactions. My primary research question in this dissertation is thus: How can the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals be understood as a *glocal* phenomenon? In other words, how can the festivals, as a hybrid religious and cultural expression, be understood as embodying the articulation in space and time of the globalized religion of Roman Catholicism and the local culture of Buganda? The particulars of history and geography in this articulation lead

me to adopt a broad postcolonial approach to answering this question, thus putting questions of power at the center of my inquiry.

My zeal for carrying out this research and study was to some extent driven by the fact that church music festivals were embedding both social-cultural and religious themes which could be articulated in performances. I therefore set out to establish how it was possible for the two to be performed at the same time while the space was markedly sacred. In my initial encounter with these festivals some eight years ago, I discovered that schools could inject large sums of money into them and at the end of the day, the overall reward for the winners was a mere trophy which was less than two kilograms heavy. I therefore sought to find out why the schools invested so much in this Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival and competed so intensely to win “only” a trophy. In my view, a “mere trophy” was not a satisfying explanation; I wanted a more convincing explanation for this act. I wanted to find out what the festivals represent and signify, since the trophy did not seem a convincing end in itself to me.

Using various research tools, I set out to find out the role of music in religion and concerns related to identities, which seemed to emanate from the simplistic viewpoint on which I based my assertions at the time. Music works for religion and through using it in religious ceremonies, I presumed it strengthened the belief system with an entertainment model attached to the liturgical main content. It was from this perspective that I entered the field, not aware of many of the different theoretical constructs that informed my study, especially those from without and within the Catholic Church.

I was also partly interested in finding out the mechanisms of control prevailing in the local church. I therefore set out to find out why and how the Catholic Church authorities had censored and restricted the use of some indigenous modes of expression (Music, Dance and Drama – M.D.D.) used in the repertoire of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. In my assumptions, I expected that these genres had to be strictly and only relevant to the Roman Catholic

Church so as to avoid heretical theology being spread within the church. I therefore wanted to see to what extent the global institution of the Vatican had exerted its control and authority over the musical performances and practices taking place at this festival. Of particular interest was the judging process whereby I wanted to establish the yardstick used by the judges/adjudicators to decide what a good performance is, what it is not, and why. I expected that since these are seemingly both global and local performances, it would be quite difficult to find an appropriate yardstick with which to compare all the performances and then come out with an eventual winner. The nature of hybridity at play seemed to me limitless and calling into question a number of factors ranging from colonial missionary activity to global Catholicism. During my earlier master's degree research, I also ran into a situation whereby there was not much documented information about Catholic Church music practices in Uganda, and part of my concern was to contribute to this field, since I had been one of the musicians and at the same time an up-and-coming scholar. As I set out to carry out this doctoral research about glocalizing Catholicism, I encountered the same situation.

I consequently went out to the field not completely assured that I would readily find answers to my research. I designed my project in a way that would enable me to carry out my study under the broad heading of *glocalization*. In this study, I intended to start by examining how the Vatican is related to the local church in Kampala Archdiocese after which I would deal with major concerns of my study, only to discover that I needed to place my study into a particular church context which had not yet been documented. In this dissertation, therefore, I provide a context for this study by drawing on the oral and the little available written data at the beginning after which I proceed to the main concerns of my study.

1.2 Theoretical Approaches to the Study

Introduction

I had already identified most of the theoretical approaches for my study before going to the field and they therefore enabled me to keep my research focused since the subject of church music is a very broad one. They keep my work focused on specific themes and how they are intertwined in the context of my field. While my studies are particularly grounded in ethnomusicology, the theories used include those that are generally used in the social sciences, particularly adopted here for the study of church music history, performances, composition and other aspects of this study.

1.2.1 Glocalization

This research is primarily an ethnomusicological study and analysis of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. However, while studying the Festivals in the Catholic Archdiocese of Kampala, I also sought to examine the extent to which the Vatican as an institution has been able to exert its power and control over how Catholicism is practiced, with specific attention to the music used for church purposes. This necessitated connecting the Vatican's requirements regarding the global practicing of Catholicism with an analysis of the local church's instructions, directives and policies pertaining to church musical practices. As such, the principal theoretical stance for my study has been *glocalization*. This term, which has received widespread attention and debate, was coined from two contrasting theoretical perspectives: globalization and localization. I chose glocalization because it rightly caters for both local church concerns as well the global Catholic musical practices. Before delving into its numerous definitions and attempting to situate it in the context of this study, I will elucidate its two constituent concepts and as a point of convergence, return to glocalization to connect both the local and the global in the context of this study.

1.2.2 Globalization

For the past decades, the concept of globalization has received tremendous debate among scholars and other members of society within and outside of academia (Holton 2000; Tomlinson 1991, 1999; Erlmann 1999; Beyer 1994; Krishnaswamy 2002; Turino 2003; Ritzer 2003; Croucher 2004; Bennet 2000; Young 2003; Khondker 2004; Kraidy 1999; Robertson 1995; Nederveen Pieterse 1992, 1993). It has been argued that globalization deals with “examining the connectivity of broad processes of technological, economic, political, and cultural interrelationships” in society (Khondker 2004:1; see also Nederveen Pieterse 1993). This is a kind of complex connectivity that is not in disorder (Tomlinson 1999, Xue 2008:113). John Tomlinson (1999) has stated that globalization is multidimensional and is understood in terms of simultaneous, complexly related processes in the realms of economy, culture, politics, and technology (also Xue 2008:113), which Arjun Appandurai has referred to as *global scapes* (1990, 1996). The term globalization is believed to have been adopted by ethnomusicologists as early as the 1990s (Turino 2003:51). It has also been juxtaposed with terms such as “transnational” or “international” (Turino 2003; see also Dunn 2002) which designate its geographical situatedness as non-static but having a kind of global effect unrestricted by borders or boundary inclinations. More so, globalization has always been a western concept right from its inception. Its coinage was also closely related with the economic and cultural dominance of the United States, hence the occasional reference to globalization as “Americanization” (Duke 2002:5). The discourse on globalization has seen the coining of more terms such as McDonaldization, CocaColonization and Disneyization, all related to and reflecting the global flow of goods, services, and cultures from the west into the rest of the world (Nederveen Pieterse 1993, Tomlinson 1999, Bennet 2000, Vic Duke 2002).

Since globalization is a broad concept comprised of multiple dimensions that require a detailed and systematic treatment as noted above, my focus will be narrowed down to cultural globalization which, in this case, serves as the most appropriate articulation

of my study's concerns about music and religion. I consider cultural globalization hand in hand with both music and religion in relation to culture. Cultural globalization has sometimes been referred to as a sort of "transnational identity" (Holton 2000:145). By transnational, reference is made to social forms and services that supersede the national or those that fail to correspond to or transcend the boundaries of the nation-state. Postmodern theorists have argued that an adequate understanding of social life can no longer be derived from an analysis that is conceptually limited to the geopolitical order of the nation state (Smart 1993:135), but rather the ways in which economic, political, cultural, and technological features of social life transcend specific geographical locations. In light of the above, transnationalism embraces global social relationships and processes which are depicted in this theory as flows, linkages or scapes (Appandurai 1990, Grewal and Kaplan 2006).

In the context of this study, I employ the concept of globalization in order to analyze the cultural flow of Catholicism as a global religion. The interconnectedness of Catholicism as a culture practiced globally necessitates a consideration of the power structures that not only were responsible for its spreading but also continue to uphold its structure and doctrines. As Tomlinson has argued, "globalized culture is the installation, worldwide, of one particular culture born out of one particular, privileged historical experience. It is simply the global expression of Western culture" (quoted in Croucher 2004:25). I find that in my area of study, if I were to relate to Croucher's assertion, Catholicism is a belief system that has been born out of a privileged historical experience and has been globally practiced. In reference to the Vatican, by implication there are power structures that dictate the manner, extent and level at which the doctrines can be manipulated or incorporated with other elements.

As earlier noted, globalization is not seen as the only force acting on these processes and practices, since they are also seen to incorporate other traditions, practices and elements from wherever they have been or reached in the process of becoming global. For example in my study, I find a kind of symbiotic relationship between Catholic practices in Kampala Archdiocese and those of the Vatican. Like Robert Holton has

noted, one of the salient notions that are continuously connected to globalization is homogenization/homogeneity (2000:14), which in this context focuses on how global practices, doctrines and systems of the Roman Catholic Church are aligned. These also include musical practices that have been clearly enumerated in the Second Vatican Council document (Flannery1975), particularly in the documents concerning Sacred Music (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, *Musicam Sacram*).

I critically examine the impact of this homogeneity, because in this notion of “global cultural synchronization” (Schiller 1989; Hamelink 1983), there is a tendency to overlook the “countercurrents – the impact nonwestern cultures have been making on the west” [Catholicism/Vatican] (Nederveen Pieterse 1993:9). While practices can be considered global, there is always a two-way impact on these very practices once they leave locale A and are incorporated by people in locale B (see also the discussions of hybridity and indigenization below). To further account for the glocal effect, including global and local influences, I also consider in this study the impact of Kampala Archdiocese through its church music vetting committee, the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO), on the way Catholicism is practiced. This back and forth (global-local) effect on these newly codified practices makes them assume a glocal character including both western (Vatican) influence as well as local elements. In this study, I endeavor to explain this kind of contemporary global consciousness that carries with it reflexive connotations enabling the cross-over culture to adapt it according to its locale (Robertson 1992).

In Holton’s polarization thesis, “global culture is presented in terms of a conflict between two contrasting cultural stereotypes” (2000:146). This thesis has been extensively noted and explained by scholars on globalization (Robertson 1992, Nederveen Pieterse 1992, 2004, Banerjee 1998, Woods 1998, 2007, Tomlinson 1999, Kraidy 1999, Bennet 2000, Kellner 2002, Ritzer 2003, Turino 2003, Croucher 2004). Many have agreed that while there is an implied conflict between parties, that is, an assumption that globalization works to destroy the local differences between the colonial center and a peripheral culture, globalization may on the contrary work to

enhance such differences (Bennet 2000:54). It has been argued by many of these scholars that while globalization seems to create a polarity between the local and the global, the opposite is true. Holton asserts that the local and the global may be mutually reinforcing rather than necessarily in conflict (2000:144). However, like Nederveen Pieterse argues, “the present phase of globalization involves the relative weakening of nation-states as in the weakening of the ‘national economy’, in the context of economic globalism, and culturally, the decline of patriotism, which isn’t necessarily a one-directional process” (1992:5). I am more interested in the weakening of nation states in globalization to which Nederveen Pieterse refers specifically in relation to economic globalism. The influence that the Vatican (the global head) exerts on Kampala Archdiocese (the local church) regarding the way Catholicism is conducted in Uganda requires that Kampala Archdiocese renounces some of its power and authority and abides by what the Vatican has directed it to do though not without question and debate, hence the Second Vatican Council. The implied power structures here necessitate that while Kampala abides by the Vatican’s directives, there is room to modify/repackage what the Vatican has prescribed, making it more attractive and understandable to the local communities which are the implied consumers. The inculturation campaign and other phenomena will be discussed in detail in the fifth chapter so as to clearly show how they have managed to uphold the Vatican’s authority, though with a few transformations.

1.2.3 Localization

The debate about localization has gained momentum considerably given the fact that globalization, its juxtaposed counterpart (the two are usually placed hand in hand or even sometimes hyphenated), is also receiving great attention from scholars from many fields. In this section, I will explore how I have utilized it in relation to my work.

Localization implies ways in which particular cultural practices (including music), whatever or wherever their “origin”, become associated with particular places, especially places other than where they are said to have originated. As Andy Bennet

has asserted, “much of the current interest in the local stems directly from the globalization process and its impact on nations and peoples around the world” (2000:53). Many texts that address this subject will always contrast it with the global, hence creating the global-local dichotomy which is so common in current discourse. In relating the global to the local, occasionally there has been a presupposed existence of an authentic or original cultural practice. At this level the debate on the local also incorporates the concept of hybridity. While I will consider hybridity later in greater detail, it is important to stress it here that when talking about the global-local dichotomy, it is inevitable to mention hybridity since it is the resultant quality emanating from the interaction of the two concepts consequently leading to the creation of the new, hybridized term *glocalization*. While the local (in music) is assumed to be a product of local knowledge and sensibilities and a form of independent cultural territory which is removed from the cultural space occupied by significant others (Bennet 2000:57), it is not pure, and therefore there is a need to consider the power structures that embody the global or glocal hybrids when studying it.

Particularly, for this study, localization will be used in reference to the local practices of the Baganda emanating from the various aspects of their culture, specifically in connection to the music used for church purposes. Following Vatican Council II’s campaign regarding inculturation in the Catholic Church, church musical practices in Kampala Archdiocese began incorporating the local compositional and performance techniques of Kiganda music which have inherently become part and parcel of church music in Kampala Archdiocese. With respect to the Kiganda culture which I will consider in detail later, there has emerged a hybrid culture of Catholic musical practices that encompass both local and global elements and in a way identifies the local church within the global Roman Catholic Church. Still in this study, the concept of localization is juxtaposed with globalization in order to consider and understand the emerging power patterns (dynamics) that come along with the considered hybrid genres such as Kiganda Gregorian chants. Of course we cannot avoid explaining

hybridity since by now it has become evident that it forms a major part of our discussion.

1.2.4 Hybridity

The meeting of the global and the local has been seen to breed a new kind of identity, practice or product that is neither the original global, nor the local, but a hybrid. This brings into our consideration the process of hybridization which is vital to consider if we are to explicitly understand the nature of glocalization. In this case, we are considering hybridity as a result of glocalization and also as we shall later see, as a constituent part of postcolonialism. I shall return to the latter in the next section.

Hybridity centers on the intercultural exchange and incorporation of cultural elements from a variety of sources within particular cultural practices (Holton 200:148). Rowe and Schelling (1991:231) have defined hybridization as “the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices” (quoted in Nederveen Pieterse 1992:5). Rowe and Schelling’s use of form as the model for distinguishing or identifying hybridity is rather wanting, since form could very directly imply “established methods of expression or proceeding: procedure according to rule or rote”¹, which in essence stresses that there should be rules governing the different aspects or constituent parts of any hybrid, a kind of purity before hybridization.

In another perspective, if used in a simplistic manner, form could technically imply a form of music compositions such as binary form, sonata form, minuet and trio form, and other forms which are limited only to the discourse of western classical music. The most informative aspect of Rowe and Schelling’s definition is the separation from mother locale and re-inclusion into an assumed foreign locale, which Nederveen Pieterse refers to as “refiguring” (1992). This refiguring as already noted above has accompanying power structures that not only dictate the “refiguration process” but

¹ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/form>

also the context of refiguring and the rate at which the hybrid is supposed to be refigured.

Apart from being addressed above in relation to glocalization, hybridity has recurrently appeared in various concepts including postcolonialism, in which it is one of the most important elements analyzed. While I will discuss postcolonialism independently in the next section, I cannot hesitate to state that hybridity in this case features in globalization, localization, glocalization, and indigenization, as well as in postcolonialism, all of which are theoretical stances that inform my study. In a particular way I will consider hybridity in relation to the church music traditions and show the effect this has on the language. While most scholars studying hybridity of music have concentrated on popular music (Feld 1994, Erlmann 1999, Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, Solomon 2006, Longhurst 2007, Bennet 2000), I will endeavor to explicate on hybridity of church music, taking it in Martin Stokes's words as a process and not merely as a product of either glocalization or postcolonialism (1994). In a rather in-depth definition, drawing on a discussion by Hannerz, Sheila Croucher writes that, "what is meant by hybridization or creolization is that when different cultures interact over an extended time period, even if on unequal terms, what typically emerges are new cultural forms that are not merely from one or the other cultures" (2004:27). While I may avoid lamenting over the loss of authenticity, traditions, or purity in the new hybrid musics, it is necessary that I examine on what terms and how long the interaction between the two cultures has taken place, and also explain the new emerging forms from this interaction.

Globalization has also been concerned with the creation of the *mélange* (Nederveen Pieterse 1992), usually a result of the reflexive consciousness of globalization discussed above, which might not necessarily be a product as the term *mélange* implies. An example of this is how Gregorian chants are performed in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kampala, in comparison with those performed in the Vatican. While there might be musical genres adopted and incorporated into the local church practices such as the hymns, chorales and Gregorian chants identified above,

they seldom remain pure as their names might suggest. The relocation of the *mélange* (since it is transferred from one area to another) or ‘the outcome of glocalizing’, engenders its hybrid nature and as such necessitates a consideration of hybridization as the process that is responsible for this reshaping of the musical genres. In consideration of the glocal hybrid (having both local and global features), there is a need to take into consideration the various constituent parts of the new hybrid, in this case the languages used, their origin and the role played in the glocal hybrid, the factors that necessitated the formation of this hybrid, as well as the local power structures that engendered it. While hybridity “centers on intercultural exchange and incorporation of cultural elements from a variety of sources within particular cultural practices” (Holton 2000:148), there is a tendency to approach it as ‘happy hybridity’, a celebratory approach to hybridity as a cultural mixture that lacks an awareness of the complexity of local histories and culture specific knowledges in their entire destiny (Solomon 2006:10). It is necessary to consider the power structures embedded in these hybrid genres of music or hybrid Catholic practices in order to account for the questions raised above. Nederveen Pieterse has summarized this as follows:

Relations of power and hegemony are inscribed and reproduced *within* hybridity for wherever we look closely enough we find the traces of asymmetry in culture, place, descent. Hence hybridity raises the question of the *terms* of mixture, the conditions of mixing and *mélange*. At the same time it is important to note the ways in which hegemony is not merely reproduced but *refigured* (emphasis in original) in the process of hybridization (1992:11).

The emphasis I want to draw from Nederveen Pieterse’s quote is the issue of ‘refiguring’ in the sense that in dealing with *glocalities*, if that is what we are to call the products of a glocal process or relationship, we are dealing with refigured qualities based on specific power structures, hence the hybrid names *mélange*, Kiganda Gregorian chant, pastiche (Erlmann 1999), among others. Nederveen Pieterse has also quoted Ella Shohat (1992:109) asserting that, “ ‘A celebration of syncretism and hybridity per se, if not articulated in conjunction with questions of hegemony and neo-colonial power relations, runs the risk of appearing to sanctify the *fait accompli* of colonial violence’ ” (Nederveen Pieterse 1992:10). As such globalization and localization also, like syncretism and hybridity, require a detailed

consideration of both the power and hegemonic structures inscribed and reproduced within hybridity to generate a glocal hybrid.

Scholars have also noted that use of the concept of hybridity on the one hand appears as an effort to lament or mourn the loss of purity or authentic culture. On this point particularly, Nederveen Pieterse (1992) has observed that, in dealing with hybridity, we should refrain from ‘mourning’ or lamenting the loss of the pure, or the authentic as scholars have stated, thereby condemning the exotic and treating it as a bad thing. Pieterse along with other scholars also notes that appearing to lament the loss of purity or authenticity is another way of celebrating that the local or indigeneity is better than the hybrid and in essence condemning the use of hybrid forms. However, in using the concept of hybridity, emphasis is put on identifying how the different aspects have been interwoven to create a synergized interplay. More attention is also given to the manner in which this interplay is woven and what role each of these hybrid parts plays for the general outcome.

Recent scholarship on the subject has come to contest this, since it is difficult to establish how authentic a specific culture is. Marwan Kraidy has also pointed out that “A recognition that all contemporary cultures are to some extent hybrid is required to understand the micro politics of the local/global interactions” (1999:460).

As can be noted from the above, hybridity will be used in a dual context to study music, that is, in analyzing its elements to critically establish how hybrid it is as well as approaching it from a cultural perspective in which I will deal with the hybrid Catholic cultural practices generally in Kampala Archdiocese. Needless to mention is the fact that hybridity will continue to resurface as I deal with each of the other theoretical concepts individually. As such its multipurpose functioning forms the other basis for my utilizing it in this study. This will further be confirmed after understanding the other main theoretical approach used which is postcolonialism.

1.2.5 Postcolonialism

Postcolonialism, literally meaning “after colonization” deals with the scrutiny of the relations in the postcolonial period between western theories, institutions, and intellectuals and those of the formerly colonized countries (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000:5). In other words, postcolonialism is concerned with the legacy of the colonizer and the colonized in the postcolonial period (*ibid.*). By postcolonial period is implied the period after colonization, though the legacy dealt with might have roots even during colonization. Issues related to imperialism are revisited and discussed when using the concept of postcolonialism. Like Stuart Hall has noted, the concept is usually explained in terms of binary divisions between the colonizer and the colonized (1996:242). While the society studied or analyzed might be the colonized, it has to be looked at in terms of the effect of the colonizer on the colonized. More so, normally the relations, legacy or effect of colonization on the colonized country is the subject of scrutiny in using the concept of postcolonialism.

Postcolonialism therefore allows for a historical inquiry into the relationship of the colonizer and the colonized in the postcolonial period. This historical approach is possible by finding questions concerning the impact of colonization on postcolonial history, culture, and science among others. Such a historical inquiry answers questions like what, which, when, how, and why. The historical inquiry allows for the understanding of specific issues/practices/events from a historical perspective so as to comprehend them in their rightful postcolonial context. In a way this means that before understanding or placing certain issues in a postcolonial context, there is need to revisit the historical circumstances that necessitated their emergence. However, postcolonialism is not only limited to the use of this approach but also incorporates other approaches, some of which have been earlier discussed. Among the earlier issues usually discussed in postcolonial discourse are those related to power and issues of hybridity. Though postcolonialism is not limited to these issues, they form a big discussion in the understanding of this approach.

While there are a lot of foreign influences in many colonized countries, there is a tendency to accredit most of these influences to the colonial masters of a particular country. Postcolonialism allows for an extended or wide ranging inquiry into power relations in various contexts as the occasion may demand (Mishra and Hodge 1993, Tiffin and Lawson 1994). More so, the impact of the power relations is also analyzed when using this approach. However, while there is particular emphasis on power relations, there is no limitation on the extent to which these relations should be considered. Again, since the postcolonial period is not clearly demarcated, it allows for a wide ranging inquiry which in essence might make its usage impossible because of its conceptual breadth. It is therefore a broad, over-inclusive concept and this is one of the shortcomings that have been identified as affecting the use of postcolonial theory. However, it rests upon each scholar's perception to trim it down to a manageable or representative period depending on one's area of specialization.

The concept of postcolonialism has been used in the humanities and social sciences across a number of disciplines such as literature, history, sociology, anthropology and ethnomusicology. As such, it is a kind of interdisciplinary approach to a number of academic fields of study. With its ability to deal with a broad historical inquiry and lack of infield boundary limitations, postcolonialism has received widespread usage for its innovative and important work in a variety of disciplines. It has also been used when dealing with practices that have been orally preserved, which are most common on the African continent. Diana Bryndon notes: "The strengths of postcolonialism derive from its ability to cast the familiar in a fresh light, to encourage cross-disciplinary dialogue, and to provoke the rethinking of traditionally accepted disciplinary boundaries" (2000:7). This is a very important aspect of the approach: it allows for a wide ranging scrutiny of the same issue but approached from different angles, hence its usage in the different areas of academic inquiry. In doing so, postcolonialism appears limitless and in a way, all-embracing.

Use of the concept of postcolonialism also comes with challenges. Firstly, the extent to which one can use the theory lacks proper demarcations or limits. Postcolonialism

has come to include what was happening before colonialism, what happened during colonialism and what is happening after colonialism and no one has ever clearly stated the times when it cannot work. During the premodern times, postcolonialism was still applicable and even after the postmodern period, its effects are still being considered by many scholars. This is one of the problems scholars who use this concept usually encounter. Where are the demarcations of postcolonialism and up to when will postcolonialism remain a relevant theoretical stance? For my study, I dealt with this challenge by clearly demarcating it between the years when the European missionaries came to Uganda and the period up to 2010, which was the end of my fieldwork experiences in Uganda. In order to be more specific, I don't address all postcolonial issues but only those that in one way or another affected or were affected by the church musical practices in the archdiocese of Kampala.

The concept of postcolonialism has been used in this study to specifically articulate the power relations between the center and periphery of the Roman Catholic Church. Given the fact that the study is about Kampala Archdiocese in Uganda, a former colony of Britain, the Catholic Church was founded with some British colonial influence which has continued to affect and reshape its church musical practices. A historical consideration of this relationship between the British colonialists and Buganda, the culture whose music is in question, is necessary for a proper accountability and explanation of the hybridity and power structures that embody this glocal hybrid. For the power structures reflected in the music, it was necessary to carefully examine where the influence was from since it was not a unidirectional influence at all. While the Catholic Church has greatly influenced the language and nature of the music used in the church globally, the British as former colonizers have also had a hand in many aspects related to Catholic practices and policies. Among these are language (English in particular) and techniques used to compose music such as the hymns and chorales, since they also actively participated in the project of "Catholicization" of Uganda, alongside the Vatican.

As will be noted in the next chapter about the history of the Catholic church music in Kampala Archdiocese, there are a lot of influences from the Mill Hill missionaries which the current church musical practices still uphold. These missionaries came to Uganda on basis of being British, that is, being of the same nationality as the colonial masters of Uganda. As such, they came along with their English church music practices which they introduced to (B)Uganda using their colonial influence. Some of these practices such as hymn singing have since remained and have been incorporated into the church's culture to such an extent that even today they are considered part and parcel of the Catholic Church's musical heritage from the missionaries.

Given postcolonialism's flexibility, I considered it appropriate for this study since it allows for a detailed historical consideration of issues related to hybridity and power structures. With it I was able to review the history of the Catholic Church establishing instances and events that highlighted what is characteristic of the Catholic Church musical practices. As explained elsewhere in this dissertation, I was able to utilize oral interviews and the little documented information available to reconstruct a history of the Catholic church music in Kampala particularly and then in Uganda generally. Using a postcolonial historical approach, I was able to address questions such as how Catholicism came to Uganda, what brought about the change in the original Kiganda worship practices, when exactly the change came about, why the people responded the way they did, what happened after the exit of the Catholic missionaries, who the first native church music composers were, what compositional techniques they used and why, and then what traces are left of the missionary and imperial influences in both education and church music composition, performance and publishing.

The approach was ideal for this study because it is a complementary approach to both hybridity and glocalization, which are the other main theoretical concepts used. A close examination of the debate on both of these other two concepts indicates that they are both conscious of the hybrid nature of practices, cultures, musics etc. and as such particularly emphasize local factors that engender the nature and kind of hybrid

that is found. Since the music in the Catholic Church in Kampala is of a hybrid nature both on the surface and underneath, this approach is ideal for my study. While it is not exclusively the most appropriate concept to use especially when dealing with African music, it is the most appropriate available concept that can address the concerns of my study and that is why I utilized it.

The theory is also flexible in the sense that it is suitable for both general social science-based analysis as well as technical musical analysis in reading the various layers of the musical text such as lyrics, melody, harmony, form and tonality. While it might be considered too broad, in some cases I have scrutinized and analyzed issues related to imperialism that lie outside of the Buganda-British dichotomy in order to comprehend my particular area of study. It was my concern that without critically understanding and relating them to my area of focus, I would have created an information gap which could lead to more questions concerning the chronology or connectedness of my work. More so, postcolonialism's flexibility allowed for the occasional use of other theoretical concepts in order to analyze the same data collected from the field for easy understanding and illustration. An example is data related to the introduction of English as a language used in the compositions in this festival which can be explained both globally and postcolonially. Other issues are related to indigenization, which comes in as a countermeasure to the effects of postcolonialism and in a way addresses other concerns from another approach, making them easily understandable. I consider indigenization in the next section.

1.2.6 Indigenization

Indigenization, defined as the process of gradual inclusion of an originally foreign trait in a particular society, has attracted considerable attention from scholars especially in the social sciences. Charter Vernon and Jean DeBernardi have indicated that music indigenization can be realized in terms of the language used, the composition style (technique), among other factors (1994). In turn, music indigenization breeds hybridization since it gradually incorporates foreign elements into a particular musical practice; these are blended and later accepted by the new

culture as theirs. Explaining indigeneity, Ralls-Macleod *et al.* state that it “is a matter of affirming belonging *to* a place” (Italics in original 2000:4, also Bradshaw 1982:28). In other words, indigeneity is a quality of identity particularly about being “original” to a place, while indigenization can be considered as the process, that is, coming from outside and being incorporated “into” a place or culture. According to Michael Angrosino who deals with indigenization particularly in the Catholic Church, “indigenization is a process of conferring on Catholic liturgy a cultural form that is native to the local community” (1994:825). In pointing out local communities as having a native cultural form, Angrosino also raises questions of having an originally “pure” society whose cultural practices were intact and totally isolated from any foreign influence, a notion also greatly questioned by various scholars of localization and globalization (Bennet 2000, Nederveen Pieterse 1998, Featherstone, 1993, Holton 2000, Tomlinson 1999, 2003, Croucher 2004).

Music indigenization normally has hybridity as one of its characteristic traits. In explaining this, Kenneth Bilby writes: “Not only does the process of indigenization assign new meanings to borrowed elements, but it fundamentally alters musical relationships to accommodate them” (Bilby 1999:23). However, in some cases it might assign meanings with a negative impact on society as Vernon and DeBernardi, while dealing with processes of “Musical and Cultural Synthesis in Chinese Christian Hymnody” note that “Indigenized hymnody was used as a form of resistance to the imposition of western hegemonic forms” (Vernon *et al.* 1998:101). In this particular case, music indigenization was applied as a means of resistance and showing opposition to new imposed musics. Again, as Vernon *et al.* imply, proponents of the indigenization model pointed out the limitations of the structural growth model of western development being followed and imposed in developing countries (Garming 2008:1). In a way indigenization appears to be fighting western dominance and influence as opposed to developing countries’ cultural practices. This misconception presents indigenization in a negative perspective yet its motives, if well scrutinized, are more positive since it creates an alternative means. The phenomenon aims at creating “a new awareness for the purpose of exploring new paradigms, theories,

concepts, that are relevant in understanding human societies” (Madan quoted in Garming 2008). Garming further explains: “This is inspired by the need to liberate the third world from too much dependence on borrowed models in order to give significance to development within histori-cultural roots based on local culture, and indigenous knowledge and practices that are obtained by traditions and norms (Loubster 1979 quoted in Garming 2008).

Scholars have also argued that indigenization is one of the visible manifestations of postcolonialism. Since a lot of postcolonial literature is concerned with the “scrutiny of the relations in the postcolonial period between western theories, institutions and intellectuals and those of the formerly colonized countries” (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000:5), indigenization has attracted attention from scholars intending to analyze the hybrid nature of these relations. To understand the nature of the hybridized music genres and the factors that engendered them, a historical approach has commonly been used. In a way, this links the two theoretical concepts (postcolonialism and indigenization) in that both do consider hybridity and also utilize a historical approach in order to lay a foundation for understanding the major theoretical concepts treated therein.

Garming summarizes the intentions and gist of the indigenization approach when he writes and quotes Loubster in the following:

...the process of indigenization does not go along with the overlay of foreign elements that prevent indigenous cultures from developing and flourishing in accordance with their own dynamism and tendencies (Anand and Quisumbing, 1981). Instead of replacing conventional approaches, indigenization supports, as an alternative, the proper blending of both indigenous and foreign approaches and strategies towards a more comprehensive model. In this context, this “proper blending” process becomes the methodology of the indigenization approach (Loubster 1979 quoted in Garming 2008:2).

The concept of indigenization was particularly included in my work so as to closely examine the role played by Kampala Archdiocesan Schools’ Music Festivals in relation to the “local” Kiganda music culture. Were they indigenizing the church music practice or otherwise? In the same way, I also questioned what exactly Vatican Council II had meant by inculturation. Webster defines indigenization as “the practice

of adopting beliefs and customs of others to local ways, or increasing local participation in or ownership of” (quoted in Ylvisaker), while Ylvisaker calls it the “practice (the “folk process”) of adapting traditional material of one culture into another culture”. While Ylvisaker’s traditional element in the definition recreates already contested assumptions of authenticity, we can already tell that to some extent, indigenization is also defined in terms of the local which in a way creates problems for the proper distinguishing of the local from the indigenous. In order to understand glocalization and globalization especially in relation to Catholic Church music globally, I had to include and question indigenization from different perspectives after which it would be easier to understand what this study regards as localization in the Kiganda context.

More so, my theoretical section also addresses a few related issues to postcolonialism and hybridity which makes it easier to include indigenization and also to use while explaining the other two major theoretical stances that I am using for my study. The primary aim of utilizing this was for me to establish whether the impact of the missionaries and Vatican II were either inculturation or indigenization, which I could only figure out after considering both approaches in the context of this study. A prior study implied to me that it was indigenization, though when I went into the field, one of the top Ugandan scholars on the subject of inculturation refuted that it was not and so I had to take a closer look and reconsider the differences between the two concepts. An understanding of both indigenization and localization enabled me to fully conceptualize the Second Vatican Council’s directives to the missionary lands and particularly in my area of study, Kampala Archdiocese.

1.2.7 Other theoretical concepts

The study has also taken on other theoretical approaches though in a more limited way compared to the above analyzed and discussed concepts. These other concepts have been used only in relation to the other main theoretical frames on which the study was designed. During fieldwork and even afterwards, especially at the stage of

data analysis, I discovered that in order to rightly explain and analyze all aspects of the required data, I had to employ some of these concepts at a later stage so as to cast more light on what the other three main concepts would emphasize. Therefore other theories used in this dissertation will be briefly explained as they appear in the discussion. These will include recontextualization and inculturation.

Chapter Two

Methodological Approaches to the Study

2.1 Researching an Orally Preserved Religious Music Tradition

Introduction

In the next section I discuss how I used oral interviews and other sources in the reconstruction of the history of church music in Kampala Archdiocese, hand in hand with my autoethnographic experiences. Since my topic had no previously documented information apart from what I had written about it in my master's thesis, which was limited in scope, I endeavored to use the available means to reconstruct a useful part of Catholic Church music history in Uganda. However, like oral historians have always asserted, each system has strengths and weaknesses which I hereby present. Again, I revisit the challenges I encountered in using an interdisciplinary approach to studying an orally preserved music culture and how I managed to overcome them.

2.1.1 Documenting Oral Information

A number of researchers have addressed the need for documentation and dissemination of information or data. Needless to mention is the emphasis scholars have given to studying oral histories and translate or transform them into writing (Lee 2008, Shopes 2002b, Finnegan 1996). Because of the necessity to recover a usable past, scholars have used oral interviews, material sources, analyzing cultural practices and using the information generated to come out with written histories about a people's tradition and past. Particularly for Africa, "the practice of oral history has been a conventional aspect of African history for the past four decades" (Lee 2008:1). Whereas oral histories should not be viewed as authentic in themselves, they can provide factual content that can be verified and confirmed by historians as true or reflective of a particular researched culture, tradition or even specific communicative events. In particular, oral histories are useful in circumstances whereby there is no

documented information about a culture, tradition, practice or a group of people that either the community would want documented or the researcher wants to document for academic reasons. While oral histories have always been deemed useful by various scholars especially in the social sciences, they have not been without pitfalls or shortcomings.

One of the major challenges that I faced while in the field was that the church festival as an institution has been more orally preserved than documented. The Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals were started at least four decades ago and for the first decade, there were no records kept concerning this festival. Much of the information I got was from people who either worked with the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO) at the time, or participated in the festival as choristers/competitors. The second decade, between 1980 and 1990, received minimal documentation. However, as fate would have it according to the Vice Chairman of the committee Mr. Francis Tebasoboke, since there were no proper offices, records were managed by an individual and eventually when he died, they were all lost never to be traced again. Lack of a proper archiving system grossly increased the problem of documentation. As such this also partly contributed to the absence of documents for referential purposes during my research.

The available records that I could access date from the early nineties and only cover the first six or seven years in the third decade (approximately 1990 to 1996) of the festival's history. Again, the records available are limited in terms of information since they only indicate themes selected for each of those years, set pieces, and also the obligatory ballot songs chosen from the M.T.O. that the competitors in this festival had to learn. The available detailed documentation starts from around 2000 at the beginning of the Catholic Church millennium celebration. When I asked the secretary of the music committee, Albert Kiragga, about the absence of proper documentation up to 2000, he informed me that since there was no office assigned to the committee by the archdiocese earlier, it was hard for him to trace where his predecessors were keeping their documents prior to his coming into office. It was

only during my fieldwork that I discovered the church music office had been opened up at Lubaga though of course it lacked resources for anything concerning church music apart from the chairman himself, who usually turned up on specific days when he had work to do. Because of this, Kiragga had to start a fresh database as soon as he came into office. However, he assured me that many people who were present at the inception of this festival were still around and could give me the necessary details that I might require for purposes of connecting events in order to analyze the emergent nature of cultural forms and genres in the festival's performances. When I accessed most of the information he had, it was all mostly a music database, themes and instructions to various composers and music directors. Information about the activities of the committee and the nature of the Kampala Archdiocesan Schools' Music Festival was still missing, because no one had ever tried to document or compile written records apart from the reports in form of minutes.

Therefore, this proved to me that the history of the subject I was studying was one that was mainly orally preserved. Among the available historical artifacts that I could access were old video tapes in VHS and a few recorded tapes from the festival. The manner in which these had been stored was not professional, and the sound and picture quality were fading. Similarly, there was no proper chronological format followed, as one recording would be from 1982 and the next from 1986, neither of which gave details of the performers or the person who did the recording. Better recordings that I accessed later were those done by Albert Kiragga who had for a long time worked as a sound engineer with Radio Uganda. The above instances and condition of storage posed a great challenge to me as I carried out this study. Both audio-visual and documented works were greatly lacking. While there was some limited documentation available concerning the Kampala Archdiocesan Schools Music Festivals, the general history and practices of the festival were largely communicated to me by people who did not write it down but were trying to reconstruct the past through their personal experiences.

Like Linda Shopes has explained, “an author can organize evidence from interviews in multiple ways to construct a historical argument” (2002b:589). I utilized interviews hand in hand with other kinds of documentary evidence such as magazines, past newspaper articles, and recordings, to help reconstruct the history of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals. In the first place, I managed to interview the people who initiated the idea of starting this festival and have seen it flourish up to today, including personalities like Fr. James Kabuye, Bro. Leonard Byankya and other long-participating choristers in both church music generally and these church music festivals specifically. I used information from interviews as my base and cross checked with the few documented instances in other fields of scholarship such as in theology, church histories (*Pioneer of Education* by Henry Kyabukasa 1993), as well as the Kampala Archdiocesan website and other sources such as long serving catechists in the Roman Catholic Church that witnessed most of these happenings. I rearranged this data into chronological order, trying to look for information about any missing gaps until I finally had it flowing. While I managed to reconstruct this history according to the available information, it is not imperative to me that this is the only version of Catholic Church music history in Uganda, but can serve as a baseline for later scholars to discover more information related to or surrounding the events in question.

Though the usefulness of interviews has been stressed elsewhere in this dissertation, I will add a few points to that here, specifically approaching them from an oral history point of view which is more concerned with documenting information of orally transmitted cultures. While in the methodology section I consider the general usefulness of interviews in ethnography, approaching them from an ethnomusicological point of view in relation to my study, here I reflect on how interviews can be utilized to document a culture (cultural practice) that has not received any kind of prior scholarly documentation.

Oral interviews can offer specific details and colorful anecdotes for a community study; a body of interviews, thoughtfully considered, “can open up an understanding

of the local culture, those underlying beliefs and habits of mind, those artifacts of memory that propel individual lives, give coherence to individual stories, and perhaps extend outward to a larger significance” (Shopes 2002:593). Needless to mention, however accurately interviews might have been conducted, they will always have gaps in the rewriting or reconstruction of history (or histories). Shopes explains that, “Interviews are typically structured around the life histories of individual narrators, rather than around critical questions about broad themes of social life that cut across individuals’ experiences” (*ibid.* 590). While we utilize oral interviews with our ‘knowledgeable’ informants, the actual events that we are most likely to be retold are those that the interviewee either witnessed or which were narrated to him by a credible source. This then means that no one individual can be in every place at the same time, witness everything (each and every detail) going on in a particular place and at the same time be able to connectedly remember them so as to make sense/meaning out of them. In my particular case, it was very difficult to come across an individual who had attended all the festivals since they were begun. I therefore utilized people who closely followed and were constantly updated on these festivals, in other words, stakeholders who included church priests, chairmen at the different times and other very active attendants. These I combined with my autoethnographic experience. Having known a number of participants in this festival I could easily crosscheck with other people about the information given to me by a particular individual. As Shopes also states, prior knowledge of the intellectual agenda driving the interviews can help subsequent users to assess their strength and weaknesses.

Another weakness that I encountered with using these oral interviews is that they are full of discrepancies (Shopes 2002b:6). Inconsistencies and contradictions among individual interviews and between interviews characterize oral interviews. Since an interview is an act of memory, individual memories can be more or less accurate, truthful or even outright falsehoods (*ibid.*). Sometimes narrators get dates and names wrong or even have a specific angle from which they view a specific historical event which does not necessarily represent the event that one wants to capture wholly. In the process of data analysis, many researchers who have gathered oral histories will

more often forget to consider these vaguenesses and misconnections and all they focus on will be connecting the event historically. In my particular case, I was faced with a problem of identifying when the Kampala Archdiocesan Music festivals were started and all the people I interviewed were only providing me with approximate dates. Finally, after asking quite a number of them, events leading to the actual date started emerging and after clearly analyzing the data, I could conclude that the festivals were started in 1972 with the parish choirs. However, this was only achieved after analyzing more than eight interviews trying to connect the information provided by informants about the events that led to the starting of these festivals.

Following Ruth Finnegan's recommendations to people studying performance based oral traditions (1996:43), I specifically put my focus on studying process and practice and the specificities of time and place while also paying attention to human artistry displayed in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. Focusing on the festival as a unique social and religious communicative event, I also analyzed the extent it effects educational requirements related to music since it was basically a post primary schools music festival. This also necessitated the reviewing of the history concerning church music in Uganda and Kampala Archdiocese in particular so as to clearly understand how events and practices have been developing chronologically.

By consulting various church archives such as the Lubaga Archdiocesan Archive, Masaka Diocesan Bookshop, Kiyinda – Mityana Diocesan Library, Bukalasa Seminary Library and Book Bank, I was able to verify events and happenings that had been told to me through interviews. More studies earlier conducted about religion in Uganda which did not necessarily focus on church music were also useful for my study because they contained information that would help me to establish when a particular event took place which I would connect according to what I had gotten from the field interviews. As such, my original documentation and analysis in the church music traditions with specific reference to the Catholic Church in Uganda will in the future act as a starting point for further research that aims at unearthing other

issues that are closely related to my area of study which is Catholic church music in the archdiocese of Kampala.

In this study, I therefore reconstruct the history of the Catholic Church music history in Uganda so as to clearly understand the orally preserved history of the festival as an institution. Since a number of ethnomusicologists and musicians have in the past engaged in documenting or writing about such orally preserves histories, musical practices, and specific communicative events (Paul Berliner 1978, James Makubuya 1995, Nannyonga- Tamusuza 2001), I consider my work and study to be similar to theirs. As presented above, orally gathered information has been a source of documentation for many cultures in Africa which did not have any written languages up to the period of colonization. As such, parts of my study that have primarily utilized this system without any prior documentation have done so in conformity with the requirements of oral histories in the study of cultures.

2.2 Methodology used in Fieldwork

Introduction

In this section, I present and explain the various means that I utilized to collect data for this study. The methods include both previously prepared means of gathering fieldwork information such as research tools hand in hand with other means that I developed during the actual fieldwork, since the planning period was only aimed at providing a framework for conducting fieldwork. This framework should not be rigid since that might limit my access to information. Therefore I was flexible during fieldwork and managed to gather the required information that is presented within this dissertation. The section also includes challenges encountered with using some of these methods which are originally designed by western scholars carrying out fieldwork in developing nations. In my case, I was using them to study my own people and as such, faced a number of problems and also insights on which method to use where and how.

2.2.1 The Field

The community I chose for my fieldwork is the Catholic Church community in the Archdiocese of Kampala and specifically the secondary schools music festivals. The festivals particularly include secondary schools that are either owned by the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of Kampala or those whose proprietors based them on a Catholic foundation. In other words, all the participants must be subscribing to the Catholic faith and are therefore identified as from Catholic-founded secondary schools. The group of secondary school students studied is normally between thirteen and eighteen years of age. The youngest were in senior one (S.1) while the oldest were studying in senior six which marks the end of secondary education in the Ugandan education system before joining the university and other tertiary institutions.

I carried out an ethnographic qualitative study of the Kampala Archdiocesan Schools Music Festivals. I chose to utilize a qualitative methodology considering the nature of the study that I was conducting as well as the context in which my study was based. As an ethnomusicologist, I considered qualitative methods as quite appropriate for my research since my objective could not be derived through an analysis of statistical data but through interpreting the information and data collected from my informants hand in hand with the literature that relates to my study. While figures are also quite important for any given research, in my case I needed a more participatory inquiry that could not be an end in itself but would provide a basis for understanding, analyzing and interpreting the data collected from the field.

As such the sources that supplied and informed my data are multifaceted and include oral interviews, observation, participant observation, autoethnography, documentary research, library and archives, as well as sound recordings and photography. Like Staci Newmahr (2008) recommends, I endeavored to draw on multiple sources of data, so as to generate multiple forms of representation, in an effort to meet at least some of the multilayered and seemingly incompatible responsibilities of ethnographic research.

As a native Catholic Ugandan, I have been active in most of the music programs right from my early school days. This early exposure gave me an opportunity to perform in my school choir and finally to be selected as part of the choir that participated in church music festivals of a similar nature to the Kampala Archdiocesan Schools Music Festivals. While at Makerere University for my undergraduate degree in music, I would get part time employment as an instructor for some of the school choirs that intended to compete in these Kampala Archdiocesan Schools Music Festivals. Among such schools that I have instructed are Trinity College Nabbingo and Uganda Martyrs High School Lubaga. Later as an established music teacher at the university, I used to act as a consultant in some of the performance-related aspects given the fact that I taught music performance at the university. This provided me with an opportunity to observe how specific school choirs prepared for these festivals, which in turn led me to raise more intuitive questions about what is done, how it is done and why it is done in a church context. As I am to explain later in this dissertation, most of these questions raised have been addressed by this study. More so, I offer a detailed discussion of the process of using my personal experiences during data collection in a separate section concerning insider research and autoethnography.

Later, as I conducted fieldwork for my master's studies between 2004 and 2005, I was appointed as a member of the music committee (KAMUCO) by the 'Liturgy and Liturgical Music Department, Kampala Archdiocese' (see Appendix), specifically to support the technical music committee. The appointment came as a result of my being an active church music director to one of the Catholic Church's historical choirs known as CACEMCHO². While on the technical music committee I was also able to participate in writing a column on church music in the *Catholic News Report*³. In this

² CACEMCHO is a short form of Catholic Centenary Memorial Choir. This choir was founded in 1979 as the Catholic Church in Uganda was celebrating a hundred years since the coming of the missionaries to establish Catholicism. Originally it was a very big choir since it included choristers from quite many choirs in the diocese, but with time, it reduced in size. Today it is one of the choirs normally used by the music students as a training ground for their choral music experience.

³ *The Catholic News Report* is a monthly Kampala Archdiocesan church magazine that focuses on the activities of the Catholic Church, particularly in Kampala Archdiocese, though most times it also includes major events that took place in the Catholic Church nationally.

way, I was constantly informed about the musical happenings in Kampala Archdiocese which on the one hand broadened my understanding and knowledge of Catholic Church musical activities in the archdiocese of Kampala, while on the other hand it raised more insightful questions about the same subject. Similarly, I was able to get feedback from people about my church music column especially when I attended a church music course and interacted with choristers from all over Kampala Archdiocese. My contribution to the *Catholic News Report* (Ssekitto 2004) helped deepen my understanding of certain practices in the Catholic Church since I would always be corrected by the magazine's main editor Freddie Ssekitto and a number of other priests when it was necessary.

As a member of the technical subcommittee, I was responsible (with other members) for reviewing newly composed songs, ensuring that they were adequate for church use as far as the technical musical aspects were concerned. Again, as a committee, we had to advise the main KAMUCO on all music-related technical issues and sometimes help them to take decisions. My role on the music committee particularly positioned me as an insider for my research. I had the opportunity to access the authoritative people on issues related to Kampala Archdiocesan Music and in numerous ways this shaped my decision to take up this topic as my area of inquiry for my doctoral studies. Later, while officially carrying out fieldwork for my doctoral studies, I utilized my former role as a member of the committee to contact some highly placed people in the church hierarchy such as bishops in order to interview them. Among these was the auxiliary bishop of Kampala Archdiocese, Bishop Christopher Kakooza, who also happens to head the Sanctifying Commission under which liturgical music is categorized. Again, when I was initially seeking permission to access the Kampala Archdiocesan Archives, I used my earlier contacts which yielded results in that I got an official introductory letter from the head of the Liturgical Music Desk, Rev. Fr. Edward Ssonko (see appendix four), which enabled me to get the final required permission in the form of a signature from the Diocesan Chancellor, eventually authorizing me to utilize the collections in this archive. Surely, the archive was useful and greatly informed my study.

While my official fieldwork was mainly conducted between 2008 and 2010, I had earlier on attended the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals and made initial contacts with potential informants since 2007. Therefore, my observations started back in 2007. During the early stages of my research, I happened to be included as a participant after I had made my intentions of studying the festivals known to the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO). In the following year's festival in 2008, having returned to Uganda from Norway to attend this festival as well as have my summer holidays, I was requested to be part of the judge panel or what they call (in this particular festival) an adjudicator. Since I was not going to work alone but with two other people, George Jjingo and Richard Kaabunga, who were more experienced judges than me as far as this festival was concerned, I accepted. More so, this particular fieldwork experience provided me with an opportunity to further my critical observation and also analyze how the adjudicators come to conclude on the positions and scores of each choir. In the same way, I was able to identify the various music directors of the individual choirs that participated in the festivals, who were later very instrumental in connecting me to other knowledgeable musicians in addition to informing my studies.

Further observation was done when I attended the workshops popularly known as "Music Courses" which the various school choirs intending to take part in the music festivals attend and in which they are introduced to the annual theme as well as presented with the mandatory songs that they have to prepare for the festival. In this music course, the participants are taught the songs after which they go back to their respective schools and polish up or teach them to other fellow choir members in the schools. Apart from that, it is here that different school choir patrons convene and voice their concerns about the festival. In other words, it is another meeting point for the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festival participants where they interact and review the previous festival as well as plan for the coming festival. Here, a number of music directors are also present so as to get identified and hired as instructors or trainers by the school choirs intending to participate in the festivals.

Unlike Bruce Jackson who has stated that observation is when you are outside what is going on and watching other people do it, or you are watching what other people have done (1987:63), effective observation to some extent involves “becoming internal to the phenomenon being observed”, that is, having prior knowledge of what is going to be done, how it is going to be done, why and where it is taking place. As a researcher, generating meaning of an event does not necessarily start at the actual event itself but in the preparatory processes that precede the event. As such, I got prior information and explanations about these activities, and the purpose of my attendance was primarily to observe, analyze, and secondarily to participate. Attending the music courses enabled me to observe how the Catholic Church packages the music to suit the secondary students’ tastes, while extending the Vatican-derived Roman Catholic catechism to the youngsters in order to make them not only understand the theology of the church but also to love and become proud of their ministry, that is, music evangelism in the Catholic church. Again, attending and participating in these music courses enabled me to crosscheck information that I had earlier gathered through interviews and vice versa. I also witnessed both the church priests and members of KAMUCO interpreting the theme to the schools which I critically followed to the festivals, and it greatly influenced my conclusions in this study.

The main source of information for my research was through conducting ethnographic interviews, that is, both formal and informal. Like James Spradley has noted, participant observation and ethnographic interviews are complementary strategies in ethnographic research since while the latter provides explicit knowledge to the researcher, the former complements it by providing access to tacit knowledge (1979). I carried out formal interviews with a number of stakeholders in the Church music festival with the intent of supplementing participant observation data with a more explicit inquiry into my area of research. I interviewed priests like the chairman of the committee, Edward Ssonko, as well as James Kabuye who had founded the church music festivals and is currently the chairman of the Interdiocesan Music Committee. He is also considered as the greatest composer of church music not only in the Archdiocese of Kampala but also the entire Ugandan Catholic Church. Among other

priests interviewed were the former chairmen of the diocesan music committees and other knowledgeable priests especially in the field of church music composition, performance and history of the church particularly in the Buganda region.

Also interviewed were the previous members of the music committee who could help me trace the history and activities of this committee as well as a number of music directors, composers and music teachers from schools that have consistently performed in these festivals. Again, I also consulted a number of church liturgists whom I interviewed formally or informally. Many of these were positive towards my research and I have utilized much of the information they provided to me. Other interviewees included people who have been adjudicators at the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals, many of whom also doubled as members of KAMUCO. A full list of all the conducted interviews is provided at the end in the appendices.

The Researcher Conducting an Interview



The researcher (right) conducting an interview with Mr. John Vianney Zziwa at Lubaga, Kampala.

Interviews were central to data collection in that they provided me with most of the information about the music festivals, church music practices and diocesan restrictions, and also enabled me to a greater extent to understand why things were being done the way they were. Apart from the information, they also connected me to other informants who were relevant for my study. Again, they in some instances pointed at useful sources that I have used to get an in-depth understanding of liturgical musical practices in the Archdiocese of Kampala, which is the main domain under which my main study of music festivals falls. Formal interviews were loosely structured; that is, they were flexible and dynamic in terms of structure and sequence, in some cases allowing for off-topic conversations. I used a content guideline as a means of ensuring thematic uniformity. Formal interviews would last between one and two hours, while informal interviews had no prescribed time limit since they largely depended on how quickly an informant would deliver what I expected from him/her. Most of these formal interviews were tape-recorded though some could not be since the interviewees were high-ranking church leaders and requested not to be recorded. With the exception of occasional bracketed descriptions of an extremely lengthy and off-topic digression, I transcribed all my interviews verbatim.

For my study, interviews provided the most detailed information given the fact that my area of research had not received any scholarly attention, let alone the broad subject of Catholic Church music in Uganda which has seldom been attended to by scholars. Since some aspects of performance I was investigating were related to culture that has predominantly been orally transmitted in this part of the world, I had to conduct a number of interviews so as to be able to connect the events in a chronological way that would correspond to the few documented sources available even if not particularly on my main topic. This was achieved by utilizing other sources as the discussion proceeds.

During the course of my fieldwork, I managed to access the recordings of the former Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals that the vice chairman of the committee, Francis Xavier Tebasoboke, made available to me. The recordings included earlier

footage of the music festivals in form of VHS videos and cassette tape recordings which I got hold of and took for further analysis and interpretation. The recordings enabled me to get a view of what the festivals were like at the start and how they have developed. In the process, I had to find explanations/reasons for this continuity and change. I also utilized some of these audio and video recordings when I held a workshop with musicians and they formed a serious discussion which in a way helped to conceptualize specific issues in these festivals related to the adjudication process as well as why directors or performers interpret the music the way they do. More so, I utilize these resources when I am discussing the festival in detail later in this dissertation.

During the festival season of 2010, I carried out a workshop with selected music directors, members of the KAMUCO administrative body and other musicians interested in Catholic Church music. Most of the workshop attendants were members or belonged to schools that participated in this Kampala Archdiocesan Music festival. I conducted this workshop at Makerere University where I had secured a relatively big room where we could watch videos and share experiences from various music festivals related to Catholic music. In the workshop, I shared with the participants my interests and research topic which generated a lot of interest to them and in a way sparked off a very interesting debate that greatly informed my study. It was fruitful in the sense that it clarified some unclear information that I had collected during fieldwork. The workshop also allowed me access to people who I initially could not think of or imagine as having any kind of contribution to my study. In some ways, the workshop functioned similarly to a focus group discussion since there were detailed discussions with individuals or groups afterwards. After the workshop I was able to make appointments with a number of them and these shared a lot with me in as far as the Catholic Church music and the festivals are concerned. Particularly, the workshop helped to understand how the performers, music directors and the administrators of the festival interpret their roles in the context of serving the Catholic Church, what they considered when interpreting and why.

In many of the church-organized workshops and at the festivals, I carried out group discussions with the various stakeholders that I could encounter. These included members of KAMUCO, students participating in the festival, adjudicators, music directors and some church leaders. Usually I guided these discussions, by raising a question concerning the festival to which I gave each a chance to respond after which each of them reacted to the answers given by the group. These guided discussions enabled me to get clarification on the data collected during fieldwork or on my observations that I had made and also to get more information and honest responses from these stakeholders. In some instances I even conducted informal group discussions which also proved useful in rectifying questions that surrounded my study.

One of the major tools that I utilized was studying documented data containing information that is related to my study. I spent the early part of 2010 searching for information from archives and libraries around Kampala as well as from other Catholic dioceses especially those that had historical connections with Kampala Archdiocese. Among these were Kampala Archdiocesan Archives, Kiyinda – Mityana Diocesan Archives, Masaka Diocese and Bukalasa Seminary⁴ where most of the information concerning the early missionaries or the White Fathers is located. More still, the early versions of the hymn book *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama* (according to my findings) were only available in the Kampala Archdiocesan archives and at Bukalasa Seminary. More so, I visited other archives for example one at the Uganda Museum which contains the early publications done by the missionaries and other scholars who did research in Uganda such as Klaus Wachsmann and a number of missionaries who worked in Uganda. I also utilized the newly created Ethnomusicology book bank at the Department of Music, Dance and Drama, Makerere University which has a fairly recent collection of books on

⁴ Bukalasa Seminary was the first education institution set up by the Catholic missionaries (White Fathers) in Uganda. It is in the same place that the first White Fathers printing press was located earlier before being shifted to Kisubi and renaming it the Marianum Press Kisubi. As a former student at the same institution, I had got access to the library and book banks there that contain some important information about the early missionaries and the church's work in Uganda.

ethnomusicology. Similarly, I visited the Uganda Museum which has a large collection of the *Uganda Journal* that contains some historical publications about music, culture and other activities relating to Uganda. Other places visited were the St. Joseph's printery at Masaka, Ggaba National Major Seminary library and the main library at Makerere University. Although the field I was researching did not have a lot of documented data about it, these resources proved to be useful since they provided me with historical information that enabled me to construct historical contexts that I have utilized to analyze the practices of music in the Catholic Church. More so, they were useful since I could crosscheck and see whether what I gathered during fieldwork corresponded with the documented data that I came across. However, I also encountered a problem of getting to what I was looking for since in most of these libraries or archives (save for a few professionally managed ones), indexing was not properly done which made the work of accessing/searching them quite time consuming.

While observing at the festivals, I also recorded performances so I could replay the music, which would help me to contemplate more about it. I used a Micro Track II audio digital recorder for the music while for videos of the performances I mainly used a Sony camcorder. These two provided me with the necessary quality to store and analyze the fieldwork data that I managed to record. In most cases especially during the festivals, the recordings were affected by the background noise since the venues had to accommodate a lot of people who occasionally made some noise during performances. While the noise affected my intention of recording the music performed on stage, it later turned out to be useful to me during the replays since it consisted of people making comments to a particular choir on stage. These comments also increased my analysis especially in looking at the music as a multi-dimensional representation of the festival. Some of the people who made comments had some background information about a specific choir on stage which was accidentally recorded and when crosschecked confirmed as true. The same recordings have been useful to me especially when making presentations about my research as well as evidence of having gone to the field.

Other avenues that I used to derive information contained in this dissertation included attending KAMUCO meetings as well as church choir musical performances not affiliated with the music festivals and any other Catholic Church music performances organized by various choirs that could provide me with insight into Catholic Church musical practices. I also used the media, especially the two Catholic-founded radio stations Radio Maria and Radio Sapientia. These two radio stations are well known for playing a lot of Catholic Church music in a number of their programs and some of these songs have been recorded in the church music festivals or had their preparatory stages (before the actual recording) at the Kampala Archdiocesan Schools Music Festivals. As such they also had feedback from listeners about the music they played and its meditational aspects. More so, listeners could request certain songs and in the process they stated why they preferred a certain song to another, which usually raised a lot of insights for my study. I was also invited as a member of the panel on a radio talk show entitled 'History of Music' which was aired every Saturday on the radio station Vision Voice. The program critically analyzed music from different perspectives and genres. Among the genres that were featured was classical music that led to a consideration of church music. On this program, I got the secular view of church music from my fellow panelists since each was always given a chance to react to music that had been played after which the listeners were also allowed to make calls and make contributions to the debate. All these field music activities enabled me to get a deeper understanding of my topic and to start questioning the practices in this festival from different angles, which included those of Catholic insiders as well as non-Catholic outsiders interested in church music.

For purposes of analyzing the data, I carried out both in-field and post-field data analysis. For the in-field analysis, after conducting interviews with the various informants, I personally transcribed them while trying to connect the correlations. This in a way enabled me to contextualize the data in the various languages in which I had carried out these interviews. Here, my knowledge of Luganda enabled me to understand and comprehend a number of issues that could not be fully elaborated using English by specific individuals. Through utilizing information from interviews

(both formal and informal) and the discussions that I conducted, I was able to test my conceptualization/understanding of my topic of study in these discussions and workshops, before embarking on the actual writing process. For the after-field analysis, I did a more detailed critical analysis of not only the field experiences and data gathered but also in comparison and consultation with what other earlier scholars had written in relation to my study.

After transcribing, I used the interviews to reconstruct the history of Catholic Church music in the Archdiocese of Kampala, as well as the history of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals. It also helped to understand the musical histories of some of the players on the Catholic Church musical scene in Kampala and Uganda together with establishing the origin of certain practices in church music performance. Besides, I was also in a position to chronologically account for most of the developments that have transpired within the last century of Catholic Church music in Uganda.

2.3 The “Native”, the “Halfie”, and Autoethnography: Ethics and Researcher Identity in Fieldwork

Introduction

From the last decade of the nineteenth century, there has been a debate in the social sciences about the distinction between native scholars and non-native scholars. This has taken the field, particularly research, to a new level whereby the two categories/classifications of researchers have been constantly revisited and redefined so as to accommodate new developments in scholarship. In this section, as a native scholar who attends a Norwegian university and at the same time studying my own people in a religious belief to which I subscribe, I present an analytical dialogue between my fieldwork experiences in Uganda and a number of texts that have dealt with the subject of native scholarship. I specifically focus on the challenges that I faced during fieldwork ranging from ethical issues to questions of identity while in the field.

2.3.1 The “Native” and the “Halfie”

Scholars in the fields of the social sciences, particularly anthropology, sociology and ethnomusicology, have been preoccupied with a particular challenge emanating from research: the question of who has the right to represent ‘others’. As a result, a distinction emerged between native (indigenous, insider) and non-native scholars (foreign). The native scholars were those believed to carry out research about their own cultures from a position of intimate affinity (Narayan 1993:673). Bruno Nettl further clarifies that they were scholars from non-western nations who studied if not the musics of their personal traditions, then that of their nations or regions (2005:154). Although Nettl here argues that native scholars were primarily from non-western nations, it was also possible for scholars in the western world to study their own music, thereby qualifying them as native scholars. Likewise, a number of scholars from non-western nations were taking interest in studying musics of the west. One common denominator was that those considered to be native researchers were those who carried out research in their homeland, among their own people.

Later, scholars contested the use of the term ‘native’, questioning to what extent a scholar can be termed as native or non-native. Kirin Narayan (1993), Bruno Nettl (2005), and Lila Abu-Lughod (1991) argued that even culturally native scholars from big cities might be looked upon as foreign or non-native by people they study. Particularly Narayan advocates the use of a new term “authentic native” so as to justify the idea that perhaps none of the so-called natives are authentic enough to claim knowledge of their area of research in its entirety (1993:675). Although Narayan justifies the need for a new term, she does not really cite examples of such authentic native scholars, which leaves the term a bit unsubstantiated, for it carries meaning only if it can be practically applied to a specific segment of society. However, this debate has contributed to the enrichment of the field by bringing scholars to realize that there is hardly a category such as native or a completely non-native scholar. In some cases as noted by Nettl (2005), native scholars have been treated as outsiders by their very own people or cultures that they are studying. On the

other hand, some non-native scholars have been accepted by the societies they study and even accorded a status of 'nativeness'. The above two instances have completely called into question what a native researcher is and what a non-native is. A consideration of the outsider or non-native will help us to understand who a native researcher was, what he/she is and perhaps anticipate what might become of these two derogatory classifications.

Non-native scholars, sometimes referred to as 'outsiders', are those believed to travel to developing countries for fieldwork with a western approach to their study. As a result, they spend a considerable amount of time in these communities and learn languages as well as customs of other people. These outsiders have historically been regarded as 'the real scholars' since they study others' musics and supposedly represent them objectively. However, recent scholarship in the social sciences, particularly anthropology and ethnomusicology, has come to question how objective the native scholars are on the one hand, as well as how representative the non-natives' findings are on the other hand (Narayan 1993, Nettl 2005). It has sometimes been argued that non-native scholars have always presented more objective studies than their counterparts, the reason being that they are distanced from the cultures that they study and can therefore analyze them as outsiders without being restricted or compromised by any attachment or cultural conditions. Scholars such as Paul Berliner, Steven Feld, and Bruno Nettl among others have won international recognition for studying others and "objectively" representing them. However, with the advancement of the field of research, this perspective has been revisited since native scholars have lately taken centre stage by presenting studies from their communities and nations. More so, ethnography has also come to question the 'objectivity' in research and representation which seems to be the basis for arguing for or against the non-native scholars.

While foreign scholars are believed to present an objective view of the 'others' (those being studied), the native or insider's viewpoint has often been questioned as to what extent one can objectively represent his/her own culture. On a number of occasions,

native scholars have been accused of compromising their cultures. This has been mostly advanced by the non-native researchers arguing that being native compromises the objectivity of the researcher, thus calling to question the results of his/her findings. In the debates that followed these accusations, attacks were also levelled on the non-native researchers, particularly from the so-called native scholars who were questioning with what rationale they (the outsiders) studied musics of other cultures (Nettl 1984, 2005 and Agawu 2003). Nettl considers the criticisms levelled against the outsiders and thus notes:

They represent a kind of musical colonialism, manipulating the societies they visit, keeping them from controlling their own musical destiny. They may encourage the retention of old material or segments of a repertory and they take away music – at the same time leaving it behind, to be sure, but perhaps polluted by having been removed, recorded, its secrecy violated – for their own benefit and that of their society (2005:151).

On the one hand, Nettl reflects the power imbalances that existed in the scholarly arena which dealt with the question of representation. Who has the authority to represent the other? The so-called native scholars looked at outsiders representing them as a postcolonial effect whereby influence of colonialism was even extended to academics. On the other hand, outsiders considered the insiders unfit to objectively represent themselves. These argued that a researcher has to be detached from the people he/she is studying so as to achieve objectivity. This they claim native scholars did not accomplish.

Although many terms within anthropological discourse remain set by the west, anthropology is now also practiced by members (or partial members) of previously colonized societies that now constitute the so-called Third World (Narayan 1993:673). Consequently, the debate has shifted its stress from natives to ‘halfies’ (Narayan 1993:675, Abu-Lughod 1991). By ‘halfies’, reference was made to scholars who had been to the west for quite a long time (either studying, working, or engaged in other activities). These were deemed unfit to represent their ‘matrilineal’ cultures, arguing that by overstaying in the west, they had by and large acquired a ‘bi-cultural’

personality. Particularly Lila Abu-Lughod explains that the term halfie is used to generate a kind of positionality (or what Agawu calls ‘Plurarium’ 1992:258) in which “they [halfies] stand on shifting ground whereby every view is a view from somewhere and every act of speaking a speaking from somewhere” (1991:141). This kind of hybrid subjectivity enables the native or halfies to assume authority as ‘authentic’ insiders on the one hand while standing in a definite relation to the other of the study and in essence bridging the gap between the others as anthropology originally assumed it to exist (ibid.). Abu-Lughod explains that, “What we call the outside is a position *within* a larger political-historical complex. No less than the halfie, the ‘wholie’ is in a specific position vis-à-vis the community being studied” (ibid.). Again, the hybrid subjectivities entailed in the halfie identity are also held by Abu-Lughod as responsible for creating multiple audiences, that is, on the one hand we have the western audience while on the other, the native/home audience in which the research was carried out.

2.3.2 Western-trained African scholars

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of Africans have become interested in the field of anthropology, as well as in ethnomusicology. As many countries in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world gained independence, the number of Europeans in the African continent was gradually reduced. This meant that Africans had to take over duties/roles that were previously managed by the Europeans. As the need for trained scholars in the various fields of academia grew, Africans started flocking western universities to get trained in various fields including education, music, sociology, anthropology and ethnomusicology. These western-trained African scholars were to return back home and carry out many of the roles previously held by the Europeans such as teaching, business, managing financial institutions, carrying out research and fieldwork, and teaching Christianity.

Upon returning home with various academic qualifications, these western-trained African researchers have been received and perceived differently by their societies. Since fieldwork requires the use of sophisticated gadgets like photo and video

cameras, audio sound recorders, and other sophisticated gadgets not common to many people in rural areas, these researchers are looked at as ‘halfies’ having acquired a second identity in the west where they studied. Some look at them as spies, while others think they are thieves who want to sell their motherland for a few dollars. Still others believe that these are the reincarnation of the colonialists, by the very fact that they tend to engage in similar or related activities. From a personal experience on one of the research trips I made to a distant place from the capital city, one of my informants asked me the amount of money I was being paid so that I document our cultures and traditions for the whites to study.

Western-trained African scholars are always faced with a challenge of evaluating which of the many field approaches/techniques (usually taught to them in the west) are appropriate and applicable in their cases. Kofi Agawu has noted that such scholars like Nketia try to ensure that their works are judged according to a ‘universal criteria’, one set by the west and still foreign to the people researched (1992:255). What Agawu and also Jean Kidula (1998, 2006) refer to as a universal criteria are characteristics of music that are set by the west with an assumption that they too apply to African music which in most cases might not be right. In many instances, what is taught in the western schools targets the European or white researchers. Particularly Kidula explains that, “since western theoretical bases are rooted in western histories, they lead us to an understanding of western systems of thought and [are] not particularly relevant to a number of studies conducted in Africa since they have different histories from the west, whose theories they might idealize to use”(1998:17-18). Still like Agawu has noted, the use of western theoretical frames to explain African musics had bred a lot of generalizations about African music which in a way have also called into question the issue of representation as treated earlier (also Nketia 1986:48-49). Agawu notes that “pluralism in practice re inscribes certain reified modes of representation” (1992:257). He notes a couple of mediators who front these western theories such as referees, editors and reviewers.

As Narayan has enlightened us about native and non-native dichotomies, there is no scholar who is a complete native. As such, Narayan advises us to consider being partly insiders for purposes of comprehending what we are studying and also outsiders so as to objectively analyze our data. By consistently evaluating which research methodologies are more applicable in the various field experiences, a number of the so-called native scholars have greatly contributed to fieldwork methodologies. Among these are Kwabena Nketia (1995), and Kofi Agawu (1992).

However, having this duo-positionality has some advantages considering the so called insider, native or halfie's position. On the one hand, having the same racial and cultural background as the studied is advantageous in fieldwork in the sense that they consider you as part of them since you have a lot in common including language and skin color. Speaking the same language as the researched implies that people can easily express themselves to you during either interviews or discussions, which is not usually the case when you have to use a foreign language. In my research, most of the choral directing was done in Luganda, with a few sections employing English. This further ensured my understanding of whatever was going on during rehearsals, festivals and other church music performances that I attended. I also shared the same religious denomination with those I researched and was also a member of the choir. This to some extent helped me gain access to information and it also enabled me to easily single out who in this particular group would connect me to the people with information. Again, it also increased the level of trust in me since most of the priests and church officials are quite hesitant to disclose specific church issues to external believers (people from other religious denominations).

For example, at the beginning of my research in June 2009, I had to seek for permission in order to access the main Catholic Church archives at the archdiocesan offices in Lubaga. This necessitated that I have an introductory letter from a credible person (as far as the Catholic Church was concerned). Before leaving Bergen, my professor had prepared for me a letter introducing me as a researcher from the University of Bergen. However, based on the information I got from people in such

church offices, this would not help matters. Therefore, I had to go to the chairman of the Diocesan Music Committee with whom I had worked earlier and request an introductory letter from him, to which he obliged (see appendix 4). I therefore proceeded to the diocesan offices and the bureaucracy meant that I had to fill forms from the manager of the archives. In these I had to indicate my personal details, why I wanted to access the archives and for what particular period of time. These would be forwarded to the diocesan chancellor's office and considered, after which I would be invited for a face-to-face interview trying to establish what exactly I was studying and what I needed from the archives. After this a couple of days passed before I received an answer on whether I had been granted permission or not. When I was finally informed that my documents had been passed, I had to personally take them to the archbishop's office for signing which of course meant another brief kind of interrogation. At the end of the day, I had my documents signed and granted official access to the archdiocesan archives.

The above account exemplifies the extent to which sharing the same culture and religion with the researched can be extremely useful especially as far as accessing classified information during fieldwork is concerned. However, to some extent it is problematic in the sense that native researchers, especially those studying in foreign Western universities, are looked at curiously. A colleague told me of how he was openly asked to first pay before being granted an interview by an informant. The informant supposed that the Europeans (for whom they assumed my colleague was working) had already given him large sums of money. This puts the researcher in a very tricky position and poses an ethical challenge for fieldworkers since at the end of the day, their focus is on getting the right information that will help them in their study. The question is: does one pay the bribe and get the information or does one refuse and miss out on the information? In this context, again, does payment necessarily imply that whoever is being paid has the right information the researcher is looking for or he/she can be paid to give the researcher lies? Referring to such circumstances, Jun Li has noted that, "In revealing private lives and telling others' stories, field researchers often face ethical dilemmas and moral choices that cannot

easily be resolved with general ethical guidelines” (2008:110). Whereas western researchers can be granted interviews without paying, an African studying in a western university has to pay. Thus Li adds that, “The ethical and moral responsibilities of ethnographic research should not be simply aimed at eliminating covert research to avoid ethical dilemmas, but to take full consideration of the sensitivity of the research topic, the vulnerability of the researched population, and the plasticity of field membership roles” (2008:111).

Mediating a culture from which the researcher comes from is advantageous in the sense that there is room for the fieldworker to gain access to information previously regarded as inaccessible. While the politics of ethnography have always presented the insider researcher as capable of being biased when representing his/her own community, there is no guarantee or proof that all outsiders get access to this classified information. In my case as a Catholic, the question of being subjective was one that I constantly had to address. Both my stance and identity had to be consistently reminded of neutrality and strict reflection on the questions I wanted addressed. Like other scholars have explained, it is very important to mind about both your stance and identity during fieldwork (Titon 1985, Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001). While a couple of scholars have called for researchers to act out (role playing) some roles during fieldwork so as to achieve objectivity (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001), Titon objects and argues that;

When an attempt is made to play a role and thus to project a stance that one knows is not authentic, it leads not to any kind of “objectivity”, but rather to a more pronounced subjectivity; and this is due to the triple dissonance between the acted out, inauthentic role, the authentic but no longer available role, and one’s inner identity as an ethnomusicologist and whatever else one may be (1985:18).

Titon and other scholars in ethnography might have expected that when one is working among his/her own people, there is a tendency to compromise issues and that is why there are a lot of questions regarding subjectivities and how objective someone might be in this case. However, acting in this case is problematic since as Titon has indicated it creates more problems that can even confuse the researcher. As a Catholic my religious affiliation could be expected to get into my way and compromise my

inquiries especially related to postcolonialism which strongly and critically looks at missionary activities among them Catholicism as one of the received elements of imperialism from the European colonialists. However, the question here is to what extent can it affect it? Unlike Titon, I was not expected to 'raise up my hand' and profess having got saved. If anything, my newly acquired identity as a researcher accounted for the critical inquisitive questions that I was asking my superiors in the belief system. If I had asked these same questions without identifying myself but acting (as a researcher), immediately they would get suspicious and label me as a traitor, or someone opposing them. Again, by being a known insider as earlier noted, I was no longer the same but critically looked at as a 'halfie' and in no way could I be expected to behave like other believers.

What researchers do in the field largely accounts for the nature of information that they derive from their informants, for example an 'acting' fieldworker will always be nervous thinking about, what if I am discovered, and this has a negative impact on the nature of questions we ask, the facial expressions as well as the way our informants handle us. Acting out roles implies falsifying since in acting we assume roles that we are not in reality. Again, since scholars such as Lila Abu-Lughod have criticized the issue of anthropologists distancing themselves from the people they study, my case serves as a testimony, for my knowledge of the religious system which I was researching enabled me to establish who ask, where, how to get there and other questions pertinent to fieldworkers. And just like a number of ethnographic studies conducted have established (Abu-Lughod 1991, Narayan 1993, Agawu 1992, Nketia 1995) among many, these essentialist considerations and classifications that gave birth to terms and issues of subjectivity, halfies, native, non native are largely dependent on the ethnographic political divide on which a particular scholar(s) belonged at a specific period in the historical development of fieldwork (ethnography). In the next section I consider more of these power laden classifications that modern scholarship is coming to contest.

Ethnomusicologist Annemette Kirkegaard has noted that most African scholars, especially in the field of music, are usually more preoccupied with documenting historical aspects of music as opposed to providing analytical studies like their European counterparts (2002:11). To some extent this is true though of course it is a generalization since we have also encountered African ethnomusicologists who have also presented highly analytical studies just as their European counterparts (Jean Kidula (2006), Kofi Agawu (1992), Kwabena Nketia (1995), and Daniel Avorgbedor (2003a). To scholars, however, this remains a challenge since to some extent native scholars are judged more based on their origin. For example, in the social class systems that existed (and to some extent are still representative in African traditional societies) someone from a lower social class segment could not be allowed to speak for the rest. In such cases agency is also questionable since it is unclear who has the right to represent the others and why. Here the power structures that existed in Africa prior to colonization and were later strengthened by colonialism come into play even in academic circles. While many of the western scholars can achieve international fame by conducting research and publishing about “others”, few native scholars especially in Africa can do the same. At the end of it all even western institutions have come to question academic qualifications from Africa. This can be exemplified by the many western universities that require African Ph.D. students to undergo training courses that seem to be raising the standard of their masters’ degrees which they acquired in African universities before enrolling for their Ph.D. in the developed countries.

For my fieldwork, I set out to study Catholic Church music festivals after my earlier study about compositional techniques had revealed to me that there is still an information vacuum (scholarly vacuum) especially on issues related to church music in Uganda. To me, church music had played a significant role in the development of both popular and other music genres in Uganda. Later, I discovered that the topic I wanted to write about did not have any documented information. Although I set out to analytically study the church music festivals under the umbrella of glocalization, I could not start analyzing something concerning music and culture, the information

and history about which was nonexistent. For my informants in the field, creating a historical documentation of events leading to the circumstances that necessitated my research was more important than my Ph.D. studies that seemed to take precedence as a number of people who attended one of my workshops expressed. In such cases, there is need to reflect on one's role as a field researcher whose main aim is to represent others. What should one write and what should one leave out? The precise question I am posing is: what is urgent and important? Julie Solel Archambault has noted that there are cases when focus in the field is diverted by something that is seriously affecting the society one is studying (2009). Archambault here advises that there is need to be a bit flexible where necessary provided it does not compromise one's research.

In my particular case, I had to take on both the documentation and the subsequent analysis, and this increased my workload from what I had previously planned as I was preparing for fieldwork. Like the above example, more questions seemed to arise day by day in my research about who and what should be considered representative in research reports. In predicting the future of ethnography, James Clifford noted earlier that in the future, "[a]nthropologists will increasingly have to share their texts, and sometimes their title pages, with those indigenous collaborators for whom the term *informants* is no longer adequate, if it ever was" (1988:51-52, see also Kisliuk 1997:23). Clifford leads me to another big challenge that I faced concerning agency and this is autoethnography.

2.3.3 Autoethnography

One of the tools that I greatly utilized for data collection was autoethnography, which has lately become an indispensable research tool especially to many scholars classified under the insider/native or halfies category. While autoethnography has generated significant interest from scholars in the social sciences especially in the last two decades, it has received varying definitions from the same. Tami Spry defines autoethnography as, "a self-narrative that critiques the situatedness of self with others in social contexts" (2001:710). James Buzzard views autoethnography as, "the study,

representation, or knowledge of a culture by one or more of its members” (2003:61). We can denote from the two selected definitions that autoethnography largely depends on the ‘self’ than the “others” for representation.

While recent scholarship has come to recognize the contributions of autoethnography to representation, epistemology and the role of the ethnographer both in the field and in her writing (Newmahr 2008:619), a number of scholars have greatly opposed its usage. Such scholars have argued that autoethnography focuses on the wrong side of the power divide by silencing the native voice (Burnier 2006:417, Delmont 2007:05, Buzzard 2003: 66) and therefore it is not ethically right to publish the data generated (Delamont 2007:5). Others have provided cases where autoethnographies have been inconsistent and have questioned to what extent these autoethnographic studies are representative (Jarvie 1998, Ryang 2000).

However, earlier scholars in the fields of anthropology and ethnology tried to explain the usefulness of the others (the former objects of study) representing themselves. Among these Spry quotes Franz Boaz as having encouraged the training of native anthropologists on the assumption that . . . “it was the trained native who could best interpret native life from within.”⁵ Similarly, Clifford is quoted above as having hinted on the growing usefulness of natives to an extent that anthropologists might have to share their texts (and title pages) with them in an effort to avoid misrepresentations (1988: 51, 52).

In articulating the validity of autoethnography, Buzzard has explained that through it we hear the other voice that has been underprivileged for quite a long time now. Buzzard also notes that future research would move beyond the view of ethnography’s natives as “perpetually on the receiving (or resisting) end of descriptions, stories, and stereotypes” produced by Western visitors (2003:67). It would come to engage them and value their contributions to scholarship.

⁵ As quoted in Delmos J. Jones. 1972. “Towards a Native Anthropology,” *Human Organization* 29:4 (Winter 1972:252).

On the other hand, Staci Newmahr accepts subjectivity as indispensable in ethnographic research by outlining its most valuable aspects. Thus she writes that,

If we treat ourselves as products of our cultures, our interactions and our ethnographic research, then the question of why we might feel the way we do in the field ought not to be ignored. When ethnographic introspective questions such as “Why did *I* respond this way? How did I come to *feel* this way here?” are informed by the social and cultural context of the field, the life stories of the informants and the rituals of the community, these answers have the potential to greatly enrich ethnographic understanding (2008:640).

I greatly questioned my use of the autoethnography concept principally during collection of data.

2.3.4 Ethics, Agency and other Challenges Encountered in the Field

In any ethnographic study that involves staying with people for quite some time for purposes of observing them so as to analyze their activities primarily to interpret the social meaning of what they do, there must be some level of rubbing shoulders with their culture. In the process of observing and interacting with others there are certain ethical challenges faced by the researcher. Needless to mention is the attention anthropology and sociology have given to these challenges though still no perfect remedy has been designed. Issues of the limits of agency (Marcus and Fischer 1986:8, Barz and Cooley 1997) that the researcher must carry out have been critically debated and at the end of the day, challenges do still exist. As a social actor within the fields that ethnographers study, to what extent is the researcher supposed to represent the “others”?

Like Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley have noted, while participant observation offers insights into what is being studied to the researcher, it has limitations as well (1997). In participant observation, the researcher is very much exposed to the day-to-day activities of the researched and in a way, this draws him/her closer to the people being studied, which Kay Kaufmann Shelemay terms as ‘scholars intersecting with traditional life’ (1997:192-197). The closeness that it cultivates between the researcher and the researched can also result in great challenges of agency to the

researcher. While we anticipate participant observation to work towards effective representation and reporting, it poses some challenges related to representation.

I faced a challenge of my interviewees expecting me to represent them to the church authorities as well as to address their grievances. Among the most burning issues was funding choirs. While the church in Kampala Archdiocese does not officially fund any church choir activities, many of my informants were of the view that it should be reversed and they hoped that since my study is connected to church choir music, I was the best person to address some of these long-existing problems. I explained to them that this was not the purpose of my research though a number of them tried to implore me to be a little more empathetic with them. Like Liora Bresler has emphasized, there is need to be empathetic with the people we study (also Li 2009). But the challenge posed still remains; to what extent are we as researchers and fieldworkers supposed to go into this direction? Where are the appropriate limits of our empathy? As a native scholar and researcher, I cannot hide away from the problems of my people/society from which I come. By implication, I will be involved in activities aimed at solving some of their grievances and to a predominantly ‘oral’ society, (which is less concerned about what is published about them), this might mean a lot more than the research report that I am supposed to write. But again, should my study’s progress be hindered because of issues that are not central to my research? In a way this points to the ethical issues as addressed by Jun Li such that there are a couple of failures that one cannot tell while in the field (Li 2008:1).

The question of agency was central to my fieldwork experiences. During fieldwork, one of the church officials that had to sign my permission to access the archdiocesan archive asked me which mandate I had to write about the church. He said, “how come you want to write about church music yet we don’t know you?”. This forced me to produce an introductory letter explaining my earlier position as a columnist in the church news report and also as a former member of the church music committee. However, it left behind a huge impact on my research since I started thinking more critically about the question I had been asked. To what extent can I represent the

church since by not being a member of the clergy, I was considered an outsider? As an ordinary believer in the Catholic Church, I would very often confront the reality that I am limited both in liturgical and theological knowledge in order to be able to rightly comprehend church music-related issues. But from his statement, may be I had to be one of ‘them’ so as to write about church music. In this sense, agency to some extent implied the power/authority to represent others which is granted through mediation.

Whereas most fieldworkers have attained successes academically, there are still questions pertaining to agency since most of the contemporary issues discussed about fieldwork centre partially on mediation, and mostly representation. While representation has always been discussed in terms of serving educational/academic goals, agency is also looked at by the people we study, the owners of that knowledge we as social scientists intend to submit, from various angles which differ from the scholarly approach that social science has always advocated. In my research, some of the people I was studying looked at agency as a means of representing their achievements and grievances principally to the powers that be with an aim of making their work more enjoyable and attractive. Others looked at what I was doing as only valid if I could document what was slowly vanishing. They believed that the forces of globalization would soon eliminate some of these socially and culturally meaningful practices, leaving no traits for their grandchildren who would be born later to learn of their great grandparents’ culture. Many of them believed in the term “authentic” musical practices.

The third group of people were those who usually asked me after the interviews that, “*Ffe tufuniramu wa?*” (Now how are we going to benefit from our information?). This category comprised of people who thought that I intended to market what they had shared with me and then in turn share with them the proceeds. In their minds, representing them was in terms of marketing and mediating between them and the potential buyers of their ‘product’ who were supposed to be people in the west. A challenge at this point was how to equally satisfy each of these categories. What

researchers' reports normally contain is usually common knowledge to the communities we study and therefore the documentation literally appears to benefit others who want to learn about them since to them it is like documenting the proverbial. While I could explain to them my intentions and the end product being my dissertation, many of them insisted that I could do much more than the dissertation and at least "become their voice since I was one of them". Although some scholars have managed to become the other voice of those that they represent in other scholarly work (Steven Feld, John Chernoff) for me, attempting this would lead to severe consequences in my society given the fact that in the church I did not hold any position of responsibility and so I had no power. Again, like Chou Chiener mentions, taking a leading role to change what has been conventionally regarded as the norm in fieldwork is every ethnomusicologist's fear (2002:474).

While we might not provide immediate solutions to the raised issues, at least every fieldworker feels it is up to oneself to give something back to the society that provided information for one's academic achievements. Again as a native scholar, the need to keep focused on your research is a constantly negotiated issue while in the field. While scholars are expected to remain focused, there are other social demands that intersect with our own life experiences that are always reminding us of our social obligation despite our performed identity of being outsiders in the scholarly sense. Kisliuk notes that,

During our most in depth and intimate field experiences, ethnographers and the people among whom we learn come to share the same narratives, the deeper our commitment in the field, the more our life stories intersect with our "subject's" life until self-other boundaries are blurred (1997:23).

From Kisliuk's quote, we note that boundaries between the life stories that form the central parts of our studies as far as reporting is concerned are constantly negotiated in the field. Similarly, our identities as fieldworkers are always renegotiated and redefined to suit particular situations and circumstances, a kind of role shift to favour us as individuals. In the same way, the blurred meanings of the insider/outsider dichotomy have only remained as divisive infield terminologies with scanty

substantiation to warrant this kind of disciplinary dissection. As it has already been stated, ethnography is a jointly constructed narrative rather than an accurate objective depiction of social reality (Newmahr 2008:619). In ethnographic narrative, we encounter the ethnographer's object of study through his/her lenses.

While we might not be compelled to be subjective in our studies, Newmahr has exemplified how unavoidable and useful this aspect is for ethnography. As such, a number of scholars have advocated for an integrated approach (Anderson 1999, Lerum 2001), while others have blended personal introspection with conventional analytical approaches (Ronai 1995, quoted in Newmahr 2008:620). Similarly, while the debate surrounding the insider/outsider dichotomy continues, the yardstick for determining either of the two categories is yet to be designed for an accurate classification to be realised. It thus qualified the categorization as a social construction. While one might be considered as an insider, there are particular/idiosyncratic disciplinary traits that will nullify one's insider status and vice versa. However, reading Abu-Lughod's hybrid subjectivities of the halfies provides us with more insights on the issues of native and non-natives. Abu Lughod explains that since the very ideas of "western" or "European" cultures are themselves abstractions and essentializations of identities and sets of practices which are actually very fluid "on the ground", then the idea even of a native researcher is also an essentialization. Lughod further argues that cultures as bounded, coherent wholes are anthropological inventions that can never be substantiated. Because of anthropologists' emphasis on coherence and boundedness, they miss the hybrid nature of all social life and expressive behaviour (1991:138, see also Solomon 2008:84-85).

Ethical concerns also remain as a challenge since while many have written down guidelines to follow, the fields we study differs from one scholar to another, from one region to another. As such the guidelines will always remain as areas of reference while in actual sense the practices vary from one fieldworker to another. As already noted above, for research to retain its fundamental concerns, and in order to avoid future rewritings of our studies, the communities we study have to be considered not

only in terms of rewarding after the research but also for consultational purposes especially before our research reports are published.

Chapter Three

3.0 Review of Selected Literature

Introduction

In this section, I survey studies conducted in areas of music and religion, specifically focusing on Africa and gradually narrowing down my scope from Africa to East Africa and then to Uganda, after which I survey studies particularly conducted on any related aspects of Catholic Church music in Uganda. Finally, I review some selected literature on music festivals more generally, focusing especially on African examples. On the one hand, the survey is intended to affirm that my research and study are not a replica of any other earlier studies conducted about the same area on which I am directing my focus. The survey again serves to reinforce my earlier assertion that not much scholarly consideration has been given to Catholic Church music in Uganda, especially from a glocal perspective. On the other hand, this review will serve to show the intersections and points of difference between this current study and other studies conducted on topics related in one way or another to my research. By considering the points of intersection and differences, it will illustrate how I have been able to contribute to scholarship in the fields of ethnomusicology, musicology, sociology, social anthropology and other social science-related disciplines.

In the first section I will consider generally studies conducted on music and religion or sometimes music and evangelism in Africa, identifying how these reviewed works inform my study on the one hand and on the other hand how my study supplements the earlier findings on these topics. Later I will delve into music and religion/evangelization, but this time narrowing it down to East Africa, where my research was based, since there are a lot of similarities between the peoples and cultures of the East African countries of Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania. Particularly, their histories encompass a lot of analogous experiences given the fact that all four were at one time British colonies. While the players (either missionaries

or colonialists) might have differed at various points in history, these experiences are worth considering and beyond doubt, they inform my study in various ways.

The last section will specifically address studies conducted on Ugandan music in the religious sphere and will end by considering how music in the Ugandan Catholic church has been studied and what has been addressed on this music in relation to what this study addresses. This same section will consider the various approaches used in studying Catholic Church music in Uganda with attention to of Kampala Archdiocese, as well as the actual studies on music festivals and competitions both generally and those conducted in East Africa and Uganda in particular.

3.1 Music and Religion

Studies on music and religion have generally been concerned with the place of music in the various religious belief systems in the world. As such, many music scholars or their counterparts, the theologians and other scholars in religious studies, have always regarded music as one aspect of religion in the various contexts in which it is employed, especially in Christianity and traditional cultural belief systems (Elaine 1945, Geertz 1973, Gray 1995, Cooke 2000, Avorgbedor 2003a, Barz 2003, Dor 2005, Senn 1997). Other studies consider how music functions for theology generally (Senn 1997), and specifically in Islam (al Faruqi 1985, Shiloah 1997), whereas still other scholars consider it in the general musicological context (Seroff 1990, Adegbite 1991). In most of these studies, the focus has shifted from viewing music as “a patterned context where other things happen” (Stokes 1994:5), to considering it as a symbolic static object that should be interpreted within a religious context (Senn 1997:16). Yet again other scholars such as Ademola Adegbite (1991) have centered their attention on analyzing the sonic elements of music in relation to how they are used in particular religions.

While religion provides a space where music happens, music defines the various rituals performed within particular religious contexts. As such, various studies view music as a process, that is, providing means by which other activities take place

(Stokes 1994, Bohlmann 1997, Solomon 2000, Cooke 2003). This view will be utilized in understanding how music is used by the festival yet still serves other church purposes.

Studies on music and religion have also largely addressed how music acts as an enabler in Christian-founded religious belief systems (Kidula 1995, 1998, 2008, Senn 1997, Barz 2003, 2006, Basoga 2006, Geertz 1973, Gjertsen 2006, Booker 1988, Whyte 1946). Within Islam, Qu'ranic chant is never considered as "music", and most studies on music in Islam have highlighted how it acts as an impediment to Islamic religious practice. However, ethnomusicologists have recognized and described the musical quality of the cantillation of the Qu'ran (Shiloah 1997, Al Faruqi 1978, 1985, Nelson 1982, Qureshi 1997, Otterbeck 2004). Other scholars have also considered music as inseparable from the actual ritual in which it is performed, especially in traditional African religious belief systems (Berliner 1978, Adegbite 1991, Cooke 2003, Euba 2003, Avorgbedor 2003a, Dor 2005). The current study views music as functioning for religion as well as religion working for music. While utilizing some of the approaches used by the above cited studies, I intend to show how there is a symbiotic relationship between music and religion and not only consider music as one of the objects of religion occasionally regarding it as either an enabler or impediment to Catholic religious practice.

3.1.2 Music and Religion in Africa

In my study I have discovered and come to terms with the need for African-grounded theoretical approaches/systems for analyzing and understanding music that stems from the African continent. While I have used a number of western-derived theoretical frameworks to explain my work, there is need for African music histories to be examined as sources for African theories that would or could lead to a better understanding of African systems of thought. Like Jean Kidula (1997, 2006) has explained, "since western theoretical bases are rooted in western histories, they lead us to an understanding of western systems of thought and [are] not particularly

relevant to a number of studies conducted in Africa since they have different histories from the west, whose theories they might idealize to use” (1997:17-18).

The western-derived theoretical frames have understood or analyzed African musics⁶ in ethnocentric essentialist terms, assuming that all music from Africa must possess specific universal or western qualities so as to fit into the western-derived classifications based on form, melodies, scales, and other classifications. As such, many studies and scholars from the west using these approaches have been misled and in a way missed out on what Africans regard as most important in their musics and why they think so. I believe that in understanding African music, it is necessary to understand what the different African communities regard as important in their music. From this base, questions such as why and what are the qualities of this music should be addressed. While some have attempted to ask some of these questions using only western-derived theoretical and conceptual approaches, they have ended up essentially universalizing African musics based on the western notions of the form, melody, harmony, mode, scales, and transcribing them in systems that cannot even be understood, and if properly explained to the custodians of this music do not fully represent what they play and regard as ‘their music’. Such systems end up satisfying the researcher(s)’s interests which in most cases have not benefited the people who make this music, while also at the same time confusing the scholarly arena which begins to believe these assumptions about music as being universal.

Considering literature that generally addresses music and religion in Africa, there are a number of earlier historical confusions that were rectified in later studies. Among these studies that I reviewed, I discovered that a few of the earlier studies tried to deny the fact that prior to the coming of the European missionaries, the Africans were religious (Rowe 1940:66). However, later scholars affirmed and wrote that African life was full of religiosity (Mapoma 1969, Mbiti 1969, 1970, Kidula 1999, Mpoza

⁶ I use ‘African musics’ here as an all-inclusive classification while aware, respecting and observing that there is no such thing as African music since the category is too broad in nature. It includes practices and characteristics so diverse that a single term cannot embrace the different musics envisaged in this classification.

1997, Tamusuza 2001, Kyagambiddwa 1955, Barz 2006). Religiosity in Africa was reflected not only on special occasions but in every aspect of life (Kidula 1999:36), and “it was holistically integrated in the total life of the African” (Mbiti 1970). As such, like a number of other African societies, the Baganda had their own ritual music which they would perform during their worshipping ceremonies (Kyagambiddwa 1955, Berliner 1978). An attempt at denying the religious nature of Africans prior to the arrival of western colonialists and missionaries is an attempt at rewriting the history of Africa partly with an intention of justifying the need for ‘missionization’, which came alongside imperialism. Furthermore, it is a deliberate attempt at eliminating the orally transmitted cultural aspects of religious music that existed prior to colonialism. While there are scantily detailed documented accounts of their existence, it is worth noting that Africans practiced religion and had their own versions of religious music.

3.1.3 Music and Religion in East Africa

A survey of studies conducted on the intersections of music and religion or music and globalization reveals that there are several of these that are relevant to my study. Among these are studies by the following scholars, who have studied music and religion/evangelization specifically in East Africa: Barz (2003, 1999), Nannyonga - Tamusuza (2001, 2005), Kyagambiddwa (1955), Lukwata (2003), Kidula (1998), Anderson (1968), Gray (1995), Gifford (1999), Lamont (2010), Kidula (2008), Sanga (2010), Basoga (2010), and those who have examined music used for church purposes with specific reference to Catholic church music in Uganda (Kyagambiddwa 1955, 1964, Gray 1995, Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, Lukwata 2003, Naamala 2008, Kabuye 2010). None of these studies particularly focus on the globalizing as well as localizing aspects of musical performance like my study does.

Scholars who have written on music and religion in East Africa have been partly influenced by either the field of religious studies or music, and in some cases both fields. While some aim at discussing religious ideologies which they cannot do without using music (Lukwata 2003, Naamala 2008, Gifford 1999), others focus

primarily on musical aspects which in a way pushes them to religion since the latter is usually a vital concept, particularly Christianity which largely dominates East Africa. As a result, none of them exclusively executes a balanced consideration of music in religion or religion in music.

Studies conducted about music in East African religions have taken a number of different forms. Most of them have pointed out the *trichotomous* relationship between music, dance and drama (Kubik 1985, Mboowa 1996, Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, Barz 2001, 2003, 2006, G.Young 2007, Kidula 2008, Oduro 2008). These three expressive modes are seen as inseparable in an East African perspective, though they are usually considered independently in the western sense (Kidula 1997, Barz 2003, Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001). Likewise, a number of studies conducted in East Africa about religion have also clearly stated the *dichotomy* between music and religion (Kidula 1998, 2008, Oduro 2008, Barz 2000, 2003, 2006, Basoga 2010). Most of these studies conducted about music and religion have taken a functionalist approach, examining how music functions in religion.

Examining the nature and use of hymns in the African Christian churches, Thomas Oduro has reviewed the historical circumstances that surrounded the formation of Christian churches in Africa with specific attention to Catholicism, Protestantism (the Anglican Church), Charismatic/Pentecostal churches as well as the category of African Initiated Churches (2008:83-88). Oduro considers the postcolonial effect of Christianity on the African peoples with specific reference to how they utilized hymns and the dialectical functioning of these hymns for both Africans and Europeans. For the Africans, “the singing of hymns and songs tended to forge unity among tribes” (2008:89). Further analyzing of church music indicates that it developed the Africans’ ability to memorize as well as the introduction of the phenomenon of the choir (2008:80, see also Sundkler and Steed 2000:963). While Oduro presents a few examples here and there, there are a lot of generalizations in his research since the few examples presented cannot fully point to the extensive study conducted about church or religious music in Africa. Furthermore, whereas he partly analyses his work

utilizing the postcolonial approach, Oduro does not explicitly explain the embedded power structures when analyzing church music especially in the context of his study. His essentialist consideration of hymns used in the church fails to account for their hybrid nature (even in performance) and its accompanying power dynamics. Again, his approach to post-Vatican II music and the inculturation process in general is a simplistic consideration of the entire Vatican Council II as a mere ‘rite of passage’ within the Catholic church without critically examining the players, and implications of its various decrees and no attempt made at interpreting the various layers of meaning contained therein.

Music in East Africa has also been treated in conjunction with the colonial question in some of these researches conducted by various scholars in relation to religious practice (particularly Christianity). While vast studies have acknowledged the colonial missionaries’ contribution to suffocating the traditional musical practices of the Africans, few have paid attention to the long-lasting postcolonial effects that Africa has undergone. In “Making and Managing Music in African Christian Life”, Kidula (2008) revisits the effect of colonialism on the African musical practices and notes that the missionary concept of music has replaced the original African notion. This missionary model has taken over the social space presumed to be originally enjoyed by African music, while utilizing the very techniques of teaching and training in music that had been designed for African music. She writes:

Christian and religious song has, at times, replaced indigenous songs in cultural ritual space. The learning and performance of this music in any space is mainly rooted in African methods of community public instruction where talent is recognized and encouraged. Thus the primary space for communal music making in Christianized Africa is the religious space. Therefore, it also becomes the space for indigenous enculturation and discussion for those who embrace this faith. Thus the lyrics of spiritual songs or hymns may be social, historical or political in content (2008:115).

In her discussion Kidula takes a critical consideration of how the production and music making processes were overtaken by a new outlook whereby they were being dictated by forces introduced by European missionaries and the western education system whose definitional view of music was limited only to the sonic elements, largely neglecting the African concept that integrates both motion and spectacle on

the sound (*ibid.*: 114). Like other scholars (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001), Kidula also focuses on histories of religious music in various parts of Africa and draws examples to justify her claims. However, a challenge that still faces the African continent and her scholars is that little had been documented by the time the European missionaries, travelers, explorers and others came to the continent. It is therefore quite hard to argue out their points in relation to how this music was organized with specific reference to what was practiced by the natives over a hundred years ago. While these scholars' arguments hold water, there are unanswered questions such as why that music was quickly transformed to acquire many European elements, largely neglecting any alleged original forms without proper explanation. In this study, I concentrate on music since the arrival of the European missionaries, because it is easier to trace music forms with documented information after the Catholic missionaries came, as well as to see how they were transformed over time to what is practiced in the Archdiocese of Kampala today.

Religious histories have in some cases documented music as part of their ideological heritage. As earlier noted, while the Islamic faith does not consider cantillation of the Qu'ran as music, ethnomusicologists have recognized its musical qualities (Shiloah 1997, Al Faruqi 1978, 1985, Nelson 1982, Qureshi 1997, Otterbeck 2004). Likewise, many of the Christian-based religious belief systems consider specific music as part of their religious heritage and have therefore included it in histories of their churches. Examples are Gregorian chants (Catholics), hymns (Anglican) and gospel music for Pentecostal churches (Parsitau 2006) among others. They have always included music as part of their religion in order to justify the fullness of religion since it is a very important tool in evangelization. In dealing with music in religion, the elements that favor this are deeply embedded in the musico-religious hybrid and have not been fully and critically revisited but treat this fusion as a symbiotic one.

Gregory Barz (2003) has studied *kwaya* music in Tanzania among the Lutheran *makwaya*. Barz tries to establish how the different *kwayas* perform their religion while taking a functionalist approach in examining how *kwayas* function for the

different stakeholders involved in the process of making church music. He examines how *kwayas* perform spirituality and disaffection (as the concept was earlier presented by Veit Erlmann 1992:705) while considering music in worship. His concern is generally on the social significance of choirs in the various perspectives of spirituality, community, and the creation of sacred space. Similarly, in his other study (Barz 2006) on the musical performance of community, he tries to explicate how *kwayas* are able to idealize the notion of a community not only through their performances but also through their day-to-day relationships. In this examination, Barz establishes that *kwayas* act as social indemnity groups, or specifically a choir is a unique interdependent social system on which its members depend for their day-to-day social intermingling.

Music and religion have also been studied by scholars interested in the presentation of gospel music as popular culture (Kidula 1998, 2000, Parsitau 2006, Barz 2004). Most of these studies are on Pentecostal gospel music and associate it with the popular youth culture, and describe it as a contemporary music phenomenon encompassing styles such as reggae, hip-hop, soul, rap, rhythm and blues among others. Gospel music is also viewed as bridging the generational gap and generally associated with themes centered on attracting the youth (Parsitau 2006, Chitando 2002). Common to all these studies is that they have been conducted in Kenya.

In her introduction to *Chorus and Community*, Karen Ahlquist (2006) presents a number of studies conducted on choral music performances and in doing so, identifies a number of areas of inquiry within the subject of choral music performance, some of which I have addressed in this study. Among the listed possible areas that scholars can consider are expressions, repertoire, age of performers, and performance contexts. Ahlquist presents the chorus as having a dual nature: “as music and as people to explore a musical instrument, a vehicle for a verbal text, and a social, economic, religious and /or political organization” (2006:1). Unfortunately, Ahlquist appears to be overgeneralizing here since she does not specify how choruses carry out all of these roles. While choruses or choirs might behave as noted by Ahlquist, I argue that

there is a need to critically examine *how* choirs or these social groups particularly succeed in doing this, which involves a critical consideration of most of the aspects listed earlier along with the social contexts responsible for producing them. Her study links with mine since we are both dealing with choir music, though of course the contexts differ. Again, the areas of inquiry are to a large extent similar since they serve to elucidate what lies beyond the music, lyrics and the performers that appear on stage. My study will also proceed to establish how the choral performances serve for both global and local interests while articulating a given religious culture:

Catholicism.

Scholars of music and religion have also examined the compositional practices used in various religious beliefs and why they are used. These studies are more or less functionalist though of course with detailed treatments of compositional techniques that will even unearth embedded fusions, thereby answering questions such as why and what in the context of their research. Justinian Tamusuza (2001) reviews influences on African music composers among which he presents colonialism, missionary education, cultural influences and social reasons among others. Other scholars like Kubik (1960, 1962), Lush 1935, Anderson 1968, 1976, Makubuya 1999, 2000, Kafumbe 2006, focus on the musical, technical and historical backgrounds of particular Kiganda musical instruments. These studies shed more light on the organological aspects of Kiganda music.

3.2 Church music in Uganda

While not much literature is available concerning church music in Uganda, especially not on the Roman Catholic Church, some studies conducted have considered a few aspects of church music while dealing with another broader subject. Among these, there are some that are exclusively devoted to discussing music in the Ugandan Catholic Church (Gray 1992, Kabuye 2010, Ssempijja 2006, Ssekimpi 2003, Kagumba 2009), while others discuss a particular aspect of social life which necessitates them to relate it to the musical practices at a particular point in history

(Kyabukasa 1993, Ssonko 1999, Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, Naamala 2008, Lukwata 2003, Otiso 2006).

Studies on liturgy have always included church music as one of the most important aspects of the liturgy. In so doing many have been obliged to mention or comment about the nature of the music recommended for specific liturgical activities (Ssonko 1999, Lukwata 2003, Naamala 2008). On the one hand Ssonko, whose main focus is on inculturation specifically related to Kiganda practices and their relationship to the Roman liturgy, only mentions music in passing. He briefly comments about music used for liturgy and the role it serves the liturgy. While the larger part of his study is devoted to liturgy, this includes a brief look at the functional role of music in liturgy, which enlightens my perspectives on music in the Roman Catholic liturgy. Also, mostly, his detailed treatment of the subject of inculturation and its adaptability to Kiganda forms resonates with my perspectives of Vatican II and its inculturation campaign, particularly on music. Ssonko also provides me with a detailed history of Kampala Archdiocese since the scope for his study closely matches mine.

On the other hand, Lukwata, who treats a subject similar to that addressed by Ssonko, also centers his focus on liturgical practices and their interpretations in three of the East African countries, namely Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. John Lukwata focuses on means of understanding and interpretation of the inculturation movement, primarily focusing on the post-Vatican II era. While his main emphasis is on liturgical diversity and inculturation in East Africa, like Ssonko, Lukwata also draws on the history and meanings of various symbols used in Catholic worship throughout East Africa. He also briefly deals with liturgical music and stresses the relationship between music and dance and by implication drama as used in the African context (also Nannyonga -Tamusuza 2001, Kyagambiddwa 1955, Kidula 1995, 2008, Kabuye 2010, Ssempijja 2006). Lukwata enumerates the functional role of music and dance in liturgy specifically relating it to the African context. Among these he notes:

Singing encourages participation and is also a form of proclaiming the salvic message. Again, African values are promoted through oral literature and music. Music sounds,

gestures, motifs, costumes, and instruments are related to the diverse traditional African cultures (2003:152).

Commenting on the drums used in Buganda, Lukwata notes that drums were not used immediately in the liturgy. It was only after the liturgical reforms of Vatican II that drums became integral and regular instruments during prayer (*ibid.*: 160). He then goes ahead to outline the uses of drums in the church, which include inviting people for prayer, highlighting specific moments during the Eucharistic celebration and other liturgical activities as may be required.

In his discussion, Lukwata takes an essentialist view of the musical instruments' roles that he mentions and also exaggerates the similarities of the various musical instruments used in Buganda with others used in East Africa. More so, his continued reference to music of Africa or 'African tradition' partly implies that what he discusses is the general norm all over the African continent, which is contestable. Again, Lukwata appears too simplistic in the way he assumes the roles music plays in liturgy without explaining how music manages to accomplish what he alleges that it does. However, Lukwata's study is a great contribution to my research since it contains a number of historical facts on church music in Uganda, which is information I utilize in order to validate what I was informed during fieldwork as well as to supplement my facts. Particularly, he treats the issue of inculturation in detail, relating it to Vatican II which draws a lot of light to my understanding and conceptualization of the same. Lukwata also generally outlines a kind of draft framework for music's role in the Catholic faith, particularly how it is viewed and practiced in East Africa which also includes my particular area of interest, that is, Kampala Archdiocese. His study and publication act as a foundation on which other scholars (myself included) can build. In other words, his liturgically situated study can be useful to later scholars who want to treat the various aspects of his book in detail. Lukwata summarizes his consideration of music and dance in liturgy as:

Singing and dancing are therefore avenues to interiorize the Gospel Message, to express solidarity and communion, to empower Christians in the work of witnessing and proclaiming the Good News. The meaningful use of songs, dances and word in worship

is an integration of the exuberant and dynamic traditional African lifestyle – where each moment of life is a celebration (*ibid.*: 162).

Since in Africa (Uganda inclusive) music and dance are inseparable, a number of scholars have reviewed specific aspects of dance and how they relate to liturgical practice (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, Lukwata 2003, Naamala 2008). While Lukwata and Naamala deal with dances in a general context, Nannyonga-Tamusuza deals specifically with one dance that has been incorporated into Catholic liturgical practices and that is *baakisimba*.

Nannyonga-Tamusuza's work is mainly about *baakisimba* as both a music and dance genre which is performed in the Roman Catholic Church circles in Kampala and Uganda generally. She considers *baakisimba*'s meaning when performed in the secular and sacred spaces. In doing so Nannyonga revisits the music of *baakisimba* hand in hand with the historical aspects surrounding traditional music performance in the church circles, especially in relation to the colonial influences. Her work partly treats a similar subject to this study in the sense that she considers *baakisimba* performance in the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda as well as its possible interpretations. Her analysis of *baakisimba* informs my study in the sense that it draws more light on the performances of *baakisimba* as I witnessed in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Music Festivals. The current study also shares a similar view with Nannyonga-Tamusuza's work that the advent of colonialism and Christianity to Buganda led to new modes of authority and in effect reshaped what was considered to be morally good among the Baganda (2001:27). However, in determining how, when and what was reshaped, there is little available documentation of cultural aspects of life (particularly on music) in Buganda prior to the coming of the missionaries which in retrospect leads to questioning the extent and manner of the alleged refinement.

Like Nannyonga -Tamusuza, Sarah Naamala's study also concentrates on dance and examines the journey of inculturating liturgical dances (as she terms those dances used in liturgy) among the Baganda. Naamala's study is generally in dialogue with a

number of Catholic texts that either critique or support dances in the Roman Catholic liturgy. Again there is little discussion of the structure of music that accompanies the dances yet she acknowledges the tripartite structure of music, dance and drama in the African context. Naamala's thesis informs my study in terms of liturgical dances where she draws on Vatican II and also considers some texts about the subject of inculturation, trying to establish the extent to which dances should be incorporated into the Catholic Church liturgy. Particularly, she takes a critical view of the dances also performed in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Music Festivals, considering their interpretation in both the secular and liturgical contexts. While Nannyonga-Tamusuza deals only with *baakisimba*, Naamala considers the dances generally performed in the church context without clearly specifying which of them represents what. Again there is a level of generalization in Naamala's study that terms all the dances as serving the same purpose and in her conclusions she advocates that they should not be included in the Catholic liturgy since they contradict the aims of inculturation and Vatican II.

Other scholars have considered music in the Catholic Church in Uganda, particularly examining compositional techniques used in the music of the Catholic Church (Gray 1995, Ssempijja 2006, Kagumba 2009). In both Catherine Gray's study (1995) and my earlier research (2006), we examine and account for the compositional techniques used in the Roman Catholic Church of Uganda. Both studies consider the colonial systems that introduced various musics which have in turn shaped the musical practices. Both studies (Gray 1995 and Ssempijja 2006) analyze a couple of music examples to explain the techniques used. Particularly in my former study, I create hybrid names to differentiate the western music genres from the newly created Kiganda-western music genres. Again, the two provide a brief historical review for analyzing the music in question. Kagumba on the other hand researches about James Kabuye as a leading figure in the Catholic Church music sector (also Ssempijja 2006, Mazinga 2009 and Ssekimpi 2003), also examining his composition style and its influences as well as life music studies.

Kyagambiddwa and Kabuye have respectively developed and revised a model on which the understanding and transcription of Kiganda music has so far been based. Kabuye (2010) and Kyagambiddwa (1955) introduce their studies with a general overview of what Kiganda music is and an attempt at transcribing it using the western-derived music staff notation. While Kyagambiddwa's book introduces the whole concept and attempts to document it, Kabuye's work is a continuation and a kind of update on the pace set by Kyagambiddwa in his *African Music from the Source of the Nile*. Kyagambiddwa's earlier work (1955) set the pace for music scholarship whereby he researched and wrote about music, approaching it from a historical perspective. His book draws on many myths in the Kiganda tradition as he attempts to explain the history, philosophy and origins of the people of Buganda. Later he tackles the question of Kiganda music and for the first time in history explains a theoretical approach towards Kiganda music, setting a kind of scale and relating it with western music so as to make it understandable to the western world. Again he explains in a descriptive way how the Kiganda rhythms and lyrics (which he refers to as text) are used in music composition particularly from a linguistic perspective. Later Kyagambiddwa places music in a functional context enumerating when which music is used in Buganda and in this sequence he eventually discusses worship music. While he does not directly deal with religious church music, Kyagambiddwa repeatedly draws from the church music experiences to explain a number of concepts of Kiganda music. For example, he considers a number of influences from western, European music that are responsible for the way the Baganda perform their music (1955:21-23).

Whereas Kyagambiddwa's work sets the stage for scholars to study, analyze and research about music in Uganda and Buganda in particular, his study has been greatly criticized by later scholars for having 'legalized/initiated/proposed' the understanding of Kiganda music based on ethnocentric western music knowledge (Ochwo 2002). His introduction of the equidistant pentatonic scale, varied time signatures and staff notation of music has been contested by scholars in an effort to achieve actual or closer accuracy in notating or transcribing Kiganda music, which is still struggling to

achieve a written/transcribable status. Ochwo (2002) later revisited Kyagambiddwa's *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* (1964) in an effort to transcribe the music as it sounds. His version of the newly transcribed oratorio also includes an instrumental accompaniment based on Kiganda traditional musical instruments. However, due to the inability of most Kiganda music performers to read music, this revised version has never been performed but only archived as an academic document. Nevertheless, Kyagambiddwa is credited for his tonal analysis of Kiganda music and all the historical documentation since his works were the first of this kind on music in Uganda.

Mainly using Kyagambiddwa as the base for his interpretation of Kiganda music, Kabuye (2010) also deals with *Kiganda Music* (2010), approaching it from a western musical perspective. Throughout his book, Kabuye mostly uses western concepts to explain Kiganda music, which at times makes it appear too abstract for the targeted audience. Like Kyagambiddwa, Kabuye draws on this known benchmark to explain Kiganda music including the Kiganda scale, time signatures and rhythms most appropriate for writing music, after which he explains the Kiganda melody. Unlike Kyagambiddwa, Kabuye also briefly explains musical instruments used in the Kiganda tradition among which are xylophones, stringed instruments, Kiganda wind instruments and Kiganda drums. Also in contrast with Kyagambiddwa, he has a section on Kiganda harmony as well as Kiganda music in the church. Kabuye's work presents yet another contrasting perspective to Kiganda music as compared with Kyagambiddwa's earlier work (1955). His work presents new insights on the development and evolution of 'Kiganda Music', the definition of which in this postcolonial, glocal age is contestable since it has come to incorporate a number of other musics from different parts of the country. He offers a rather simplistic approach to the question of writing Kiganda music (transcribing) whereby he fails to acknowledge the fact that by using the western staff notation system, which was initially utilized by Kyagambiddwa and in a way is now acting as a representation but is not the actual music performed, it is impossible to clearly articulate the performed Kiganda music. While relative pitch sounds could be deduced from the western

transcription methods in some cases, it is quite difficult for someone out of this tradition to perform this music without prior instruction from a knowledgeable person in this music. As such, Kabuye ought to have acknowledged that use of the western staff notation system in transcribing Kiganda music is only an approximation of the sounds and mostly creates a number of contradictions especially when it comes to the use of time signatures, particularly 7/8. There are also a couple of generalizations relating to African scales since his study does not indicate prior research conducted to justify its claims (2010:18). As far as African scales are concerned they are so diverse that one cannot do justice to the whole topic of 'African scales' by merely explaining them (with illustrations) on one page without any reference to their linguistic affiliations. More so, he only presents unexplained examples from Rhodesia and uses them to assume that he covered the entire subject of scales in Africa.

However, Kabuye's contribution cannot be overlooked since he rightly sets the debate on Kiganda harmony, a topic that has not been widely discussed by scholars, and also briefly approaches Kiganda music in the church. Whereas he does not explicitly explain instances where Kiganda harmony is applicable, Kabuye introduces Kiganda music in the church, drawing from his experiences as one of the earliest local Catholic Church music composers. He briefly explains the Vatican spirit in the process of inculturation as implied in the 'Sacro Sanctum Concilium' document on sacred music. Drawing from the missionary approach to music in Africa generally, Kabuye's main focus is on the treatment of Kiganda music in recontextualizing it for church use. However, he overgeneralizes by referring to this as general church use, yet he is only discussing it specifically in relation to the Catholic Church.

The above two studies provide an important historical background that informs my study in various ways. Specifically Kyagambiddwa illustrates the early attempts at documenting many aspects of Kiganda music and also clearly outlines the contested areas as far as history is concerned. Kabuye, on the other hand, updates Kyagambiddwa's study, mainly utilizing his experience in the field of music directing, teaching and composition of particularly Kiganda Catholic Church music.

Kabuye introduces a few issues on Kiganda church music which are some of the ones I encountered during fieldwork and which I also address later in Chapter Four of this dissertation. More still, Kabuye was one of my informants during fieldwork.

3.3 Studies on Music Festivals and Competitions

Other studies reviewed include those of G.Young (2007) and Lentz (2001), who specifically address the subject of music festivals. Young notes that background music or sound functions primarily to support narrative and expressive content particularly assisting in the communication of extra musical content (2007:41), while foreground music maintains music's primary emphasis on the actual sound heard by the listener. In relation to the festival Young argues that a music experience at the festivals differs from any other music experience in the sense that, "it offers a multidimensional integration of sound with community, with site, and with other art forms" (*ibid.*: 42). Gayle Young adds that, "A single piece of music can be heard in many contexts, through many different attitudes to listening" (*ibid.*). Particularly related to this study is the ability of the music performed at the festivals to articulate both of these roles in the sense that it serves the immediate needs of the church organizers as well as the after-festival intentions of meditating and mediating the Holy Scripture. Again, for this study Young introduces the concepts of foreground and background in which contexts and music still serve, though he falls short of establishing which is the more effective method of the two and why. Similar to this study, both Lentz and Young acknowledge the festival's ability to provide an all round experience of the integrated arts in music, dance, drama (theatre) as well as the visual arts. This resonates well with the current study since in Uganda, music, dance and drama are inseparable.

Other studies conducted on festivals have exemplified how music can act as an interface between the people with power and those under them. Lentz's study of cultural music festivals in Ghana shows how these festivals provide an avenue for interface between the local communities (people under the power divide) and the national government representatives (2001:49). In a way, the festivals act as an

avenue of renegotiating the power structures, and the music as a mediator. In order to mediate this renegotiation, music must embed specific characteristics that serve for these particular purposes. Lentz's study informs my study in the sense that it is also conducted on music festivals in Africa and similarly, it has a power structure element that needs to be analyzed as well as a cultural element used in either articulating the power structures or renegotiating them. In the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Music festivals, the use of the native Kiganda music compositional style could represent a renewed renegotiation of power structures which has evidently and constantly been considered as one of the subjects of postcolonial studies (Hall 1996, Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, Bryndon 2000, Giddens 1991). Other scholars who researched cultural music festivals in Ghana also acknowledge the British as responsible for the introduction of festivals in Ghana during the colonial period (A. Apter 1997, Cohn 1983). This raises another area of analysis in my study since there is also a British influence in the manner described by Lentz, A. Apter and others.

Music festivals have also been idealized as sites for cultural innovation where improvements in performance practices and religious ideals are given a facelift and repackaged for a modern audience, in a sense making them more effective in their work of communication and appealing to the audiences (Lentz 2001, Stillman 1996). Scholars have argued that festivals provide an arena where cultural musical practices are constantly reinvigorated and in practice, modification occurs. In festivals, local cultural forms are transformed through being commodified and 'folklorized' within the framework of new, global conventions of staging such events, with a desire to reach a wide, cross-generational public (van Binsbergen 1994:113, see also A. Apter 1997, Stillman 1996, Lentz 2001). Particularly, Stillman confirms that competitions have provided the stage for performative innovations that have transformed the Hawaiian hula tradition (1996:358). Most of these scholars consider cultural transformation as a purely positive effect without venturing to check on the power structures that lead to this, which might in a way reflect a negative aspect of transformation such as imperialism among others. However, the continuity and change of the festivals are also quite an important aspect worth considering if we are

to understand the festival in its entirety. The changes that might occur reflect the need to negotiate social issues related not only to power but also to identity and other things. These are aspects that form a basis for ethnomusicological research. However, the above studies resonate with my current study in the sense that I also consider cultural transformation as one of the effects of festivals. I however intend to scrutinize whether transformation is always positive by examining the circumstances under which it takes place.

Festivals are also interpreted as occasions for the expression of group solidarity and have capacity to comment on social order (Stillman 1996, Letz 2001). In other words, they contain constellations of symbols by which communities define themselves (Stillman 1996:358). In the hula competitions which Stillman studies, she lists *communitas*, coherence, reconstitution, and reintegration as some of the symbolized elements in the festivals. The performances constitute a sense of self-awareness, that is, being reminded of the people both participating as well as those attending these festivals. In doing so, the festivals become sites or avenues of cultural self-affirmation for the locals (Lentz 2001:49), publicizing local interests as well as national or even global interests. This is one way in which festivals contribute to the creation of a new public sphere, which among other issues is addressed in this study.

While festivals might appear more political, they are also sites for the production and negotiation of local cultural identities (Lentz 2001:64, see also Kuutma 1997). Lentz writes:

The relationship between local elites and the people, the state and the chiefs, and national and local ethnic identities is staged and negotiated in many fields of action at the festival, such as the politics of invitations, spartial performances, programming, dress, dance, and not least, the speeches (*ibid.*: 69).

In these performances at the festivals, there is renewed loyalty to both the secular and sacred rulers of a particular region in question, or even to the belief system to which the communities participating in these festivals subscribe. In a way it also serves as an alternative power-renegotiating avenue for the different types of music that are performed. Here, relationships between society (the people) and those in power are

renegotiated while power relationships in music are directly addressed, challenged and redefined. My study concurs with Lentz, Kuutma and Stillmann since they address the social aspects and implications of festivals, as does my study, though from a religious point of view. More still, the identities as explained above in these studies are central to my study as well.

In East Africa, one of the best-known publications about music competitions is *Mashindano! Competitive Music Performances in East Africa* (Barz and Gunderson 2000), which specifically deals with the notion of competition in the cultural and popular music genres of East Africa. It draws from earlier works in the region about competition by Terence Ranger (1975) and Arthur Morris Jones (1945) who had written about dances in East Africa and Zambia respectively. In the introduction to *Mashindano! Competitive Music Performances in East Africa*, Frank Gunderson explains how competitive music performances in East Africa draw from competitive social modes such as warfare, witchcraft and sport (2000:12). Considering competitions in general, Gunderson outlines that they have a number of elements in common, among which are team antagonisms, conflict, a contest of sorts, and the declaration of winners, with the overall prize in most cases being prestige and the accumulation of social capital through the demonstration of difference (*ibid.*:13). On this point, Gunderson agrees with Veit Erlmann who regards social capital and prestige as the usual rewards to many competitors (1996:226). Like Barz, Gunderson emphasizes the ability of competitions to build community formation and solidification whereby community values are displayed, remembered and reinforced. He also explains how instrumental the audience or fans are to such competitions (2000:14).

The studies by Gunderson and Barz resonate with mine in quite a number of aspects relating to competitions, which is a common theme for us. Among the connections is the ability of competitions to build strong community relationships. More importantly, our works stress the ability that competitions have in the formation and expression of community and identity (also Allen 2001:137). While their studies are more centered

on secular musical genres such as *Ngoma* and *Beni*, the current study concentrates on both social and religious aspects of musical performance in church festivals which are on the other hand competitive. Like the two scholars, in this study I argue that music competitions have the ability to define, construct and reinforce a sense of community around a particular identity (Allen 2001:138), in this case the Catholic identity in Buganda. Music is also used as a medium of defining difference from others.

Other scholars contributing to *Mashindano!* also try to express how identity is a constantly negotiated process in competitions, illustrating this in their varied ethnographic case studies (Johanssen 2000:255, Cooke and Dokotum 2000: 27, Hill 2000:367). In the same volume (*Mashindano! Competitive Music Performances in East Africa*), some scholars explore dance competitions and use their case studies to explain how these can lead or enhance gender negotiations and mediate class, ethnic and religious identity. Some of these themes, particularly religious identity, are portrayed in my study (Fair 2000:143). Fair's study illuminates similar themes in Ugandan secondary schools to those in Nannyonga-Tamusuza's study of music competitions (2001), whereby she also identifies these as avenues where *baakisimba*, the central theme in her study, is constantly renegotiated in terms of gender.

More so, Cooke and Dokotum also address similar concerns to Nannyonga-Tamusuza's with their case study of *ngoma* competitions among the Lango people of northern Uganda (2001:271). In their study, Cooke and Dokotum note that competitions have the ability to instill discipline in the competitors as well as encouraging originality. These studies, also conducted in Uganda, address similar issues to those in my research in the sense that they review the entire music-making process, examining the structure of the song, historical influences of the competitions as well as the meaning of the repertoire, thematic concerns, and representation. More still, Barz (2000:379) also considers youth choir performances in Dar es Salaam as avenues where among other things histories are performed. He examines the repertoire and the yardstick used by the competition judges as one of the means to identify what is being portrayed in these competitions. His study, just like the others

(Cooke and Dokotum, Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001 and Gunderson 2000), all focus on the unique ability of choirs to address the identity of group with specific themes including gender and mediation (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, 2005), communal identity, traditional oral poetry, modes of communication (Cooke and Dokotum 2000) as well as community formation, solidification and prestige (Gunderson 2000). Most of these studies utilize a postcolonial approach which greatly draws on the histories of various music genres that they researched, in the long run benefitting my study.

From the varied literature reviewed so far, while a number of studies express similar themes and related concerns to my study, none of them address church music competitions from the glocal perspective in which I contextualize my study. However, by addressing related issues in part, they contribute to my scholarship and particularly to my research methodologically, thematically, ethnographically, and theoretically as well as historically. My study depicts unique themes of not only global and local aspects of music performance, but also religious, liturgical, historical and social representations of performance in a competitive music festival. Drawing from an extensive theoretical survey as earlier explained, the current study digs deeper in the aspects of musical performance from a varied number of disciplines in the social sciences as well as in ethnography.

Chapter Four

4.0 Historical Perspectives on Catholic Church Music in Uganda

Introduction

In this section, I trace the background of the Catholic faith in Uganda starting from (1) the arrival of the first Christian missionaries in 1877. This is when the first Christian missionaries⁷ appeared at the court of Kabaka⁸ Muteesa I. I also examine (2) the attitude of the first missionaries towards the Buganda Kingdom, culture and in a more particular (3) way consider their attitude to Kiganda music and religion, especially in relation to its adaptability for use in the Roman Catholic Church. Later I consider a number of (4) landmark events, especially Vatican II, that are partially responsible for the current trends in Roman Catholic Church music performance, composition and publication. Given the scarcity of documented information about the history of Catholic Church music in Uganda, I have utilized the few available resources including books, articles, magazines, missionary documents as well as information provided to me by my informants from the many interviews that I conducted with priests who have been involved in documenting some of the church's history in Uganda as well as others who witnessed or heard first-hand accounts of most of these happenings.

The broad subject of Catholic Church music needs to be put properly into perspective so as to understand the subtopic of Catholic Church music festivals. Therefore, we first need to understand the historical circumstances that created or led up to the coming of the first Christian missionaries who are in turn accredited with the

⁷ Later, I will also consider factors that were behind the coming of the European missionaries especially in relation to the events that were happening at the court of the Kabaka.

⁸ The title Kabaka is equivalent to King. It is a title given to the head of the monarchy in Buganda kingdom.

introduction of literacy and teaching of western music to the Baganda in particular and Uganda generally.

4.1 The Coming of the Christian Missionaries to Uganda

The history of the Christian faith in Uganda and particularly the Catholic faith starts with Kabaka Muteesa I, who was the king of Buganda from 1852, 1856 or 1857⁹ (Otiso 2006: xv) to 1884 (Nyakatura 1973:122). In 1875, Kabaka Muteesa II hosted the European journalist, traveler and explorer Henry Morton Stanley at his palace. Muteesa requested Stanley to invite Christian missionaries to come and teach his people civilization and literacy. At once, Stanley wrote a letter to London inviting missionary organizations to come and work in Buganda, portraying an eagerness which the Kabaka had expressed from his subjects. Stanley's letter appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* catching the attention of a number of Christian missionary organizations in Europe, with Britain leading the way.

Following Henry Morton Stanley's letter published in the *Daily Telegraph* in London, the first Christian missionaries from Britain arrived in Buganda¹⁰ in 1877 and these consisted of only Protestants belonging to the Church Missionary Society (CMS) led by Rev. Alexander Mackay and Shergold Smith. They were later followed by the first group of Catholic missionaries from France who arrived on 23 March 1879 led by Fr. Simon Lourdel and Bro. Frere Amans. These two Catholic missionaries were French and belonged to the White Fathers (W.F.) missionary congregation. At the request of the Catholic White Fathers, the Mill Hill (M.H.) missionaries, from another Catholic congregation in Britain, arrived in Buganda in 1880. At a later stage, I will consider

⁹ Here I include three years 1852, 1856 or 1857 since the sources consulted did not agree on the exact year of Kabaka Muteesa's ascension to the throne or his predecessor's death. Again it is important to note that at the time of Muteesa's ascension to the Buganda throne, there was no proper documentation and keeping of records and perhaps this is one of the reasons why there are varying accounts of the year of his ascension to the Buganda throne.

¹⁰ Buganda: I use Buganda because until 1962, there was no Uganda. Uganda got its name from the kingdom of Buganda in 1962 as it attained its independence from Britain. Therefore, I only refer to Uganda in the context of the current research where the missionaries' activities have an impact on the country at large but for the sake of being specific, I will continue using Buganda until the time the name ceased to apply.

reasons why after only two years, Catholic missionaries of another nationality and congregation were invited to join the French White Fathers in Buganda.

At this point it is important for us to examine why the Kabaka asked Stanley to invite Christian missionaries to come to the Buganda kingdom. Islam had come to Buganda as early as 1844, and was beginning to become a threat to the authority of Kabaka Muteesa I. This followed threats from Egypt to create a Muslim empire along the Nile including the Buganda kingdom. As such, tension was beginning to rise between the Kabaka and a number of his Muslim subjects. Kevin Ward notes:

But by 1876 this basis for the encouragement of Islam was being undermined by the forces of Muslim Egypt, striving to incorporate the head-waters of the Nile (including Buganda) into an Egyptian Empire. The visit of Egyptians to Buganda in 1876 precipitated a crisis in Muteesa's relations with Islam. They criticized the *Qibla* (direction) of the court mosque and the fact that the uncircumcised king should lead the Friday prayers. They also encouraged Buganda Muslims strictly to observe Islamic food laws and to refuse to eat meat slaughtered by the Kabaka's butchers. The subsequent defiance of a number of young *baggalaggala* (pages) led to the execution of some 100 Muslims at Namugongo, one of the traditional execution sites of Buganda. For Muteesa it was not simply a matter of insubordination, serious as that was, but a confirmation of fears that Islam was becoming a politically subversive creed (Ward 2004).

Therefore, following the above highlighted developments, the Kabaka was desperately in need of an alternative religious system, one that would not undermine his power and threaten his position among his subjects. It was at this opportune time that Stanley appeared at the court as a European traveler, journalist, and explorer. For the Kabaka, the advent of the *muzungu* (European) was a welcome opportunity to counteract the Egyptian threat, as well as to get in contact with the actual source of the technological innovations which the Muslims had introduced since he reasoned that the Europeans' technological superiority pointed to the superiority of their religions over Islam and indigenous traditional religions (Otiso 2006:30). In confirmation of this, the Kabaka went to an extent of convincing Stanley about how eager his subjects were to receive Christianity and civilization from the White man. Hence, Ward writes:

Stanley's famous letter to the *Daily Telegraph* painted a much romanticized picture of Muteesa. He represented the Kabaka as a great enlightened despot eager to hear the

Gospel and speedily to propagate it throughout his kingdom. The reality was different as the missionaries were soon to discover once they reached Buganda. But the letter did produce a speedy response in Britain (Ward 2004, also Otiso 2006:28-29).

Kevin Ward's account exemplifies the situation in which the Kabaka was caught following his disagreements with the Muslims coupled with the looming Egyptian threat. As such, his quest for an alternative belief system led to Christianity, as both Protestant and Catholic missionaries found their way into Uganda.

Similarly, it is also of interest to note that it was only one year after the White Fathers had arrived in Buganda that the Mill Hill missionaries also came to Uganda. This raises interesting questions, especially given the fact that the conversion numbers at this time were not too high for the White Fathers to manage on their own. In the same way, since the White Fathers were from France, a once close opponent of Britain in the acquisition of colonial territories in Africa, the coming of the Mill Hill missionaries raises other insights that are more closely related with the colonial government. However, in an interview with Henry Kyabukasa¹¹, I was informed that there was growing rivalry between the French Catholic White Fathers and the English Anglican missionaries that was aimed at winning the loyalty of the colonial government. In this, the Anglicans had tried to convince the Kabaka that the English do not subscribe to Catholicism at all, making it appear as a very inferior religion to Protestantism, to which the French White Fathers objected. The Catholics then challenged them by inviting an English Catholic missionary group so as to prove their point to the Kabaka. On the other hand, the colonial government welcomed this development since they trusted English missionaries more given that they conducted all their activities in English (unlike the French who used French), raising no reason to be suspected as the French were. (Kyabukasa interview 10 June 2010). Writing about this Anglican-Catholic rivalry which later culminated into the religious wars, Kefa Otiso has explained:

¹¹ Henry Kyabukasa is a priest holding the title of Monsignor which is in appreciation of his work as a great historian of the church in Buganda. He has been involved in documenting a lot of the Catholic Church's history in Uganda and Buganda in

Although some of this conflict was caused by Muslim assaults on Buganda, most of it was caused by rivalry between French Roman Catholicism and British Protestant Christianity. Had these two branches of Christianity originated from one country, say Great Britain, much of this warfare would have perhaps been avoided and the cause of Christianity in Uganda would have been much better served (Otiso 2006:30).

Otiso's emphasis is on the imperialistic overtones of this religious conflict. More still, this was the time that directly followed the Scramble for Africa¹² whereby each European nation was carefully tightening its grip on their African colonies. By examining and analyzing all the three accounts of Ward, Kyabukasa and Otiso, one cannot hesitate to conclude that the coming of the Mill Hill missionaries was mainly an issue of rivalry between the French and British Christian missionaries which was colonially oriented, as seen in the preceding historical relations between the two European nations.

Since the focus of my research is mainly on the Catholic missionaries and particularly on the role they played in the establishment of modern Catholic Church music in Kampala Archdiocese, Buganda and the rest of Uganda, in the next section, I will concentrate more on issues and events pertaining to the Catholic missionaries' establishment and work. Particularly, I will involve Christian missionaries from other denominations when it is necessary so as to clearly trace and explain how Catholic Church music came to be introduced in Uganda.

Yves Tourigny (1974) has noted that later the Holy See¹³ placed the two Catholic missionary congregations in charge of the two main divisions of the Kingdom of Buganda. The first was a Mill Hill territory with its headquarters at Nsambya, where currently the Catholic Secretariat is housed. The second group formed the White

particular. He is also the author of *Pioneer of Education. A Hundred Years of Bukalasa Seminary* (1993), a book that documents most of the historical aspects of the missionary activities especially in relation to the founding of the seminary.

¹² The Scramble for Africa took place in 1884 and in this many of the European colonial powers divided African territories amongst themselves.

¹³ The Holy See: (Latin: *Sancta Sedes*) is the episcopal jurisdiction of the Catholic Church in Rome in which its Bishop is commonly known as the Pope. It is the preeminent Episcopal see of the Catholic Church, forming the central government of the Church. As such, diplomatically, and in other spheres the Holy See acts and speaks for the whole Catholic Church. It is also recognized by other subjects of international law as a sovereign entity, headed by the Pope, with which diplomatic relations can be maintained (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holy_See).

Fathers' territory which had its headquarters at Lubaga, which now houses both the Catholic cathedral and the Kampala Archdiocesan offices. Each of these two missions had a Bishop that headed the activities of its congregation. The Catholic missionaries preached the gospel of Christ and by March 1880 there were four baptized Ugandans; by 1890 the number had grown to 12,000, and in 1901 there were 80,000 baptized converts (Tourigny 1974:10). They opened up the first seminary at Bukalasa, Villa Maria-Masaka in 1893 and had the very first Ugandan priests, Bazil Lumu and Victor Womeraka Mukasa ordained on 29 June 1913 (Ndawula 1999a:2).

Among the many activities carried out by these missionaries was teaching their converts the catechism of the Roman Catholic faith, how to read and write, and vocational studies such as brick laying, carpentry, and singing. It is therefore no wonder that later they started building churches, hospitals and schools, most of which have survived up to today. Among some of the notable surviving churches they built are Lubaga Cathedral, Namiryango Parish Church, Villa Maria Church, Kitovu Cathedral, and Nsambya Parish Church. The first school to be built in Uganda was Bukalasa Seminary which was opened up in 1893 by Archbishop Jean Joseph Hirth who was the second Catholic Bishop of Uganda after Msgr. Leon Livinhac (Kyabukasa 1993:13). Other early schools founded by the Catholic missionaries included St. Mary's College Kisubi, St. Henry's College Kitovu, St. Mary's Namagunga Senior Secondary School, Katigondo National Major Seminary and Namiryango College.

The two groups of Catholic missionaries had both brought their church music used in their respective home countries. On the one hand, the Mill Hill had English hymns from England which they later translated into Luganda, while maintaining the melodies (Hastings 1976:84). They sang these with occasional Latin songs during mass and other services of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the White Fathers had their French songs which they sang and taught to their followers even before translating them. Later, they too translated them into Luganda. According to a number of informants, it was the White Fathers who greatly utilized the Gregorian chants

which were by then in the *Liber Usualis* (interviews: Henry Kyabukasa 10 June 2010, David Kyeyune 19 February 2010, Joseph Nnamukangula 10 June 2010).

Joseph Nnamukangula, one of the earliest priests to be trained and educated in music, informed me that these songs were taught to the congregation every Sunday before the mass began and immediately after the mass. The teaching was based on a rote system whereby the missionaries first sang through the songs to the congregation after which the congregation repeated after them until they were able to memorize the various songs taught. Slowly but surely, they built a base for liturgical singing firstly for the mass and later for other liturgical activities. Nnamukangula also noted that they started training choirs around their parishes and these were mainly in the seminaries and convents where the nuns could be trained to sing the different masses in the Gregorian chant book, *Liber Usualis* (interview 10 June 2010). These same choirs were taught how to read music and a little bit of Latin for liturgical purposes. It was on such choirs that the church depended to sing during the important celebrations in the church calendar (interviews: Buwule 2004, Nnamukangula 2010, Mukwaya 2004).

On the other hand, the Mill Hill missionaries also had their own hymn book which they called the Mill Hill Hymn Book. It mostly contained songs in English which they later translated into Luganda, maintaining the English melodies and harmony. The hymn book was printed at the Mill Hill printing press, which they had previously established at their headquarters in Nsambya.

4.2 The Language Factor and its Cultural Consequences

From the early singing in the church we note that just like their fellow colonilists, the missionaries did not give any chance to the Africans to make any decisions or ask any questions about what they were singing. As such, they were completely at the receiving end without question¹⁴. In cases where this complete obedience was not

¹⁴ Postcolonial literature has addressed this issue of power imbalance at length (see Mishra and Hodge 1993).

achieved, heavy punishments were inflicted on the offenders. Rose Mboowa notes how missionary schools forbade communication in native languages which were derogatorily called “vernacular” (1996:88). Even from my own personal experience in primary school, communicating using one of the local languages would earn one a punishment in form of caning, manual labor such as slashing and digging, kneeling down for long hours among other punishments as the missionaries and colonial governments had introduced to many of their schools.

One way in which the Europeans were subjugated was through language, both English and French. While the colonial policy at the time required the missionaries to instruct using the language of the colonial masters of a particular region (in this case English since Buganda was under the British), the French White Fathers used to conduct their activities in French, hence the origin of the name Mapeera which was given to Fr. Lourdel after he repeatedly used it to refer to, “the French words of My Father are ‘Mon Pere’”. The Baganda at the time equated it to Mapeera¹⁵ which is the name that Lourdel was known as thereafter up to the time of his death (Hastings 1976:84).

However, it was English, not French, which became a symbol of power and authority. More so, the colonial governments and English missionaries used the language factor as a tool of nullifying some of the existing cultural practices of the Baganda. Quoting Ngugi wa Thiongo, Mboowa goes ahead to exemplify the consequences of enforcing English.

As Ngugi states, “English became more than a language: it was the language, and all others had to bow down before it in deference” (Decolonising 11) Since language is a “carrier of culture” (Decolonising 13), this had far reaching consequences. In preferring a foreign language to their own, the people came to despise all that was associated with

¹⁵ Mapeera is a Luganda name for the guavas, a fruit that grows mainly in the tropics. Since to the Baganda the closest association that they could make with ‘Mon Pere’ was ‘mapeera’ since the two had similarities in their phonetic pronunciations. Since phonetically mon pere (in French) sounded as Mapeera (in Luganda), the Baganda early converts decided to adopt it to refer to Simon Lourdel and it soon took over as his name. Today songs have been composed acknowledging Mapeera (Simon Lourdel) as the father of Catholicism in Uganda (M.T.O :364). Also a number of texts have been written referring to him as Mapeera (Tourigny 1974, Hastings 1976, Kyabukasa 1993, Anatooli Wasswa N.D, M.T.O. 2003).

their own. Since their colonial overloads punished them with manual labor, the natives regarded manual labor as demeaning rather than as a useful social activity (1996:88).

In enforcing English, the colonial governments managed to effect one of their long lasting colonial markers on Uganda, which was the English language. The practice of glorifying English on the contrary demeaned all the other Ugandan languages as low, meaningless and languages of the primitive, lower, uneducated class/people. Kefa Otiso has explained the following about language:

They instilled in the native an admiration for anything western as good and African as bad. It is therefore no wonder that up to today, the national language is still English since whenever the Parliament of Uganda debates about changing the national language to a more native one, there is a lot of controversy. All regions feel that just like English this language will maybe have such a 'glocal' command as English is enjoying. But on the other hand, there is widespread worshipping of English as the language of the elite. Kefa M. Otiso has noted that, "there is widespread belief among many Ugandans that indigenous language publications and media are for the uneducated and uninformed masses and that well educated people read English-language materials" (2006:36).

On the other hand, as many scholars have justified how language is an important marker of one's social identity (Barz 2003, Stokes 1994, Vilhanova 2006), it is necessary to review the power struggles between the British and other potential competitors in the colonization of Buganda at the time. While Britain was the recognized colonizer, there were a number of other missionaries from Europe who were working in the country such as the Germans and the French. For purposes of succumbing to British rule and dominance, they were obliged to use English in the British colony. Furthermore, this would act as a marker that Buganda and Uganda was a British and not a French or German colony. It was an issue of identifying Uganda (the colony) with Britain and vice versa. In so doing, all other native languages were suffocated in favor of English and this signified its superiority, dominance and authority in Uganda in all aspects of its society including missionary activities. Viera Pawlikova Vilhanova (2006) and Holger Bernt Hansen (1986) have extensively discussed the language question and the role of the missionary factor in the quest for a language policy in Uganda (also Kubik 1981).

However, among the Catholic missionaries and specifically in the music sphere, English was competing with other languages which also merit discussion in the same context. The second language in question was Latin, which was also being used by the two missionary congregations though mostly by the French White Fathers. Latin was not yet understood by either the native Baganda converts or the colonial government, who looked at it suspiciously since it was mostly used by the French White Fathers. The universal Catholic Church had long before this time already declared Latin as the official language of the Church. The official chant book used by the Catholic Church, *Liber Usualis*, was already in existence, in Latin. Thus, the mass and all prayers were supposed to be conducted in Latin by this time.

Particularly for this study, the language factor is quite significant since it has always embedded power structural representations in it. More so, in the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals, the power structures are greatly representative of either the global or the local hybrid negotiations as will be considered in Chapter Five. To some extent, the earlier language negotiations that Catholic Church music underwent have come to have lasting effects on the music used in the church in the sense that up to today, they are still upheld. While some of these languages (particularly Latin) might not be understood by the ordinary Christian in the village, once anything is communicated in Latin, it represents vivid ecclesiastical authority as well as a distinct directive from the highest organs in the Catholic Church, the Vatican. In other words, it signifies how the Vatican has exerted its influence over how Catholicism is practiced not only in Uganda but globally, thus becoming a kind of global language used by the Catholic Church for their official communications. In a way it has become a symbol of identifying with the church and on another level the pride of the church. For example, during my fieldwork, one of the prominent music directors and conductors confessed to me that he had been singing Latin songs in mass for over thirty years without understanding them but trusting and believing in 'the language of the church' (interview: Wamala Vincent 18 July 2009).

It is the same spirit, the language issue has been carried forward to the Kampala Archdiocesan Schools Music Festivals. Language is a great representative of one's Catholicism, along with being a staunch Catholic. While English and Luganda are also very important, Latin has an 'other' attached meaning in its usage or reference in the Roman Catholic circles both globally and locally. In this festival it has always competed with English to some extent since both languages are foreign to the Baganda as well as symbols of foreign dominance. The language issue will be revisited later while discussing the global and local issues.

4.3 Situating the Archdiocese of Kampala in the History of Catholic Church Music in Uganda

The historical contexts that locate music in Kampala Archdiocese cannot be fairly explicated without giving due consideration to the history and formation of Kampala Archdiocese. Since the formation of Kampala Archdiocese was a process, the church musical landmarks are just part of that process, and in order to analyze and properly comprehend both of these, we need to situate them into their rightful context, which is the events that surrounded this formation¹⁶. Similarly, the history of Kampala Archdiocese incorporates multiple histories for other Catholic dioceses in Uganda, particularly all the Luganda-speaking dioceses, namely Masaka Diocese, Jinja Diocese, Kasana-Luweero Diocese, Kiyinda-Mityana Diocese and Lugazi Diocese. Originally, the present-day Kampala Archdiocese included all these areas as constituent parts, and therefore we cannot consider Kampala in isolation from them. More so, the church musical practices in all these aforementioned dioceses tend to blend, implying a possible meeting point or some sort of influence somewhere in their history. In the next section, I revisit the formation of Kampala Archdiocese specifically to account for the musical developments that emanated from the common

¹⁶ For further information about the archdiocesan history visit the website <http://www.klarchdiocese.org.ug/diocese.php?opt=ar> or read Yves Tourigny (1974)

history and eventual blending of musical practices and how they were affected by the landmark musical events that happened in the national Catholic Church.

According to available records, the present-day Kampala Archdiocese was founded as early as 1966. However, this is merely the date when it was officially instituted and recognized as an independent archdiocese (Ssonko 1999:12, Ndawula 1991a:14). All vicariates in Uganda were officially elevated to the rank of dioceses in 1953 (Ndawula 1999a:14). This implies that their founding/existence (Kampala in particular) dates back further than 1953. The first establishment of a Catholic territory was done in 1883 by the Holy See whereby it was known as the Victoria Nyanza Vicariate and entrusted to the Missionaries of Africa. Its headquarters were in Lubaga. However, in 1884, the Holy See again established an Upper Nile Vicariate which was carved off the main Victoria Nyanza Vicariate and entrusted into the guardianship of the Mill Hill missionaries. The headquarters of Upper Nile Vicariate were located at Nsambya, as was the bishop's residence. In 1933, Nyanza Vicariate's name was changed to the Vicariate of Uganda which it was known as up to 1953. At the retirement of the then archbishop of Lubaga, Henri Streicher in 1933, he recommended that Lubaga should be split, making way for the establishment of Masaka vicariate. Sarah Dahl has noted that:

Meanwhile, the Ugandan church was changing. Streicher retired in 1933, and Rome divided his old diocese in two. Masaka, the larger half, was administered for six years under a vicar general, while Rome delayed acting upon Streicher's wishes that an African be ordained as bishop (a move rumored to be opposed by British authorities).

In 1939, when Kiwanuka reached the age of 40, the newly ascended Pope Pius XII acted decisively. Like Pius XI before him, the pope believed that "the missions in Africa represent today the richest harvest of conversion," and that Africans were the most effective missionaries on their own continent. He appointed Father Kiwanuka vicar apostolic over Masaka, a position that would evolve into a full bishopric once Masaka was formally declared a diocese (2003:2).

In 1936 Masaka was established as an independent vicariate under the African White Father Joseph Kiwanuka, who was later to become the first African bishop south of the Sahara (Kyabukasa 1993). In 1947, following Nyanza Vicariate's change of name

and after the erection of vicariates in territories beyond the Nile on the eastern side of Kampala, the Upper Nile Vicariate was also renamed the Vicariate of Kampala by which it was known until 1953. In 1953, a new development occurred whereby all vicariates in Uganda were officially elevated to the rank of dioceses (Ndawula 1999a:14) with Lubaga as the archdiocese. Later in 1966, the two dioceses, Lubaga Archdiocese which had its headquarters at Lubaga, and Kampala Archdiocese with its Bishop and headquarters at Nsambya, were joined to form one diocese, the Archdiocese of Kampala.

After Masaka Diocese was declared as an independent vicariate, other dioceses continued to be carved off the main Kampala Archdiocese in order to make it manageable administratively as well as to ensure that the church's work was fulfilled. The first to be carved off was Kiyinda-Mityana in 1983, followed by the other two, Lugazi and Kasana-Luweero, which were both formed in 1997. Having been part of the main diocese, there was a great influence from the main Kampala Archdiocese. As such, there were a lot of events that occurred in parts now belonging to the two dioceses but in this context, they will be considered as historical aspects of Kampala Archdiocese.

From a critical perspective, the establishment of various dioceses or vicariates that were carved off the original Nyanza Vicariate by the Holy See might have fulfilled the need to have independent missionary congregations working in their independent areas without any kind of collision. Charles Ndawula (1999a:13) notes that as soon as the Mill Hill missionaries arrived, the establishment of the Upper Nile Vicariate was started and sure enough, it took them only a few years to declare it independent of Nyanza Vicariate. This observation could have been caused by a number of different factors; therefore, the question of different missionary congregations working in almost the same areas needs to be revisited in order to understand the need for independent dioceses for each missionary congregation, especially in relation to their nationalities and the colonial policies that prevailed at the time.

4.4 The Lubaga-Nsambya Question: Its Historical Significance and Impact on Catholic Church Music Festivals Today

The formation of Kampala Archdiocese was not an easily accomplished task but came along with a couple of incidents/landmarks which are vital for consideration in this study since they had great and lasting effects on the church music performance, composition and publication not only in Kampala Archdiocese but in Uganda as a whole. As earlier indicated, the two dioceses of Lubaga Archdiocese and Kampala Diocese were under two different Catholic missionary congregations. Lubaga was under the White Fathers while Nsambya was under the Mill Hill missionaries. In a way this created a kind of differing system of operation liturgically which in turn created differing musical practices in the same religious denomination. These incidents culminated into the Lubaga-Nsambya rivalry and therefore, in this study I deal with them under the heading “The Lubaga-Nsambya Question”. I will consider this in the next section with specific attention to those differences that were discernible in the music and have influenced the current church music in the Archdiocese of Kampala.

Since the Mill Hill missionaries had come from England, their official mode of communication prior to the Second Vatican Council was English. Most of their songs were in English and basically their hymnal/chorale contained works by the English composers of the time such as Henry Purcell and William Bird, as well as earlier ones such as the German Johann Sebastian Bach among others. Their songs consisted of popular tunes from the Westminster hymnal originally in English though later translated to Luganda as instructed by the Holy See¹⁷. As such, new versions of common hymns such as *Soul of my Savior* were translated into Luganda. “Soul of my Savior” was translated as *Nkulamusa nnyo* (Kabuye 2003: 90), while others also

¹⁷ O.E. Axelsson (1974: 95) reports that in an earlier sanction by the papal Instruction, “*Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*” of 1955 concerning Catholic Mission Areas, Pope Pius XII had made it clear that there was no longer merely a wish for adaptation of secular African tunes but a desire for a new music similar to the indigenous music.

acquired Luganda alternatives that have been popular songs in the Catholic Church up to the time of conducting this study.

As opposed to the Mill Hill, the White Fathers in Lubaga who had brought along French tunes translated them into Luganda and combined them with Latin songs and chants to create a Lubaga church hymnal¹⁸ repertoire. Most of their church documents were in Latin and also some parts of their mass remained in Latin even after the Second Vatican Council. While the Mill Hill hymns were in a chorale style typical of most English hymns, the French melodies were similar to the Gregorian chants (mostly in unison) that were the instituted Roman Catholic Church music before the Second Vatican Council. Though many Baganda were not musically trained, they could tell from the sounding, languages and arrangement of the music whether it was from Nsambya or Lubaga. According to a number of informants, this created mixed feelings and differing Catholic practices musically even if the mass was conducted in the same manner in both dioceses (Joseph Nnamukangula 10 June 2010, Francis Tebasoboke 25 February 2010, and Henry Kyabukasa 10 June 2010).

Furthermore, the two missionary groups had established two different printeries responsible for all liturgical and other scholarly books. The English missionaries had the Mill Hill Printery (as it was commonly referred to) also located at Nsambya, while the White Fathers had the White Father's printery originally located at Bukalasa Seminary in Masaka. These were also responsible for printing the church hymn books which also increased the differences between the two dioceses in such a way that the Catholics could easily tell that the two differed greatly in their musical and liturgical manner and even the manner in which they dressed (Joseph Kyeyune personal communication). In a way, this presented the two Catholic groups as two different groups of people competing with each other.

¹⁸ *Akatabo Kabamalayika* was the name that was commonly used to refer to the church song book used by the White Fathers (White Fathers, 1898. *Akatabo Ak'ennyimba*. Bukalasa: White Fathers Printing Press). Later different versions emerged in the years that followed, that is: 1904, 1910, 1923, 1926 and lastly 1955 (See references for details).

Thirdly, the way Nsambya and Lubaga are geographically located implied that they had to divide the capital city Kampala into two divisions: the Nsambya division and the Lubaga. Based on the nature and way of life of the people of Kampala, and given that both divisions were part of the Roman Catholic Church, a number of believers aggravated the Nsambya-Lubaga rivalry by sticking to one specific area, either Nsambya or Lubaga. When I asked one of my informants why, he told me that “Someone (a Catholic) from Nsambya could not sing the Lubaga songs and vice versa and this hindered many from following, participating and enjoying the liturgy as required by the church” (interview: Richard Kaabunga 24 July 2009). In this case, it was a question of the songs that the laity found divisive since they were different. Again during the course of my research, I encountered people asking whether one belonged to Lubaga or Nsambya originally. This divisionism kind of heightened the differences to an extent that by then it had even spread to the laymen. To me, this represented some kind of division that stemmed right from the clergy themselves.

The above outlined differences later became a great area of contestation especially after the two dioceses had been merged. In the interviews I conducted, most of my informants cited this Lubaga-Nsambya question as one of the reasons that necessitated and brought about the current Catholic hymn book, *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama* (M.T.O.). As I will later explain, after merging the two dioceses, the committee that was later appointed by the bishop Emmanuel Nsubuga, and tasked with laying a firm foundation for a common Luganda Catholic hymn book, encountered a challenge of synchronizing the two hymnals, that is the Mill Hill hymnal and the White Fathers’ hymn book. One of the possible reasons was that the committee consisted of priests from both the former Kampala Diocese and Lubaga Archdiocese, all of whom tried to forward their interests so that they would be visibly represented in the new hymn book that was not only going to be used in Kampala but also in Masaka diocese since it was a Luganda-speaking diocese.

The Lubaga-Nsambya question was finally resolved when Pope Paul VI visited Uganda in 1969. It went down in history that he was the first Roman pontiff to visit

Uganda. According to Henry Kyabukasa, after the Pope had listened, visited and consulted with a number of stakeholders in the Ugandan Catholic Church, he decided that the capital city, Kampala, could not be divided into two regions managed differently. He therefore requested for the headquarters of the Mill Hill missionaries to be shifted to Jinja diocese on the eastern side of Kampala, where they are currently located (Kyabukasa interview: 10-06-2010). This region is nearest to Buganda and the language used there, Lusoga, is also closely related to Luganda. Buganda kingdom is separated by the river Nile from the kingdom of Busoga. As such, Bishop Emmanuel Nsubuga (the former bishop of Lubaga Archdiocese and later Cardinal) was fully placed in charge of the now unified Kampala Archdiocese. Up to now, the Mill Hill missionaries still manage Jinja Diocese and the current bishop is Rt. Rev. George Willigers, who has headed this diocese ever since the Pope's visit. Although this area (Jinja) does not belong to the scope of my fieldwork, I noticed that the church music practices have a lot of influences from the main Kampala Archdiocese. More so, Jinja Diocese tries to participate in most of the interdiocesan music activities that are usually exclusively designed for the Buganda speaking dioceses. An explanation here is the common or related history that Jinja shares with Kampala even though the missionaries who worked in the two dioceses differed.

The Lubaga-Nsambya question forms an important part of this study in the sense that a lot of explanations of globalization seen in Catholic Church music in a way make reference to the compositional styles that either Nsambya or Lubaga used. Again, power structures in the Catholic Church were greatly revisited but still based on what the original Nsambya or Lubaga established. For example, the Lubaga-Nsambya question was embedded in the Anglo-French rivalry that reached its climax during the Scramble for Africa. Back in Europe, the two European nations had competed for African colonies endowed with minerals and other resources. While the Scramble for Africa provided a kind of temporary resolution on the question of who would colonize which country in Africa, the rivalry between the two nations was not about to be resolved since it resurfaced in various forms. Again, the Lubaga-Nsambya question resurrects the power structures embedded in the languages used in the

Catholic Church and in the British colony of Uganda. While the English Mill Hill missionaries received a lot of support from the British colonial masters, the French White Fathers largely embarked on carrying forward the Church tradition of maintaining Latin and the music of the universal Catholic Church, thereby leading up to the introduction of genres like Gregorian chants. These have lately become a global identifying feature of Catholic Church music. In this study, I will later consider how composers have created a church music glocal hybrid of Kiganda Gregorian chants aimed at retaining the identity of the Global Catholic Church while utilizing the local musical materials from Kiganda music.

On the other hand, the Mill Hill tradition of English hymns is also responsible for the currently used genre of Kiganda hymns in the attempt to maintain the Church's heritage from the missionaries. This they do while incorporating Kiganda styles of music composition to create a hybrid musical genre only used in the Catholic Church and because of the language and other compositional techniques employed, it is strictly related to the Church in Buganda. As such, the Mill Hill also greatly contributed to the current glocal music genres that identify the Ugandan Catholic church within the global Vatican-based Roman Catholic Church music. The hybrid nature of this music (and the culture) is a very important aspect of postcolonial (Homi K. Bhabha 1994) and glocal analysis since it leads to a unique identity based on both local and global sensibilities. Further analysis will be done at a later stage when the musical techniques used by the two Catholic missionary groups are revisited and critically analyzed.

4.5 Composing and Translating Hymns into Luganda

When the European missionaries came to Buganda, they found the Baganda having their own Kiganda music that employed contrasting music compositional techniques from their western music. The missionaries quickly prohibited Africans from using traditional music for church purposes, arguing that it was connected to Satanism (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001:146, Kubik 1981, Gray 1993, Ssempijja 2006).

Regarding this element, A.B.K. Kasozi notes: "The early missionaries thought that

Kiganda music was so much intertwined with pagan customs that it was better to forget it completely and replace it with Christian music (1979:64)". Again, the Africans were not allowed to compose any church music. There were two main reasons for this.

First, the new converts had not yet learnt enough theology to enable them to compose music without having the message conflict with the church's teachings. The catechism classes that were being conducted were only dealing with rudimentary issues of Catholic theology. Therefore, no Muganda could qualify to compose, let alone write lyrics. More so, the Baganda were by and large still illiterate; only a few of them knew how to read and write. The few who could were not yet competent in music to qualify as church composers. Secondly, the African concept of music was different from the western notion. If compared, the western hymns and the Gregorian chants used by the missionaries differed greatly from the Kiganda songs that the Baganda were used to. In a way, this made the work of composing rather unapproachable for the Africans. However, the Africans were free to compose other songs that were not particularly for church use. In an account, Kyabukasa notes that the young seminarians were composing songs for entertainment as early as 1899 (1993:30).

From a number of postcolonial perspectives advanced by various scholars (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, Marwan Kraidy 1999, Gregory Barz 2003), it is inevitable to consider the power relations that were embedded in this issue of the Baganda participating in the music composition process or even performing their traditional music in the church circles. Firstly, composing it would imply that the sacred nature of the music, as presented by the missionaries, could also be reduced to the common Kiganda music which was available everywhere including in the local shrines which the missionaries were fighting hard to nullify spiritually. By being offered a different and foreign music genre, the Baganda would come to realize how glorified the new religion was as compared to their traditional worshipping ceremonies. Moreover,

when the European missionaries listened to Kiganda music, they could not understand it. Thus Axelsson has summed it up that,

Thus in respect of church-music, the European outlook was dominant; Christian music, by necessity had to be western, as African music was unintelligible to the European ear and regarded as inferior and pagan (1974: 91).

In an effort to retain their superior power as construed religiously, the clergy had to restrict the Baganda from carrying out some of these seemingly “European” errands lest they would be stooping so low to engage in what the Africans could do effectively. This can be exemplified in an earlier publication in which Kyagambiddwa (before engaging in composing church music) asserts after the discussed missionary conviction: “Today if the mass was to be chanted in the vernaculars, the languages whose natural musics are lost would make the liturgy less pleasant” (1955: 19). Of course he was a well trained and strictly raised Catholic and so regarded what the missionaries taught as true up to the time he was tasked with composing music in the traditional Kiganda style.

A cause for concern was the traditional drum, which has received a lot of attention as the missionaries’ most hated African instrument, noted in over ten African countries (Weman 1960, Axelsson 1974, Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, Agawu 1992, Kidula 1998, Barz 2003, Kwabena Nketia 1986). While the drum was prohibited from entering the Church by the European missionaries, I discovered during my research that it was being used to call people to attend mass just as it was being used in the Buganda kingdom to alert people about an important communication or a gathering (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001:151,152). Was not this same drum capable of communicating evils if it was used to invite believers? Again, would it not emerge one day that the spirits which it was allegedly supposed to invoke appeared at these churches in response to the drum’s invocation so as to possess people including both the newly converted as well as the missionaries? Such questions cannot be ruled out of our minds if we are to analyze and understand the perceptions of the missionaries hand in hand with the colonial motives that prevailed. Colonization of the mind cannot be ruled out here since the drum issue was part of a process that gradually

turned the minds and perspectives of the colonized. Kidula has pointed out that, “the missionaries brought understandings of Christianity rooted in their cultural interpretation of the Bible” (2008:39). Kidula’s quote implies volumes since even at the introduction of Christianity in Europe, many Christian churches are reported to have prohibited the performance of traditional musical instruments in their respective churches. An example is the Lutheran church which prohibited the performance of the Hardanger fiddle in Norway. This one policy the European missionaries also adopted in Africa since it is what happened to some European communities and was not strange to them anymore.

But prohibiting the use of drums in the church did not hinder them from advancing in their work of evangelization and creating new choirs able to sing the type of music with which they came. The power structures favored them greatly to the extent that by the time some of these native musics and traditional musical instruments were allowed into the church, a number of native Africans are reported to have objected to their use (Axelsson 1974: 93). Since these missionaries came at a time when the colonialists were also tightening their grip on Buganda, we cannot totally rule out the fact that colonial influence was partly utilized in this case.

According to a number of informants, the missionaries started forming choirs in different parishes and these were taught how to sing songs, mainly Gregorian chants and English hymns. However, Nnamukangula explains that at this time, they were not singing the harmonized parts but only concentrating on teaching the choirs to sing in unison. The focus was mainly on the already established seminaries and convents where they had people who intended to devote their lives to God. Since the missionaries had also started conducting catechism classes, these were also idealized as opportunities to teach church songs since they were being attended by mainly the elderly people who could understand what the missionaries were preaching to them.

However, singing in choirs requires the ability to read and write. The missionaries were well aware of this dichotomy and from the onset started conducting catechism classes in which they taught reading (mainly of church books) as well as writing. The

initial classes were aimed at enabling the catechumens to read catechism books as well as sing in church, though later they were also very useful to the colonial administrators as well as the missionaries themselves. It was through these classes that they easily spread their ideologies especially those glorifying anything European. The initial teaching was done as the missionaries built schools where they soon embarked on teaching. The very first school/seminary to be opened up was Bukalasa seminary which was started in Bukalasa near Villa Maria, in Masaka. It was built by the White Fathers and for quite a long period it acted as their base from where they would go and perform other duties in the country. About this very first institution founded in 1893 thirteen years after the arrival of the first Catholic missionaries into Buganda, Kyabukasa notes:

The missionary zeal of the last quarter of the nineteenth century gave to Uganda an educational monument which, for quite a period of time stood without an equal, or rival in Eastern and Central Africa (1993:1).

Kyabukasa's opening statement reveals the extent to which Ugandans would later attach value to education both during and long after colonization. Bukalasa was followed by Namiryango College which was opened in 1902 by the Mill Hill missionaries, followed by St. Mary's Lubaga which opened in 1905 run by the White Fathers (Kyabukasa 1993:2). The C.M.S. missionaries also opened up schools such as King's College Buddo in 1905 as well as Gayaza High School in 1905 basically to train royals as well as other children of Baganda with a high social status. This was one of the greatest contributions of the Christian missionaries in Buganda and Uganda. With this education, the missionaries were able to teach the converts songs in Latin and English for church services. Henry Kyabukasa notes that for the first time in Africa south of the Sahara, Gregorian chant was performed in Uganda at Bukalasa Seminary in 1906. He writes:

In Uganda South of the Equator, Gregorian chant was sung, probably for the first time, at Bukalasa at the midnight Mass of Christmas 1906. One of the Fathers alone sang the Proper of the Mass (the introit, the Gradual/Meditation Psalm, the offertory and the Communion); the community, divided into two choirs, sang the first "Mass Dumont" (1993:37).

In Kyabukasa's account, we note that the white missionaries had trained choirs that were capable of reading music and singing Latin by 1906. He also notes that later, they even introduced brass bands. All these were the fruits of the education which the missionaries brought to Africa. However later as I will review, the education system that they introduced faced a number of criticisms which were based on the prevailing social and political circumstances in which they operated.

Having created a quite representative group of literate Christians among the Baganda, the Catholic missionaries embarked on translating the hymns, songs and chants from English, Latin and French into Luganda so that they could easily be understood by the converts, which would enable them to participate more fully in the liturgy. Written accounts indicate that the first missionaries to translate these hymns into Luganda were the Anglican Church Missionary Society¹⁹ missionaries who were based at Namirembe (Gray 1995:135). Later the Catholic White Fathers and Mill Hill missionaries also embarked on the translation of hymns from both French and English into Luganda. This translation created a long lasting musical heritage that the Catholic Church in Uganda inherited and still cherishes. In this music heritage, western melodies were given Luganda lyrics that were equivalent or closer in meaning to the original English, French or even Latin versions. These consisted of the church's music repertoire with which the Catholic Church in Kampala and Buganda operated for nearly sixty years until the Second Vatican Council when Africans were permitted to compose music for church use.

However, the manner in which the translating of these hymns was done bred a number of long term musical-linguistic problems which have been the subject of debate in a number of scholarly texts (Kakoma 1963, Gray 1993, Kidula 1998, Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, Barz 2003, Ssempijja 2006, 2009, 2010, Kagumba

¹⁹ Catherine Gray notes: "The first systematic translation of liturgical texts into Luganda was carried out by one of the pioneer missionaries, Alexander M. Mackay (1849-90), who in two years between 1878 and 1880 produced selected texts of scripture, hymns, prayers and baptismal services for adults (Mackay 1890: 241, quoted in Gray 1995:135).

2009). Firstly, the translations were done quite prematurely before the white missionaries had completely mastered all the nuances of the Luganda language. Most of them were done without giving due respect to Luganda as a tonal language in which variations in the relative duration and pitch syllables often determine the lexical meaning of a word (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001:xx). George Kakoma noted: “the literal translation of the English text into Luganda did violence to the natural rhythm, stress, and tonal pitch of (Luganda) and the words often became meaningless in the process” (1963:35). As such, most of the lyrics acquired new meanings after the translations had been effected.

During my fieldwork in Uganda, I was invited to attend an Interdiocesan Music Committee meeting which among other issues discussed the possibility of publishing a new hymn book, *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama*, which for the first time would include transcribed music. In this meeting, I clearly noted that these songs which were passed on from the missionaries to the Baganda priests are held in high regard whether rightly or wrongly. In an earlier study I conducted on compositional techniques, I discovered that many composers in Kampala had almost adopted this manner of writing songs without thought to the language’s tonal considerations. When I interviewed some, they used this point about the missionaries as their sole point of reference. This particular case is very interesting in terms of postcolonial analysis particularly the constant re-inscription of power between the colonizers and the colonized, since in the postcolonial period, power is regularly negotiated and re-inscribed (Kraidy 1999:456, Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000). As we note from above, the practice in the Church has to some extent succumbed to the missionary deficiencies. In an interview with the chairman of KAMUCO, Edward Ssonko, he informed me that these missionary songs are not supposed to be tampered with since they form a big part of “our church’s musical heritage” (interview 3 September 2010). In a way it also constantly reminds us about the power structures as established by the missionaries, for the colonized and the colonizers were never at an equal level (Kidula 1996, Kraidy 1999, Barz 2003, Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000).

Besides these translations, a number of the missionaries also composed new songs²⁰ though all of them still confirmed that they had definitely not yet mastered Luganda, because of their music's inability to respond to the tonal requirements of Luganda. A number of informants told me that although the missionaries composed a few songs and translated others from their mother tongues, there was still a need to enlarge the Catholic Church's music repertoire since most of the songs available were either devotional (for use on only a few occasions in the Church) or restricted in use since not all Catholic converts could read properly (James Kabuye 8 September 2009, David Kyeyune 19 February 2010, Vincent Bakkabulindi 2004, Joseph Nnamukangula 10 June 2010, Joseph Kyeyune, Henry Kyabukasa 10 June 2010). By and large, some of the important parts of the mass still lacked songs so as to actively involve the Africans. This was later to become one of the major reasons why the church music festivals had to be started so that composers could compose for those parts that lacked songs. However, the restrictions on church music compositions continued up to the Second Vatican Council when the need for more Kiganda and Luganda compositions grew and could not be contained by the missionaries. As a result, they had to observe the recommendations of the Council and finally let Ugandans take charge of their music.

The nature of education introduced by the European missionaries was mainly aimed at fostering their imperialistic objectives. A lot of local knowledge systems and social organization systems were largely left undeveloped, yet the colonialists had earlier utilized them to make their way into the Buganda society before declaring it a colony. The missionaries are reported to have utilized the existing social organizations such as the *muluka* and *gombolola* chiefs to get young men from reputable families whom they enrolled as seminarians at Bukalasa (Kyabukasa 2008). It was the job of these Baganda chiefs to recruit the young men for the missionaries since the missionaries found a very organized social system at their advent to Buganda.

²⁰ Such as *Maria Nyaffe Otuyambe* By Fr. Faeq (Kyabukasa 1993).

The few cases where there was some attention given to the pertinent needs of the Baganda revealed cases of partially selfish interests. In trying to achieve their goals, the colonialists made numerous mistakes, after failing to do enough observation and analysis before claiming to clearly understand the nature and life of the people for whom they were writing books or developing these ‘colonial’ policies. Some of the mistakes in these ventures have continuously affected postcolonial societies and they are still finding it hard to correct them. An earlier case cited was the translating of hymns into Luganda. Closely related to this was the grammar and dictionary of Luganda written by the missionaries. The correct way in which Luganda is written is still debatable since the society had taken what the missionaries and imperialists had wrongly declared as rules that govern the language. For example, the writing of the earliest Luganda dictionary did not consider to a large extent the phonetic usage of the letters R and L in the Luganda pronunciations to an extent that Luganda has a written R yet in the pronunciations it is pronounced as L. This is one case whereby the missionaries and colonialists hastened the process of making rules for a language that they had not fully mastered but with an intention of using it to execute their mission of colonizing effectively. The latest Luganda dictionary that tried to correct this mistake received a cold reception from the Baganda who argued that “we are used to what the missionaries taught us”. Though the argument raised by the authors of this dictionary is valid, they cannot easily get the people to change their writing habits. While commenting on this issue, one of my informants argued that it will take “ages” to correct this mistake since it is already deeply embedded in the people’s written language practices (anonymous).

Though the European missionaries introduced music as a subject in Ugandan schools, they only introduced western music and largely neglected Kiganda music. While the western music had already achieved a high scholarly status, Kiganda music was still undeveloped and at that time, there was not yet properly documented conventions governing it as western music had. Giving attention to only western music implied to the Baganda that this was the ideal music to learn and that their music was worthless. Axelsson summed up their attitude by noting that to them, “African music was not

regarded as sufficiently artistic and spiritual” (1974:94, see also Agawu 1992:249-250). By doing this, the missionaries and other imperialists clearly demonstrated a view that their culture was superior to the Kiganda culture and in a way fostered a biased view in many Africans who were reported to oppose African music at its introduction. Up to now, many Africans still undermine or despise African music. Again, by introducing western music, the colonialists implicitly inscribed a hybrid nature of musical practice on the Baganda since the Kiganda music was left to be developed in the courts until some Baganda schooled in western music later managed to utilize both systems. The two systems gradually came to be used together in the church. This is vital to consider not only when dealing with postcolonial issues but also for global and local analysis. Up to now, many Ugandans feel music without harmony is not music worthy for praising God. As such, any song sung in church will receive improvised harmonies from the congregation during the service.

The colonialists were determined to see that their culture was accepted without question by the Baganda. During fieldwork in Uganda, I was informed that even some social acts that prevailed in Buganda were prohibited. An example was clapping hands, which is a very common thing today. In an interview with Edward Ssonko, he informed me that the first time the Catholics were allowed to clap hands in the church was 1939 at Villa Maria when the missionaries were presenting the newly ordained bishop Joseph Kiwanuka to the diocese. On this occasion, Christians were permitted to clap for only a few moments since it had been discovered that the act was embedded in the Kiganda culture implying happiness, being pleased or congratulating someone. Before this day, there was no clapping of hands in the church (interview: Edward Ssonko 3 September 2009). While one might assume that the missionaries did not know the meaning of clapping, they had been at the king’s court and as such were supposed to analyze and understand the nature of the people among whom they worked. There was no recorded research done to explain this act but Ssonko notes that from that day onwards, clapping in the church started being used but at a controlled level. Today, singing in church is very often accompanied with clapping since in the Kiganda culture it is one way for the audience to participate. By clapping,

they supplement the rhythms of the performers with an extra timbre which colors and communicates to the performers that ‘we are pleased with your performance’. Such shortsightedness of failing to embrace the value of this custom greatly turned the educated Baganda and believers against their own culture before Vatican II since they had bought the missionaries’ argument that anything to do with their culture was satanic or pagan (Axelsson: 1974). No wonder the first book to be written about Kiganda music by a Muganda was published later, in 1955.

4.6 Joseph Kyagambiddwa and his Impact on Church Music used in the Festivals – *African Music from the Source of the Nile*

In 1955, Joseph Kyagambiddwa, one of the earliest music scholars in Uganda, published *African Music from the Source of the Nile*, a book about the music of the Baganda and their cultural practices. This emerged as the very first publication about music by a Ugandan. While commenting on this book, James Kabuye notes:

Omusajja oyo ye yasooka okuwandiika ku music waffe owawano e Buganda. Teyakoma kwekyo kyokka wabula n’agezaako n’okulaga amateeka music oyo kwatambulira bwe yali nga akyali awo e Makerere. Music waffe teyali muwandiike, taliiko mateeka, gamanyiddwa bantu era nga tewali research nakamu yakoleddwako. Yeyasooka okulaga system ki kwakolera, era nakolako ne research ku music waffe owe Kiganda, n’amuwandiikako n’ekitabo ekinene ennyo, mpozzi wano ewaffe mu libraries kyetutalinaawo.

He (Joseph Kyagambiddwa) was the first person to write about our Kiganda music. He even went further and demonstrated the rules and laws that govern Kiganda music while still at Makerere. No one had ever attempted to transcribe our music and there were no recognized rules/ laws that governed the writing and composing of this music. No known/recognized research had ever been conducted on our music. He conducted research and demonstrated the rules/laws governing it and even wrote a very big book about Kiganda music and culture, which unfortunately is not available here in our local libraries (interview: 8 September 2009).

These comments are made in relation to Kyagambiddwa’s book in which he expansively discusses the music from Uganda as a native scholar. In this book Kyagambiddwa establishes a scientific system of understanding Kiganda music, and the scales used by the system are duly explained. He uses a historical approach to trace the origins of the Baganda by utilizing historical legends concerning Buganda among other things. With a rather anthropological approach he discusses the society

of the Baganda people hand in hand with its social organization. He thus takes a functionalist approach to music detailing how it is utilized by the society in which it is made. Briefly, Kyagambiddwa also researches about Kiganda worship music and how it is used and the attachment it has to the Baganda. Also discussed in his book are the traditional musical instruments associated with the culture in question and a detailed explanation of how they are made and played. While the methodology he uses is questionable since there is no mention of any tools used or how he acquired this information apart from the implied autoethnographic means, his publication was a landmark for it was not only the first publication by a native Muganda writing about his music but also in utilizing autoethnography to explain his case. However, Kyagambiddwa wrote this book while in New York (U.S.) (Kubik 1981:84), as part of his studies and the entire work was aimed at explaining to the European what the music of the Baganda was. The impact it made in Uganda was only limited to the few who were well educated.

Again, since it was not the Baganda then who commissioned this work, they hardly benefitted from it though it was about them. In a way his book served the interests of others. Most of the approaches he used in documenting this history were rather reflective of the colonial domination that Ugandan scholars at the time were going through. It was also still before Uganda attained her independence and therefore there was also very little scholarly independence as far as Ugandans were concerned. Such education had been acquired mainly by people who were easily identified with the west because of their language, taste and dress code. Just like Kwabena Nketia in Ghana who had also received western training, there were a lot of generalizations about African music making it to appear as a single music genre. An example is the title, *African Music from the Source of the Nile* which gives the reader an impression that he or she is going to encounter a number of music genres from Africa and not restricted to Uganda. He devotes only the first thirteen pages to a brief description of the regional sub groupings of the African peoples, not daring to get into the details of their musical practices. Like he mentions in the introduction, he wrote the book mainly for westerners who were trying to appreciate music from other lands

especially in America. Therefore, it is as a result of the colonial pressure prevalent at the time and a combination of other reasons that led to Kyagambiddwa's 1955 publication, and no wonder that many Ugandan libraries still do not have a copy of this book.

It should be noted that at the time of publishing Kyagambiddwa's book (1955), there were few literate people in Uganda who could either dispute or understand what he had written about. Again, he had a few transcriptions in his book, yet no Muganda had ever believed that this music could be transcribed. It was only Kyagambiddwa and a few others who were literate in music that could make sense out of his transcriptions. It is therefore no surprise that the first critical revisions and criticisms about Kyagambiddwa's writings came more than thirty-five years after his first publication²¹. About the documented culture, a lot of reference has been made to his writings by anthropologists, ethnomusicologists and other social scientist scholars, all giving him credit for his foresightedness.

At that time, the Baganda were not allowed to compose music for church use. Music was being published by the European missionaries such as the Mill Hill printery located at their headquarters at Nsambya, and the White Fathers' Printing Press which was originally located at Bukalasa Seminary, Masaka though it was later transferred to Kisubi. Eventually it became Marianum Press Kisubi. Currently it manages printing of the Uganda National Examinations at both levels, that is, the Ordinary level or U.C.E (Uganda Certificate of Education), and Advanced levels or U.A.C.E (Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education) among other church duties that it carries out.

²¹ Bro Pius Ochwo's B.A Music dissertation, Makerere University (2001) was about Kyagambiddwa's *Uganda Martyrs Oratorio*. Ochwo revised it and tried to correct the few possible mistakes as well as transcribing a possible ensemble accompaniment comprising of musical instruments from the Kiganda tradition in which Kyagambiddwa had composed the oratorio.

4.7 The Second Vatican Council (1962-1964): Softening of the Initially Hard Line of Westernization/Colonization

The Second Vatican Council started on 11 October 1962, just two days after Uganda had attained her independence. The Council was initially convened by Pope John XVIII but was concluded and closed by Pope Paul VI in 1965 following the former pontiff's death during the Second Vatican Council. Among the main reasons for convening this council was the need for spiritual renewal of the Church and reconsideration of the position of the Church in the modern world. The Council was called to consider reforms of the liturgy, primarily to bring the layman into closer participation in the church services and therefore to encourage some diversity in language and practice. Great emphasis was also laid from the beginning upon the pastoral duties of the bishops, as distinguished from administrative duties²². While the Council had many sessions and came up with a number of decrees, my study is primarily concerned with the second session which began in September 1963 and ended in December 1963. This session was responsible for the promulgation of the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy which in turn permitted the vernacularization of the liturgy and stressed greater lay participation in the ritual (mass) (Flannery: *Sacrosanctum concilium*).

For example, in *Sacro sanctum concilium* No. 38 and 39 under the Norms for adapting the Liturgy to the Culture and traditions of peoples is a note that reads:

37. Even in the liturgy, the Church has no wish to impose a rigid uniformity in matters which do not implicate the faith or the good of the whole community; rather does she respect and foster the genius and talents of the various races and peoples. Anything in these peoples' way of life which is not indissolubly bound up with superstition and error she studies with sympathy and, if possible, preserves intact. Sometimes in fact she admits such things into the liturgy itself, so long as they harmonize with its true and authentic spirit.

²² For more information about Vatican II read: Second Vatican Council — Infoplease.com <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/society/A0850544.html#ixzz18BzBv3sR>

38. Provisions shall also be made, when revising the liturgical books, for legitimate variations and adaptations to different groups, regions, and peoples, especially in mission lands, provided that the substantial unity of the Roman rite is preserved; and this should be borne in mind when drawing up the rites and devising rubrics (Flannery 1975: Article 38 and 39).

In the quote we note that the Catholic Church opened up its doors to ‘vernacular’ languages and cultures so as to get the faithful actively participating in the mass. This provision came along with a section on music (*musicam sacra*) which addressed the need to incorporate traditional or culturally oriented musics into the church provided they are in sync with the theology of the Catholic Church. Thus about music the Council noted:

119. In certain parts of the world, especially mission lands, there are peoples who have their own musical traditions, and these play a great part in their religious and social life. For this reason due importance is to be attached to their music, and a suitable place is to be given to it, not only in forming their attitude toward religion, but also in adapting worship to their native genius, as indicated in Art. 39 and 40.

Therefore, when missionaries are being given training in music, every effort should be made to see that they become competent in promoting the traditional music of these peoples, both in schools and in sacred services, as far as may be practicable (Article 39).

This decree operationalized Pope Pius XII’s earlier instructions in his *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina* (1955) in which he called upon missionaries to “encourage Africans to compose their own music containing an African idiom” (Axelsson 1974:95). The decree and the subsection on sacred music authorized performance of Kiganda music among other native musics in the Roman Catholic Church circles. Among the African Bishops who attended were Bishop Adrian Ddungu of Masaka Diocese and Bishop Joseph Kiwanuka of the then Lubaga Archdiocese, both from the Buganda region. These two are reported to have actively participated and debated for the consideration of music in cultures other than the western cultures (Richard Gribble 2009, Sarah Dahl 2003:3, interview Bishop Adrian Ddungu 2004).

During this Second Vatican Council, Pope Paul VI announced the canonization of the twenty-two Uganda Martyrs who had been burnt and killed on the orders of Kabaka Mwanga in 1884. The function was to take place in 1964. More still, it was going to be the first time an African choir sang in St. Peters Basilica. This was great news to

Buganda and Uganda as a whole and the Catholic Church in Uganda eagerly prepared for this function. The church authorities in Lubaga headed by Bishop Joseph Kiwanuka requested Joseph Kyagambiddwa to compose church songs in the native Kiganda style in memory of the twenty-two Ugandan martyrs who were due to be canonized. According to Rt. Rev. Adrian Ddungu who was bishop of Masaka Diocese then, seminarians from Katigondo National Major Seminary who were schooled in both philosophy and theology would provide him with lyrics so that he could compose the complementary melodies. Kyagambiddwa rejected this, and it became a subject of heated debate as he explained that the words he would use come along with the music notes or melody due to the tonality of the Luganda language. At first the clergy did not understand this since most of them had not studied music to advanced levels. However, later they gave in so that Kyagambiddwa finished up the work. The efforts of Kyagambiddwa bore the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* on which my next section centers its attention. The oratorio was performed in the Vatican high mass that made history in the global Roman Catholic Church as the first mass with songs in vernacular language and composed using the Kiganda native musical style as I expound. Later I will return to the significance of Vatican Council II to postcolonial studies as well as its impact on the trend of glocalized church music performed in the Ugandan Catholic Church.

From a critical perspective, however, Uganda's independence coincided with the Second Vatican Council since the former took place on 9 October 1962 while the latter was opened on 11 October 1962, only two days after Uganda had attained her independence. The two historical events mark an important stage in the process of efforts to decolonize Ugandan culture through the reassertion or reinvention of local culture that is ethnically, religiously, socially, economically, and politically. These two processes of Vatican II and the decolonization are intertwined in complex ways which in turn makes them vital for this study's consideration.

Firstly, Catholic Church music that was undergoing a process of re-invention or what many postcolonial scholars have referred to as decolonization (Bhabba 1994, Mcleod

2000, Ashcroft et al 2007, Tiffin and Lawson 1994) was taking place just as Vatican II was happening after the country achieving independence. While the effects of colonization were being clearly minimized in other areas such as in the education system and social-economic system, there was also a renewed awareness about native musical styles in the country and the government then had started the formation of performance troupes such as the Ngoma troupe and others which would specifically indulge in the performance of traditional music and dance genres as efforts to revitalize a sense of nationalism were underway. The Roman Catholic Church was too involved in this process of rediscovery since it is at this time that the Uganda Martyrs Oratorio emerged during the canonization of the Uganda Martyrs in Vatican, Rome.

4.7.1 The Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio (1964)

The first example of Catholic Church music composed by a native Ugandan was the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* by Joseph Kyagambiddwa (1964). It was also the first music composed and published utilizing the native Kiganda style of music composition. The oratorio was written for the occasion of the canonization of the twenty-two Uganda Martyrs by Pope Paul VI in the Vatican, Rome. The occasion took place on 18 October 1964, coinciding with the Second Vatican Council, which was already in session. Kyagambiddwa wrote a Luganda oratorio of twenty-two songs representing the twenty-two Catholic Martyrs who had been killed in cold blood by Kabaka Mwanga in Namugongo in 1884.

While the lyrics of the various songs in the oratorio are entirely in Luganda, Kyagambiddwa provides an introduction in English explaining how Kiganda music can be approached and interpreted since this was the first transcription of Kiganda music by a native Muganda composer. He translated all the songs into English. Generally the songs were narrating the trials and tribulations that the martyrs underwent before being killed at Namugongo, Kampala in 1884. It also included one song *Lwali Lukulu* that commemorated the arrival of the first Catholic missionaries at Entebbe. The rest of the lyrics were closely related to the life of the martyrs before their martyrdom.

Musically, the oratorio was transcribed using western staff notation. Up to twelve different time signatures were used. This has been the major area of contestation and concern for Pius Ochwo's B.A. thesis whereby he rewrote the entire oratorio giving it new time signatures since Kyagambiddwa's signatures were rather difficult to interpret for most musicians. However, he endeavored to explain why he used them in the introduction.

Kyagambiddwa used only the treble clef for all the songs in the oratorio even where he clearly indicated that parts were to be sung by tenors or basses (1964:1). While some songs followed the *baakisimba* and *biggu* style of music performance and composition (1964:4, 7), others were hybrid in the sense that they sounded more like Kiganda Gregorian chants. Kyagambiddwa observes the various forms of songs as used by the Baganda and among those he used were call and response, through composed, stanza and refrain, as well as solo parts for individual performers. Also characteristic of most of the songs is the extensive use of lyrics which is a feature of Kiganda music. Kyagambiddwa also acknowledges and proposes Kiganda musical instruments that should accompany the different songs. However, he only proposes rhythmical instruments, totally leaving out the melodic ones since they had not yet been incorporated into the liturgy.

The oratorio had a number of shortcomings, among which were that it was strategically composed for a European audience and carefully translated into English, yet according to the inculturation²³ campaign, it was supposed to serve the natives, the locals, who were the Baganda. According to Ssemukaaya Leonard, after its performance in the Vatican, it was regularly performed at home, among other reasons because of the manner in which it was transcribed. Very few people could read music and interpreting this kind of music was still new for the few people who could. Also, we cannot isolate the fact that the Baganda were still in shock that their music could

²³ Inculturation: In chapter five, I will return to this term and in a detailed way, explain it in relation to the Second Vatican Council's decrees contained in the *Sacro Sanctum Concilium* document.

be performed within the Church, contrary to what the European missionaries had taught them.

David Kyeyune (Rev. Fr. Dr.), who is now elevated to the rank of monsignor²⁴ in the Catholic Church and one of the members of this historical first African choir to perform in the Vatican, explained to me as follows:

The first inculturation or indigenization in the Catholic Church was the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio*. For the first time in St. Peters Basilica, drums and xylophones were sounded. To tell you most sincerely, I was lost in amazement. Hearing your own language (mother tongue) being sung at St. Peters yet originally we used to sing only in Latin, and only polyphonic music? As if that was not enough, even our own musical instruments that had originally been prohibited in the Catholic Church were now accompanying our own music. To me that was enough. That was a very special day for me with so many bishops from all over the world since it was the Second Vatican Council. The Cistercian Choir, for the first time did not sing. It was wonderful and so marvelous (interview 19 February 2010).

Kyeyune's account points to the general mood of most Ugandans at the time. To the global Church, this demonstrated that now even vernacular languages were welcomed into the Church and could be performed, provided they did not contradict the Church's teachings. By naming the oratorio 'African', it represented acceptance of the continent and third world into the global Roman Catholic Church.

However, it is also important to note that by this time, a lot needed to be explained to the church ministers as well as the believers on how to conduct the process of inculturation. The process was rather gradual as opposed to the much anticipated automatic change in practice since as informed by Kyeyune, not all Catholic bishops directly supported the process. We note that after successfully performing the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* in the Vatican, it received a lot of opposition back home. I will deal with this issue of opposition later.

Another great landmark on that day (the day of canonization of the Uganda Martyrs and performance of the Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio) concerned the gender roles

²⁴ Monsignor: a clergyman in the Roman Catholic Church who has the authority to perform or administer various religious rites; one of the Holy Orders. This title is directly bestowed by the pope.

in the Catholic Church. Before that day, women were not allowed to participate actively in the form of a leading role during mass. However, the Ugandan choir broke with tradition and for the first time, the choir included women who participated actively in the singing. The occasion was thus clearly explained to me by Joseph Nnamukangula (Rev. Fr. Dr.) who was also a performer in the same choir. He said:

Ku olwo, engoma yaffe (enganda) lwe yasookera ddala okuvuga mu St. Peters. Waali tewabangayo choir nemu yali etadde ngoma mu kelezia. Ate tewabangawo bakazi baali bayimbide mu choir eye Roma, choir eya Paapa. Mwaberangamu bwaana bulenzi buto naye nga abakazi tebayimbiramu. Naye ffe twasooka.

On that particular occasion, it was the first time our traditional drum was sounded in St. Peters. There had never been any choir drumming or even entering a drum in the Church. Before then, women were not allowed to sing in the Vatican choir. Boys were doing the singing but not women. We broke that record! (interview: 3 January 2004).

That was the first day of implementing some of Vatican Council II's decrees especially performance of native musics and acceptance of women to take an active part in the Catholic liturgy, particularly mass. These two issues represented great landmarks in the history of the Catholic Church globally and locally in Uganda. As I will later consider, the performance of Kiganda music in the Vatican also opened up space for its performance in the local church in Buganda. A number of anti-Kiganda music clerics were convinced by the question: "If performance of this music can be allowed in the great Vatican St. Peters Basilica, Rome, Italy, then why is it still opposed here in our local church in Uganda?" (Nnamukangula personal communication 2009). After the local Catholic Church greatly contemplated on this particular issue arising out of the canonization of the Uganda Martyrs in Rome, it finally permitted Kiganda music performance in the church, though not surprisingly with some difficulty, as I will later discuss.

After succeeding in Rome, Kyagambiddwa recorded the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* in Germany and returned to Uganda where he embarked on teaching and training the same work to various choirs, among which were Katigondo National Major Seminary in Masaka, Daughters of Mary Bannabikira, Sisters at Bwanda and many others. He also taught music in a number of music institutions as well as

composing a number of church songs in the native Kiganda style. However, his success back home did not match that of the Vatican, for he met a lot of opposition not only from the clergy but also from the laity.

Having exemplified a great talent by successfully composing and conducting the *Uganda Martyrs Oratorio*, Kyagambiddwa earned himself a scholarship from the then Ugandan Catholic archbishop Joseph Kiwanuka (also the first African Bishop south of the Sahara), who sent him to the USA so that he could further his studies in Kiganda music, particularly church music. Kabuye informed me that after Kiwanuka had realized that this man's music (Kyagambiddwa) was now internationally recognized in the Catholic Church, he requested him to go and study Church music in Washington. This was partly a reward for his Martyrs' Oratorio which was not only a great success in Vatican but also a great Catholic landmark during the canonization of the Uganda Martyrs.

From the above landmarks, we note that Vatican Council II provided an avenue for the re-negotiation of the power structures in the Catholic Church in order to accommodate the mission lands (Africa and other places) in the Catholic Church. For the Catholics, according to Vatican II, active participation of the faithful is paramount and therefore, gender roles, native music and languages were revisited so as to enhance this aspect of active participation. However, as a matter of consciousness, the revisions did not elevate the African believers to the level of the clergy, thereby maintaining their positions as always on the receiving end from the clergy, hence hierarchically below them. It is important to note that while females were allowed to take part in the liturgy, they did not get ordained to the priesthood. This issue is still the subject of much serious debate in the Catholic Church. In essence, the gender roles were only revisited but not completely resolved.

By considering Kyagambiddwa's work, it will be easier to analyze diocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival, particularly the source of the music materials used by composers in this festival in their quest for the hybrid music genres that entail both locality and globalization. The concept of hybridity not only deals with issues of a

hybrid nature but also goes ahead to account for the basis and nature of the hybrid with a consideration of the power structures that engender its specific nature (Solomon 2006). As such, the Vatican's authority as the global leader provides us with a framework for analyzing the nature of the languages, the source of the music material and the extent to which they are supposed to be used within the confines of the Catholic Church globally.

Particularly the language issue has been noted as an important factor in issues related to globalization and therefore worthy of analysis (Croucher 2004:26). While Vatican II allowed the use of native languages and music, there were a few conditions. "The texts intended to be sung must always be in conformity with Catholic doctrine; indeed they should be drawn chiefly from holy scripture and from liturgical sources" (Flannery 1975:98). By this, Vatican II limited the extent to which local vernacular texts or musical practices could be utilized in church services, thereby retaining/limiting some of its authorizing power in relation to these "other" languages that were now going to compete with Latin. In a way, it shows keen awareness of the influence of the other imperial languages such as English and the threat and danger that they posed to Latin. Therefore the decree clearly observes that Latin is the *lingua franca* for the global Catholic Church with an unquestionable status that has come to represent authority, power, unity and globality whether used abroad or even locally in the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals. It is this status that the Kampala Archdiocesan Music festival has upheld, reflecting the extent of the influence that the Vatican has exerted in this music festival.

4.8 Consequences of Musical Inculturation

After Kyagambiddwa's success in the Vatican, a number of priests who were part of the choir that performed in St Peter's returned home and embarked on emulating what Kyagambiddwa had done in the Vatican. Among these priests were Joseph Nnamukangula, James Kabuye and Gerald Mukwaya. Together with Expedit Magembe, and Vincent Bakkabulindi, they formed the very first batch of native church music composers. Leonard Byankya (Bro.) who was also a student at the time

and also performed in the choir, informed me that this was the birth of the idea of a festival. He said, “When we returned home, we wanted to emulate Kyagambiddwa since he had scored a lot of success in the Vatican” (interview: Leonard Byankya 18 June 2008). A number of musically literate priests started emulating Kyagambiddwa’s style of music composition. This period marked a transition from a typically European or western-run Catholic Church music practice to a locally oriented local church. It is characterized by a number of landmarks that affected the music as it was being changed to accommodate Kiganda music and musical instruments performed in the church.

This transitional period (from a typically western oriented church music tradition to the inclusion/accommodation of indigenous musical styles) also faced a number of challenges musically. Firstly, according to James Kabuye, David Kyeyune and Joseph Nnamukangula, there were still a number of conservative priests and bishops who could not believe or accept that this native Kiganda music could be performed in the church. Kabuye quotes one who went to an extent of saying that, “*Bino ebigoma bye bakubira ba lubaale bye baagala n’okuleeeta wano mu kelezia?*” (Literally translated: “You mean they want to bring these drums used in the local gods’ shrines even in the church?”). This was after the missionaries had completely convinced the converts that drums and performance of Kiganda music in the church were unacceptable since they were satanic.

Another account of opposition to performance of Kiganda music in the local Catholic Church in Uganda was narrated to me by Joseph Nnamukangula in an interview. He informed me of how a choir led and conducted by Joseph Kyagambiddwa was thrown out of the church by both the laymen and the priest since it was performing Kiganda music even with drums. They argued that these could bring curses on their church and therefore had to forcefully evacuate Kyagambiddwa and his choir out of the church premises without compromising.

On another occasion, in an interview with Gerald Mukwaya, one of the earliest Baganda priests to compose Kiganda church songs, he recalled an occasion when an

elderly priest (name withheld) was celebrating his golden jubilee (50 years) in the priesthood and the choir that was leading the singing also performed Kiganda music with drums accompanying. He immediately halted the function and ordered them to take away their drums before the function could proceed (Mukwaya Interview 2004).

In an earlier interview conducted with the late Bishop Adrian K. Ddungu, who succeeded Joseph Kiwanuka (the first black bishop south of the Sahara) as bishop of Masaka diocese, he also confirmed that they (the church authorities) had gone to an extent of prohibiting the performance of some of Kyagambiddwa's compositions in the church since they were closely related to songs performed in the local gods' shrines. He even cited one of the songs banned as being "Yee mmanyi mmanyi nze" (Yes I Truly Know) (Kabuye 2003: 366), which was designed to act as a Kiganda version of the Apostle's Creed. When asked why they had to do that, he insisted that these songs would not create a difference between 'essabo' (local shrine) and 'the Church'. They would confuse the people to think of 'the Church' as one of their other local shrines.

Not only was the opposition directed to Kyagambiddwa but also to priests who had taken up Kyagambiddwa's style of music composition. In an interview with James Kabuye, he informed me that Rev. Fr. Vincent Bakkabulindi was rejected by some major seminarians at Katigondo National Major Seminary since he was training Kiganda music yet they wanted the *conc*²⁵ western music with voices. Even when Kyagambiddwa was asked by Bishop Kiwanuka to teach the major seminarians how to compose Kiganda music, many rejected him and opted for the usual western music saying,

Mutuleetere engalabi mu kelezia, mutuleetere embuutu, mwagala kwonoona?

Literally meaning:

²⁵ *Conc*: used as a short form for concrete, implying something as practiced by the Europeans without changing anything.

You want to bring us the *ngalabi* (long drum) and the *mbuutu* (main big drum) in the church? Isn't that spoiling our liturgy? (interview: Kabuye 8 September 2010).

As such, many of the targeted composers (among the major seminarians) abandoned Kyagambiddwa's classes and concentrated on western choral music with harmony in which the seminarians were considered good at the time. This kind of resentment towards music in a native Kiganda style continued up to an extent that some of the songs composed by Joseph Kyagambiddwa were banned from being sung in the church. When asked about the opposition and bad reception Kyagambiddwa's music received from even the church prelates, Msgr. David Kyeyune who had headed the liturgical commission for over a decade at the Catholic secretariat in Nsambya had this to say:

Wait a second, even our African bishops. Even our very own Ugandan bishops opposed him. *Era creed ye bagiwera. Kubanga baali tebategedde*, they had never appreciated Kyagambiddwa's music. *Naye ate ssibanenya kubanga formation gyetwafuna nga ekyammwe eky'abaddugavu kibi* and some of us absorbed it *nga empisi bwemira eggumba nga terigaayizza. Naffe kyebatulako*, there was a sort of a brain or cart washing, you don't appreciate your own but admire others, but that is the way *kyempita* western domestication, under the principal of the western assimilation of their culture, *the French la assimilation docorto. Oyogera olufaransa nga omufaransa. Era bwoba nga weyisa nga omufaransa*, you are wonderful. They say now we have succeeded.

Wait a second, even our African bishops. Even our very own Ugandan bishops opposed him (Kyagambiddwa) and even his creed (*Yee mmanyi, mmanyi nze*) was banned because they hadn't understood. They had never appreciated Kyagambiddwa's music. I do not blame them since in our formation (priestly), "ours" what belongs to us, the blacks, was deemed as bad, which some of us just absorbed it without sieving just as a hyena might swallow a bone without chewing. That is what happened to us, there was a sort of brain washing whereby you don't appreciate your own but admire others. That is what I call western domestication, under the principal of the French western assimilation of their culture. If you (who is not of French origin) talk French like the French and behave like the French, you are wonderful. They say now we have succeeded (interview: 19 February 2010).

Msgr. David Kyeyune raises an important factor in the opposition to Kiganda music performance and inclusion in the church which was that the Catholic Church had not adequately prepared the local ground for the new developments. It had not been fully explained to the Christians why this was being done and how it was going to be approached. Not only were the laity affected but also the clergy, who, as Kyeyune explains above, had been trained in an old fashioned way and had all the right to oppose what was being introduced into the church without proper explanation. No

proper measures had been taken to review the various aspects of Kiganda indigenous music to establish which were adequate and which were inadequate for use within the Catholic Church. As such, anything related to Kiganda culture was viewed as contradicting the church since it was perceived to be satanic.

Kyeyune's account also points to the colonial policy of colonizing the minds which according to Ngugi wa Thiong'o also requires decolonization, a process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms (Ashcroft *et al.* 2000:56). While some of these attempts at freeing the restrictions that had been laid upon Kiganda music can be considered as efforts to decolonize the music, there was a struggle to decolonize the minds of the people who greatly resisted the performance of this music in the church which comprised of both the clergy and the laity. Ashcroft *et al.* note:

[Decolonization] includes dismantling the hidden aspects of those institutional and cultural forces that had maintained the colonialist power and that remain even after political independence is achieved. Initially, in many places in the colonized world, the process of resistance was conducted in terms of institutions appropriated from the colonizing culture itself. This was only to be expected since early nationalists had been educated to perceive themselves as potential heirs to European political systems and models of culture (*ibid.*).

In light of this, Kyeyune's explanation resonates with issues noted above since he also stressed the nature of training practiced by these priests who opposed this process of decolonizing church music. It also reflects the ambivalence of colonial discourse as presented by Homi Bhabha (1994:85). In this case, there was mimicry whereby the missionary-trained Catholics still wanted to remain as taught in the missionary days yet different from the European missionaries. In this case, we encounter colonial mimicry as "a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of difference, that is almost the same, but not quite*" (1994:86, emphasis in original). To make it clear, Bhabha explains that, "mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal" (*ibid.*). In mimicking the missionaries, some of these priests intended to carry forward this missionary legacy especially in church musical practices, and in essence continue with the colonial power dominance as has already been explained. Like Ngugi wa Thiong'o argues, such situations call for the

decolonization of the mind which the church music composers had to embark on, as we shall later establish.

Having received this kind of resentment, Baganda church music composers, particularly those priests, embarked on a task of creating a genre of music that incorporated both Kiganda and western techniques of music composition. According to James Kabuye, one of the people who spearheaded this development, they decided to call it *transitional music* in the sense that it was bridging the period from purely western music to the incorporation of Kiganda native musical styles. In an interview with James Kabuye, one of the initiators of the idea, he explained to me how they came to start that initiative. Below is an excerpt from his narration.

Bakkabulindi oyo gwenjogerako naye wano ewaffe bweyayigiriza, bangi bamugoba. Tebamugoberera bwereere, baayimbanga nga baagala music ow'ekizungu okusinga. Nange mukusooka, bwennamala okulaba ebintu nga bwebitambula ne ngamba mu kusooka, way out eneeba etya? Abakulu abamu mu seminario tebamwagadde, eri tulina pressure ey'abantu, nabo bagamba nti aah temutuleetera oyo music. Kati way foreward ki? Tutandika tutya, tumuyingiza tutya? Nze kulwange nasooka ne ndowooza nze ng'omufumbi, n'enggamba nti ekiba kisooka katukoleki, music abadde amanyiddwa ng'ow'eklezia, abadde mu plain chant. Kati tusobola okuddira ebigambo bino nga bimaze okuzizibwa mu Luganda netubiteekako music omulala atali oli wa plain chant naye ate nga tannaba kudda eri mu music ow'ekiganda. Abeera transition awo, abantu bamanyire kati ky'abadde agamba nti kyrie, agambe nti Ayi Mukama tusaasire, kyekimu nti kubanga abadde tamanyi nakyekitegeeza kati alyoke ategeere nti kino kyekiri, nabiri. Kale ne ndaba nga awo wetaagawo transitional kind of music. Ekyo kyekyali kirowoozo kyange, nentandika okukola music oyo nga ali mu free rhythm. Kwegamba free rhythm oyo nga yefaanaanyirizaako ne plain chant, naye ate nga awalala tali mnyo free, kwegamba n'abeera awo wakati. Eri avuddeyo naye nga kyenjagala, kyetwagala, ebigambo biveeyo kuba kati ebigambo webiri ate tebirina music. Kati kwekutandika music ow'engeri ate nga awaali awatuufu, kwekutandika n'ebigambo ng'ebyo nendyoka ntandika okukola ennyimba eziri wakati awo nga plain chant zifaanaanako plain chant ate tezituuse mnyo eri. Abamu nga bagamba n'okugamba nti music wa Kabuye ali awo, ate twagala, abaagala nga bagamba, twagala kali ka conc kennyini mnyini.

When Bakkabulindi (Fr) started teaching church songs in the Kiganda style, he was chased away simply because they were used to western church music. Even me at first I was affected. When I realized how issues were, I asked myself which was the way out? Some of our seminary formators did not welcome the whole idea of Kiganda music, and then there was pressure from the laity who were of the view that we should not introduce this music. So what could be the possible way forward? How do we start, how do we get this music in the church?

Being a composer I personally decided that we would start with the kind of plain chant music with which people have been familiar. With a newly composed melody that is neither a plain chant nor a Kiganda melody but an intermediate (*maleeto*), we can adopt the translated lyrics into Luganda and have new compositions. It is a kind of transitional

music, since people will get used to what they knew as a Kyrie will have become “Ayi mukama tusaasire”. These two are the same though of course many Christians did not know the meaning of what they were singing in Latin. This would enable them to understand what they were singing in Latin. So I found it necessary to start transitional music.

So that was my idea and I started composing music of that nature with a free rhythm, slightly comparable to the plain chant though of course not completely plain chant and neither completely Kiganda music. It was just in between. One of our main aims was to have the lyrics in Luganda since it was now acceptable. But these translated words into Luganda lacked music and it was right and fitting that we start with providing this music that was not completely Kiganda or plain chant. Some even said that Kabuye’s music is just in between yet we are used to the conc. (purely/completely) western music. (interview: 8 September 2009).

When I was also critically reviewing the Second Vatican Council documents, I discovered that the Council had instructed that proper preparations be made before the necessary changes are effected. It says,

44. It is desirable that the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority mentioned in Art. 22, 2, set up a liturgical commission, to be assisted by experts in liturgical science, sacred music, art and pastoral practice. So far as possible the commission should be aided by some kind of Institute for Pastoral Liturgy, consisting of persons who are eminent in these matters, and including laymen as circumstances suggest. Under the direction of the above-mentioned territorial ecclesiastical authority the commission is to regulate pastoral-liturgical action throughout the territory, and to promote studies and necessary experiments whenever there is question of adaptations to be proposed to the Apostolic See (Sacrosanctum Concilium, Article 44).

According to a number of informants, the church in Buganda failed to fully achieve this training in time and that caused a lot of problems. While liturgists and people assisting them were sent to Rome for training in the new aspects of inculturation, musicians never received any training and as such their incorporation of Kiganda music into the church came as a gradual process. It was only after serious opposition to the music that the priests retreated and thought of a transitional music genre. According to Kabuye, the transitional period lasted for about four years, from 1964 when Vatican II ended to 1968 which I analyze in the next section. During this time, the Catholic priests composing music tried to introduce the Baganda to church music in a Kiganda style. Later as we shall find out, this was one of the main reasons which led to the introduction of the Kampala Archdiocesan Schools Music Festivals with an

aim of creating a new generation of Catholic musicians free from the indoctrinations of the missionaries, especially those that opposed the use of Kiganda music and traditional musical instruments in the church. The new generation would be introduced to this music right from the schools so that by the time they became prominent choir members in their respective parishes, they would be the advocates of this music in a Kiganda style.

The opposition to the introduction of Kiganda music in a way upheld the hierarchical nature of the Catholic Church ranks. To the Baganda, while the Vatican had authorized this change, the attachment they had to the original western culture and the elevation it had initially received from the early missionaries coupled with the satanic connotations that has been attached to the Kiganda culture made them unsatisfied with the new trend. Particularly significant is the reference made to the Vatican in the sense that “since the music had been performed in Vatican, why couldn’t it be performed in Buganda” (interview: Nnamukangula 10 June 2010). This reference to the Vatican as a supreme authority whose instructions are not questionable is representative of the power and command that Rome has over the way Catholicism is practiced globally. It is this control that enables the church to have homogeneous practices that are significant of globalization.

The discarding of native music reflected a continuation of colonial dominance at the hands of their fellow Baganda to other Baganda through the legacy (or legacies) that the French and English missionaries had left behind. The contesting of Kiganda music was in a way acknowledging the supremacy of the Europeans’ music and scorning of their own culture. Quite vital for postcolonial analysis is this relationship that existed and still exists between the colonizers and the colonized in this postcolonial period. Again it partially accounts for the embedded power relations that lie beneath the hybrid nature of songs used in this festival hand in hand with the constant renegotiation of these powers by KAMUCO when it restricts compositions to only those by Ugandan composers. Their compositions are still held in high esteem even though they have been condemned for both linguistic and musical problems, which

symbolize upheld colonially established power structures. To some of the priest-composers like James Kabuye and others, in order to deal with this situation, there had to be some kind of transitional period that would eventually initiate the people into accepting music using Kiganda techniques. This process of decolonization supported by the recommendations of the Second Vatican Council was an avenue where the composers asserted that Kiganda music was equally important and not inferior to western music as the missionaries had brought the converts to believe. This process of decolonizing the music involved the creation of a liturgical music that responds positively to and draws on indigenous forms, and one that was equally relevant to an indigenous version of Catholic spirituality. As such, this was not satanic music as the missionaries had brought the people to believe.

However, when I inquired from other composers who were active at the time, they did not fully confirm having participated in this kind of transitional music composition. Nnamukangula for example confirmed to me that he did not participate in this transitional music project and it was basically Fr. James Kabuye alone who did since he was heading the music committee then. Again, Nnamukangula confirmed that in the county of Buddu (Masaka Diocese), the opposition was mainly directed to drums being performed in the church. However, a critical analysis of the music he composed at the time revealed a lot of the outlined traits as leading and introducing the Christians to Kiganda music. Again, this county (Buddu) is the very place where Kyagambiddwa came from and worked for a greater part of his life. It is the same county where Katigondo seminary is located. Again, it is the same diocese where Fr. Mukwaya witnessed one of the direct confrontations from a priest to a choir that was drumming.

4.9 Formation of Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee: Initiating the Hymnal Mujje Tutendereze Omukama (M.T.O.)

Following the Pope's incorporation of Kampala diocese into Lubaga archdiocese in 1966, the new archdiocese was faced with a new challenge of cultivating a uniform or unitary way of singing and doing away with the Lubaga-Nsambya dichotomy as far as

singing was concerned. The archbishop therefore appointed a committee to review the two existing hymn books (i.e. those of the White Fathers and Mill Hill missionaries) and come up with one unified common hymnal to be used by all dioceses which used Luganda as their new language in liturgy following Vatican II's inculturation campaign.

The newly appointed committee was headed by Fr. Joseph Kyeyune and consisted of prominent priests and musicians such as James Kabuye, Msgr. William Mpuuga, Expedit Magembe, Vincent Bakkabulindi, and Achilles Bukonya among others. The terms of reference given to the committee were: coming up with a new hymn book incorporating the two main church hymn books as well as some other new songs that had by then been composed by Baganda priests and a few members of the laity such as Joseph Kyagambiddwa. It was proposed that this book should bear a rather neutral (non-segregative) name. The committee was also requested to find means or design a scheme that they intended to use in the teaching of the new songs to be released in this new book. Furthermore, the committee was also requested by the bishop to try to integrate traditional dance into the Catholic liturgy (Naamala 2008:23). According to both Kabuye and Kyeyune, the new committee came up with a number of recommendations which have had a big impact on the performance and composition of Catholic Church music in Uganda up to the time when I conducted this research. I will deal with these recommendations hand in hand with their impact especially in relation to church music and the Catholic Church music festivals.

The appointment of this committee marked the beginning of the current Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO) which plays a big role in the music activities of the diocese. More so, the committee founded the most famous Catholic hymn book in Uganda, that is, *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama* (M.T.O.). Again the committee advocated and in essence laid the foundation for the Kampala Archdiocesan Schools Music Festivals. The committee also made other quite important establishments like how the music was going to be monitored and how to publish it together with the different sub-committees to do the work.

4.10 Publication and Transcription of Church Music

Before the formation of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee KAMUCO (the committee mandated by the bishop to manage all issues related to Catholic Church music in the archdiocese of Kampala), there was no collective publication of music especially as far as the new Baganda composers were concerned. According to James Kabuye, every musician was free to release a pamphlet or booklet containing his compositions for the faithful to learn the songs. He cited examples of his *Propers of the Mass* which was released for use at Lubaga cathedral when he was still music director cum chairman of KAMUCO in the archdiocese. He also gave Fr. Magembe's *Nezikookolima* as another example of booklets/pamphlets that were released before the unification of Kampala diocese and Lubaga archdiocese.

The two missionary congregations also owned publications from their respective printeries. The Mill Hill had their printery at Nsambya, whereas the White Fathers were originally located at Bukalasa seminary, Masaka. These printeries were not restricted to printing church hymn books, but also catechism books as well as other prayer books. To this they added other early scholastic books which they used in teaching the people how to read and write. One early example includes *Grammar Y'oluganda* by the White Fathers Printing Press at Bukalasa, Masaka.

After the music committee had finished selecting songs for the new hymnal, *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama* became the one book used for mass not only in Kampala but in all dioceses that use Luganda in their liturgy. It is only recently in the late nineties that other dioceses out of Buganda started printing their hymnals in their languages after a number of years of M.T.O. The Pope's visit of 1993 also added a new development to the church music fraternity. In 1993, Pope John Paul II visited Uganda and a selected diocesan choir NIPCHO²⁶ was asked to lead the singing during the Pope's mass. In the preparations that preceded the coming of the Pope, Albert

²⁶ NIPCHO: National Interdiocesan Pontifical Choir.

Kiragga introduced a computer-based music program that could write music in staff notation. Earlier on, the C.M.S. missionaries at Namirembe had started printing music in solfah notation and it remained a challenge to write music using staff notation. Many choristers including KAMUCO had taken to scribbling the music by hand after which they photocopied it and then distributed it to other choristers to learn the song. Therefore, Kiragga ushered in a new development that would see the development of music and made the work of transcribing easy. However, by this time not many people knew how to use computers in the country and extremely few people owned a computer. Therefore the challenge that lay ahead was the acquisition of computers to use for this purpose. Up to the time of conducting my research, the church had not yet fully achieved this.

In the following section, I analyze an example of a song that was composed by James Kabuye which he cited as one of the earliest songs and an example that combines the qualities of music as discussed earlier.

4.11 Beesimye Nnyo Abatukuvu (*Mujje Tutendereze Omukama No. 32*)

As one of the very first songs in the indigenization process, it is in the Luganda language and the score evidently shows the extent to which the composer was struggling to accommodate Kiganda interests in this composition such as the language and the constantly changing time signatures. It is common to find many Kiganda songs having varying meters which are either $7/8$ or sometimes $6/8$. It might also have been an influence from Kyagambiddwa's *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* which introduced this system based on Kyagambiddwa's earlier study that culminated into *African Music from the Source of the Nile*. At the same time Kabuye tries to abide by what he had been taught as a priest by the missionaries.

The song has harmonized parts in alto, tenor and bass. The three lower parts are not commonly used in Kiganda music and were a result of the church tradition in which Kabuye grew up. More still, as he narrated to me in the interview, he was trying not to

bring something that was pure Kiganda music but something that blends both Kiganda and western music as he had been taught by the missionaries.

The language, Luganda, in which the song was composed also appears to have been violated both linguistically and tonally. In ordinary speech, the tonality of the lyrics (words) is altered and can mean a number of different things apart from what the composer intended. However, these can be explained as influences from the missionaries who had already set precedents by translating hymns into Luganda without minding about the tonal requirements and implications. Also, the form of the song is stanza refrain which was typical of many of the missionary songs. While the refrain is hymnal, the stanzas are recited in a kind of chant form though in Luganda and that is why there is no harmony. This could be an effort to blend both the Mill Hill and White Fathers musical styles since these were the times when the Lubaga-Nsambya question was at its peak.

32 *BEE SIIMYE NNYO ABATUKUVU*

Fr James Kabuye

Bee-sii-mye nnyo a - ba - tu - ku - vu, a - ba - go - be - re - ra ama-tee-ka g'O-mu-ka-ma.

Bee-sii-mye nnyo a - ba - mwa - ga - la a - ba - go - be - re - ra ama-ku-bo ge.

1. Bee-sii-mye ba nna-nyyi-ni kku-bo omu-ta - li bba-la, a - ba - ta - mbu - li - ra mu ttee-ka ly'O-mu-ka-ma.

2. Bee-sii-mye aba-ge-nde-ra ku by'a-ba-kuu-ti - ri - ra, a - ba - mu - noo - nya n'o-mu - ti - ma gwo-nna.

In this chapter, I have revisited the history of Catholic Church music in Uganda generally and more specifically in the archdiocese of Kampala. I have identified a number of landmark events that stand out as significant in the reconstruction of a local musical idiom that this study regards as an identity feature of Kampala Archdiocesan Catholic Church music in the overall glocal hybrid. In the next section therefore, I take a consideration of the general nature of musical practices in Kampala Archdiocese, particularly at the time when I conducted fieldwork for this study.

Chapter Five:

5.0 Catholic Church Music in Kampala Archdiocese:

Indigenization, Hybridity, and Inculturation

Introduction

In this chapter, I present an overview of Catholic Church music practices in Kampala Archdiocese. I pay specific attention to the hierarchical authorization, focusing on how a composition finally makes it onto the church repertoire. I also look at the process of incorporating Kiganda music into the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. Major issues reviewed here include the recontextualization of the drum for Catholic liturgy in Uganda as well as the question of dancing and Catholic liturgy.

The last section of this chapter will consider the Second Vatican Council, with special focus on the process of inculturation and its relevance in the current discourse. This study contrasts *inculturation* with its juxtaposed concept of *indigenization* and critically examines what the Second Vatican Council implied in its music decrees of the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy. Finally, the impact of these music decrees in the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy is considered in relation to the Kampala Archdiocesan music repertoire and performance practices with particular reflections from the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

This chapter specifically addresses the nature of the church music repertoire in Kampala Archdiocese in order to approach the festival with a clear picture of the factors influencing the nature of this music. I deal with the music's hybrid nature while examining the power structures responsible for this kind of hybridity. Towards the end, a theoretical discussion of the three concepts of hybridity, indigenization and inculturation in relation to the music is employed to clarify power structures that

influence it. I open the chapter with a discussion on inculturation to familiarize the reader with a number of issues that will consistently come up throughout this chapter.

5.1 Inculturation

The concept of inculturation is believed to have its etymology from the Roman Catholic Church and specifically the Jesuit Missionary Congregation. It was first openly used by Pope John Paul II in his *Catechesi Tradendae* (No. 53) and this marked its advent into the pontifical documents.

Inculturation has been defined on the one hand as denoting a

‘living exchange’ or dynamic relationship between gospel and culture; between the local church and the culture of its people. The Gospel becomes inserted in a given culture transforming it from within by challenging the certain values and cultural expressions. That culture, on the other hand, offers positive values and forms which can enrich the way the Gospel is preached, understood and lived thus enriching Christianity and the Church by interpreting and formulating anew the Christian message (Alfred Maravilla, SDB 2003).

To put it another way, Marvillla is trying to emphasize the symbiotic nature of the process of inculturation as a two-way occurrence whereby the gospel and culture have a dynamic effect on each other. Marvillla only highlights positive values and forms that are incorporated for purposes of enrichment, and by implication rules out other opposing or negative sensibilities exchanged. Since the outcome of inculturation is a hybrid culture, then the dynamics of power negotiations have to be in play and in turn cannot rule out opposition elements (hereby seen as negative). Vernon and DeBernadi who study processes of musical and cultural synthesis in Chinese Christian hymnody note that: “Indigenized hymnody was used as a form of resistance to the imposition of western hegemonic forms” (1998:101), contrary to what Marvillla implies. On the other hand, Ancar J. Chupungco simplifies his definition of inculturation by explaining what inculturation is expected or rather assumed to achieve. He thus defines it as:

...a dynamic translation of the typical edition of the liturgical books. Inculturation does not create alternative rites. What it does is translate the Roman rite into the language of the local Church by integrating suitable cultural elements. By translation I mean dynamic

equivalence, not [the] formal correspondence that is highly favored today in some Church circles (2010:19).

Chupungco adds yet another important element both for our consideration and the definition of inculturation which is the integration of suitable cultural elements. He however quickly deals with the challenges facing inculturation. Two more studies conducted on inculturation particularly focusing on the Catholic church in Buganda by Maria Sarah Naamala (2008) and in South Africa (Bate 1999) have to a great extent agreed on the definition of inculturation as a two dimensional sphere. Naamala writes:

Inculturation is the process by which Catechesis “takes flesh” in various cultures. It includes two important dimensions namely; the ultimate transformation of the authentic cultural values through their integration in Christianity and the insertion of Christianity into various human culture. The purpose of inculturation is to bring Jesus in an integral manner to people’s disposal, in their local Churches (2008:33).

While Naamala might presuppose the existence of ‘authentic cultural values’, she is in for a big shock since not even the advent of Christianity and particularly Catholicism managed to encounter them. By the fact that the inculturation campaign came long after the introduction of Catholicism in Uganda, authentic cultural values can only be imagined to exist, since in reality cultures in Uganda had already acquired a hybrid status more than a decade before the East African coastal traders came. As such, the inter-tribal wars had also created ‘prisoners of war’ who were always incorporated into the Buganda setting, thereby nullifying anything to do with authentic cultural values. Naamala however presents an important dimension that more clearly enlightens us about the emphasis of inculturation as opposed to indigenization, on which this study will later draw for clarification.

Another scholar on the same subject, Stuart C. Bate (1999), agrees with Naamala and also adds: “The resolution of this dialectic may be expressed as the emergence of unity in diversity or as a communion of communities” (1999:208). The papal document emerging from the African Synod, (*Ecclesia in Africa*) describes the resolution of this dimension as showing respect for two criteria in the inculturation process, namely ‘compatibility with the Christian message and communion with the

Universal Church' (EA62; cf. Rm. 54, quoted in Bate *ibid.*). Both of these scholars, while agreeing with each other, privilege the church and Christianity to an extent that local culture seems to have disappeared in this "resolution", thus calling into question Bate's reference to it as a dialectic. However, they also provide other important insights on inculturation which I will deal with later.

So far, all the definitions dealt with present the concept of inculturation as a dynamic symbiotic process that takes place in a specific culture on the one hand and Catholicism²⁷ on the other. Michael Angrosino further clarifies that, through inculturation, "the church can enter into communion with different forms of culture, thereby enriching both itself and the cultures themselves" (1994:825). Angrosino presents the symbiotic relationship between the church (Roman Rite), and the cultures that are unified. He therefore notes that "Inculturation implies that the church must be true to both its traditions and conscious of its universal mission" (*ibid.*). Like Bate, Angrosino argues that both parties to the inculturative exchange undergo internal transformation, but neither loses its autonomous identity (*ibid.*). It is therefore questionable whether inculturation can be achieved since all the explanations provided here point to a process whose aims are quite hard to achieve. In an interview with Bishop Christopher Kakooza, auxiliary bishop of Kampala Archdiocese and music composer, he asserted that inculturation is an ongoing process not yet achieved and subject to a lot of study and research, thereby agreeing with Msgr. Dr. David Kyeyune, one of the scholars on inculturation at the Uganda Catholic Secretariat (Interviews 21 February 2010, 19 February 2010). This therefore poses challenges on how to achieve it, given its complex nature as already discussed above.

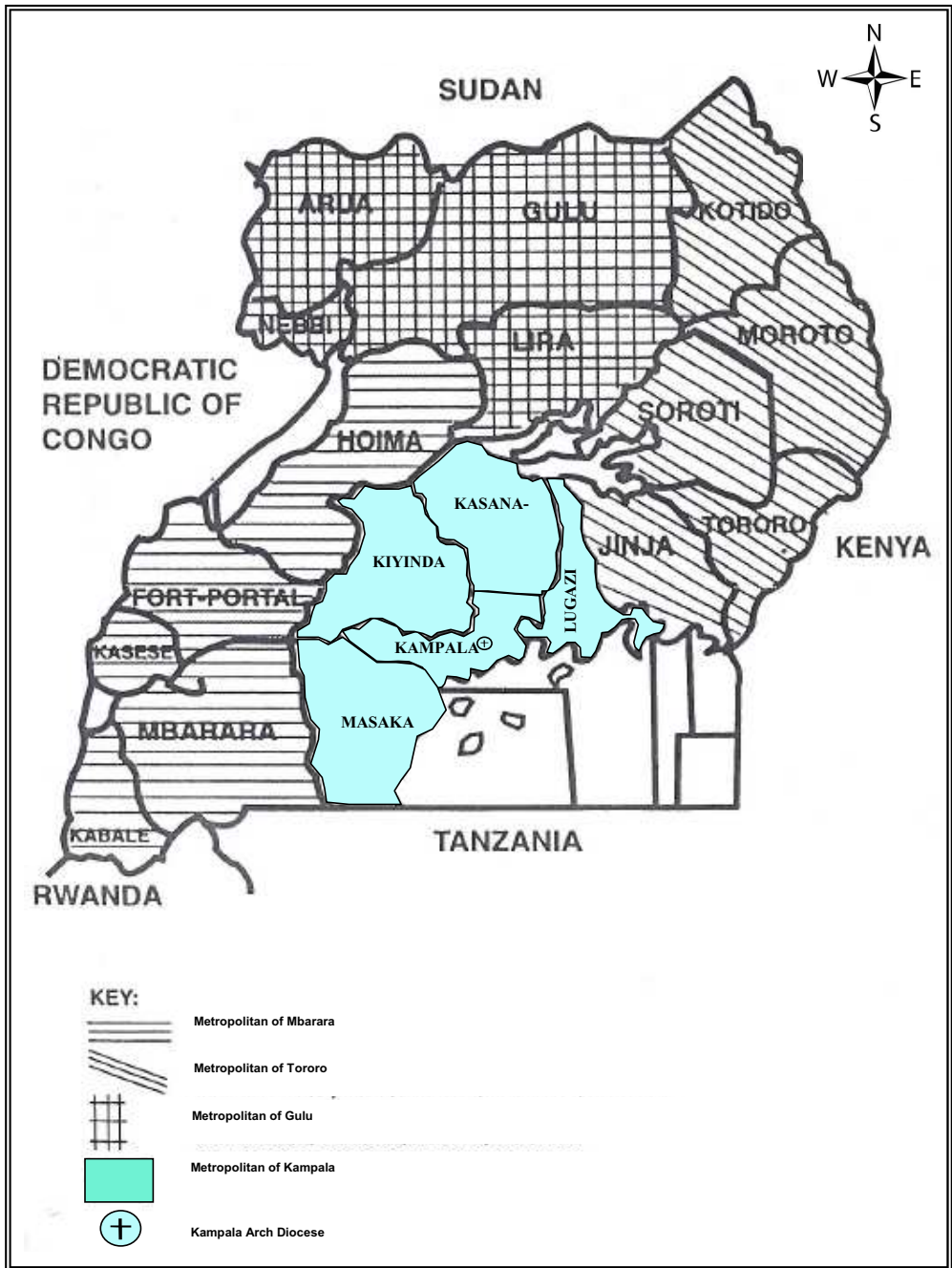
While all the definitions presented here are consistent concerning the cultural milieu as one of the compulsory locale for inculturation to take place, the second sphere has varied from one scholar to another which presents it as fluid. In a more explicit

²⁷ Catholicism. Note that I use the broad term 'Catholicism' to imply the church, the rite and its theology, since all the definitions are not consistent on this. While Maravilla calls it the Gospel, Bate refers to it as one church of Christ and Chupungco refers to it as the Roman rite.

manner, inculturation is a theological concept developed by intellectuals within the Catholic Church to theorize strategies for effectively spreading the gospel in “missionary lands”. While it has a similar sound to the more social scientific concepts of acculturation and enculturation, the meanings differ as this study has tried to exemplify by explaining inculturation. A more critical consideration will be made in relation to indigenization which has often been confused with inculturation.

Since this study is more concerned with culture and particularly music in the cultural and global context than with the ambivalent reference made to the Roman rite, I will move to the next section with an overview of Catholic Church music in Kampala Archdiocese in order to understand inculturation and other issues considered in this chapter.

MAP OF UGANDA SHOWING CATHOLIC DIOCESES

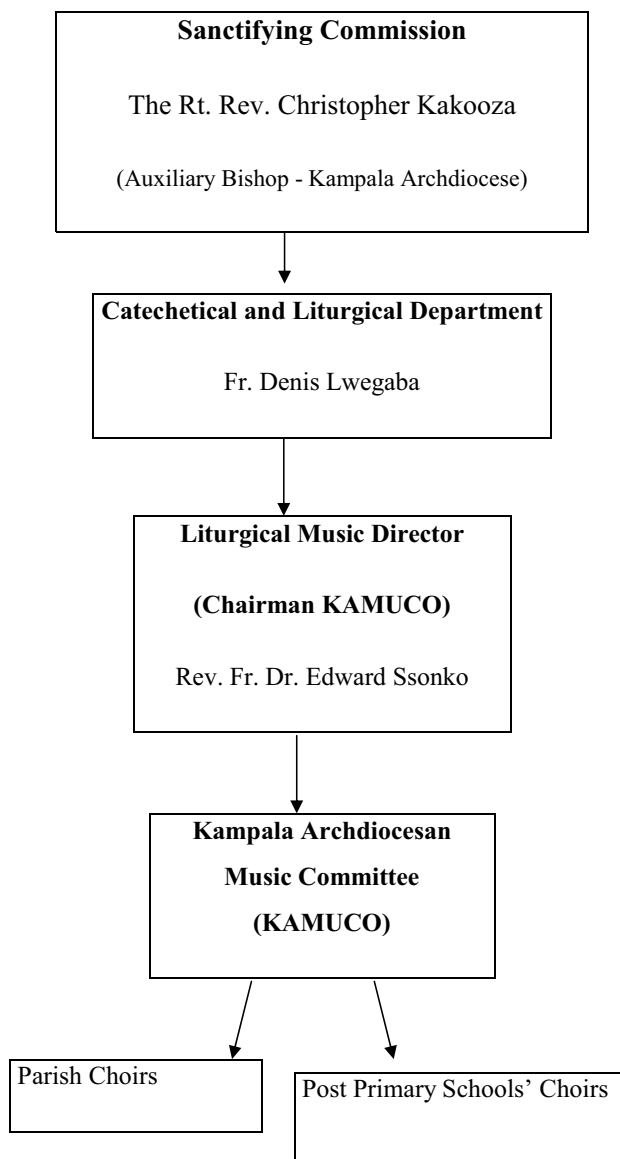


Adapted from Ssonko (1999)

5.2 Kampala Archdiocesan Church Music: Its Organization and Authority

All church music related activities in the archdiocese of Kampala are directly under the authority of the Sanctifying Commission which is headed by the auxiliary bishop of Kampala Archdiocese, Rt. Rev. Christopher Kakooza. The sanctifying commission consists of various departments, among which is the Catechetical and Liturgical department headed by Rev. Fr. Denis Lwegaba. In turn, the Catechetical and Liturgical department has several desks including the liturgical music desk which is headed by the director of liturgical music in the archdiocese, Rev. Fr. Dr. Edward Ssonko. According to the Kampala Archdiocesan hierarchy purely based on appointment, the director of liturgical music in the archdiocese also chairs the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee which is directly responsible for all the music used in the Catholic liturgy in Kampala Archdiocese. The diagram below represents the hierarchy of leadership in the archdiocese which has at its top the archbishop (Rt. Rev. Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga).

A Diagrammatic Representation of the Leadership Hierarchy that Regulates Church Music in Kampala Archdiocese (As of May 2011)



All the music activities in the archdiocese of Kampala are regulated by the Catechetical and Liturgical Music department headed by Rev. Fr. Dr. Edward Ssonko under its music committee commonly known as Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO). The Catechetical and Liturgical department is mainly concerned with issues of Catechism in the church and how the liturgy is conducted in the archdiocese of Kampala. It is therefore usually responsible for setting and training the Christians throughout the diocese about the annual themes which are selected by the diocesan authorities, among its many duties. From a workshop I conducted during my fieldwork, I was informed that a number of stakeholders including the various heads of the church committees as well as the pastoral council (which consists of both the laity and the clergy) are responsible for selecting annual themes on which the archdiocese operates for at least a year or, lately, two. Since this study is mainly concerned with liturgical music used in the archdiocese of Kampala, I will limit my focus to a few departments and desks that are concerned with music. Occasionally I will mention a few others but only in relation to what or how their activities affect liturgical music in Kampala Archdiocese. Together with other church priests in the catechetical and liturgical department, they identify and appoint members to the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO).

5.3 The Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO): Organization, Leadership, Terms of Operation and Constituent Subcommittees

The Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee, commonly referred to as KAMUCO, is designed to be a lay committee. From an interview I carried out with the chairperson Edward Ssonko (Interview 3 September 2009), coupled with library research on the same topic, I learned that the committee is authorized through the *Sacro Sanctum Concilium* document of the Second Vatican Council. The endorsement reads: “Besides the commission on the sacred liturgy, every diocese, as far as possible should have commissions for sacred music and sacred art” (*Sacro Sanctum Concilium* No. 46). By this decree, individual dioceses are mandated to set up their own committees to approve and conduct liturgical music activities on behalf

of the Church. As such it is an official commission of the Church and of the Archdiocese.

KAMUCO is officially headed by a chairman (most commonly referred to as the Director of Liturgical Music in the Archdiocese) who is directly appointed by the Archbishop of Kampala Archdiocese. Simultaneously with other members of the governing Catechetical and Liturgical department, they incorporate members by appointment based on merit. The co-opted members are later presented with letters of appointment. Among the requirements for eligible persons to belong to the committee are that one must be an active Roman Catholic, and at the same time have been a member of a choir (most commonly should have had a leading role as a parish choir executive) and be knowledgeable about church music activities. The eligible member must also demonstrate at least one of the following abilities:

- Technical knowledgeable of music, requiring some level of academic or professional training.
- Ability to mobilize and train choirs.
- Special skills that can be utilized by the music committee, e.g. sound engineers, editors of books, very experienced ex-seminarians with both music and theological knowledge of various aspects of the liturgy, patrons of choirs that can help with finance, teachers etc.

The committee is made up of a chairperson, vice chairperson, secretary, publicity secretary, choirs' representative and at least some other members selected depending on their experience alongside the above-enumerated factors. In an interview with Fr. Edward Ssonko, chairman of KAMUCO, he stressed that it is a ministry of the laity and therefore, the church appoints him only to regulate the activities of the laity in relation to the theology or liturgy of the Kampala Roman Catholic Church. He said:

This is a mission of the laity. I am only there to guide and safeguard the tradition, theology and doctrines of the church. Since the committee is dealing with a subject dealing with the catechesis, then we have to safeguard the catechesis that we teach in music. So my role as chairman is not simply to chair meetings but also to scrutinize the

songs and give proper guidance to the interpretation of the songs, the theology, dogma and teaching of the church (interview 3 September 2009).

As such he informed me that KAMUCO also encompasses a subcommittee, commonly known as the Music Technical Committee, which is entrusted with all technical aspects of music. Like the members of the main committee, the technical committee members' appointment is based on merit. Neither the main committee nor subcommittee members are paid by the diocese but serve as Catholic volunteers. In a related inquiry that I carried out in a workshop that I conducted during fieldwork, I discovered that many members of the diocesan committees serve as volunteers though most of them are elected or appointed by various diocesan authorities. However, in an interview with the auxiliary bishop of Kampala archdiocese, he confirmed to me that the diocese meets the costs of whatever their offices require.

The terms of service for KAMUCO according to my informants include approving music composed for church use throughout the archdiocese of Kampala. The music has to go through two main levels of vetting. Firstly, the director of liturgy and chairman of the committee cross checks the songs, specifically the lyrical message, to verify its theology, dogmas and ensure that they are not heretical. Ssonko informed me that Catholic liturgy encompasses three basic things which he ensures are adhered to. Firstly, the doctrines of the church, secondly, the symbols used (in this case in the music), and lastly, the theology has to match with what the church teaches and not contradict it (*ibid.*). Once all three are approved as right and fitting, then the song is passed on to the technical music subcommittee.

The technical music subcommittee consists of people who have been technically trained in various aspects of music such as performance, composition, history, ethnomusicology and church music. In an event that they receive a song already approved by the liturgical and theological experts, their work is to look at the technical aspects of the music such as the lyrics, phrases, melodies, harmony and other related aspects such as accompaniment. After making their recommendations, the song is either passed with minor revisions or rejected with a report justifying the

committee's position. The main music committee (KAMUCO) is supposed to communicate to the composers and also ensure that the approved songs are published and transcribed using one of the modern computer programs such as Capella, Finale, Encore or another of the numerous ones on the market.

KAMUCO is also entrusted with taking charge and conducting music courses on behalf of the archdiocese of Kampala. Among the courses it organizes are the Post Primary Schools Music Course, Parish Choirs Music Course, Music Directors', Conductors' and Instructors' Course, Music Composers' Course, as well as the Adjudicators' Training. In these courses, the committee communicates the annual themes designated by the archdiocese to all the church musicians in the different categories, alongside training the stakeholders on their role that the diocese expects them to play in the execution of this work. Again, it trains them in various technical music aspects such as composing, directing, vocal techniques, adjudicating, liturgical aspects, conducting as well as carrying out numerous talks and discussions to get feedback from the church choristers about their concerns.

The Archdiocesan Music Committee is also responsible for publishing songs annually for the music courses as well as constantly updating the church hymn book known as *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama* (M.T.O.). Most compositions approved by the committee are annually released in the booklet sold to choristers during the various music courses. In turn the hymnal *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama* is released at intervals mainly dictated by the Interdiocesan Music Committee which is formed by all the Luganda-speaking Catholic dioceses, namely Kampala, Masaka, Kasana-Luweero, Kiyinda-Mityana, Lugazi and Jinja dioceses. Since the hymnal is used in all these dioceses, all music committees from these dioceses have members that represent them in order to discuss and agree on a number of aspects in liturgy, especially those that directly or indirectly affect them as a region. Among the activities are: selection of songs to be included in the M.T.O. hymnal, organizing Interdiocesan Music Festivals as well as some choir training workshops. Most

members of KAMUCO are also members of this committee and thus serve the two committees concurrently.

The Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee is also tasked with organizing music festivals in the archdiocese of Kampala. Among these festivals are the parish music festivals right from the grassroots (Obubondo) up to the diocesan and interdiocesan levels. It also organizes the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival for the secondary schools at diocesan level and is also partly involved at the interdiocesan level preparations. Among its responsibilities is to select and train adjudicators for these festivals, while keeping utmost confidentiality in its activities so as to maintain the respect and trust people have in this committee at the festivals. This also includes conducting a number of meetings which are aimed at rectifying issues and activities related to the festival such as venues and other logistical needs.

The music committee is also tasked with selecting the choirs to perform on important days in the diocese which include the Archdiocesan Day, ordinations of priests in the diocese, Maundy Thursday, among other feast days of the church that the archdiocese celebrates together at Lubaga Cathedral. In such cases, the committee meets and decides on which choir is to prepare the liturgy of any one of those specific days. According to my observations during some of these meetings, the assignments are based on merit and how active a particular choir has been in the diocesan music activities. As such, choirs or parishes that never excel at the diocesan festivals are not usually assigned such responsibilities unless they prove to the committee that they have the ability to improve and satisfy the requirements of an archdiocesan ceremony. More so, the music committee ensures that the liturgical music for these days is done in a very appropriate way so as to reflect what the church advocates for locally and globally.

From my interactions and observations made during fieldwork, I learned that KAMUCO is also responsible for recommending trainers or music directors either to schools that might require that recommendation or to parishes that might think it necessary to request that recommendation. While this was not one of its original

obligations, due to its vigorous work, the field of church music has become a major haven for many active musicians as well as a source of employment for others. As such, cases have arisen whereby jobseekers have been trained within the church by KAMUCO, either in the various music courses or workshops. In a case where these people's abilities might be questioned because of lack of a formal training, KAMUCO comes in and where necessary provides the necessary evidence about their abilities.

The Archdiocesan music committee has also assumed responsibility for managing an archdiocesan music database in order to keep and maintain records of the various music compositions and the past missionary compositions that are still in existence. One of the purposes of this database is to contain transcriptions of all songs of the church hymnbook, *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama*, in staff notation as well as all other songs that the committee approves for use into the Catholic liturgy. The campaign to get this done was initiated and spearheaded by the secretary to KAMUCO, Albert Kiragga who has transcribed all songs as well as designed a management system whereby files, records and music compositions can be accessed. Originally, he initiated the transcribing of church music during Pope John Paul II's visit to Uganda in 1993. According to Francis Tebasoboke, the vice chairman to KAMUCO, the Pope's visit in 1993 marked the end of handwritten and stencil music in the church (interview 25 February 2010). Since then, the committee has endeavored to electronically store all the music using computer programs such as Cappella, Encore and Finale. Although this was not one of the original roles that the committee was given, it found it necessary in order to conduct its work efficiently.

The discussion above has mainly been centered on both the terms of reference for the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee from the archdiocesan authorities as well as other improvised roles that have emerged with time given the challenges that the music committee has been facing. The discussion therefore centered on what my informants told me during interviews and workshops hand in hand with my observations, and participant observation. My consideration of KAMUCO's role has

been done in an effort to understand the nature of church music organization, authorization and performance in Kampala Archdiocese, so as to lay a foundation for the eventual analytical consideration of this music's role in the glocalization of Catholicism.

5.4 The Nature of Music in Kampala Archdiocese: Considering the Repertoire Since Vatican II

In an earlier study that I conducted, I considered compositional techniques of Catholic Church music in the metropolitan of Kampala (2006). I will draw from some of that study's findings, while utilizing the data I collected from the fieldwork that I carried out recently. More so, I will also to a lesser extent involve my autoethnographic experiences of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee as well as my earlier involvement and participation in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Music Festivals and parish music festivals. Like earlier noted, not much scholarly attention has been given to this particular area of church music with the exception of a few scholars, including Catherine Gray (1993), myself (2006), Nayiga Betty (2006), Kagumba Andrew (2009), and James Kabuye (2010).

Studies addressing the issue of compositional techniques in Catholic Church music have noted that there are mainly three major categories of techniques employed by music composers: 1) western, 2) Kiganda and 3) a blend of the two, that is hybrid (Kiganda-western) techniques of music composition (Gray 1993, Ssempijja 2006, Nayiga 2006, Kagumba 2009, Kabuye 2010). However, given Kampala Archdiocese's metropolitan nature, a number of external influences on church music composition and performance nature have been noted, especially from the many ethnic groups of people that converge in the city center for various reasons. These groups come from both within and outside the country and their influence on music composition and performance cannot be overlooked if we are to consider the archdiocesan music scene. Each of these compositional techniques will be considered so as to draw more light on how the archdiocese has come to either integrate all of them or how it has managed to regulate their usage within the archdiocese.

As earlier indicated, the nature of the repertoire of the archdiocese has not been due to the work of only a specific generation of either the clergy or laity. The repertoire is a reflection of the century-old Catholic institution's unified contributions and influences of the various stakeholders, beginning with the early French missionaries up to the current secondary school students as well as other members of the clergy and laity. As such, the repertoire consists of varied compositional techniques as well as performance styles, as the next section elucidates.

5.4.1 Western Techniques of Music Composition

According to the available repertoire, the western techniques of music composition in the archdiocese of Kampala include Gregorian chants, hymns, and other polyphonic compositions. These were part of the original repertoire that was handed over from the European missionaries to the Ugandan priests. While western education has also strategically brought about the inclusion of western classical music by great composers such as Mozart, Handel, and Haydn, among others, it has also partially led to its demise given the fact that Ugandan composers were equipped with more compositional material with which to experiment. As a result, most of these composers that are still using this technique of music composition are similarly involved in experimenting with the local Kiganda music to create hybrid genres that appear to mimic²⁸ the originally introduced western music genres.

Among the commonly used western compositional techniques that are part of the repertoire in the archdiocese are Gregorian chants which have been used ever since they were introduced by the early missionaries. According to available records, the Gregorian chants are said to have been performed for the first time in 1906 at Bukalasa Seminary in Masaka which was founded by the White Fathers (Kyabukasa 1993:37). For some time, the Gregorian chants remained the only accepted music

²⁸ Mimic is hereby used in the sense that many of the composers who claim to use western music compositional techniques end up having a lot of influences from the local music even though the lyrics and harmony are present. From a critical perspective, their compositions are only mimicking other western musics though sounding African with the use of mostly English and Latin languages.

used by the missionaries and this enabled them to spread to major cathedrals in the country, especially those managed by the White Fathers since there was no alternative until when they started translating the French hymns. While lately they have generally been performed less frequently, Gregorian chants are being revived but in a newly revised form which I will address when I get to hybrid music compositions.

Apart from the Gregorian chants, hymns are still one of the most prominent constituent parts of the repertoire in Kampala Archdiocese. According to earlier research conducted by a number of scholars, hymns were mainly introduced partly by the Mill Hill missionaries and partly by the French White Fathers of Lubaga (Gray 1995, Ssempijja 2006). Gray notes that hymns were introduced into Uganda as early as 1877 and their translation into Luganda was initiated by the Anglican missionaries (1995:135). From that time onwards, hymns have been part of the Catholic Church's repertoire. As indicated above, the original western (English and French) hymns were first modified by being translated into Luganda. This was followed by the Vatican Council II's recommendation of inculturating the liturgy which also further affected the hymns in various ways. Firstly, in an effort for the church in Buganda to decolonize itself from the British colonial, it had to reinvent its local culture by reviewing the fate of Kiganda music which had been completely thrown out of the Catholic Church by the missionaries who claimed that it was satanic. Since the Second Vatican Council advocated for inculturation, the local church in Kampala had to abide by the Council's resolutions. One of the means used to decolonize the church was by devising means of creating a liturgical music that responds positively to and draws on indigenous cultural forms as an indigenous musical expression of the local church in Uganda. As earlier noted, the campaign was spearheaded by Kyagambiddwa though it encountered a number of setbacks in form of opposition. However, it should also be noted that the local church had not properly heeded the Vatican's procedures of inculturating the local church, particularly that of having a trial period of two or three years. This is evidenced by the fact that even before the council ended, the Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio was already performed in the Vatican yet it received a lot of opposition back home in Uganda.

As a means of resolving the problem, James Kabuye and his colleagues handling the composition of church music in the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda decided to first concentrate on the music left behind by the missionaries and gradually transform it into a local, acceptable musical genre that would be identified with the local church. In an interview with Kabuye, he informed me that they started by working on the original western hymns, creating Luganda parallels which in turn gave birth to the popular Kiganda hymns that are used alongside the original western ones. He thus called this period the “transition period” from the missionary music to the decolonization period, the post-Vatican II period.

The new hybrid genre of Kiganda hymns blends western and Kiganda elements. This makes it more identifiable with the local church as well as disproving the myth that western music was superior to Kiganda music. By performing it in church, it signaled that the language and culture of the Baganda, as well as the technique of Kiganda music composition and performance, were equally important to that of the west. Today, many of these Kiganda hymns are performed with both western and Kiganda musical instruments. The blending of these musical instruments appears as an initial strategy to question why western instruments were being used in church yet Kiganda instruments were rejected. The gradual inclusion of the traditional Kiganda musical instruments leveled the ground for the eventual inclusion of songs in a Kiganda indigenous style of music composition and performance. However, all these developments happened while being mediated by the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals which acted as a kind of ‘laboratory’ from where everything was tested and modified before it was accepted into the church circles. Further consideration of Kiganda hymns will be included in the section dealing with hybrid techniques or forms of church music performed in the archdiocese of Kampala.

As such, the forms of the hymns include through-composed, stanza and refrain, and strophic forms of music composition. Catherine Gray 1993, Ssempijja 2006 and Kagumba 2009 explain each of these classifications of the various western hymns sung in the Ugandan Roman Catholic Church. Hymns introduced by missionaries are

usually in four voices, that is, completely harmonized for choir. Earlier scholars on hymns introduced to Africa by missionaries intimate that by introducing hymns, the missionaries wanted to create unity among the believers (Oduro 2008:89). Thomas Oduro further explains that by their nature, the hymns require communal organization and agreement between the people which in the long run teaches them to work together as a team. In the Ugandan case where the church first received a lot of opposition, unity was a major concern.

An important consequence of singing western hymns, as already noted by some scholars, was the sharpening of Africans' memories. Thomas Oduro further explains this by noting that:

When the western missionaries introduced hymns singing, they did not know that Africans would sing hymns differently than was practiced in their western congregations. Africans on the other hand did not know that hymn singing would sharpen their skills of memorization (Oduro 2008:90).

Since very few Luganda-speakers knew how to read and write, the only way for them to learn and sing effectively in church was by memorizing the hymns taught by the missionaries. Unlike their counterparts, the Anglicans, who carry hymn and prayer books when going to church, many Catholics do not carry any book yet participate actively during the mass, especially when the song intoned is one of the old songs included in the M.T.O. hymn book. From my observation, they will all join the choir to sing all the song's stanzas actively without reading from anywhere. As such, this was one of the positive effects of the introduction of hymns which worked for the missionaries as well as the native Baganda. Further consideration of the hymns, especially their effects and the creation of a hybrid genre of church music, will be dealt with in detail in the section below.

5.4.2 Kiganda Compositional Techniques

Catherine Gray (1995:146) notes that there are traditional Kiganda tunes that are set to liturgical texts or commentaries on the Biblical teachings such as the ones she encountered while carrying out research at Ggaba National Major Seminary.

However, this is one of the few cases whereby such music is performed in the secular arena. Since the formation of the Catholic Church in Uganda, there have been very few cases whereby secular tunes are brought into the church and liturgical lyrics used on the melodies. Among these is Kyagambiddwa's adaptation of one of the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* songs known as "Lwali lukulu" (1964:6) from the traditional melody of the commonly sung song "Kyayera Mbuga", one of the songs originally performed at the king's court (this example will be further discussed later in this chapter). This was also confirmed to me in interviews with both Joseph Nnamukangula and the late Adrian Ddungu, the former bishop of Masaka Diocese (interviews 10 June 2010, 22 March 2004).

Like other researchers on Catholic music have noted, most music composed in the traditional or native Kiganda musical style is original in the sense that the melody is new while the lyrics are adapted from either the Bible stories or in the church's prayer books. Kabuye notes that Kiganda songs in the church are composed in four different forms, namely 1) strophic form with no chorus, 2) song form or call and answer form, 3) recitative or refrain form, free or strict rhythmic part followed by a chorus and lastly 4) the solo form sung by one soloist with a Kiganda instrument (2010:27). To the above listed categories I also add the through-composed form (Ssempijja 2006:93). In the last category of through-composed Kiganda songs, I note that many of them are designed for festivals mainly where they can equally serve as entertainment, hence being termed as concert songs (Kagumba 2009:22). All the above forms are reflective of Kiganda traditional music's influence in the church music used in the Roman Catholic Church in Kampala Archdiocese. For a further understanding of how the various forms are used, I refer to Kyagambiddwa 1955, 1964, Ssempijja 2006, Kagumba 2009, and James Kabuye 2010.

Songs in the Kiganda indigenous style are usually accompanied by traditional musical instruments of the Baganda, most commonly the drums, xylophone, flutes, tube fiddles, lyre, shakers, and sometimes even bow harps. I also note that while most of the songs are now written down and well transcribed in music, the accompaniment is

not written and it is the performers themselves who improvise their parts depending on their knowledge and understanding of the song in question. When I asked a number of church musicians, most of them concurred with Kabuye's earlier assertion that this is the system that has been passed on from their great master Kyagambiddwa since the good performers on these Kiganda instruments cannot read music on staff notation (workshop communication). One of the workshop attendants (name withheld) gave me an example of Pius Ochwo's revised edition of Kyagambiddwa's *Uganda Martyr's African Oratorio* (2002) that has never been performed since it has a well-transcribed instrumental accompaniment included.

Referring to the historic reasons that Kiganda music has not been written down, Kabuye notes:

The education system of that time was oral; traditions, habits, were all handed down in oral form. In the villages as well as at the court of the King, music was always played and sung by heart. So there was no need to bother about writing it (2010:2).

In addition to Kabuye's reasons is the fact that reading and writing were introduced by foreigners to Buganda. As such, no one knew how to read and write until the coming of the foreigners to Buganda: first the Arab merchants in 1844, then the Christian missionaries who started formal teaching in 1877. It is therefore not surprising that many of the modern outstanding schools were started by missionaries and some are still managed on the missionaries' principles.

The above-mentioned practice of improvising music set a new trend in musical performance specifically rooted in *African musics*. From experience, any musician who has improvised before will find the score limiting to one's abilities and this is exactly what happens to most Kiganda musicians. Since music is one means of individuals or groups expressing themselves, to some extent the score implies expressing the composer's feelings which improvisation in a way seems to oppose and offer an alternative for. But we cannot also neglect the fact that the percentage of musically literate performers is still limited.

Here from my analysis, I noted that every performance is unique since the instrumentalists have to improvise something new, though related to the basics of the song in question. This qualifies the performers, especially those on traditional Kiganda musical instruments, as co-creators of songs since they have to think about the most appropriate accompaniment style that can match with what the choristers are singing. It also saves them from the burden of being restricted to the score as the only way of viewing music. In turn, improvising makes the work of composing (through improvisation) fluid since every new performance comes up with something new that has not been heard before, hence developing the performers' creativeness.

Again, this implies that the styles of accompanying these songs will differ from one area to the next since some areas have influences from neighboring regions such as the Busoga region among others.

At times, for simple Kiganda melodies, both western and Kiganda musical instruments are used concurrently to accompany during mass. One common style of using the keyboard or organ to accompany songs in a Kiganda style (by implication built on a different scale) is by accompanists playing arpeggios whereby their style emphasizes only the three main chords, that is, the tonic chord (chord I), sub dominant (chord IV), and the dominant chord (chord V). However, it is rare to find only western instruments without at least traditional Kiganda drums also accompanying the song. During the festivals, I witnessed a Kiganda hymn being accompanied by both Kiganda musical instruments as well as western keyboards.

Apart from the hymns and Gregorian chants, there are other musical compositional techniques used by composers, most of which are influences that have come along with the influx of people from other ethnic groups. Being the capital city, Kampala attracts a wide range of people of all walks of life and from different parts of the country as well as from neighboring countries. This has also had an effect on the church music performance since in certain parishes, there are times when special mass is conducted for people from out of Buganda in their native languages. For example, at Lubaga cathedral, every Sunday there is mass for the Sudanese community who

reside in Kampala town, while Mulago parish also conducts mass in *Luziba*²⁹ since the community there contains a lot of settlers from that area of the country.

Predominantly, mass in the archdiocese of Kampala is generally conducted mostly in Luganda as well as in English in order to cater for the people who prefer English mass to Luganda for various reasons. These have all brought their influences into the archdiocese which has partly been combined with Kampala's or Buganda's neighbors, the Basoga and Banyankore, as well as the Batoro and Banyoro. It is therefore common to find at least one song from one of these regions though we cannot say they have already had a great and lasting influence.

In the festival culture, schools have students from all parts of the country. A number of them have students from the eastern part of the country, particularly Busoga, who are usually very skilled in playing traditional musical instruments. Their influence has therefore been realized in terms of the styles and skills exhibited on these instruments during the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals. Some of these former students have been enrolled by big choirs in the archdiocese as their permanent instrumentalist. These choirs include Christ the King Choir, St Cecilia Lubaga Cathedral choir, Evangelical choir and St Augustine's Choir Makerere University.

5.4.3 Hybrid Forms of Music: Compositional Techniques

The most popular and common forms of music composition are hybrid forms that encompass both Kiganda as well as western compositional techniques. By the time Vatican Council II recommended inculturation for the church in Africa and other places in the world, many European colonialists who had introduced western music in the Catholic churches were preparing to hand over the churches to the local communities. In the Ugandan case as already mentioned, Vatican Council II and the independence of Uganda from the British masters almost coincided with each other. While the political decolonization was taking place, strategies for decolonizing the

²⁹ Luziba is a language spoken by an ethnic group/ tribe known as Baziba. It is an ethnic group that occupies the region in southern Uganda bordering Tanzania.

music used in the church were also being laid. It is therefore not a coincidence that immediately after Uganda's independence and even before Vatican II had ended, the first performance of Kiganda music representing all the vernacular churches took place in the Vatican in Rome. More surprising was the fact that it was by a choir from Kampala Uganda under the leadership of Joseph Kyagambiddwa. As the occurrences highlighted in the fourth chapter represented, the 1960s turned out to be very eventful years for the Roman Catholic Church in Kampala archdiocese as well as the entire Catholic Church in Uganda. It was the decade that Uganda got its independence, when Kyagambiddwa first performed the Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio in the Vatican, and also when the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee was established (towards the end of the decade). The first joint church hymn book, *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama*, which unified both the Nsambya and Lubaga missionaries, was also worked on following Pope Paul VI's visit to Uganda in 1969. It is however the former establishment of the hymnal that marked the beginning of hybrid songs in the Roman Catholic Church in the diocese of Kampala. Earlier, songs had just been translated from English and French into Luganda. However, following Vatican Council II's decree and the unification of Nsambya and Lubaga, to form Kampala Archdiocese, a joint music committee was instituted by the archbishop of Lubaga. The committee was tasked with integrating songs from the existing books into a single publication to be used in all Luganda-speaking dioceses. Therefore, the songs that originally existed in two different publications, the Nsambya and Lubaga hymnbooks, together with the new compositions that had come in following Vatican II's inculturation campaign, formed the first version of *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama*. The M.T.O. hymn book, as it is commonly referred to, marked the beginning of the efforts by the native Baganda priests and musicians to decolonize church music from a predominantly western oriented repertoire to a hybrid repertoire, after which the committee embarked on indigenizing the church music repertoire.

The M.T.O. was the first official church hymnbook that contained songs by native Baganda priest-composers and lay people such as James Kabuye, Joseph Kyagambiddwa, Joseph Nnamukangula, and Vincent Bakkabulindi, among others. In

an interview with James Kabuye, he informed me that he started by composing songs that did not differ greatly from western hymns but had lyrics in Luganda and the melody was more or less following the Kiganda system. However, in my observations of the music composed at that time, most of the music followed the missionaries' mistakes made during the translating of the songs into Luganda. Nevertheless, what is important for this section is that hybrid compositions have become one of the most-used compositional techniques in the archdiocese and Catholic Church in the country.

The nature of these songs is in such a way that many composers write Luganda lyrics which in turn calls for an original Kiganda melody that is later harmonized strictly following the western conventions typical of the chorales or hymns from the English Westminster hymn book. In other words, the soprano line and the lyrics are in Luganda while the three other voices, that is, alto, tenor and bass, sing Luganda words in their harmonies. In comparison with the western hymns, this is the major distinguishing feature. The other qualities, such as the nature of the specific Kiganda hymn, closely relates to what we earlier on encountered with western hymns but this time with a Kiganda melody and lyrics.

Therefore, hybrid hymns are of various types as the classification below enumerates. There are subdivided into 1) Kiganda strophic hymns, 2) through-composed, as well as 3) stanza and refrain. As already explained, the other particulars of through-composed and strophic hymns are the same as what we saw with the western hymns above. Important to note is that all have a common denominator of having hybrid names beginning with Kiganda (local) and ending with hymns (western) reflecting both their locality as well as globalness. Examples include Kiganda strophic hymns, Kiganda through-composed hymns and others. These hymns are hybrid if we consider the accompaniment since they also use both western and Kiganda musical instruments, particularly the drums. Prominent among the western instruments used are the keyboard category of instruments which include organs, harmoniums, keyboards, piano, and pipe organs. This is one unique quality that is not common with other hybrid compositions but mostly limited to the hymns, especially those that might

have their time signatures corresponding with either *ebiggu* (*ekidigida*) in duple two four (2/4) time or the *baakisimba* drum rhythm in compound six eight (6/8) time. The other hybrid songs usually do not have traditional instruments accompanying, but western keyboards, as the next section elucidates.

Apart from Kiganda hymns, there are other hybrid compositions such as Kiganda polyphonic compositions, sometimes referred to as Kiganda Classical music by some journalists (Mazinga 2009). These songs will have a through-composed form, while imitating classical music of great masters such as Mozart, Haydn, Handel and others. The difference will be in the lyrics which in a way as already expressed will dictate a Kiganda-leaning melody³⁰. Normally lyrics dictate the natural tones of the language and therefore will have a strong effect on the musical intervals chosen during song composition. Therefore, songs will have four voices whereby the three lower voices, that is, alto, tenor and bass, are harmonized based on the soprano melody, whereas the lyrics for all of them are uniform. Like in other western musics, sometimes it calls for imitations, counterpoint, polyphony, chorale-like sections, unison among other skills used by composers. As already noted, the accompaniment is a keyboard instrument. Usually the performance style will also match/mimic western practices whereby choristers do not make any movements that are responding to the music. They will stand still and sing, occasionally only shaking their heads to the music. When I inquired from one of the prominent conductors of the Evangelical choir, Vincent Wamala, he responded that “we have to reproduce what the Europeans do when performing music related to this”. I consider this mimicry as introduced to postcolonial analysis by Homi Bhabha, “whereby the colonial subject is reproduced as almost the same but not quite” (1994:86, Ashcroft *et al.* 2007:125). While some of these choristers would move when performing Kiganda songs (as the practice is, in imitation of the various Kiganda dances), they will not do the same when performing

³⁰ I use Kiganda-leaning melody since I have encountered cases where the fourth and seventh degrees of the scale are used just as in western music. The leaning here implies that composers try to ensure that the lyrics sound more natural as pronounced in Luganda. This therefore calls for extra consideration of the intonations and stresses dictated by the language since it is tonal.

hybrid songs. While they do not make any body movements matching with the music, as a way of mimicking what the colonists introduced, the heads will always oppose this and the way the singers on stage will move reflects that they are not comfortable but have to do it as a way of fulfilling what their music directors instruct them to do.

Particularly on this mimicry, Bill Ashcroft *et al.* have noted that “The copying of the colonizing culture, behavior, manners, and values by the colonized contains both mockery and a certain ‘menace’, ‘so that mimicry is at once resemblance and a menace’” (2007:125). Principally, mimicry here reveals the limits of the authority of the colonizer on the colonized, displaying it as embodying the seeds of its own destruction (*ibid.*). This is further witnessed in the presence of the conductor just as it happens in western cultures. The conductor in Kiganda songs normally acts as if he is commanding everything; yet in reality he is actually being driven by the choir. In my observations during the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festival as well as in the weekly Sunday masses that I attended, most of the conductors did not conduct as the profession requires, but only fulfilled the role of being in front of the choir, starting the song and ending it. In between, what they did was more of a ‘mockery’, trying to imitate western conducting techniques but never perfecting them. As such, the patterns used to conduct were unidentifiable but only improvised to match with the music or melodic contour. From my observations in different places, neither the conductors nor the choirs being conducted seemed bothered by this act.

Other hybrid forms of compositions will include Kiganda Gregorian chants, which will have the lyrics in Luganda, and which musically will be following the western practices of singing Gregorian chants. This chant form is sometimes also used in the Kiganda polyphonic (Kiganda classical) compositions and incorporated with other forms of music within a single song. Prominent among the composers that excel in using this technique is Joseph Nnamukangula, a priest and German-trained musician, who at the same time is one of Kabuye’s contemporaries among the earliest music composers in the church. Kiganda Gregorian chants are also sometimes used with hymns whereby the chorus is a Kiganda hymn while the stanza is a Kiganda

Gregorian chant. However, unlike other types of hymns earlier seen, Kiganda Gregorian chants are only accompanied with the organ or other keyboard instruments.

Hybridization has also affected most of the foreign church music that has been incorporated into the Kampala Archdiocesan Music repertoire, particularly music from dioceses that do not use Luganda as their official language during the mass. For example, a number of songs from Mbarara diocese, especially those by Benedict Mubangizi, have also been harmonized to incorporate both Kinyankore as well as western musical characteristics. Other composers include Rev. Fr. Dr. Anthony Okello and the late Polycarp Ochola who have composed in Luo from northern Uganda though harmonizing their compositions, which qualifies them as hybrid compositions. Such compositions are not so common in Kampala Archdiocese, though during concerts of prominent choirs, they will be performed. During my fieldwork, Christ the King Choir staged a Christmas carol concert in which some of these harmonized songs from Ankle and those in Luo were performed. Also, while still conducting the choir at Makerere University's Department of Performing Arts and Film, such songs were usually included among the Christmas carols or other repertoires.

The above is an analysis of the compositional techniques used in the archdiocese of Kampala. Worth mentioning is that the church music practices in Kampala are usually the same in all the Luganda-speaking dioceses as seen earlier. The Luganda-speaking dioceses closely monitor what is being done in the archdiocese since it includes the capital city where all experts in music converge, and these other dioceses in turn imitate it in their respective diocese. As such, the above represents not only the archdiocese of Kampala but the entire Buganda region which uses Luganda as its main language during worshipping.

5.5 Composition of Church Music: Evolution of Catholic Church Music Since Vatican II

In Chapter Four, I have noted that prior to the Second Vatican Council, composition of church music was restricted to the European missionaries. For church purposes, the missionaries had brought hymns and other songs/chants from their native countries, namely France and Britain. The Mill Hill missionaries at Nsambya greatly utilized hymns from England while the White Fathers at Lubaga mainly had Latin songs and also used the *Liber Usualis*, which was the main chant book that contained the instituted Catholic Church's chants for various parts of the mass. Later, the missionaries started to translate these songs from the original European languages.

Joseph Kyagambiddwa's *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* (1964) is said to have been the first Kiganda music composed for church use as well as the first time a native Muganda could compose music for church use and it was adopted by the church authorities. The native African priests are reported to have started composing and writing music for church use in the early 1960s just after the Second Vatican Council. Among these priests were the former students of Kyagambiddwa such as Gerald Mukwaya, James Kabuye, Joseph Nnamukangula, Vincent Bakkabulindi and others. James Kabuye informed me that by then, they were trying to bridge the requirements of Vatican II as well as being sensitive to the local response that Kiganda music or music in a Kiganda style for church use had received. As such, the compositional techniques did not differ greatly from what the European missionaries had established but were just slightly modified to fit into the needs and requirements of the growing church in Uganda. In an earlier study that I conducted about compositional techniques used in the Catholic Church in the Metropolitan of Kampala, I noted that this period marked the beginning of the hybrid music genres, mainly Kiganda hymns and Kiganda Gregorian chants, which were still reflective of both the missionary influence in the musical practices of the church in Buganda, as well as the immediate resistance and opposition that the Catholic clergy had demonstrated to music in a purely Kiganda style. Kabuye explains that we had to

bring something that was more of a *maleeto*³¹ that was not purely western but had a few Kiganda elements. Therefore, the compositions during this period generally followed what the missionaries used to do, that is, translate European hymns into Luganda or compose new hymns following all European conventions but using the Luganda language.

Later with the introduction of festivals, the compositional techniques were greatly reformed with the laity gradually beginning to accept church music composed using the native Kiganda music compositional techniques. From the early parish festivals, we see the beginnings of the Gganda category, which was mainly devoted to helping the laity to appreciate music in this style, among other reasons. Similarly, there were western songs whereby choirs performed pieces by great composers such as G. F. Handel, W. A. Mozart and J. Haydn. With time and in an effort to stay focused, KAMUCO eventually eliminated the western classical compositions and started advocating for western compositions strictly by Ugandan composers. This also further developed the techniques used by the composers beyond increasing the number of compositions in the church repertoire since each choir wanted to come with a new composition that has been strategically composed to enable them win the festival competitions. According to my informants and the observations I made during the festivals, most hybrid compositions have come into the church through this avenue since they normally use the local language, Luganda (interviews, Richard Kaabunga 24 July 2009, and Vincent Wamala 18 July 2009).

A closer analysis of the Kiganda hymns used at this time also shows that there was a constant renegotiation between utilizing western musical elements and Kiganda music characteristics rather than an abrupt change to Kiganda techniques. The practice was gradually and constantly revised so as to incorporate more and more characteristics from Kiganda music. In an interview with Leonard Ssemukaaya, he informed me that the festival started by using only two drums out of the current set of seven drums

³¹ Maleeto (half cast) is the Luganda equivalent of mulatto in this case implying hybridity.

commonly used in church services, mass, church music festivals and other related activities (interview 8 November 2009). Similarly, with the compositions, Kabuye also affirmed that they had to start slowly but carefully, changing first the language, then rhythms and time signatures, until they could rightly perform a whole song that can be identified as Kiganda with enough Kiganda accompanying instruments, singing style (*eggono*), and accompanying movements that resemble the dances of the Baganda.

Like I noted in my earlier study, the influences of the composers ranged on the one hand from the western education system which continuously exposed students to singing hymns, anthems, chorales and other types of western music in both schools and parishes. On the other hand, other composers were influenced by exposure to traditional/ethnic musical practices, participation in daily choir activities as well as influences ranging from family background whereby one of the parents was a composer/singer and therefore one of his/her children also takes it up, to western education whereby they learned music formally in schools. As such, the compositional techniques of church music have been largely shaped by the situations a particular composer has been exposed to since his or her childhood. While I include a detailed discussion of the influences of the composers in my earlier research (Ssempijja 2006:44), in this study, I will limit my discussion to a brief consideration of the general compositional techniques used throughout the archdiocese of Kampala.

Composers who had received a basically western education mostly from the missionaries or other colonial government-founded schools adopted a purely western compositional style of music. It is common to come across a music composition by a native composer that encompasses western techniques and is almost identical to the western classical music compositions. Most of these compositions in this category are in the English language though there are some that also utilize Latin. The styles mostly follow Baroque choral music, mainly George Frederick Handel, and the classical Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, especially in relation to his masses and requiem arrangements. In this category are professionally trained composers such as Anthony

Okello, Justinian Tamusuza and others. An example of a composition in this category is Tamusuza's 'Cacemcho Anthem' or Let Us All Men Rejoice. In these songs the constant use of counterpoint and strict harmonies is noticeable and in most cases, there is a written piano or organ accompaniment which contrasts with other hybrid genres whereby the performers and accompanists in particular are given room to improvise the accompaniment following the music composed. Again, western compositions are thoroughly harmonized and have varying key modulations, which are also common to other western-based musics as well as a limited lyrical range. While compositions in the Kiganda style are usually story-like, encompassing a full story or message which necessitates the use of many words in the lyrics, the western style compositions have very limited text and could have maybe three sentences which make up the whole message contained in the song. The forms used are also clearly identifiable and have to match with what other great composers like Handel were doing during their time.

The Catholic Church music repertoire in Kampala Archdiocese and all the Luganda-speaking dioceses have since the advent of Kyagambiddwa's *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* included music composed following the Kiganda styles or techniques of music composition. Common to this music is the use of the call and response (sometimes known as leader and respondents) form or lately, as introduced by Kabuye, there are also through-composed songs. Main features here include absence of harmony, complex rhythms that follow the linguistic pronunciations, overlapping of the melody (leader) over respondents, varying time signatures to account for a number of cultural musical genres, repetitions, a complete message in form of a story, and the use of *eggono*³², one of the main identifying features of Kiganda singing.

³² *Eggono*: This is a glissando-like technique used by the Baganda in singing. Normally applied to the last phrases/syllable of a sentence, the voice undulates between two notes (as in the spoken language) to form a nasal sound similar to trills used in western music. The Baganda and a number of researchers who have studied Kiganda music identify *eggono* as a unique characteristic of Kiganda vocal music technique (Makubuya 1999, 2000).

The church music repertoire in the archdiocese of Kampala also includes songs from other Ugandan cultures that have been incorporated due to the diocese's strategic location. Since Kampala is the capital of Uganda, it has become a metropolitan city in which people from all the different parts of the country are well represented. As such, the musical practices from all over the country are also well represented there, including church music, which is also lately getting an influx of the various music cultures emanating from the multi-ethnic capital. Among these one can occasionally hear songs in Lingala, Runyankore, Runyoro, Rutoro and a little bit of Swahili among other languages. The styles of these cultures are also sometimes performed, though the Archdiocesan Synod³³ strictly advocated for the use of only three languages: Luganda, English and Latin. In an interview with Edward Ssonko, the chairman of KAMUCO and the priest in charge of liturgical music throughout the archdiocese, he informed me that the three above-mentioned languages are the only ones that should be used though at times people include others unknowingly (interview 3 September 2009). However, about the compositional techniques, he referred me to what Vatican Council II advocated for as well as affirming that they (the church authorities) do encourage creativity as long as it is done within the limits of what is accepted.

5.6 Performance Contexts for Catholic Church Music in Kampala Archdiocese

Using both my fieldwork experience and data collected hand in hand with my autoethnographic knowledge, I find that there are quite a number of media where Catholic Church music is used in the country. While some of these contexts of performance might be secular, the sacred ones are also quite numerous. I take a critical consideration of these contexts considering how music is perceived in each of them together with both the secular and sacred roles of church music.

³³ The archdiocesan synod compiled its recommendations in a book known as *Obutume Bw'omukatoliki mu ssaza ly'e Kampala. Grassroot Evangelization. 2006*. The book acts as a reference for all church related activities which involve both the laity and the clergy.

The primary motive of composing church music is for use in the Catholic Church liturgy, which mainly takes place during (though not limited to) the mass. As such, many composers of church music are always aware of the reason or the particular part of the mass when their music will be useful. Among these sections of the mass are: the Procession, Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Alleluia, Creed Offertory, Sanctus, Pater Noster, Agnus Dei, Communion, Thanksgiving and lastly, Recession. Traditionally, different songs have been composed for each of the various sections of the mass. As such, most Catholics can tell that the lyrics in the song reflect the offertory or meditation during mass. As earlier explained, the music here is part of the liturgy (mass, benediction etc.). While on a few unique occasions mass has been conducted without music, it is generally a requirement of the liturgy that certain music has to be performed at various intervals so as to fully effect the intentions of carrying out these rituals. As such, each musical composition is designed to suit the section where it is supposed to be sung both in mood, lyrics, accompaniment among other sonic musical elements.

Catholic Church music has also become useful to a number of media establishments, particularly the broadcasting sector. Radio stations as well as television stations always broadcast Catholic Church musical performances, partly for entertainment. This has caused a rise in demand for this music, consequently sending many church choirs to recording studios. Among the most prominent radio stations are the Catholic-founded ones such as Radio Sapientia and Radio Maria, both located in the archdiocese of Kampala though owned by the Catholic Episcopal Conference. These play Catholic music as part of their daily music as well as during the mass that is broadcast live on the stations every day. In addition to these stations, there are a number of radio stations as well as television channels that are interested in gospel music but occasionally play some Catholic choral music. The television channels are also involved in filming live performances of some of the best choirs so as to broadcast them on their stations especially during Christmas, Easter and the Uganda Martyrs' festive seasons. As such, they are always looking for the latest records from various church sources, mainly from the cathedral as well as Christ the King which is

the parish in the center of Kampala. On a few occasions, they have been reporting on the activities of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival whereby they play clips highlighting what happened at the competitive festival. Catholic Church music has also acquired demand from funeral service providers in the country.

In society, it is also played during the secular parties that are carried out by Catholics as a form of identity. At one of the functions I attended, a DJ attempted to play some Pentecostal gospel music but the owner of the function (name withheld) ordered him to stick to only Catholic music giving the reason that “this is a home for Catholics, not Pentecostals”. In other words, at such occasions Catholics play their music not only for entertainment and acting as background music but also to show that they are proud of their Catholic identity. While these might not be sacred spaces for this music, the music clearly articulates the identity of the people wherever it is sounded. Many people will always sing along wherever a tune they know is played. It is a source of pride to them with which they are not afraid to identify.

Since the main consideration for this study is the performance of church music in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, it is relevant to state that church music is performed in festivals and here it serves a number of purposes ranging from entertainment, educational, evangelism, experimentation, to an extent of being an exhibition of Catholic post-primary schools’ musical abilities. However, it is pointed out in this study that the nature of performing music for entertainment differs from the music performed in the sacred space and as such, this study addresses the nature of the drums played for secular purposes in comparison to the drum that was recontextualized for use in the church by the Catholic Church authorities. The aim is to articulate how traditional Kiganda musical instruments that have made it to the church and particularly in mass have been recontextualized in performing style so as to suit their new contexts. I will not get into details to explain the festival context in which church music is performed since it is covered elsewhere in this dissertation as a central concern for this study.

Scholars and various academic institutions are using church music as one of the means for teaching music to students. The prominent universities that make use of this music include: Makerere University's Department of Performing Arts and Film, Kyambogo University's music department as well as Uganda Christian University, Mukono. Students are taught particularly in the aspects of music performance. At Makerere University's Department of Performing Arts and Film, students are required to conduct a choral piece which in some cases is from the Catholic Church. Furthermore, they perform a mass annually in a concert which is aimed at inculcating a performance culture in the students, as well as teaching practically the various aspects of choral music performance, directing and others. More so, scholars have always considered church music as an object or process using various lenses. A number of studies have been conducted on various aspects of music though not much attention has been given to church music. In this particular area, I look at music as providing a context in which other things happen or take place. Therefore music has served educational needs being subjected to learning conditions in order to analyze its structure, process of composition, and other related issues. During my fieldwork, I attended two concerts by the Department of Performing Arts and Film at Makerere University and observed that the academic approach to church music differs from the other approaches since here, more emphasis is put on articulating the technical aspects of music performance. The repertoire included western music as well as music in the Kiganda indigenous music style. While liturgical aspects were also partially considered, more prominence was given to technical music performance aspects.

5.7 Kiganda Music and its Adaptation into the Catholic Church

(Recontextualizing Kiganda music for use in the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda)

In the fourth chapter, I endeavored to clarify how church music eventually got to incorporate Kiganda indigenous-styled music as one of its most important constituent parts especially after Vatican Council II. In that chapter I focused on the broad historical context. In this section, I will therefore deal with more of the specifics of how the blending of both Kiganda and western music has come to be effected. I will explain in a detailed way how Kiganda music is used in the church and to what extent it is applied for liturgical purposes.

A number of scholars on music in Uganda have continuously explained the relationship between the Luganda language and music (Kyagambiddwa 1955, 1964, Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, Gray 1995, Ssempijja 2006, Nayiga 2006, Kagumba 2009). In this section, it is not my intention to reproduce what has been established but to relate it to what is practiced in Catholic Church music in the Archdiocese of Kampala. However, I will draw on some of this research and these studies so as to effectively explain issues related to Kiganda music and Luganda language which have been of so much concern to various scholars who study music, especially vocal music. As a point of departure, I will try to explain and relate how this perception of Kiganda music and language has been approached in the Catholic Church music circles.

As already mentioned, Luganda is a tonal language whose speech greatly influences the intonations and pitches of the lyrics during singing. The language greatly influences the vocal music that is performed in the Kiganda traditional musical style as well as hybrid composition that utilize the Kiganda indigenous style with any other style, provided the lyrics are in Luganda. There are three phonemic tones or pitch

levels as already noted by other scholars,³⁴ and these are the high tone, the low tone, and the (intermediate) slide from high to low which is distinctively different from the other two. Any Muganda conversant with the language will easily establish that the slide from high to low is itself an independent pitch level that cannot be explained in terms of either the high or low pitch levels but in its own dimensions of language use. Similarly, there are basically two syllabic units observed in music³⁵ utilizing Kiganda compositional techniques partially or wholly. There is a short syllable and a long syllable that determine the length or duration.

The Luganda language pitch contour and rhythmic (syllabic) duration greatly affect and determine the intonations in music as well as the overall meaning of the word(s) during singing. In other words, if a Luganda word starting on a high pitch tone is pronounced starting on a lower pitch tone, the meaning will automatically change and thus affect the entire sentence in which this particular word was used. In the same vein, if a word with a short rhythmic syllable is pronounced using a long syllable, the meaning will also be affected. Kyagambiddwa 1955, Gray 1993, myself 2006 and Kagumba 2009 have provided detailed examples on this issue and I refer the reader to these studies.

In singing Kiganda music, the accompaniment is highly valued and plays a significant role in the overall expression of the music. In the traditional performance context, the instrument partly contributes to the articulation of the message being delivered by the musicians, hence the consideration of many 'African musics' as a means of expression. The melodic tune played on any of the Kiganda traditional musical instruments is always basic with occasional variations employed for coloring the

³⁴ For other detailed explanations on the pitch levels and syllabic units of Luganda language, see Kyagambiddwa 1955, Ssempijja 2006, Gray 1993, and Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001.

³⁵ The choice of the words I use here is aimed at emphasizing that my study reviews Luganda language as used in music composition and performance. While other linguistic scholars have gone into details to examine all the nuances of the language and might have brought up further details about the syntactical and phenomenological issues, my study is limited only to those aspects that composers of music following the Kiganda native style of music composition and performance observe. However, it does not nullify other scholars' findings, especially those who have approached Luganda from a linguistic point of view.

music. The lyrics are often improvised depending on the environment in which the musician is performing. Writing or prior arranging of what to sing about was not part of the traditional secular practices and only came about during the missionary days with Kyagambiddwa's first publication of *African Music from the Source of the Nile* (1955).

Thus, in relation to this, Kabuye has noted that there was no need for writing the music but only preserving it orally at the King's courts (2010:3). However, there were also other tunes or songs that had a pre-drafted sequence which was not strictly observed during performance as common in following the western music score. This allowed room for the musician to partially engage the audience as well as to comment on the surroundings which in most cases was delivering a message to the parties concerned. This is evident in some of the songs on the Kiganda traditional repertoire including *Omusango gw'abalere*, *Ssekitulege*, among others.

The contexts of performance also greatly differed. There were both secular and sacred contexts of Kiganda traditional musical performances. Among the secular contexts, there were formal occasions of music performance such as at the King's court, chiefs' residences, twins' ceremonies, wedding parties and informal gatherings such as in the local bars or beer parties. All these would dictate the nature of the lyrics used by the musicians. The sacred contexts consisted of music performed in the local shrines commonly referred to as *Amasabo* which as I demonstrated in my earlier research had close similarities with the western church arrangement and hierarchy. In listening to many Kiganda songs that belonged to this oral repertoire, one notes that the lyrics were basically commenting on the event as it happened during those days even though many of these are not common in modern-day Buganda. Again, the two main basic rhythms that are commonly used by the Baganda also have an attachment to the rituals or ceremonies where the music was being performed. The first is *ebiggu*³⁶, which is a

³⁶ For further information about *ebiggu*, please refer to my earlier study of *An Ethnomusicological Study of Compositional Techniques in the Roman Catholic Church of the Metropolitan of Kampala 2006*.

sacred music genre in a duple (2/4) time signature that was mainly used during the worship ceremonies in the traditional Kiganda shrines commonly known as *Amasabo*. *Biggu* (sometimes referred to as *ekidigida*) therefore denotes both a drumming style and a music composition style which were later adopted by composers of the Catholic Church music led by Joseph Kyagambiddwa's *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* (1964). The second basic rhythm of the Baganda is *baakisimba*³⁷ another common secular music, dance and rhythmic genre. Unlike *ebiggu*, *baakisimba* is mostly in compound time of 6/8 and has been more associated with the palace and other secular entertainment contexts which involve a lot of dancing. The two form the main rhythmic basis for most Kiganda music compositions used in the Catholic Church generally in Uganda and particularly in the Archdiocese of Kampala.

This served as the basis for Kyagambiddwa to initiate composing and performance of music in a traditional Kiganda style. The first recorded account of a composition in the Kiganda indigenous style was the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio*, whose songs imitate both the *biggu* and *baakisimba* techniques as explained above. Apart from the lyrics and the limited instrumentation used by Kyagambiddwa, all other aspects of the music were imitating the Kiganda traditional music. The most contentious issue during the composition of the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* was the lyrics, which according to my informants were to be originally supplied by seminarians of Katigondo National Major Seminary because they had studied some theology and philosophy (interviews: Joseph Nnamukangula 10 June 2010, David Kyeyune 19 February 2010, James Kabuye 8 September 2009). Kyagambiddwa rejected this and explained that the music comes along with the words and the two cannot be separated. In the end, he ended up doing the entire composition alone. With the instrumentation, Kyagambiddwa mostly used drums since the other instruments had not yet been allowed in the Catholic Church. Moreover, there was a lot of opposition to the drums

³⁷ Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2001) has extensively dealt with *baakisimba* as both a music and dance genre. I refer the reader to her publication for a more detailed /in depth understanding of *baakisimba*.

at the time and many musicians feared to involve other traditional musical instruments.

As such, composers of church music in Kampala Archdiocese utilizing the Kiganda indigenous compositional technique mainly use either *ebiggu* or *baakisimba* rhythms. Likewise, the songs follow the traditional forms of music compositions which mainly include the Kiganda call and response, Kiganda strophic, Kiganda stanza and refrain, as well as the Kiganda through-composed forms. Note the use of *Kiganda* throughout as a means of qualifying the form in relation to the western forms commonly used in music composition. However, most of the Baganda composers (apart from a few who are musically trained) or performers will not be able to explain or identify which form they used, but will be in position to relate it to a folk song or any other song from their culture that makes use of the same arrangement. Other characteristics of Kiganda music, most notably the repetitions, are common throughout, apart from the Kiganda through-composed music which occasionally omits them. Lyrics are strictly from the Bible and the catechism of the Roman Catholic Church as globally taught. With these elements, and particularly with the help of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals, composers have managed to create a local repertoire that draws from indigenous musical forms, thus creating an indigenous musical expression that partly represents the locality from where the music is based.

The current repertoire as used in the Archdiocese of Kampala represents the main points of the inculturation campaign as embedded in the decree on sacred music and liturgy. Firstly, Catholics in the archdiocese of Kampala view both western music and Kiganda music as mere forms of expression for the global Roman Catholic Church. More specifically, the Kiganda music helps them to articulate their identity since it embodies an indigenous form of representation and expression that is not necessarily inferior to western music or satanic (as earlier portrayed in the missionaries directives), as well as relevant to an indigenous version of Catholic spirituality as intended by the Second Vatican Council. In a way, the campaign to decolonize the church music repertoire has bred glocalization resulting from the continued

negotiation between Vatican and the local church in Kampala, as this study will address later.

5.7.1 The Case of the Drum (*Engoma*) in Catholic Liturgy

As earlier noted, the drum was the first traditional Kiganda musical instrument to be incorporated into the Catholic Church (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, Naamala 2008, Ssempijja 2006). It was reportedly first performed in the Catholic Church in the Vatican during the canonization of the Uganda martyrs in the middle of the Second Vatican Council. It was therefore a landmark that the drum was the first traditional musical instrument to be performed in the Catholic Church and especially in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Here, the drum was received with a lot of jubilation, chanting and celebration of the Church's liberation. As such, there was no recorded negative impact emanating from its performance in Rome.

However, its inclusion into the Catholic Church musical instruments list was another story characterized by a constant negotiation between the implementers (musicians and some church priests) on one side and the rest of the Christians on the other. While Vatican II had advocated and recommended for inculturation to take place, a number of priests and members of the laity who had been trained in Catechism in the missionary days were strict and hesitated to accept and recognize traditional musical instruments, particularly the drum. As such, many stories are told of how the drums were thrown out of the church and the people playing them threatened with suspension. The most notable figure that most of my informants mentioned as having suffered was Joseph Kyagambiddwa who found it hard to perform as earlier explained.

5.7.2 Why did the Drum Receive Such Widespread Resistance/ Rejection?

A number of reasons have been advanced to account for the eventual opposition that the drum received. In this section I review them in an effort to understand how the process of recontextualizing this drum for use in the Catholic Church came to be

inevitable for the people responsible for its inclusion into the church musical practices.

A number of researchers on Kiganda music have indicated that the drum was not only an ordinary musical instrument for the Baganda but also power-laden, whereby its usefulness transcended the musical to more social, religious and cultural functions (Roscoe 1911:25, Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001:166, Mpoza 1997:31). Nannyonga-Tamusuza notes that among other things the drum was used for both sorrow and joy, “mediating between the worlds of the seen and the unseen” (*ibid.* 166) and in some way sacrosanct, implying some sacred attachment to the drums. Nannyonga-Tamusuza further writes. “Most important the drum symbolizes not only royalty, power and authority of kingship, but also the very existence of Buganda kingdom” (*ibid.* 167). As such, the missionaries had come to learn about this social position of the drum among the Baganda and concluded that using it in the church could be a symbiosis of two dissimilar practices, which was prohibited in the Catholic Church. As such they discouraged drums. In fact, one of the commonly used statements when one is inquiring for another person who has gone to perform traditional sacred rituals is “*ali mu ngoma*”, meaning that, “he/she is in drums” (Lubega 2005). With all these associations, elimination was the only option for the missionaries before they had completely understood Kiganda culture and customs. As Nakanyike B. Musisi has noted in relation to the constructed union between the missionaries and the converts, “Religious conversion carried with it an obligation to bind oneself to like-minded individuals” (1999:58). As such, the converts had to identify themselves more with the missionaries as well as carry on the missionaries’ ideologies. Contrary to the banning of traditional musical instruments, it was the African priests now bringing back the drums to the church.

One of my informants, however, hinted at an important aspect to consider within this inculturation campaign and this was to follow the guidelines as the Vatican had advised in the Sacrosanctum Concilium Decree to the lands that wanted to engage in inculturation. Under the norms for adapting the liturgy to the culture and traditions of

the people, Vatican Council II in its decree on sacred liturgy number 40 subsection two states:

To ensure that adaptations may be made with all the circumspection which they demand, the Apostolic See will grant power to this same territorial ecclesiastical authority to permit and to direct, as the case requires, the necessary preliminary experiments over a determined period of time among certain groups suited for the purpose (C 38 (2)).

In this decree the churches were advised to first experiment with whatever they intended to be part of the inculturation campaign. Kabuye, one of the priests at the time involved in this campaign, informed me in an interview that the drums had not gone through this experimentation period and as such, they were still foreign to the Christians. They had to view them in the same way they had seen them during the missionary days given the fact that even some priests did not agree to their inclusion into the liturgy. As many scholars note, Kyagambiddwa first performed the drums in the Vatican even before the Second Vatican Council had been concluded and this clearly points to the fact that no time was put aside to explain to the people about the new trend but it was just incorporated there and then. Furthermore, Nannyonga-Tamusuza and a number of my informants agree on one element that in enforcing the use of the drum, its supporters used the phrase:

If people beat the drums in the Basilica, then why can't we play them in the Cathedral? Then the drums were brought into the church (2001:151, also Joseph Nnamukangula interview).

In this case, the approach used to introduce drums into the Catholic Church points to an attempt at violating or trying to work contrary to Vatican II's recommendations. It was more about enforcing the use of the drums rather than explaining the Vatican Council II's spirit of inculturation to the people. As such, the drums were used simply because they had been played in Rome but at a later date, the people continued objecting to them until other means as advised by Vatican II were incorporated. Using the above argument, there were very few Baganda who had been able to travel abroad to Rome and as such, many converts could not understand the spirit in which the drums were being brought into the church.

The Constitution on Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (44) decree further stressed the need for knowledgeable people in the fields of sacred music, liturgical science, and art among others to be incorporated by the various territorial ecclesiastical authorities before inculturation was accomplished. Decree F on the reform of Sacred Liturgy reads:

It is desirable that the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority mentioned in Art. 22, 2, set up a liturgical commission, to be assisted by experts in liturgical science, sacred music, art and pastoral practice. So far as possible the commission should be aided by some kind of Institute for Pastoral Liturgy, consisting of persons who are eminent in these matters, and including laymen as circumstances suggest. Under the direction of the above-mentioned territorial ecclesiastical authority the commission is to regulate pastoral-liturgical action throughout the territory, and to promote studies and necessary experiments whenever there is question of adaptations to be proposed to the Apostolic See (F 44).

As far as Uganda and particularly Kampala diocese was concerned, this was not yet done, since as I have already noted, the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee was not formed until the unification of Nsambya diocese to Kampala archdiocese in 1969 when Pope Paul VI visited Uganda. Therefore this also partly accounts for the immense resistance that the drum and Kiganda music met from the early Baganda converts. Matters were not made any easier when Kyagambiddwa took to a simplistic approach to composing some of his earlier church songs. Some of his tunes used in the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* had been adopted from the common bar and palace tunes that were usually part of the secular repertoire in Buganda. To substantiate this in the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio*, song number 4, *Lwali Lukulu* opens with a melody nearly identical to that used in the common folk tune known as *Kyayera mbuga*. The similarity can be exemplified by comparing the transcribed source as well as Kyagambiddwa's tune extracted from the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio*.

Lwali Lukulu (Kyagambiddwa 1964:6)



Lwa-li lu - ku - lu — Ma - pee-ra mu Bu - ga - nda ssoo - ku - go - bae Nte-ba.
Lwa-li lwa ssan-yu — Ma - pee-ra lwe ya - soo-kao-lwoo - ku - so-somaE-mmi-sa.

Kyayera Mbuga (Kiganda folk tune)

A closer look at this melody shows that he had adapted new lyrics to the actual tune of *Kyayera mbuga*, a song well known among the Baganda for its funny, sarcastic lyrics commenting on Kyewungula's long overgrown beard that could sweep the road as he moved along with it. In an interview with Joseph Nnamukangula, he explained that, "to a serious convert [in the missionary days] who could walk over thirty miles for the sake of his/her religion, this appeared as a simplistic way of playing along with church music amounting to violation of God" (interview 10 June 2010). In a related communication, P.B. Kiyita concurred with Nannyonga-Tamusuza's note that if the drums were to be easily accepted, then the European missionaries themselves, who banned their use in the church, would have been the ones to come back and re-introduce them so as to make peace. However, the European missionaries strictly prohibited the drums in the church and now the Baganda priests (who were considered low in status) were the ones re-introducing them. It therefore appeared as a conflict where there was need for the converts to take sides since not all the Baganda priests supported them but only a few.

Further exemplification of this is realized in Nannyonga-Tamusuza's study whereby she notes that the missionaries retained the *kiribaggwa* drumming style which was originally used to invite people to go for worship in the *masabo* (shrines). On the contrary it was used in the church as a signal for inviting the people to attend mass (2001:148). This simplistic adoption of signals without paying critical attention to their source also partially led to misinterpretation and confusion.

However, in a different consideration, the resistance to the introduction of the drums could be seen as a continuation of the colonial domination given the fact that Catholicism was also part of the colonial package that Uganda received. Postcolonial writers, particularly Homi Bhaba (1994), have explained the postcolonial notion of

‘colonizing the minds’ which unconsciously portrays everything belonging to the colonized as having a low status compared to those of the colonizers. Explaining Bhaba’s notion of colonizing the mind, John Macleod writes that,

Colonialism is perpetuated in part by justifying to those in the colonising nation the idea that it is right and proper to rule over other peoples, and by getting the colonised people to accept their lower ranking in the colonial order of things (2000:18, also see Solomon 2011).

Thus the resistance might have been a result of this element that had been effectively taught by the missionaries through their discouraging of anything to do with Kiganda music and culture as already noted.

Mcleod further argues that postcolonialism partially responds to this (colonizing the mind) by ‘decolonizing the mind’, a notion coined by Ngugi wa Thiong’o. Mcleod writes that, “If colonialism involves colonizing the mind, then resistance to it requires, in Ngugi’s phrase, ‘decolonising the mind’”, which involves “Overturning the dominant ways of seeing the world and representing reality in ways which do *not* replicate the colonialist values” (*ibid.* 22, emphasis in original, also Solomon 2011). As such, the drum being the first traditional musical instrument to be played in the church explicated the level at which the colonization of the minds had affected the Baganda Catholics and therefore the process of inculturation partially accounts for Ngugi’s notion of decolonizing the mind. Inculturation, as I have already explained, involved the use of indigenous forms in Catholic worship which is rightly consistent with the decolonization campaign.

Justifying this colonization of the mind in an interview, Fr. Dr. David Kyeyune, one of the priests who performed in Kyagambiddwa’s choir in the Vatican, particularly responding to why Kyagambiddwa was opposed even by the priests, had this to say:

Wait a second even our African bishops. Even our very own Ugandan bishops opposed him. Era creed ye b’agiwera. Kubanga bali tebategedde, they had never appreciated Kyagambiddwa’s music. Naye ate ssibanenya kubanga formation gye twafuna nga ekyamwe eky’abaddugavu kibi and some of us absorbed it nga empisi bw’emira eggumba nga terigaayizza. Naffe kyebatulakako, there was a sort of a brain or cart washing, you don’t appreciate your own but admire others, but that is the way Kyempita western domestication, under the principal of the western assimilation of their culture,

the French la assimilation docorto. Oyogera olufaransa nga omufaransa. Era bwoba nga weyisa nga omufaransa, you are wonderful. They say now we have succeeded.

Wait a second, even our African bishops. Even our very own Ugandan bishops opposed him. And his creed was banned since they had not understood and appreciated Kyagambiddwa's music. On the other hand, I don't blame them since the formation we got emphasized that what is yours the blacks is bad and some of us absorbed it just like a hyena swallows a bone without chewing it. That also happened to us, there was a sort of brain washing or cart washing, you don't appreciate your own but admire others. That is the way, what I call western domestication, under the principle of western assimilation of their culture, the French la assimilation docorto. You speak French like the French and if you behave like the French, you are wonderful. They say now we have succeeded (interview 19 February 2010).

Kyeyune puts it right in relation to the priests' training and what the European missionaries had taught the early converts in relation to the Kiganda culture. It is a kind of continued power struggle as already intimated that is constantly renewed in the postcolonial period. It further justifies the attitude of some of the priests' as well as bishops' reaction as having come to underrate their own culture in favor of the European cultures that participated in this imperialistic project. In an earlier interview with one of the bishops, he confirmed having participated in the banning the performance of Kyagambiddwa's creed commonly known as "*Yee Mmanyi mmanyi nze*" for purposes of not conforming to the Catholic liturgical, theological and musical requirements.

Though the above analysis specifically focuses on the drums, in this case drums were used as a case study since they were the first traditional musical instruments (alongside with the shakers) to be used in the Roman Catholic church in Uganda. The kind of reception that these drums and Kiganda music generally (since drums were always used wherever there was singing of Kiganda songs) received led to the halting of the introduction of Kiganda music, and according to James Kabuye, this is the time when the implementers had to resort to an experimental period as advocated for by Vatican Council II. It is at the same time that the formation of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee was realized, which consequently led to the formation of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals that were used as a 'laboratory' for recontextualizing some of the Kiganda musical practices before they were included into the main Catholic Church (see next chapter).

Since this study strategically addresses the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, the next section embarks upon the various stages which the drum underwent before being accepted into the church. Particularly, it addresses questions such as what was done, how and where so as to understand the music festivals' role in the recontextualization and eventual glocalization of music in the Roman Catholic Church in Kampala Archdiocese.

5.7.3 Recontextualizing the Drum for Liturgy

The drum was therefore subjected to a recontextualization period whereby there was a committee regulating what should be brought into the church and what should be left out of it. Kyeyune informed me that a number of priests had to go to Rome in order to get trained in liturgy with specific focus on inculturation. As far as music was concerned, Kabuye informed me that the whole process was halted and composers embarked on composing music that was not completely Kiganda but a kind of hybrid so that gradually Kiganda music could come in after careful examination of what to include and what to exclude.

Among the things that were revised was the playing style, the design of the drum itself as well as the gender restrictions that were previously attached to the drum. Leonard Ssemukaaya informed me that they started with two drums and slowly increased them until they grew to a similar number that is used for most of the traditional music or dances in Buganda. Similarly, they did not include any other instruments such as *ensaasi* (the shakers) since some of these were more attached to spirit possession worshipping ceremonies.

The process of recontextualizing the drums for use in the Catholic Church circles according to Ssemukaaya was mainly carried out in the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals where they started experimenting with the various drums that they had at their disposal and identified why there was a lot of hesitation among the laity to using them in their church services. He explains that they started with only two drums and after careful training of the performers, and observing that they were well received,

more instruments from the *baakisimba* drum set continued to be included until later when the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Festivals came in. Important considerations were the attitude of the people towards the drum and the cultural gender restrictions; the playing technique of the church drum was also slightly altered from the secular technique and the making of the church drums was also revisited to do away with the cultural taboos attached to it (interview: 8 November 2009).

A major issue related to the drum that was revisited was the gender question as presented by Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2001). Women were not allowed to play drums earlier, but later after Vatican II, they started playing drums in the church since all taboos connected to women playing drums had been abolished. Similarly, the making of the drum traditionally demanded that two sounding beads, locally known as *abalongo* (twins) should be placed inside the drum before the head was attached and sealed; this was prohibited especially for drums that were used in the church. I remember while I was still a pupil in primary school, my music teacher would always first shake the drums to ensure that the twin beads were heard, lest the gods get annoyed with him. According to Leonard Ssemukaaya, this practice was discouraged by the festival experts (interview: 8 November 2009). In a random survey that I carried out during my fieldwork, very few drums still contained these two beads. Most students I asked in the festival about this did not know anything about it since they were used to the 'bead-less' drums used in the Catholic Church (communication from Students of Uganda Martyrs High School Lubaga). Up to now, many critical performers will inform you that the beads today are used to identify the drums used in the shrines from those used for other purposes.

More contrast was made between the drums used in the shrines and those used for church service. Ssemukaaya informed me that the playing technique of the church drums was modified to reflect the solemn place for which it was designed. While the secular *baakisimba* would be played loudly and blatantly in a very celebratory mood, the church *baakisimba* was restricted to specific motifs and was played with a certain

level of dignity befitting the church (See also Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001).

Ssemukaaya explains:

Kaakati nga tuli mu bivvulu twebuuzanga nti enkuba y'engoma yalibadde etya? Kyatuyamba nnyo okulaga abantu nti enkuba y'engoma ey'okusinza eyawukana ku nkuba y'engoma ey'ebweru. Kati ggwe oli musician, bwe tuba tuleega engoma zino nga z'amazina, engoma eno empuunyi eba ne tone yaayo ebeera waggulu. Sso nga ate bwezibeera nga ennyimba za worshipping, engoma eno empuunyi ogiwulira nga eggumira wansi sso nga ate era tepaluuka nnyo ne mukuwuunyisa wano. N'omwana naye amanya ekibatu kino bwalina okukikubisa nga akiwumbako kweggamba nga engoma tepaala.

In the festivals, we used to ask ourselves what was the right way to play drums (in the church)? It was of great benefit to show the people the difference between playing drums for the church and those out of the church. Since you are a musician, when we are making these drums for secular purposes, the *empuunyi* is made with a high tone. However, when it is supposed to accompany church songs, it will be low and firm without making too much noise. Even in playing it, the student will be trained how to manipulate the palm (hand) in order to achieve this (dignified) controlled firm tone (interview: 8 November 2009).

Ssemukaaya's explanation here corresponds with what Francis Tebasoboke, the vice chairperson of the music committee, also told me. The festivals went back to the drawing board and even hired the services of one gentleman from Masaka known as Lubega to train the church musicians to play the church drums. Lubega had special knowledge in playing church drums since he had previously been trained by Joseph Kyagambiddwa. With time, the negative attitude towards the drums was slowly dealt with and eventually, the festivals started introducing other traditional musical instruments such as the *endongo* (lyre), *ensaasi* (shakers), *endingidi* (tube fiddle), *amadinda* (xylophones), *endere* (flute) and many other instruments as used today in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals and the Catholic Church. In Leonard Ssemukaaya's observations, these schools' festivals brought in the full usage of the Kiganda traditional musical instruments and at the same time provided an avenue where skills were required and developed in order to excel in performance. The festivals also provided an avenue where the committee would train the different drummers in the church so that they could leave behind the secular drumming style and adopt a more liturgical technique. Later, attention was turned to an equally important and related aspect of traditional music and that was incorporating dances into the liturgy.

5.7.4 Liturgy and Dance

The question of dancing in the church during mass has been addressed by a number of scholars from different angles. I will incorporate their findings and arguments in my discussion of this. According to available records and from information from my informants, the first time traditional Kiganda dances appeared in the Catholic Church was in 1964 in Rome during the canonization of the Uganda Martyrs (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, Naamala 2008). Since then, there was very little evidence attesting to the presence of dancing during mass in the Catholic Church until late 1969 when Pope Paul VI visited Uganda. When I asked one of my informants why there was no dancing, he informed me that it was prohibited just like the drums and other things. He went ahead to inform me that even clapping in church was first permitted on the day Bishop Joseph Kiwanuka was presented to Christians at Villa Maria Church after his ordination as the first African Bishop south of the Sahara. According to my informant, clapping was only permitted in the church for a few minutes until later towards the Second Vatican Council, when the missionaries tended to be more liberal.

However, after the Second Vatican Council, Naamala notes that the bishops approached Rev. Fr. James Kabuye who was the chairman of the Interdiocesan Music Committee and requested him to start devising means of incorporating traditional Kiganda dances into the liturgy (2008:23). In turn, Kabuye, as chairman of the Interdiocesan Music Committee, decided to take the issue of incorporating the dances to the music festivals where a lot of experimentations and modifications were made (interviews: Francis Tebasoboke 25 February 2010 and Leonard Ssemukaaya 8 November 2009).

In the late eighties, Expedit Magembe, one of the members of the music committee and a prominent composer in the Catholic Church, composed a song known as *Namugereka Atuwa Ebirungi*, for which he choreographed a dance consisting of motifs from *baakisimba* dance (Ssempijja 2006:37). Some of my informants were among the choir that performed this song in Lubaga Cathedral and they informed me that his main focus was the dance and therefore the song was composed to suit the

dancing motifs and moves that he had in mind (Tebasoboke interview 25 February 2010). While this time it received a lot of mixed reactions from the audience, it has never been stopped and since then there has been dancing in the Catholic Church mainly at strategic parts of the mass such as the procession, gospel acclamation or alleluia, offertory as well as during the thanksgiving song. However, the dances in the church have not fallen short of challenges since according to Naamala, the chairman of the Interdiocesan Music Committee has never reported back to the bishops who requested him to incorporate the dances. When I asked Fr. James Kabuye, the chairman of the Interdiocesan Music Committee about this, he emphasized that their work, just like the embracing concept of inculturation, requires an extended period of time. He therefore explained to me a number of their achievements towards realizing the work assigned to them by the Episcopal conference.

The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals have provided a space where dances have been tried, refined and also modified in order to make them fitting for performance during mass, the main liturgical activity. Since the festival is carried out in the Buganda region, the main concentration has been on traditional dances of the Baganda, which include *amaggunju*, *embaga*, *nankasa-muwogola* and *baakisimba*. However, this does not imply that in the archdiocese, dances from other ethnic groups are not performed. While other dances are performed at different functions, the archdiocese through its 2006 synod recognized only dances of the Baganda as the major dances for consideration since the permitted Kiganda music cannot be performed on any other dances. Again, not all of these Kiganda dances have appeared in church but on some motifs from some of the above listed dances.

During interviews with Ssemukaaya and Kaabunga, I was informed that the festival's major concern has been on *baakisimba*, though as a number of scholars have indicated there are a lot of hindrances to its inclusion, since it contains sexual connotations which are contrary to what the Vatican has recommended. During its trial period, motifs have been carefully selected, removing those suggesting anything other than what the church regards as positive. In the music courses conducted for the

choirs, they have always been advised to ensure that if they must include dances in their liturgy, then they should use young girls to dance. This new development contrasts with the secular *baakisimba*, since it is a women's dance. The argument presented by a number of liturgists is that the context of performing *baakisimba* (in the church) does not require a women's role but rather a young girls' role of enhancing the liturgical action or celebration. Like Nannyonga-Tamusuza has indicated, when women dance *baakisimba*, it defines them as sexual objects (2001:275, also Naamala 2008:40). As such, by using young girls to perform this dance in the church, the meaning is mediated and brought into closer correlation with the liturgy within which it happens.

The actions of the dance when performed in the church were also modified and usually they were intended to correspond with the meaning of the lyrics of the song that this dance accompanied. Alternatively, the actions would be articulating the particular liturgical activity taking place when the dance was performed. Compared to the dances performed in the secular context, the actions would be pointing at either body parts (usually aiming at appreciation) and then the lyrics would mean something different. It is usually hard for a non-Luganda speaker to clearly get the message in many of these dances since often, the lyrics and actions do not correspond.

The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals have also been focused on the costumes used for the dances in the church. I have earlier noted that the secular *baakisimba* has been alleged to have erotic and sexual connotations and one of the elements used to exaggerate this during dancing are the costumes used. The Music Festivals have always stressed the need to be decently dressed even when performing a dance on stage. During my fieldwork, one of the adjudicators at the Festivals' finals commented on how dancers must appear and related it to the way they dress when they go to church. He explained that dancers need to cover their bodies since the aims of dancing outside the church differ from when they dance within the church circles (Raphael Mpagazi: personal communication at the festivals 20 June 2010). In relation to inculturation, the dance's meaning is being mediated

through the redefinition of space, place, costuming, design and the nature of the music which accompanies it.

However, the committee still faces a lot of challenges as there are a lot of people who oppose dancing in the church, arguing that it sends mixed signals. A number of scholars including Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2001), and Sarah Naamala (2008) have been very critical of the dances when used in the church. Naamala has gone ahead to discourage this dancing, arguing that it is not necessary to dance in church since the intentions and meaning of these dances are different from what the liturgy calls for. Just like it happened when Kyagambiddwa first introduced Kiganda music into the Catholic Church, the music committee faced the same but is still going on to find solutions to some of the raised problems. According to my observations during fieldwork, they are trying to deal with the dances according to the demands of inculturation as the Vatican has always advised. Many of its members have not yet come to blend their technical knowledge on music-related issues with the liturgical aspects of inculturation to establish which of the three methods of inculturation they are employing and how it is most effectively achieved. This has therefore led to a slower process of incorporating all the other dances of the Baganda into the liturgy, since the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee has not yet finished designing how the process should be officially carried out.

Having shed enough light on the nature of music and the various factors affecting both composition and performance in Kampala Archdiocese, I make a recap to inculturation and indigenization so as to clearly understand the Second Vatican Council's decree in relation to church music in Kampala Archdiocese. I proceed with a comparison and contrasting of indigenization to inculturation, after which I consider which of the two the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals have been advancing.

5.8 The Second Vatican Council and its Constitution on Sacred Liturgy:

Indigenization or Inculturation?

In order to fully understand the spirit of inculturation and why it was advocated by the Second Vatican Council, a critical and analytical consideration of the Second Vatican Council's documents, particularly the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*), is vital. However, a sole consideration of the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* would render it unrepresentative of the deliberations that preceded Vatican Council II, which this study deems fitting in order to understand the spirit of the Council. Further clarifications will be drawn from later documents which sought to substantiate what Vatican II intended to establish. As such, the discussion of the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy in this study will be aimed at examining the extent to which the spirit of inculturation was introduced and the regulations that surrounded its effecting.

Continuous reference will be made to prior official Catholic Church documents, particularly the *Tra le Sollecitudini* (1903), *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina* (1955), and the *De Musica Sacra et Sacra Liturgia (Instruction on Sacred Music and Sacred Liturgy)* (1958). Further examples and clarifications will be from church documents that followed the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on Sacred Liturgy. Among these is the *Instruction on Sacred Music in Liturgy (Musicam Sacram)* 1967) as well as the various Episcopal documents affirming, enlightening as well as rectifying what the Constitution on Sacred liturgy had earlier on stated. Among these are: *Music in Catholic Worship* (1972/1983), *The Snowbird Statement on Catholic Liturgical Music* (1993), and *Music in Divine Worship* (2007).

Most outstanding about the Second Vatican Council as already mentioned was its Constitution on Sacred Liturgy which for the first time in history recognized vernacular musics and local cultural traditions. It agreed to the people having liturgy conducted in their native languages, as well as singing their native musics in their native languages. However, unlike many church writings, no article of the *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, particularly Chapter Four on sacred music, mentions anything related to inculturation. Article 119 reads:

In certain parts of the world, especially mission lands, there are peoples who have their own musical traditions, and these play a great part in their religious and social life. For this reason due importance is to be attached to their music, and a suitable place is to be given to it, not only in forming their attitude toward religion, but also in adapting worship to their native genius, as indicated in Art. 39 and 40. (Chapter IV, Article 119).

From this article that clearly and specifically refers to church music in missionary lands, reference is mainly made to ‘adapting worship to people’s native or musical traditions’. While the various definitions accorded to inculturation have been in line with this argument, the practical applications of the campaign have been more aligned to indigenization than to inculturation as this study will later consider. The concept of inculturation had by this time, according to the earliest documented documents, not yet been incorporated into the Roman Catholic Church usage and particularly not into the Vatican documents. Earliest applications of the term in the church are indicated to be by Pope John Paul II (1984).

However, a closer examination of earlier Catholic Church documents, particularly the 1955 *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*, had already started emphasizing the need for a new music similar to the indigenous music (Axelsson 1974:95). Particularly, Axelsson uses the following statement: “In other words, Africans should be encouraged to compose new music containing an African idiom, and this certainly leaves room for an accultural [sic.] process” (1974:95).

From Axelsson’s accultural process, we note the implications of this document as rather contrasting the spirit in which Vatican II’s Constitution on Sacred Liturgy advocated for inculturation. Axelsson’s quote leans more on the anthropological process known as acculturation, though the explanation he provided is in line with inculturation.

However, we note the concern that the *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina* had as far as inculturation or indigenization in this case was concerned. Still, there was no direct mention of inculturation, indigenization or even reference made to acculturation as Axelsson’s quote implies. This therefore leaves us questioning how this concept that has been widely used especially to present the Second Vatican Council’s spirit came

into use and was later adopted by Catholics globally. Particular concern is especially in relation to the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy which in this case encompasses all the liturgical related decrees, among which is music.

While the *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy* has been widely viewed as having advocated inculturation, documented records point out that the term was not incorporated into Catholic documents until 1984. It came into use after the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council. An analytical review of the *Sacrosanctum Concilium* points to issues more related to indigenization though later writings specifically related to Vatican II and inculturation are highly critical of indigenization, presenting it as a misleading concept in reference to what the Second Vatican Council intended. Likewise, church documents like the *Musicam Sacram*, *Music in Catholic Worship*, and the *Snowbird Statement*, which were aimed at rectifying where the *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy* is believed to have faltered, do not make any mention of inculturation. In that respect, it is imperative that we understand that the concept of inculturation, particularly in relation to Vatican II, is crucial in order to consider the Council's decrees either in relation to inculturation or to indigenization with an effort to understand what the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals set out to fulfill.

5.8.1 Indigenization Vs Inculturation

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I dealt with definitions of indigenization and presented it as the gradual inclusion of an originally foreign trait into a particular society. I also noted that indigenization aims at creating a new awareness for the purpose of exploring new paradigms, theories and concepts that are relevant in understanding human societies (Garming 2008). Garming further notes:

Instead of replacing conventional approaches, indigenization supports, as an alternative, the proper blending of both indigenous and foreign approaches and strategies towards a more comprehensive model. In this context, this "proper blending" process becomes the methodology of the indigenization approach (2008:2).

Angrosino, who contrasts inculturation and indigenization, has offered an earlier definition of indigenization presented by an Indian theologian D. S. Amalorpavadass: “the process of conferring on Catholic liturgy a cultural form that is native to the local community” (Davies 1986, quoted in Angrosino 1994:825). From the evidence presented here, the church first approved the concept of indigenization but later rejected it mainly because of the “patronizing tone of the word itself” (*ibid.*). This is the first level of indication that the activities of the inculturation campaign are closely related to indigenization, which I contrast in the following section.

From this brief recap of indigenization, it is already evident that the two concepts overlap considerably and no wonder some scholars have referred to what the Vatican intended to do as indigenization (Angrosino 1994, Vernon *et al.* 1998, myself 2009).

Firstly, indigenization misses the stern emphasis of inculturation since it deals with any two cultures while inculturation deals with two cultures whereby one of them is a constant and that is the Roman rite or Catholicism. Secondly, indigenization has always been applied to anything that fits within the context of its definition while inculturation has been strictly used in reference to the Roman Catholic Church activities, particularly related to the spreading of the gospel of Jesus Christ. To put it another way, inculturation is a theological concept applicable in theological contexts especially those related to the Roman Catholic Church. The connotation here is that the two cannot be compared since inculturation is a theological category that strives to contain all within its domain, while indigenization is a critical category aimed at opening up things. However, this does not imply that scholars have not altered this frame as this study will later illustrate. While neither notion rules out hybridity as one of the outcomes from this symbiosis, indigenization tends to blend all aspects from the two cultures, whereas inculturation is strategic on the attributes of each of these meeting cultures. In a way, inculturation stresses the elimination of the negative elements from the “other” culture since the gospel or Roman rite (Catholicism) is a given in this case, as Maravilla has explained (2003). Thus inculturation takes an ethnocentric consideration of other cultures since it assumes that it is only the “other”

cultures that have negatives (or are “impure”). Inculturation therefore seeks to eliminate the “impure” elements, largely neglecting to consider the effect they have always had on these cultures. In this case, there is no leveled ground for the synergy to take place since, as Maravilla notes: “Inculturation, however, can never compromise the Christian message, [the] Gospel”. He later adds:

It must do away with all that is not worthy of humanity in its traditions, all that is a consequence of accumulated guilt and social sin. In every culture then, there are elements of sin that need to be healed, ennobled and perfected.³⁸ In certain cases which are considered as *anti-Gospel* it is important to grasp the 'value' people see in them in order to bring about the necessary *metanoia* [transformation] (2003).

Inculturation therefore assumes that the Christian message is the pure message and any other culture is impure, an ethnocentric perspective that falls short of substantiation. By implication, the power structures in this case are more favorable to the center (Catholicism) and never compromising the periphery, which in this study is the Kiganda culture. On the contrary, indigenization will incorporate all traits and consequently, various factors will be responsible for whichever traits have been incorporated into this symbiotic hybrid.

However, there are a lot of similarities between the two approaches and among these is the fact that both are processes that gradually include/adopt originally foreign traits. While there is proof that indigenization has been achieved somehow somewhere, the process of inculturation is still ongoing and as Angrosino (1994), Marvillla (2003), Naamala (2008), and Chupungco (2010) have explained, it is yet to be achieved. It is quite difficult to determine when the two processes have been concluded. There is no specified period in which these two related process are supposed to take place.

Both concepts use culture(s) as their central point of operation. With indigenization, the end result is a hybrid culture that incorporates characteristics from the two

³⁸ “...Since culture is a human creation and is therefore marked by sin, it too needs to be healed, enabled and perfected. This kind of process needs to take place gradually, in such a way that it really is an expression of the community's Christian experience. As Pope Paul VI said in Kampala: "It will require an incubation of the Christian 'mystery' in the genius of your people in order that its native voice, more clearly and frankly, may then be raised harmoniously in the chorus of other voices in the universal Church..."*Redemptoris Missio* 54.

cultures that have come into contact. Inculturation also centers its operation on the Roman Catholic Church teachings and doctrines on the one hand, while on the other hand is the local culture with which Catholicism is coming into contact. While inculturation assumes that it purifies the culture of any negative aspects contained there, there is no evidence of any culture with these traits but only an assertion based on the power structures in question. Similarly, inculturation also assumes the presence of an indigenous culture or a local culture which is not properly explained. As such, the two concepts use the notion of culture as central to them, while differing in the manner in which they deal with the variables and constants in culture.

It is therefore not surprising that a number of scholars have always assumed or interpreted Vatican II's recommendation as focusing more on indigenization and some totally neglected to make mention of inculturation (Davies 1986, Angrosino 1994). In interviews that I conducted with Msgr. Dr. David Kyeyune at the Catholic Secretariat, Nsambya, and the auxiliary bishop of Kampala Archdiocese, Rt. Rev. Christopher Kakooza, they both confirmed to me that the church has never implied any form of indigenization in its *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy*. However, close examination will illustrate that in order for inculturation to be effected, there is a certain degree of indigenization that has to be accomplished though in a controlled way. As such, many scholars on inculturation have definitely found it hard to avoid using the term indigenization when explaining inculturation. Others have used the two interchangeably especially before inculturation came to be incorporated in the Vatican terminologies. Caroli Lwanga Mpoza writes: "Indigenizing or inculturating the faith to be reflected in a Christianity that is truly African is the task of the African pastors, theologians and researchers who were born into the heart of their own cultures..." (1997:27).

What, then, has the music in Kampala Archdiocese been undergoing especially through the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals? The above analyzed processes of recontextualizing the drum and the various dances used in the church services demonstrates a certain degree of inculturation on the one hand while

on the other hand, there is some level of indigenization as I will later explain. Whereas the drum had a number of culturally ‘negative’ connotations to the Catholic missionaries as earlier explained, it was stripped of most of its original cultural context that was more associated with idolatry and fetishes since it had always been used in traditional worship ceremonies as well as in local bars. The festival sought to recontextualize the drum and make it acceptable to the people who had already been converted by the missionaries and influenced by their attitude towards it. In the last section, we saw how steps were taken to modify its making; its playing technique was checked, as well as doing away with the taboos attached to drums in relation to the gender question. All this can be seen here as steps to inculturate the drum for use in the church since it lost some of its social-cultural status on the one hand while the church also had to accommodate it unlike before when it was prohibited from even entering the church.

However, considering the context of performance, the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals have been more involved in indigenizing as opposed to inculturation. A number of these performances have been evolving with time, and at one moment during my fieldwork, one of the adjudicators made the following comment: “Those people’s Ganda is like a folksong!” (Anonymous). This remark was made after watching one of the choirs perform a free choice Ganda song that was fully packed in the traditional Kiganda sense encompassing music, dance and drama. Their performance also contained long instrumental interludes which are not common in church services but in traditional music performed for secular purposes. In this sense, contrasting with what the various church documents³⁹ explained about church music, the dramatic element was never advocated but strongly prohibited. Similarly, musical instruments were also ranked and only some were permitted to play as solo instruments or without accompanying choirs. The traditional musical instruments,

³⁹ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (1964), *The Musicam Sacram* (1967), *Music in Catholic Worship* (1972/1983), *The Snowbird Statement on Catholic Liturgical Music* (1993), and *Music in Divine Worship* (2007).

however, had not yet achieved this status of performing as instruments without accompanying singing since their music was not fully regarded as conducive to spreading the message of the gospel.

In light of what scholars on inculturation have stressed, we can conclude that the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals have been approaching inculturation from mainly two angles. The first method of inculturation used is known as dynamic equivalence, which “involves the replacement of an element of the Roman form with something in the local culture that has equal meaning or value” (Angrosino 1994:825). Using the dynamic equivalence approach, traditional dances, Luganda language, and songs in the native Kiganda style have been gradually brought into the Catholic Church in Kampala for purposes of indigenizing the liturgy.

The Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee has been scrutinizing these items from the festival and as earlier explained specifically about the dances, after several years of observation and modifications done both during the music courses and at the festivals’ finals, these items of the festival repertoire become incorporated into the main church liturgy. However, the message entailed in these performances is aimed at fostering the Roman Catholic Church’s doctrines and theology. In a way as we shall later establish, the church does not forget its campaign of globalization such that while the local church is busy localizing some aspects of the liturgy, the global Roman Catholic Church also achieves globalization since it has a homogeneous system of operation throughout the world.

The second approach to inculturation particularly related to the dances used in the festivals is creative assimilation, which refers “to the sacralizing of local customs” (Angrosino 1994:825). While some of the dances had sexual connotations and well as traditional ritualistic attachments to them as already explained, the festival is still taking its time to approve them fully while allowing their constant trial and modification so as to make them suitable for liturgical purposes. In this case, creative assimilation could be viewed as a way of recontextualizing the various traditional musical practices such as the drums, costumes and dances so as to have them used in

the church as a way of inculturating the local church. This does not, however, imply that there are no challenges faced in this campaign.

The third approach to inculturation, organic progression, has not been visibly dealt with in these festivals. Organic progression “is the method of completing ideas that were left as suggestions without authorized form in the various Vatican Council II reforms” (*ibid.*). One possible reason that organic progression is not visible in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals is that the festival lacks the mandate to carry this out. Since these ideas were not completed by the Second Vatican Council, the mandate has a specific hieratical structure which the organizers of this festivals lack.

It is therefore inculturation’s method of dynamic equivalence that closely resembles or can be related to indigenization. As explained earlier, dynamic equivalence involves the replacement of an element of the Roman form with something in the local culture that has equal meaning or value. The first level of inculturating the church using this dynamic equivalence method was replacing the missionary or foreign languages with the use of Luganda in the archdiocesan liturgical services. It then spread to the music, where the campaign is still ongoing today. Musically, Luganda songs also came into the Church though receiving some opposition. The traditional musical instruments also followed suit and later other traditional dances have also been incorporated into the church activities.

Therefore, in conclusion, it is evident that the Church’s campaign engaged more in indigenizing, although later, inculturation was adopted as the official term to be used in reference to the decrees contained in the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy, especially those that were more inclined to the indigenization process. As I have established in this section, there are a number of similarities between these two concepts. However, turning to the differences, one notes that these have more emphasis on what can be achieved in actual practice for purposes of contrasting the sacred from the secular in order to maintain the corresponding power configurations implied by the use of the two terms. Inculturation as a theological concept portrays itself as a two-way process,

but clearly the church is always in charge and reserves the right to be the final arbiter with regard to form, function, and meaning of any and all musical expressions within its jurisdiction. Since inculturation's priority is the church or more specifically spreading the gospel, it resists any engagement with local culture in which the church would lose its authority and eventually its identity.

The devaluing of some elements of local culture as negative is more of a construction imposed from outside. Since the local culture (Kiganda culture) differs from the Roman culture, there must exist variations in values which in some way will lead to the clashing of the power structures. Inculturation takes center stage by providing guidelines from the Vatican which must be followed when incorporating other values into the church. The other culture must not be allowed to play an important role in this amalgamation symbiosis. In this case, the values are inevitably determined by the colonizers according to what is useful or convenient in their project of subordinating and controlling the colonized. They are merely a construction or representation by the dominating power (the Catholic Church) and not an objective reality. By contrast, indigenization as a critical category admits the possibility of resistance or alternative points of view in which the church is not a constant, but rather a possible subject of critique.

In light of the above discussion, the focus ceases to be mainly on the sacred and secular dichotomy but shifts to a more postcolonial viewpoint that involves power. Inculturation is therefore an imposed hybridity, a "top down hybridity" that is, a hybridity from above, while indigenization as a process is a hybridity from below, which tries to recognize all positions as potentially equal.

In this case, therefore, the sacred will always be considered as more powerful because of its colonial authority. By the very fact that indigenization is from the secular sphere, a number of secular problems were identified with its adoption as portrayed in its 'all inclusive nature' discussed above. Therefore, power structures will always determine what should be incorporated into the church using guidelines or a yardstick drawn by the authorizing powers.

Chapter Six

6.0 Ethnography of the Kampala Archdiocesan

Post Primary Schools Music Festival

Introduction

In this chapter, I take an ethnographic consideration of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. I explain the nature of these festivals describing how they came into existence, after which I explore in a rather detailed way the various activities that comprise what this study terms as The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Music Festivals. In approaching the main topic of my study, I introduce it with a pre-festival section that explains the circumstances that gave shape to it. I therefore deal briefly with the broad subject of church music festivals in Kampala Archdiocese which leads into the particular concern for this study. Later, after addressing the festivals, I wrap up the section with a post festival analysis of the various events and its impact.

6.1 Church Music Festivals in the Archdiocese of Kampala

The Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals were started in 1972 immediately after Pope Paul VI's visit to Uganda (interview Leonard Ssemukaaya 8 November 2009). This should not be confused with the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival, which was started much later, in 1980 (interviews: Leonard Ssemukaaya and Vincent Wamala 18 July 2009). The original festival was designed for parish choirs whereby they would meet, interact, compete and learn from each other. According to James Kabuye, the priest responsible for the idea and its implementation, the reasons for starting the parish festivals were similar to those that brought in place the Post Primary Schools Music Festivals which I will deal with in detail later.

Whereas the parish music festivals were partly successful on the one hand, on the other hand they were encountering constraints that hindered the planned progress of church music in the archdiocese of Kampala. To combat this, a number of solutions were devised by the newly formed Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee, among which was the starting of a similar festival for secondary school students in Catholic-founded schools. However, it was brought in place not only by obstacles that the committee recognized in the parish festivals, but also by the successes that the original festival was achieving. In terms of evangelization and improving the music performance standards in the diocese, the parish festival was doing well, and this also prompted the committee to extend the festivals to another church setting.

The repertoire of the parish choirs included similar songs to those in the post-primary schools music festival, a fact which in essence justifies that the two were based on the same foundation to cater to different age groups in the society. The parish music festival is usually structured to start at the level of the basic Christian communities locally known as *obubondo*, proceeding to the parish level after which the festival advances to the deanery level and climaxes at the diocesan level. The winners at the diocesan level represent the diocese at the interdiocesan level, which marks the end of the annual diocesan church music activities calendar. However, the focus of this study is not on the parish festivals; they have been included simply to provide a foundation or background for understanding the Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. In the next section I will go straight to the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, which form the central point of concern for this study.

6.2 Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals

The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals were started in 1980 (interviews Vincent Wamala 18 July 2009, Ssemukaaya 8 November 2009). During my fieldwork, I encountered a problem of lack of documentation of the festival activities since its inception and therefore could only rely on information and a few photographs from my informants. However, a number of my informants gave me 1980 as the approximate date when they took off until one of the people who

participated in the founding process, Leonard Ssemukaaya, confirmed it to me. Notable among the people who started these festivals were the priests Vincent Bakkabulindi, James Kabuye, Bro. Leonard Byankya, Expedit Magembe, and lay men such as Leonard Ssemukaaya, Leonard Kizza, Mutyaba and Ben Jjuuko.

The festival initially started as Kampala Archdiocesan Institutions Music Festival whereby there was less participation from ordinary secondary schools since they did not teach music as a subject. It was mostly Catholic-founded Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) such as Ggaba and Nkozi, seminaries such as Ggaba National Major Seminary, Nyenga, Mubende and Kisubi minor seminaries, novitiates (for nuns) and Religious Brothers Training Institutes such as Kisubi Brothers of Christian Instructions Center that participated in these festivals (Kaabunga, Ssebutinde, Tebasoboke, Kiragga interviews). Later, ordinary secondary schools also got interested and in an effort to accommodate them in this music festival, they changed its name to Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals which was a more all-embracing name that catered to all the new stakeholders.

Just as Christopher Small has explained that it is only by understanding what people do when they take part in a musical act that we can hope to understand its nature and the function it fulfills in human life (1998:8), I find it quite important to revisit the factors that gave rise to this festival so as to understand the possible meanings embedded in the festival performances. From the interviews and other information I gathered during fieldwork, a number of reasons were given to me which I analytically discuss in the next section.

6.2.1 Factors leading to the Festival

Following the Second Vatican Council's recommendation of mainly having the liturgy in the native languages/music for purposes of actively involving the faithful in the liturgical activities, as discussed earlier in Chapter Three, the mass was translated into Luganda. While this served as one of the strategies for inculturating the local church, in the field of liturgical music, the lack of people trained in the fields of music

who were also knowledgeable about native Kiganda church music to be used for liturgical purposes created yet another challenge. Musically, one of the new problems created by the directive was the shortage of songs in Luganda that could be used during mass. Although the missionaries had translated a number of hymns into Luganda, they were not enough to cater for all the church's liturgical activities if these were to be conducted entirely in Luganda. Secondly, the translations had been done without due consideration for the various parts of the mass. Some parts of the mass had more than enough songs while other lacked even a single song. Gerald Mukwaya and Joseph Nnamukangula informed me that most of these songs were devotional and most parts of the mass (for example offertory, communion and entrance) had fewer songs or no songs at all. As such, the repertoire was limited in scope to what the missionaries had thought of as relevant during their time of managing the church in Buganda. This led the newly created music committee to come up with the means to generate a sufficient repertoire catering to all the parts of the mass. As a result, annual music festivals specifically for Catholic-founded secondary schools were identified as able to serve this purpose. In addition to getting new songs composed annually, the festival would also serve as a training ground for these songs to be learnt and disseminated throughout the diocese.

The need to groom a generation that would be properly inculcated into the practice of singing Kiganda music was another driving factor behind the introduction of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Music Festivals. After facing stiff opposition from the missionary-trained laity and clergy as seen in Chapter Three, the music committee thought it wise to train a new generation of Catholic students in both Kiganda music and musical instruments especially in relation to their use in the Roman Catholic Church of Kampala. Tebasoboke informed me that this new generation of young musicians would assume the role of leading church music right from their schools up to their parishes wherever they would get married or settle down. Tebasoboke explained:

Twasalawo okuwa abaana bano emisomo n'okubayingiza mu system nga tumanyi nti abaana bano bangi nnyo era be ba future church, be bagenda okuba empagi luwaga nga

bavudde mu masomero, yonna yonna buli omu asenze gyasenze oba afunye ekibanja yonna gye banasettolinga buli lwe banayitanga abayimbi nga agya kuba wamugaso myo.

We decided to involve these students in the choir system knowing that they were many and going to become the future pillars of the church after schooling. Wherever they would go, settle or even get married, when they call upon choristers, they would be useful (interview 25-2-2010).

Tebasoboke's focus here is more on to training a future generation of choir members to take charge of the singing in their various parishes or wherever they would be than on the need for indigenizing church music, but the context in which he gave this explanation was in answering the question about indigenization being addressed in this section. As such, the committee realized that introducing the festivals for secondary school students would be effective in meeting their needs that in this case focused on the future of the Catholic Church in Kampala Archdiocese. In unison with Tebasoboke, James Kabuye, one of the key figures in the founding of these festivals, also confirmed that we had to get these secondary school students involved in church activities, particularly singing, at a relatively early age in order to be able to train them effectively (interview: 8 September 2009).

The secondary schools music festival also came as a result of the Music Committee's need to develop certain aspects of Kiganda musical performance before they were fully incorporated into the Church. Earlier on in 1964, the Second Vatican Council had recommended that the inculturation be initiated especially in missionary lands, though stressing the need for a trial period to precede it before various cultural aspects were fully incorporated into the liturgy. Since after Vatican II many European missionaries began handing over offices to African priests, the new Bishop of Kampala Archdiocese set up a committee responsible for music reforms. In turn this committee recommended the starting of an annual music festival as a place where they could try out some of these elements of music which included Kiganda music performance with drumming and incorporation of other traditional musical instruments, dancing in the church etc. Ssemukaaya informed me of the following:

Ebivvulu bino byali byakutuyamba okugerezaamu ebintu ebipya ebyalibadde biyingizibwa mu worshipping. Era olaba twatandika n'engoma emu, nezigenda nga

ziwera mpola mu bivvulu, era kati nnyingi, amadinda ago negagenda nga gajja n'ebivuga ebirala, ne tugenda nga tussako ne actions mpola mpola, era oluvannyuma lw'okwekeneenya ennyo, namazina nago netugayingizaamu naye nga masunsulemu ssi nga gali agokumbaga oba ebweru.

The festivals were intended to help us try our new aspects that we wanted to include in worshipping. We started by playing only one drum, and slowly in the various festivals, we increased them up to now when they are many. The xylophones and other traditional musical instruments also came in with time and later we even included actions in our performances. After serious critical observation, we also incorporated dances but with reservations not like the other wedding style of dancing or any other secular dance (interview: 8 November 2009).

The quote explains the sequence used in trying out various aspects of music and also emphasizes that not everything that was tried was recommended for church use but in most cases, it was after serious scrutiny and modification that inculturation of Kiganda music gradually took place. In my festival observations, particularly the participant observation, I encountered schools training/rehearsing for the festivals and the trainers continuously experimenting with various aspects of music performance especially in the category of free-choice Kiganda song. Among the schools where I witnessed this were Our Lady of Good Counsel, Lubaga Girls, and Uganda Martyrs' Senior Secondary School, Namugongo.

Many studies conducted about music and religion in Christian contexts stress the ability of music to do the work of evangelizing specifically through songs and worshipping. Through use of this system, the teachings of the church form the basis for the lyrics and are sung as a way of communicating them to the listeners. The festival initiators were aware of this and also utilized this avenue to teach the young, upcoming students the catechism of the Roman Catholic Church through singing, specifically through continuous rehearsals. While commenting on the objectives of the Schools Festival, George Ssebutinde, one of the earliest Music Directors of schools involved in these festivals, informed me of the following:

They wanted to sensitize Christianity among schools and what they told us was that when the songs were sung very well, there was a message: what we call the liturgical message. And they believed that the more students or schools were involved, [the more] their Catholic faith would be strengthened, since the schools were Catholic-founded. Another issue was the interaction for it helped the students in many ways. Those were the major objectives (interview 17 January 2010).

Ssebutinde points at a common usage of music in religious circles. This is a form of evangelization. While the music would be used to teach the secondary school students both how to sing and the catechism of the Catholic Church, which they were supposed to learn while in school, they also looked at the long-term project of evangelizing through music. While the spoken word is very effective in preaching the good news of Christ, the sung word is even more effective and has such an attractive packaging that it will draw the attention of whoever that can listen or hear.

The Kampala Archdiocesan Schools Music Festival was also aimed at unifying the choristers in the various Catholic-founded schools. Following the Lubaga- Nsambya divisions that had been instigated earlier by the two missionary groups, a number of outcomes led to the starting of this music festival with an intention of creating a unified church music choral book that would not specifically identify one as coming from the Nsambya or Lubaga subdivisions. According to Leonard Ssemukaaya, the festivals were to some extent aimed at unifying the Catholic Church musicians and the Christians in Uganda since before, Catholics had viewed themselves more in terms of their areas of origin and which particular church they went to, specifically in terms of the Lubaga - Nsambya dichotomy. Commenting on this objective, Leonard Ssemukaaya, another long-time member of the Music Committee, informed me:

N'ekirala abantu okumanya nti we are one church, ggwe owe Nsambya osobole okumanya owe Lubaga nti we are one.

The other issue was to let the people know that we are now one church. Someone from Nsambya should know that he/she is one with someone from Lubaga (interview 8 November 2009).

In supporting Ssemukaaya, Mukisa also affirmed that “These school festivals also created friendship among schools, and students came to know and to share and to appreciate each other’s talents (Skype interview 13 September 2010). These two informants stress a similar point: creating unity among the secondary school students who at this level were not yet exposed to the field of church music. As such, the music committee had foreseen this and planned ahead.

The festival was also a result of the music committee's need for trained and well-informed musicians who could play the organ, sight sing hymns, as well as conduct other choristers. Kabuye informed me that there was a need to train technical people in the various musical fields so as to make the singing during mass more enjoyable. In his 1969 survey, he noted that:

- many parishes lacked choristers,
- there were very few organists or accompanists,
- not many people were able to read music scores (James Kabuye)

As a means of training people in music-related activities, the festivals were started as competitions to motivate people to do their best and avoid being the losers. Initially the campaign targeted the mature parish choristers. However, Mukisa Michael and Francis Tebasoboke highlighted that the work of training church musicians would not be possible if secondary school students had been kept out of the campaign. As such, the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals have been a training ground for many church musicians, some of whom are already working with the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee. Among these are John Vianney Zziwa, Luwaga Jude, Wamala Vincent and others. More so, a number of students have been trained to play various musical instruments during these festivals with a goal of winning the competitions. Sight singing has also been a major focus since it makes the work of learning new songs easier.

At its inception, the festival included mainly post-primary Catholic-founded institutions, namely: minor and major seminaries, novitiates, teacher-training institutions and no secondary schools. As such, its original name was Kampala Archdiocesan Institutions Music Festival, which was later revised to Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. Among these schools and institutions, there were those that studied music as a subject at school and were slightly ahead of the rest in reading and performing of church music. As such, there

was a need for choirs of the various schools to learn from each other as well as interact with each other to get to know each other. Leonard Ssemukaaya explains:

Baali bagala choir ziyigireko ku zinaazo okusenziira ku buli emu kye yali esinga endala. Abaali bassukkulumye ku bannabwe balina challenge okuyigiriza abalala kyokka nno ate bano bebasinga nabo obutekuluntaza nti bamanyi nnyo wabula bayigire ku bali abasinga.

They wanted choirs to learn from each other depending on what each of them excelled in. Those who were superior in singing church music had a challenge of teaching the rest, while the others also had to accept and learn from them (interview: 8 November 2009).

There was a need to have a uniform way of singing the church songs since many schools were singing similar songs differently. While this was a time when very few Ugandans could sight sing or rightly interpret a transcribed piece of music, the best way to achieve uniform singing was to have a common avenue where the schools would meet and learn the songs together as well as socialize with each other. Later, interest began to be generated in schools and eventually the singing culture took over in most Catholic-founded secondary schools. Since the music committee had started on the project of publishing songs in the hymnal *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama* (M.T.O.), festivals served as avenues to teach these new songs rightly and correct the other wrongly sung songs from the same book. Wamala explains:

Kati engeri gye twali tutandise okufuna abayiiya b'ennyimba nga kizibu okusanga abantu gamba nga abe Lubaga nga bayimba oluyimba kye kimu nabe Kisubi. Kati ne batandika ebivvulu bino abayizi bajje bayige ennyimba zino baddeyo baziigirize bannabwe mu masomero amalala.

Since we had started getting native composers it was difficult for a choir, say in Lubaga, to learn a song by rote the same way with a choir in Kisubi. So they started these festivals so that students could come and learn songs uniformly after which they would go back and teach them to their colleagues at school (interview: 18 July 2009).

The idea that Wamala is hereby putting forward is that the festival was premeditated as an avenue of teaching the new songs to some students who would later return to their respective schools and teach the others what they had learnt, hence the name 'music course'. It was one way of using the rote system to achieve uniformity as people became more knowledgeable in music-related activities and literacy. On the other hand, the music committee ensured that the festivals serve as avenues to improve the singing in the schools and parishes, which was one of the basic aims of

conducting the music courses. These would bring choristers from different schools together and all were taught how to sing from a technical point of view which they would in turn teach at their schools, thereby improving the standard of singing in the archdiocese.

According to Albert Kiragga, festivals were also started partly as an avenue where the church would showcase its achievements in terms of church music performance especially as far as Catholic founded secondary schools and institutions were concerned. Kiragga explains that,

I think the original intention was to showcase what the students had learnt because much as they learnt those songs, there was no guarantee that they would sing them. In order to make them sing them without forcing them, they had to put [sic] festivals to enable them use the songs and even compose more songs (interview 13 August 2009).

Therefore, the church partly saw the festival as an exhibition for showcasing their secondary school students' abilities since they comprised the future church. While the festival would serve partly as entertainment, partly as evangelizing, among other purposes, it was also a means of displaying their talents and in the process the students would love and feel proud of their Roman Catholic Church. More so, much as the church could train the students in singing songs, there was no guarantee that the students would sing them as trained and also make use of them during their daily masses or liturgies at their respective schools. So Kiragga, Kaabunga and Mukisa all concur that as a way of enforcing this, they had to put up competitive festivals which would compel them to rehearse and sing the taught songs more regularly, thereby achieving the church's objectives.

Decolonization is another angle from which I consider the festival. As earlier noted, the music festival campaign may be more broadly perceived as a move to 'decolonize the minds and ears' of both the Catholic laity and clergy that had been infiltrated with colonialist notions to an extent of denying their own musical practices. John McLeod has noted that colonizing the mind "operates by persuading the people [the colonized] to internalize its logic and speak its language; to perpetuate the values and assumptions of the colonizers as regards the ways they perceive and represent the

world” (2000:18). Whereas earlier tendencies were more inclined to denying the status of Kiganda music in the newly introduced western church setting, the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival’s aims portray a desire to start a new generation of youngsters (students) free from the indoctrinations of the earlier French and British colonial tendencies. Furthermore, the objectives could be interpreted as having laid down a strategy for self-discovery in the efforts to unite. After recognizing that the Lubaga-Nsambya conflict-ridden dichotomy had served more to divide than to create an avenue for a global Catholic identity, the initiators of the festivals decided to deal with this. Broadly speaking, these could be viewed as features closely related to colonialism because, as various scholars on postcolonialism have noted, colonialism does not end with the handing over power by the colonial governments but also implies “a process of overturning the dominant ways of seeing the world and representing reality in ways which do not replicate colonialist values” (*ibid.* :22). Here, McLeod implies an element of colonialism that the music committee in this case was trying to overcome. Since it required a process as implied by McLeod, the younger generation was vital to involve in this campaign.

In a similarly more analytical consideration from a glocal perspective which in this case accounts for power and influence from the center and that arising out of other affiliated sources in the periphery, the attempt to decolonize the church musicians could be viewed as a continuation of colonial dominance only modified by shifting the total allegiance to the Vatican. The allegiance that was originally divided between the British colonial masters and the Vatican was shifted to the latter to fully acknowledge the power of the Vatican in this religious musical contest, since after all the Vatican Council II agreed to partially recognize indigenous cultures, specifically languages, music, and a few traditional practices provided they did not contradict its doctrines, implying challenging its power in this glocal hybrid. By purportedly getting rid of the political imperialists, the church in a way fully submitted to the Vatican’s religious domination which is evidenced through the continued implementing of the Second Vatican Council’s decrees. Thus the freeing of the mind

of the new students involved indoctrinating them yet again with a new kind of catechism packaged in the performance of songs.

Still from a critical perspective, these back and forth moves that partly advocate for localization yet still portray an embedded foreign influence could be related to Homi Bhabha's notions of ambivalence and mimicry of the colonizers typical of colonized peoples (1994:85, also McLeod 2000:51-55). Bhabha states that colonial mimicry "is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (*ibid.*). In this sense mimicry continuously produces a slippage which makes it ambivalent in nature, which is a double articulation appropriating the other while visualizing power (*ibid.*). The case here concerns both western hymns and the Kiganda songs on the same festival repertoire. While the church tries to advocate for the performance of its native Kiganda music on the one hand, on the other hand it agitates for the inclusion of western hymns that are reflective of Mill Hill and by implication the British colonial legacy. In effect, the Kampala archdiocesan music culture is neither a local one nor a global music culture. This study views the repertoire and practices as encompassing glocal musical traits which I try to analyze and present in the next chapter.

6.2.2 Preparation for the Festival Music Courses and Workshops

In order to fulfill and meet all of the above discussed objectives, there are a number of activities conducted by the Church and Music Committee that are quite important to understand before discussing the actual festival process and competition. These include the setting/selection of a theme by the diocesan authorities, composition, vetting and selection of the set piece and other songs on the festival repertoire normally under KAMUCO's technical committee, as well as training workshops to prepare the intending contestants in these festivals.

6.2.2.1 Selection of the annual liturgical themes and theme songs

The annual theme for the Archdiocese of Kampala is usually selected by the sanctifying commission of the archdiocese headed by the auxiliary bishop of

Kampala, currently Rt. Rev. Bishop Christopher Kakooza. According to information from a workshop I conducted with church musicians, I was informed that the theme selected depends on a number of factors, among which are the annual theme from the Vatican and the spiritual needs of the diocese as seen by the commission. After the selection of the annual liturgical theme, it is passed over to the pastoral department which is entrusted with explaining it to the Catholics in the archdiocese.

The Director of liturgical music in the archdiocese, who in most cases doubles as the chairman of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO), introduces the theme to members of KAMUCO. Together with his committee he gathers the composers and start organizing workshops to train them on how to interpret the new theme. The church music composers are then given a period of one month as they compose songs for both the Parish Music Festivals and the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

Within this one month, the music committee is in contact with the composers for any help or additional information that might be required of it. After the one month composers forward their new compositions which KAMUCO convenes to consider and from them, one of the English ones is selected to be the annual set piece for the Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, while among the Luganda songs one is selected for the parish choirs in the archdiocese. Usually, the music committee can make a few adjustments to the selected set piece with the permission of the composer. Following the approval of the set piece, KAMUCO organizes the first training workshop for all the schools intending to participate in the Annual Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival. In the next section, I consider the various workshops organized by KAMUCO in a more detailed way.

6.2.2.2 Music Courses/ Training Workshops

After receiving the set piece and drawing a detailed program for the annual church music activities, the music committee arranges a number of workshops aimed at training choir members in various aspects of church music. The first workshop is organized specifically for all the post-primary schools in the archdiocese. The

Committee writes an official letter to all the Catholic schools in the archdiocese of Kampala informing them of the music course as the workshop is commonly known in the church music circles. On the designated day, the schools turn up with some of their members (including teachers, trainers and students) and the committee spends the entire day training them.

The course content includes holding an evaluation meeting for the past year's festival which also serves as a forum for listening to the school representatives' grievances. Again, the course involves teaching the set piece, explaining to them the requirements for the next music festival, explaining and a brief introduction to the sight singing key to be examined in the festival as well as teaching to them the various songs from the *Mujje Tutendereze Omukama* (M.T.O) on which the ballot will be drawn during the festival competition. In addition, the students are given a number of talks explaining to them the adjudication procedure and on what it would be based. In turn they are also allowed to ask questions related to church music and particularly to the annual Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. After this, students are dismissed and left to train at their individual schools for the festivals.

In another way, the festival also serves as an arena where the different music trainers are identified by the schools' church choir patrons and offered jobs to train the school choirs. Any kind of consultation can be made at this stage from any member of the committee. After this workshop, the patrons are informed of the date that the committee has planned for the next music training workshop which usually focuses on the trainers, music directors, composers among others.

The next meeting is usually organized for a smaller group whereby schools select their conductors and trainers to go and get technical training in their work. The workshop or music directors and trainers' course is normally between the actual day of the festivals and the schools music course. The course specifically focuses on the technical aspects of conducting and choir directing among other things. Also equally considered is the composition process. It is here that students get trained in

conducting, particularly beating of time signatures and interpreting scores, after which they go back to school and teach their comrades.

The period that follows this course is purely devoted to training for the festivals. Trainers select the free choice songs for their choir (the western and Ganda free choice songs which I will explain later), depending on a number of factors dictated by the nature of choirs that they have at their disposal. Some opt for commissioning new compositions designed to enable their respective choirs to win. In such circumstances, the compositions must be approved by the music committee. The music committee is always open and available to any kind of consultations from the different choir patrons or trainers. At the end of the training period, the schools intending to compete in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals are requested to notify the music committee. A further look at the festival will cast more light on its nature, purpose and significance.

6.2.3 Categories for Competing

Due to the nature of the Ugandan education system, there are various types of secondary schools authorized by the Ministry of Education. Among these are co-ed. secondary schools, boys' schools as well as girls' secondary schools. In view of this fact, the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO) has structured the festival in such a way that it caters to the various single-sex schools that want to participate in this festival as well as the co-ed. schools that also attend.

As such, there are basically three categories under which intending participants in this festival can register.

6.2.3.1 Equal Voices Category

Firstly, there is the Equal Voices category which consists of girls' choirs that sing arrangements in Soprano 1, Soprano 2, and Alto (S.S.A.) or Soprano, Alto 1, and Alto 2 (S.A.A). During interviews, Albert Kiragga informed me that at its introduction, the system was also designed to cater to choirs with a similar male arrangement in Tenor 1, Tenor 2 and Bass (T.T.B) or Tenor, Bass 1, Bass 2 (T.B.B) though this last

category has never appeared in these festivals. In this case of the Equal Voice choirs, the numbers on stage have no limits according to KAMUCO's festival regulations (Track 5 and 9 on CD).

6.2.3.2 Chamber Choirs

The second category of competitors is of Chamber Choirs which are choirs with full voices, that is: Soprano, Alto, Tenor and Bass (S.A.T. B.), but with no more than thirty-six choristers on stage. When I asked Michael Mukisa, one of the initiators and a long-serving member of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee about this, he explained that after participating in international music festivals, he discovered that it was inappropriate to classify choirs with more than thirty-six people on stage with those that have less than that number since the production is greatly affected with less than thirty-six choristers. As such, he managed to introduce this limit to the music committee which accepted and implemented it.

6.2.3.3 Mass Choirs

The third category is known as Mass Choirs. These are in a way similar to Chamber Choirs, having all the four voices, Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass (S. A. T. B.). In addition, they can have more than thirty-six members on stage. Therefore, a school choir with thirty-seven members onwards is in this festival categorized as a Mass Choir. The category is known inside the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools' Music Festivals as entailing some of the most challenging choirs putting up high-class performances. Usually schools in this category are the co-ed. secondary schools. However, some boys' schools are also known to have made an impact in this category, including Kisubi Minor Seminary and St. Mary's College Kisubi (example: Track 1 and 4 on CD).

6.2.4 The Repertoire of the Festival

The repertoire of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival is designed to serve the needs of the Church and also to some degree the schools from which the competing students come. According to my informants, earlier on, the

repertoire consisted of a set piece in the western style, a free choice western song, and a free choice Ganda song (Wamala interview). Later, in 2004 after the church realized that many schools were selecting western classical pieces by great composers such as J. S. Bach, W. A. Mozart, Handel, Schubert and Haydn as western songs, they were forced to revise the rule and added that it must be a song in the western style by one of the local Ugandan composers and strictly in one of the three languages, that is, either Luganda, Latin and English. This raises more interesting issues partly concerning language use and its consequences in this festival as well as the representation of the festival repertoire. I will return to this issue in Chapter Seven and address it in a detailed way.

Also on the repertoire to be prepared are three M.T.O. songs, one of which will be chosen by ballot for performance at the festival itself. In a workshop I conducted during fieldwork, when asked about the meaning of the items on the repertoire, members informed me that the reason that the M.T.O. songs came on the festival repertoire was that the young generation had largely neglected them, yet they represented the Church's musical heritage from the Catholic missionaries. As such, there was need to enforce their learning and performance. One of my fieldwork observations was that many schools that participate in these festivals included these songs in their Sunday mass repertoires. Among the observed schools were St. Mary's College Kisubi, Uganda Martyrs' High School Lubaga, Our Lady of Good Counsel Gayaza Secondary School, Uganda Martyrs Secondary School Namugongo, and Our Lady Lubaga Girls Senior Secondary School. In the next section, I discuss each item of the repertoire, how it is designed and its possible representation in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

6.2.4.1 The Set Piece

A number of local composers are invited for a workshop aimed at explaining to them a particular theme selected by the archdiocese and getting them to conceptualize it and compose a song representing the views of the archdiocesan pastoral committee. Usually most of the composers attending this workshop compose and then from all

their submitted compositions, KAMUCO's technical committee convenes and selects only one of the compositions to be used as the set piece for that particular year's Post Primary Schools' Music Festivals.

The set piece is in English since this is the national language and also the medium of instruction in Ugandan secondary schools and also for all the communications related to the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. However, the use of English here sends mixed signals since it was the language of the colonial masters (the British) and also used by one of the two missionary groups that form a big part of the Catholic Church's music heritage, namely the Mill Hill Missionaries. Usually it has a free (commonly ABA) ternary form whereby there is part A whose lyrics directly or implicitly echo the theme and are in a fairly easy major key, then part B which normally has a modulation to a related key (usually relative minor, dominant, or subdominant key as in Track 1 and 9 on CD). On a few occasions, it has been a through-composed piece. The arrangement is basically for four voices as well as an equal voice arrangement mainly made to cater to the girls' schools that usually use a Soprano 1, Soprano 2, Alto arrangement (S.S.A) or a Soprano, Alto 1 Alto 2 arrangement (S.A.A). From my experience and interviews I carried out, the music technical committee branch of KAMUCO strictly checks the harmony to ensure that it strictly follows the rules of harmonic progression as in Bach chorales and other composers-cum-writers on harmony such as Walter Piston. More so, the lyrics are also reviewed by the liturgical experts to avoid any kind of heretical theology that differs from what the church teaches (Edward Ssonko interview: 3 September 2009).

6.2.4.2 Kiganda Hymns (M.T.O. Songs/Hymns)

There are usually three M.T.O. songs assigned to the various secondary schools. While all three songs have to be learnt, only one of them will be examined at the festival, chosen by drawing a ballot at the adjudicator's desk on the day of the competitions. The adjudicators will write down the names of the prescribed songs and each choir leader will choose one at random. This will be the song that his or her

choir will be examined on. Examples of Kiganda hymns are Tracks 5 and 8 on the CD.

The songs can be grouped into three categories, all reflecting the developments as reviewed in the past chapters. There are primarily Kiganda hymns, most of them by local composers who wrote as soon as the missionaries handed over the church to the native Baganda priests. The first category includes those songs introduced by the missionaries that were translated into Luganda during the period preceding Vatican Council II. These are originally western hymns with tunes and harmony from Europe and only the lyrics translated into Luganda. As explained earlier, most translations of these hymns are faulty. However, according to instructions given to the various choirs, they have to be sung the way they have been kept and documented in the M.T.O. book. Someone who is more versed with the hymns could easily identify the tunes or melodies and harmonies. The second category includes those early hymns composed by the early native priests in imitation of what the missionaries had introduced or left behind before handing over to the Baganda laity. Like Catherine Gray (1995) has noted, these hymns also had faults similar to the ones I earlier on noted from the early hymns introduced by the missionaries. In addition, some of these early composers had not yet mastered the rules of western harmony and counterpoint and therefore, while trying to come up with harmonized hymns, they made a lot of mistakes in the music. The third category are the newly composed hymns by either native priests or laity. These usually have the top voice following the Kiganda style but harmonized. The major difference that also calls for critical consideration is the nature of these newly composed hymns (Kiganda hymns⁴⁰). The melody was composed according to a given, well-translated text from either the Bible or even written by the composer himself. Most times it clearly followed the correct intonation contours of the Kiganda language though occasionally, there were loopholes. On the

⁴⁰ A composition in a hymnal (chorale like) style with the lyrics in Luganda using a more or less Kiganda melody to suit the words, but with the three other parts (alto, tenor and bass) harmonized following the western rules of harmony. Likewise, in this kind of composition, the accompaniment is usually of both western instruments (commonly the keyboard) as well as the Kiganda drums.

other hand, the harmony was western and so singing the other parts of the song (the alto, tenor and bass) could not make sense linguistically. According to my informants, however, the composers were doing it in order to imitate what they had inherited from the missionaries.

An appropriate example of these hymns as having been composed during this transitional period is *Beesimye Nnyo Abatukuvu* by James Kabuye. There is a struggle in the composer to satisfy all the interests of the various stakeholders in this church music composition process, including the Mill Hill missionaries, White Fathers, and native Baganda.

Firstly, there is the question of the ‘missionary heritage’ which lies in between the Mill Hill missionaries of Nsambya and the White Fathers of Lubaga. Kabuye tries to blend these two missionary congregations’ music styles in this single hymn. A closer look at the hymn represents a synergy of both the hymnal (chorale) style typical of Mill Hill missionaries while the stanza also imitates the plain chants which were mainly used by the White Fathers at Lubaga. While Kabuye tries to serve all these interests, he does not overlook the fact that the song is composed for the Baganda in Buganda and therefore utilizes the Luganda language and rhythms for the various words, trying to consider the correct intonations in the melody alongside the correct linguistic rhythmical syntax. When he gets to the stanzas, they are chanted as though someone is singing Gregorian chants in Luganda, epitomizing the Lubaga White Fathers’ liturgical interests. Again, musically, there is a struggle to accommodate the various time signatures frequently encountered in the native Kiganda musical style. Other composers at the time also tried to pay attention to some of these qualities or characteristics as Kabuye did in this song which was one of the very first in the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda.

The techniques used for the composition of hymns in this category offer a two-fold possible representation. On the global scene, the hymns possess the qualities of the two western music genres of hymns and chants, in this case particularly the Gregorian chants. While the lyrics are in Luganda, some of the tunes of the Kiganda hymns are

directly adopted from western hymns and are therefore easily identifiable with other common hymns, since even the harmony is not tampered with. However, on the local scene, the hymns are a revelation of the Ugandans' newly acquired power and authority to manage the local church which is exhibited in the manner in which they are both composed and performed. While the local Catholic Church in Kampala Archdiocese is now able to manage its own affairs, it is not without the Vatican's influence and this is even witnessed in the compositional techniques as well as the performances. The customary strict reference and adherence to church doctrines and documents is reflective of the Vatican's upper hand in this glocal relationship.

Similar to the composition style, the performance style is also reflective of the stakeholders as well as the varying power struggles reflected in this renewed composition style. Firstly, the approach to the hymns is a mixture of the common western approach with the newly invented style, originally developed in the festivals until it spread into the various churches in the archdiocese.

However, the performance style here differs from the common western approach to hymns. Here, the directors of the different choirs adjust it to suit and serve the local diocese's requirements and common practices. A number of choirs will sing some of these hymns with a drum accompaniment and shakers, alongside the keyboard which plays the harmonies as in the usual western churches. Like Barz and Gunderson have indicated, performance enhances community coherence (2000:15) which is reflected in the above described festival practices.

6.2.4.3 Western Free choice songs

Prior to 2004, the festival required participants to perform a western free choice song. This was an excuse for most of the choirs to ignore songs by Ugandan composers. They always presented compositions by western classical composers such as W. A. Mozart, Joseph Haydn, G. F. Handel, among others. This forced the committee in 2004 to change the instructions and include a western free choice song by a Ugandan composer in one of the following languages: Luganda, English or Latin. This changed

the trend and from that time onwards, choirs have been coming to the festivals with newly composed pieces or songs (Ssekitto 2004).

Before proceeding with describing this category of songs, I have to make it clear that while the committee changed the nature of the song to be performed in this category, it maintained the category as 'western free choice' which to my observation (during fieldwork) is not completely consistent with what is actually performed by the competitors in this category. The western free choice category includes songs that have been composed by a native Ugandan as the instructions listed above demand. From all my observations carried out during the last four years, only four choirs managed to bring songs in the western style while all the rest had hybrid songs that utilized both Kiganda and western compositional techniques. As such, this category is more of hybrid songs which are the products of Ugandan composers. This on the one hand has important relevance for this study since the techniques employed reflect both the Vatican's requirements as well as utilizing Kiganda musical elements.

In these songs the form is not easily identifiable since they encompass both Kiganda and Western music compositional techniques, making them hybrid compositions (refer to Tracks 4 and 7 on CD). One of the most common elements of the free choice songs in this category is the western four voices (soprano, alto, tenor and bass), which implies harmonization of the various parts. Added to this is the accompaniment which in most cases is not written with the music but devised by the accompanist from the harmony provided with the song. According to most of the scores I saw during fieldwork, only one person had written a piano accompaniment which was also faulty according to the western norms. Commonly, keyboards are at least used by each choir that comes on stage though lately, a number of choirs are introducing some brass instruments, specifically drums, cymbals, trumpets and others, to punctuate important parts or sections of their performances, especially the introductions (preludes), as well using them to create a climax towards the end of the song. While three languages are accepted for this item, most compositions are in Luganda which reflects the region and language in which the Catholic Church in question is situated.

Worth consideration also are the costumes used during the performance of the western free choice song. These are mostly reflective of western performances such as church gowns, school uniforms (largely western in design and material), suits, and improvised western-inspired smart attires among others. However, a few have also used some African costumes especially the *gomesi* for the ladies which is highly reflective of the Baganda people or the *kanzu* for the men, also largely considered to be a cultural attire for Baganda men. The repeated correlation between the Ganda songs and the traditional Kiganda dress code partly implies localization. Earlier, I noted that localization implies ways in which particular cultural practices (music inclusive), whatever their origin, become associated with particular places. While the designs and materials might have been imported from somewhere else, the *gomesi* and *kanzu* used today in Uganda are more reflective of the Buganda culture, the local culture in this context.

Other schools use their school uniforms, and still others design professional church gowns similar to those used by western professional choirs. School uniforms and other suits used by some schools portray the continued association of the colonized with their colonizers. By implication, the legacy of the colonizers is also evident in both language (as used as the main medium of communication for the festival) and the dress code that they left behind. In retrospect, the sight of these uniforms, repertoire, musical instruments used in various combinations, languages, dances used and others aspects rhymes with what Bhabha (1994:85, 86) has termed as ‘ambivalence’ whereby the colonized subject is always in motion, sliding *ambivalently* between the polarities of similarity and difference (McLeod 2000:53). The hybridity that I observe in this category seems to be a direct result of this ambivalence. This ambivalence and mimicry is evident if we are to consider both the repertoire, musical instruments used, costuming used in the festival as well as the language factor. One of the photographs I took while in the festival best illustrates this issue as presented by Homi Bhabha and John McLeod. Here, students are dressed in western-designed uniforms while going to the stage to perform a Kiganda song which is evident from the instruments they are holding.



Our Lady of Africa Lubaga Girls Senior Secondary School Choir Preparing to present its Ganda free choice song in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

6.2.4.4 Kiganda Songs

Seen as one of the most obvious campaigns to decolonize the church from the colonial legacy instituted by the European missionaries, songs utilizing the native Kiganda music compositional techniques started emerging as early as 1964 during the canonization of the Uganda Martyrs in Rome. The *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* by Kyagambiddwa discussed here in Chapter Four was the first ‘vernacular’ oratorio performed within the confines of St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome. While here they faced opposition from both the laity and some sections of the clergy, the songs were soon accepted among the native Baganda through a number of campaigns. One of the most prominent campaigns for getting them accepted is the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals, where they have been introduced and taught to the Christians.

Particularly in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, Kiganda songs or *Ganda* songs, as they are commonly referred to in these festivals, are a very important aspect of this festival not only because they have been mainly

introduced, developed and accepted throughout the festival whereby they have been used as a mediating entity, but also because they are a very important component of the repertoire that defines church music of the archdiocese and other Luganda speaking dioceses. At the very beginning, the festivals had very simple Kiganda songs performed from the *Uganda Martyrs African Oratorio* but later, serious compositions reflecting the maturity of composers, performers and the church at large emerged. Most of these songs are composed in mainly a mixture of time signatures including the compound time signature of 6/8, while 7/8 is also used by mostly Fr. Kabuye and Kyagambiddwa. Variations of time normally include 2/4 which represents the *biggu*⁴¹ or *engoma enkasa* (commonly referred to as *ekidigida*) that is commonly used in church to accompany the singing. The time signatures are partly reflective of the drumming style used since for *baakisimba* mainly 6/8 is used and occasionally 7/8 is also used while 2/4 is strictly used for *ebiggu*.

The forms of the compositions differ greatly depending on the intention of the composers. Most common are “through-composed songs” which are story-like with specific sections that are repetitive for purposes of emphasis of whatever message that is embedded within. Usually, a song will start in a relatively fast tempo and slow down in the middle for variation purposes and then regain the speed slowly creating an entertaining climax that sometimes includes dancing. The language used for these compositions is strictly Luganda. Examples of songs in this category are on Tracks 2, 3, and 6 of the CD.

⁴¹ *Biggu* denotes both a drumming style as well as a music compositional technique/style that was derived from Kiganda sacred music used during the worshipping of the Kiganda gods in the local shrines known as *amasabo*. *Biggu* or singular *ekiggu* comes from the Luganda word *okuggumiza/okuggunda*, meaning “to stress, emphasize”. The *biggu* use a 2/4 time signature whereby each main beat is emphasized, stressed and thus getting the sound ‘*ggu*’ at every main beat which characterizes the *biggu*. In order for learners to memorize the main drum rhythm of *biggu*, the name *ekidigida* is employed to which either music instructors or teachers refer wherever they want the drumming style used.

Kabuye informed me that Luganda utilized the call and response or sometimes leader-respondent form in order to actively involve the Christians in the singing, just as Vatican II recommended. Similarly, the repetitive sections are common since they are easier to memorize. By the time compositions of this nature started, there were very few Baganda who were able to read and write and as such, this was the ideal way to enable them to learn songs given the fact that the same system is commonly used in native Kiganda folk music. As such, one can hardly find a Kiganda song in these competitions that does not have either a repetitive section or a call and response.

Almost all the *Ganda* songs performed in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals are accompanied by various Kiganda traditional musical instruments, among which are drums (usually seven in total including two *mbuutu* drums differently tuned, *empuunyi*, two *nnamunjoloba*, *engalabi*), *ensaasi* (shakers), tube fiddles, *endongo* (Kiganda lyre), *emilele* (flutes), *enkwanzi* (pan pipes), and *amadinda* (xylophones). In an interview with Albert Kiragga, he informed me that as a requirement for the festivals, the songs must be accompanied by only traditional musical instruments from the Buganda region. While many choirs also perform this item on the repertoire dressed in the traditional Kiganda costumes to display cultural belonging, it is not a compulsory requirement of the festival. The playing techniques displayed in the festivals on the various Kiganda instruments are those of advanced, skilled performers reflecting the intensive practice that the students undergo before the festival competitions. On the other hand it slightly differs from the secular skills that are displayed outside the church circles. According to Leonard Ssemukaaya, a longtime serving member of KAMUCO and an adjudicator at these festivals, the manner in which traditional musical instruments are played in the church differs greatly from when they are played in the secular context. In the church one has to avoid overexaggerating the drumming so that it sounds composed and solemn, reflecting the space where it is being performed⁴².

⁴² For an alternative discussion on *baakisimba* in the church see also Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2001, 2005).

Another important aspect of the Ganda songs are the costumes used. Usually, there is a costume that every basic chorister has in addition to other designated unique costumes that the leaders or actors in a specific song put on depending on their role in the song. Most secondary schools use the school uniform for the basic costume while the drummers and other instrumentalists have *kanzus* and *gomesis* on to articulate their role. Different actors also come on stage dressed in different costumes, for example a priest can come on in a cassock while Jesus/Messiah can be represented in white robes. These costumes are used to articulate a particular person's role in relation to the meaning and context of the songs. As earlier explained, music, dance and drama are all intertwined in Kiganda music. Therefore, even in sacred contexts related to musical performances, costuming is used for all three purposes, that is, music, dance and drama. In the following section, I analyze one of the Kiganda songs, "Omunaala gwa Babeli" performed during the 2010 festivals to exemplify what has been discussed above.

a) Analysis of the song "Omunaala Gwa Babeli"

(The Tower of Babel - Genesis 10&11)

This song, composed by Fr. James Kabuye, is based on the story from the Bible about the Tower of Babel (Gen 10 and 11). It was performed by Uganda Martyrs High School Lubaga, a mixed secondary school, as their Ganda Free Choice song for the 2010 Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, held at Summit College, Kyengera. Being a Kiganda song as required by KAMUCO in the festival, it is accompanied by Kiganda traditional musical instruments among which are engoma (drums), types of which include: *embuutu* (main drum), *empuunyi* (rhythm drum), *namunjoloba* (small drums), and *engalabi* (long drum), while other instruments include the *endingidi* (tube fiddle), *endere* (flute), *amadinda* (xylophone), *ensaasi* (shakers), and *endongo* (lyre). The overall arrangement is as represented below:

A - (1:00-3:17)

B- (3:17-3:40)

A' - (3:40-5:59)

C - (5:59-6:31)

D - (6:31-7:05)

Structurally, it is a through-composed Kiganda song with a flowing storyline narrating how people set up to build a tower that reaches heaven so that they can be equal with God. At a general level, the song is arranged as ABA'CD. In this arrangement, there is a relatively/moderately fast section (A) with which the song opens. This is followed by a slow section (B) (in which God decides to destroy the builders of the tower), and returns to a similar section to A, though this time slightly modified due to its response to the storyline in the lyrics and the style of performance. I call this section A' (modified). A new section C, that is prayerful and slower in tempo though majestic (maestoso) in character follows rather briefly. The final section D creates the climax to the song, or, in western terms, the finale. It is characterized by a celebratory, heavy, textured instrumentation, high tempo, slightly louder than the former section and builds up to the moment of concluding the song as other Ganda songs (also refer to track) in this category do.

An instrumental prelude (a kind of 'thematic section') opens the performance with xylophones playing motifs adopted from the opening melody of the song, later joined by the tube fiddle (*endingidi*), which plays an accompanying role. Later, the lyre (*endongo*) also comes in, followed by the flute (*endere*) which decorates the main melody with its overlapping melodies. All these instruments are later joined by the main drums, with the long drum commanding the rest. At this point the texture of the instrumentation is thick, creating a jubilatory mood.

The song is sung in unison by both male and female singers in the choir. The singing opens with all the choristers singing while wondering why nations should always struggle for power, greatness, after which the rest of the choir joins in. They sing the question *Lwaaki amawanga gabugutana?* (Why should nations scramble?) Which is sung twice, in form of a question and answer melodic contour (refer to the music

score in Appendix 7)⁴³. The first four minutes of the song are about introducing the problem of the Tower of Babel as presented in Genesis 10. The rhythm used here is *baakisimba*, slightly modified from the one used for the traditional Kiganda dance, as opposed to the next section.

At the scene of the festival performances this song was interspersed with drama, showing throughout how at first, a few people were coordinating to build the tower as the rest of the singing went on. At the beginning of the song as the lyrics indicate, the actors were coordinating to build the tower but when they sing the section on divisions, (*Teri ategeera munne*), they try to mimic the lyrics as well. When one is sent for bricks, he returns with soil and a lot of disagreements going on. The stage set was in the front, left hand side of the choir. The students participating in the drama had costumes/robes imagined to be similar to those of the Jews from where the song is imagined to have taken place.

After three minutes and seventeen seconds of singing, a new section B begins, signifying the Lord's annoyance and resolving to destroy their sense of language. It is relatively slow compared to the opening section, and the singing is more majestic to signify the Lord's authoritativeness (3:17-3:40). Musically the composer changed the tempo for this song and used a more traditional time signature for Kiganda worship, 2/4, which was commonly used for songs employing the *biggu* rhythmic sense, as the case was in the Kiganda shrines. While this choir does not distinctly articulate the tempo difference implied in the composition, the score is very clear and in performance the feeling is implied/created in the listener.

Section B lasts for twelve seconds, after which comes another section similar to section A in style, tempo, accompaniment, and narrative style, and lyrics, but due to the lyrical content, it is occasionally punctuated with expressive sections which briefly make it distinct from A, and that is why I refer to it as A'. Generally this

⁴³ The music score used in Appendix 7 is the official transcription of the song by the composer which I was given by the secretary to the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO).

section goes on with the story line/commentary and narrates how the people's language was destroyed, and therefore how coordination in this project of building the tower was hampered. Musically, the exact point of mis-coordination is first sung as transcribed and later repeated (though the score does not clearly specify this). The main part signifying disagreement is sung in a canonical form consisting of three different rounds, whereby one part of the choir starts the section followed by the next after three beats, and another part of the choir follows and the same happens for the third voice (3:59-4:47). This is an improvised repetitive diversion from the score, since there is no indication of any canon or round in it, but an interpretation of the directors and form of expression (refer to the score in Appendix 7). As already seen, this is an example of the restrictions of the "music score" in terms of creativity, contrary to the usual practice in Kiganda music. As a common practice in Kiganda song performances (also refer to track), the score is only used as a guideline but cannot represent all the nuances of Kiganda music in performance; but partly represents the colonial legacy left behind by the European missionaries and colonial masters.

A slow section C then follows, representing the people's prayer to God (5:59- 6:31), to signify submission to him since people had failed to build the tower of Babel. Next is a final climaxing section, which starts marking the conclusion of the song, a feature commonly used in these festivals. This finale opens with an instrumental interlude at (6:31-7:05), which enhances the tempo of the music, and gives the mood a thick texture. The concluding climaxing section is a final encouragement and summary of the song's message to everyone to always trust, rejoice and believe in God. This section is marked by dancing in reflection of rejoicing in the Lord. The dance motifs used in this section were adapted from the *baakisimba* dance of the Baganda, since the drumming style was also reflective of the same. Here the costumes used were slightly modified from the usual secular costumes as will be discussed later in Chapter Six. Dramatically, there was a celebratory mood as characterized by dancing in Kiganda culture.

Most features of Kiganda singing are embedded in this song, such as call and response (in section A'), a lot of singing with *eggono*, narrative style, repetitions, thick texture mainly due to the instrumentation, and partially singers. There is also vocal polyphony, mostly in the middle sections. The incorporation of music, dance and drama is also part of the texts and in need of analysis. Considering the score, there are a number of time signatures used which is typical of Kiganda music on the one hand, while on the other, it reflects a struggle of the composers to restrict music to specific time signatures in notation. From a critical perspective, the choir rarely adjusts to these tempo fluctuations as the audio example indicates.

This analysis represents a number of features of Kiganda music as earlier discussed and also later to be discussed in this dissertation. Here we witness the influence of the church in controlling mostly lyrics, musical style, and other aspects of performance as highlighted in the discussion above. It also shows the renegotiating or adjustment to the score as a western introduction to Kiganda singing alongside the conductor who is a symbol of command and power. The conductor's role here is to guide the sections and singing to ensure that everything is in harmony. It is a position of control and authority. The conductor mimics western conducting conventions though most conductors at this festival try to improvise according to the music. This is due to the fact that conducting is foreign to Kiganda music. The controlled incorporation of the earlier mentioned *trichotomous* relationship between music, dance and drama is also evident here since all of them are used in an effort to express and be creative. The inability of the score to satisfy what is being performed or the performers' inability to stick to the score also signifies a lot especially in relation to the comparison between western and Kiganda music. In sum, while this song is considered a Kiganda song, it is not free from many other influences which makes my analysis and study question the following: "To what extent it is a Kiganda song?"

Below is a transcription of the lyrics of the song "The Tower of Babel", followed by an English translation. The various sections as discussed above are clearly indicated.

b) Omunaala Gwa Babeli (Luganda original transcription)

Section A

Lwaki amawanga gabugutana? (X2)

Abantu ne balowooza ebitajja nsa (X2)

Lwaki lwaki amawanga gabugutana? (x2)

Bayononeka nnyo ne bakola ebikyamu

Tewaali akola kirungi n'omu

Bonna bawubwa nnyo, bonna ne bagwagwawala

Tewaali akola kirungi n'omu

Ne bateesa n'olwo, okukola omunaala

Ogutuuka n'eyo mu ggulu

Muleete muleete ebbumba tulibumbe

Tujjemu amataffaali ag'okuzimbisa

Tugookye na bulungi gakole omusingi

N'envumbo tusibe wamu

Mujje, mujje tuzimbe ekibuga mu linnya lyaffe

Tukole omunaala ogutuuka n'eyo mu ggulu X2

Twekolere erinnya, twekolere erinnya mu nsi yonna yonna

Tuwone okujeera (x2), okubunga okusaasaana mu nsi yonna yonna!

Olulimi twogera lumu, n'obuzaale tulina bumu,

Ky'ekituufu, ky'ekirungi ky'ekisaanye ffe abagunjufu!

Ali mu ggulu yesekera, Omukama nga abasekerera.

Bwe yayima mu ggulu nayisayisa amaaso mu baana b'abantu

Alabe ategeera, anoonya Katonda, nga temuli abange

Balabye abatonde, nga temuli n'omu amutegeera (x2).

Najja, najja, najja, najja, naserengeta mu nsi alabe omunaala, alabe omunaala,

Omuntu gw'amaze okuzimba n'agamba nti;

Section B

Eno y'entandikwa yaabwe! Kyekyo, bano bagezi nakinku

Tewajja kuba kibalema bano. Mujje tugende tubatabule mu lulimi

Nga tewali n'omu ategeera munne, olulimi tulutabule wabulewo n'omu ategeera munne,

Section A'

Babeli! Babeli! Babeli omunaala gwa Babeli watuletera akabasa

Babeli Babeli omunaala nntabula, nntabula nkukyaaye

Oleese ennimi ezitwawudde, oleese ennimi eziboolagana,

N'abantu nkugambye n'otugoba,

Teri ategeera munne, tunaakola ki? Teri ategeera munne katweyawule (X2)

Enjawukana enjawukaenjawukana enjawukana etuukiridde yiino etutuukiridde
(section repetition)

Abaana abali ab'enda emu baabo bagenda, olulimi ne lubaawukanya

Baabo bagenda, bagenda bagenda, enjawukana egguse!

Etuuse (x2) enjawukana etuuse, enjawukana egguse

Muswadde abekuluntaza nnyini – enjawukana

Muswadde abewaga mmwe kungsi- yiino enjawukana

Bano badda muno, bali badda muli bano badda muno bali badda muli X2

Ddala kya mazima, ddala kya mazima -omukama ennyumba gyatazimbye

Ddala kya mazima ddala kya mazima - Abagizimba bateganira bbule, bya bwereere,

Ddala kya mazima, ddala kya mazima - Omukama ekibuga kyatakuuma,

Ddala kya mazima ddala kya mzima, - Abakikuuma bateganira mpewo. Ddala kituufu.

Section C

Ayi mukama mukama wange, omwoyo gwange ddala tegwekuza, n'amaaso gange gonna laba ssigabiina. Ssirubirirra nze bya waggulu nnyo ebimpitiridde mbireka byonna.

Nedda n'okuteeka ne nteeka, omwoyo gwange ne guwummula mu ddembe

Nga akaana ku mubiri ogwa nnyina waako, n'omwoyo gwange bwe guli mu nze mu mikono gyo Mu buyinza bwo, mu mikono gyo, mu buyinza bwo.

Section D (Finale)

Ggwanga lya Katonda suubira mu mukama, okuva kati nabulijjo,

Ggwanga lya Katonda suubira mu mukama emirembe n'emirembe gyonna gyonna gyonna.

c) The Tower of Babel (English translation)**Section A**

Why should nations scramble? (X2)

Why should people think of impossibilities?

They were sinful and committed wrongs against the Lord

None of them were able to think rightly

All were deceived and became stupefied

None of them were able to think rightly

They once agreed to build a tower

That reaches the heavens (skies)

Bring the clays to make bricks with which to build

We shall burn them and make a foundation

For our construction

Come and we build our own city

We build a tower that reaches the heavens

So that we are famous in the world's history

So that we end the suffering and wondering

That is characteristic of the entire world.

We speak the same language and have the same roots

It is the right thing and the good for us the *wise*

He is in heaven laughing (at them), the Lord is ridiculing their move

From heaven, he searched for a single human who adores the Lord and did not find any.

Among his creation, there was none who knew and feared him

He descended on earth to see the tower which the mortals had built and he said

Section B

This is their beginning, surely, they are too wise

There is nothing they will not do

Let us go and confuse their language

So that none of them can ably communicate to each other

Section A'

Babel, Babel the tower of Babel, the sole cause of disaster

Babel, Babel, the scandalous tower, I denounce you!

You have brought us hateful, divisive languages (dialects, tongues)

And humanity is falling asunder

No one can understand the other, what should we do?

No one can understand the other, so let's succumb to divisions

In divisions so finally we are!

Formally tracing one origin, a people are falling apart, linguistically divided

To you self-acclaimers - Pity upon you

To you the arrogant-shame upon you

Truly those laboring to build without God's grace are laboring in vain

Truly the city devoid of God's protection is not worth man's guarding

Section C

O Lord my God, humility crowns my soul, my absolute aim lies in achieving/attaining modest gain. That calms my soul.

Like a child on its mothers lap, so lies my soul unto your hand, unto your power.

Section D (Finale)

All ye nations of the Lord, place your hope in God now and forever.

All ye nations of the Lord, place your hope in God now and forever and ever and ever.

6.2.4.5 Sight Singing

As one of the last items to be included on the repertoire, sight singing was necessitated by the need to train choristers in reading music scores, particularly those in staff music notation which is common to Catholic Church choirs, as opposed to the Anglican Church choirs that mainly utilize solfah notation. Since its inclusion, it has been one of the most feared items on the repertoire and therefore calls for a lot of practicing. Sight singing was originally judged wholly; that is, the whole choir was given the same piece of music (approximately eight bars) and given only one minute to go through before they would sing it loudly, conducted by one of the presiding adjudicators. Later, due to the continued overreliance of some choristers on those who were especially knowledgeable about sight singing, the committee was forced to adopt a more identifying system of judging it by separating the two sexes. The men (normally bass and tenor) would sing their music alone written on a bass clef while the women (mostly sopranos and altos) would also be required to sight sing in an earlier communicated key using the treble clef, which they were expected to use when learning their songs in their private choir rehearsals.

Due to the institutionalized bureaucracy that exists in the Catholic Church, sight singing turns out to be part of this institutionalized glocalization whereby as the Church is busy struggling to decolonize its music from the colonial influences, it is at the same time utilizing the same colonial lenses to approach this indigenization. While indigenous music genres are slowly being incorporated into the Catholic Church in Kampala Archdiocese, the modes of instructing and transcribing this music are based in western terms, that is the staff notation. In one way it appears as a continuation of colonial ways of thinking. Since staff notation is a western system, it is a way of disciplining the music, viewing it in western terms and with a specific way of approaching it in both composition and performance. In a way it also affects the singers since they are forced to understand and approach music in western terms. We see this as earlier, many could sing without music scores but today, many who have undergone this kind of training will always look for a music score before singing,

since by learning this notation, they were incapacitated. Students who do not excel in sight singing are not rewarded and this is a way of glorifying the notation system. It turns out to be an imposed technology, whereby competence in it is compulsory for everyone in the competitive festival. Therefore whoever excels in sight singing also adopts all its shortcomings such as freezing the music, as we later shall see. It therefore reminds people of the original system of imposition whereby missionaries used unmodified systems in the various missionary lands where they worked (Angrosino 1994:825).

6.2.5 Observations

The repertoire, particularly the Ganda songs, partly represents a continuous process of decolonization from the missionary practices to a more indigenous Kiganda church music repertoire. As earlier explained, the church started with western pieces and after the participants had repeatedly emphasized performance of western classical pieces, KAMUCO came in to represent the Church's interests by modifying and revisiting the definition of a western piece, implied by clearly stating that it is a western piece by a native Ugandan composer in strictly three languages: Luganda, English, or Latin. The two points contained in the last sentence form the basis of my next section which addresses both indigenization and localization.

The recognition of local composers, however professionally untrained in both liturgy/theology and music they might appear, signals a change in focus from the missionary ideals to a rather new liberal perspective which is more inclined to both indigeneity and locality. Indigeneity, which Ralls-McLeod *et al.* define as “a matter of affirming belonging *to* a place” (2000:4, italics in original), is a quality of identity while indigenization is the process. In the new modification of the western free choice piece⁴⁴, the church appears to be embracing indigeneity at the expense of foreign

⁴⁴ Note that I continue to use the festival classification of ‘western free choice’ piece being aware of the elusive, hybrid nature of the compositions performed under this category. Originally, they were western (classical pieces) though later after KAMUCO revised the regulations, the category now embraces hybridized music genre of Kiganda-Classical songs.

musical genres. As a quality of identity, therefore, one may conclude that the Church sets the pace for negotiating its identity within the global Roman Catholic Church. By encouraging local composers as opposed to global composers, locality takes precedence in this particular aspect, representing a gradual process of redefining the church's identity. However, as implied by McLeod, indigenization is a process which takes place gradually, incorporating foreign elements into a particular musical practice, which are blended and later accepted by the new culture as theirs (2000:4). Therefore, music indigenization normally has hybridity as one of its characteristic traits. A critical consideration of the newly created hybrid music genre that mimics the western classical pieces, which were being performed in this category of western free choice, indicates a hybrid genre which I call a "Kiganda classical" music genre.

Focusing on hybridity in this particular case as an aftereffect of indigenization, it acts as a mediator between the local/indigenous and the western/global. Mediating in this case involves a consideration of characteristic traits from both parties, with implied power structures at play to determine the extent to which each of them contributes to the new hybrid genre. Kenneth Bilby has noted that "Not only does the process of indigenization assign new meanings to borrowed elements, but it fundamentally alters musical relationships to accommodate them" (1999:23). In an effort to negotiate between the two contrasting cultures, a few elements of Kiganda music are combined with western classical music to create this genre which to some extent still represents the original influence and domination of the west (particularly Europe) in this locally situated Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival. In an effort to indigenize the repertoire and the music genres, the festival continues to approach this using western lenses (sight singing and western staff notation, English, Latin etc.) which fully rhymes with postcolonial discourse that has indicated that the process of decolonization is to a large extent a back and forth effort. This consideration of the festival in both local and global terms forms an important basis for my study's consideration, which is glocalization. Later I will deal with some aspects of the repertoire in relation to globalization and postcolonialism. However, before delving

into that, an understanding of the adjudication process is also crucial in order to make valid conclusions.

6.2.6 Adjudication

The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals begin on the second or third Sunday of June, depending on the diocesan program. When I asked one of the organizers and a long serving member Mr. Albert Kiragga, he informed me that this is the time when schools are in their second term, shortly before they get too busy with the regional or national mock examinations. Again, one of the active headmasters in these festivals also informed me that all Catholic-founded secondary schools are normally encouraged to take part in these festivals and as such, they usually schedule them in their annual calendar.

From my fieldwork observations, I noticed that the second term serves these schools favorably since most of all the music, dance and drama competitions, whether secular or otherwise, are normally conducted around this time. Among these are the internal inter-house music, dance and drama competitions, conducted by individual schools internally, which schools use to expose their students to performing arts including dances, singing, acting, cooking, cultural dressing, miming, rapping among other activities. On another level, the Ministry of Education also arranges a music, dance and drama competition which starts at the regional level, advancing to the district level after which the winning schools represent their regions at the national competitions which are conducted at the national theatre in Kampala. As such, the schools normally set aside a number of weeks for these co-curricular activities which the Ministry of Education has encouraged as vital for the students' education.

Particularly for the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, this timing is strategic, because the winners normally proceed to represent the archdiocese at the Interdiocesan Post Primary Church Music Festivals, which will always fall in either the last week of June or in the first week on July. The Interdiocesan Festivals are pretty similar to the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals

except that here, the items performed differ slightly. They are normally designed to accommodate all the Luganda-speaking dioceses which at the same time were once part of the original Kampala diocese.

6.2.6.1 Qualities of Adjudicators in the Festival

At the festival's final, which also serves as the competition venue, there are usually three or four judges or adjudicators who are responsible for watching and assessing the performances of the different choirs, after which they award marks according to the various performances displayed by individual choirs on that day. At the end of the day, the adjudicators are expected to announce the winner of the annual music festival in the different categories as already presented above. Similarly, they have to identify who the best instrumentalists of the day are so as to recognize and present them with a certificate from KAMUCO executives.

According to Jude Luwaga, the chairman of the KAMUCO music technical committee at the time of my research, there are a number of criteria followed in choosing who is to act as a judge or adjudicator at these festivals. In interviews with Richard Kaabunga, Edward Ssonko and Jude Luwaga, they all agree that the first and most important quality is that for a person to be chosen as an adjudicator in these festivals, he or she must be a baptized Roman Catholic who attended and passed the Catechism⁴⁵. When I asked why, Ssonko explained that the catechism classes are vital for any Catholic since they make one aware of the requirements of an adult Catholic and prepare one to defend the Church when it is necessary. All the themes and prayers of the Church, some of which are presented in form of the various songs and a number of which are performed at these festivals, can only be rightly understood and interpreted by someone who has been confirmed in the Church. Also, the students performing them are in a way all at a similar level since they have all been confirmed

⁴⁵ In an interview with Fr. Edward Ssonko the head of KAMUCO, he emphasized that it is compulsory for a potential adjudicator to know the Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church. As such he must have attended the catechism instruction and received the sacrament of confirmation in the Roman Catholic Church (interview 3 September 2009).

in the Church, and these festivals act as one of the many avenues the Church uses to instruct them in the Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda. Any non-Catholic can promote the doctrines of the religious belief system to which he or she subscribes. It is therefore imperative that the adjudicator is a fully confirmed Roman Catholic for the good of the church under which the festival is conducted.

Secondly, potential adjudicators at these festivals must be musically knowledgeable so as to be able to assess the many performances that take place on that day.

Kaabunga and Luwaga explained that there are various items on the repertoire that require a person to have been part of the choir before, directed choirs and learnt music to a certain level so as to be able to interpret the songs presented to the adjudicators. In most cases, the adjudicators are seeing and hearing these songs for the first time and consequently need to be well versed with sight singing and other interpretations that an ordinary chorister is not necessarily obliged to know. Also important is the ability to have a diverse knowledge of the Catholic Church song repertoire since in a way this makes the adjudicators' work easier.

Adjudicators must have enough knowledge on how the various musical instruments performed in these festivals are played. While the KAMUCO members do not require certificates in performing each of these instruments, the potential adjudicator must have exhibited enough knowledge in directing and even performing on some of these instruments. In other words, he/she must be familiar with the nature of these musical instruments. Among these are both western musical instruments and Kiganda traditional musical instruments such as the xylophone, tube fiddle, flute, pan pipes, lyre, drums, shakers, and other instruments. The ability to know these instruments gives an adjudicator the upper hand in differentiating an unskilled from an experienced, skilled performer. For the western instruments, one is also required to know how to follow the accompaniment as well as interpreting in what class that particular instruments fall. This also serves for the judges since at the end of the day, the adjudicators have to choose the best performers on each of these instruments who are in turn rewarded and recognized by the music committee. Therefore, knowledge

of the various musical instruments is considered by KAMUCO's technical committee when choosing the adjudicators for these festivals.

I was also informed that the adjudicators are not supposed to be either music directors or trainers for any of the participating choirs in this festival. They should be neutral and without any interest whatsoever in any of the competing choirs. In this way, it is possible to achieve fairness when results are announced. On the part of KAMUCO, I was told there are some challenges especially when they appoint someone who has been involved in a choir before and they are not aware of this, only to realize when it is too late, which discredits the committee. This usually happens at the end of the festival whereby one unsatisfied choir will pinpoint one of the people on the jury whom they have connected to a choir that may have won or participated in the same festival competition.

Similarly, the personal integrity of the people chosen to adjudicate must not be questionable. Edward Ssonko informed me that the adjudicators are supposed to be people respected not only in the Catholic Church circles but also in their areas wherever they come from. As such, it is easier for the competitors to trust them and also accept their verdict at the end of the day. They are supposed to exercise self-control even if a choir is not performing to their expectations; they are required to be patient with it until its time is out on stage. Again, they are required to have the ability to handle trying times especially when some choirs are not content with their decision. They are not expected to exchange bitter words with them. Therefore, the conduct of the person chosen matters so much for the success of these festivals.

In order for one to be among the jury, one must know the aims and intentions of this particular festival. According to Raymond Ssendi, a member of the technical committee, sometimes it necessitates that KAMUCO conduct a mini seminar prior to the festival day for the people selected to adjudicate. This meeting is intended to make the appointed adjudicators aware of the aims and intentions of carrying out this festival, what they should expect from the festival as well as what KAMUCO expects from them by choosing them to judge. For this reason, a number of adjudicators

presiding over these festivals are people who have in the past been students at the same festival but who left for other studies and then returned later. It is believed within the committee's jurisdiction that people who have been members of the committee or participated actively in the same festival before getting engaged in other business can serve the required purpose because they are aware of the dynamics of the festival. For example, in 2008, when I had returned to Uganda from Norway, I was appointed by KAMUCO to preside over the festival as an adjudicator since I was believed to be both neutral and knowledgeable on the requirements and goals of this festival.

Once KAMUCO's music technical committee has selected the names of the appointed adjudicators, it forwards them to the secretary who in turn writes an appointment letter to them, as well as clearly stating what is expected of them. In response, each of them has to acknowledge receipt of the letters as well as clearly state whether he/she accepts the appointment or declines it. Most people who decline do so because of involvement with one of the choirs intending to participate in these festivals. After this stage, KAMUCO arranges a meeting with the adjudicators in which they are presented with their terms of service as well as any kind of training that might be necessary at that stage. In turn they are also expected to ask questions of any unclear issue that they want KAMUCO to address before the day of the competition.

6.2.7 The adjudication process

During fieldwork, I discovered that each of the items on the repertoire has a clearly designed mark sheet or "adjudication form" commonly used among the festival participants. Apart from the western free choice songs, set piece and the Luganda hymns that share the same adjudication format or similar marking sheets, the other items have different structures followed when assessing the students' performances in these festivals. A close analysis of these marking sheets or forms used in the adjudication process is informative of the aims and intentions of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. In the next section, I devote my

attention to the different mark sheets and explaining how they are interpreted by the adjudicators.

6.2.7.1 Set Piece, Kiganda Hymns and Western

Free Choice Songs Adjudication Form

These three items on the repertoire are generally classified as western items and have a similar adjudication form in design which reflects what is expected of the performers when presenting any of these items. The first column in the adjudication form below addresses issues of the tone. George Jingo, one of the leading adjudicators of this festival (during my fieldwork period) informed me that they expect a choir to have a nearly western tone, which is only achieved through practice. About the characteristics of this tone, he explained that it has to be rounded, blending, balanced with the other voices, audible enough, and well controlled according to the music. He uses the example of choirs that sing in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican in Rome as the ideal choirs that exemplify this level of perfection (interview: 11 August 2009). All these elements are awarded out of ten marks. Other elements considered include accuracy, among which is the pitching that must be accurate and in conformity with the musical instruments used. Intonations are also strictly monitored, as are the key and the note values, which are all awarded out of twenty marks. Jingo insisted that this section has more marks than the former “because it is the heart of the entire piece” (*ibid.*). If a choir manages to get everything right in this column, then the probability of it perfecting the rest is not doubtful.

The next section is about diction, specifically addressing the pronunciations and articulations of words during the singing since this is a very important medium in communicating with the audience and the Christians during church mass. Also considered here is unanimity which reflects the ability of the choir to work or agree as a team/group, alongside with naturalness which I was informed is considered in relation to the particular language of the piece/song. All these named elements are awarded out of ten marks. The next two columns are about the tempo of the piece and conductor which are also strictly monitored. The consideration in this case is purely in

the western sense since originally, there were no conductors in Kiganda traditional songs but rather leaders. Especially the conductor is looked at in terms of the cues he makes, time beating as well as his command and steadiness. Each of the two columns is marked out of ten marks.

The column that follows concerns the interpretation of the piece/song/hymn. Most of my informants agreed that this was one of the most important areas since it is fully about the abilities, creativity, and knowledge of the person who directs a particular choir. The column specifically pays attention to dynamics, phrasings expressions and creativity. Like the section on accuracy, this one is also marked out of twenty marks. From my adjudication experience during these festivals, this section generally considers all those particular kinds of skills demonstrated by a choir that reflect its advanced level and perfection of the art that may not necessarily have been catered for by the designers of the marking/adjudication form.

The last two sections are about general observations and the accompaniment, since in every western hymn or piece they expect a kind of accompaniment, at least the basic keyboard. When I asked what if a choir comes on with an A Capella song, Kaabunga responded that the church and the festival requirements clearly stated that it should be accompanied and therefore as adjudicators, they encourage choirs to include accompaniment (interview: 27 July 2009). Again, considering the reasons why the festival was started, one of them stressed the need to train more organists and accompanists of western instruments so as to make the liturgy lively. The general observations are also focused on other performance-related issues that might not have been catered for on the marking/adjudication form. Of particular interest was the musicianship whose yardstick has been questioned by a number of researchers on awarding of marks in festivals and competitions. None of my informants managed to explain to me the fair yardstick used to measure musicianship but most of them insisted that 'you use your common sense' (interviews: Jude Luwaga 27 July 2009, Richard Kaabunga 24 July 2009, George Jingo 11 August 2009).

KAMPALA ARCHDIOCESAN MUSIC DESK
SACRED MUSIC ADJUDICATION FORM - WESTERN HYMNS
NAME OF THE CHOIR:.....

TITLE OF HYMN:.....

GUIDELINES	REMARKS	SCORE
TONE: (Quality, quantity, control, balance and blend) (10 marks)		
ACCURACY: (Key, Note values, Pitching, Intonation) (20 marks)		
DICTION: (Clarity of words, Articulation, Unanimity, Naturalness) (10 marks)		
TEMPO/RHYTHM: (Speed, Time-keeping, Freedom) (10 marks)		
CONDUCTOR: (Time-beating, Cues, Command, Steadiness) (10 marks)		
INTERPRETATION: (Dynamics, Phrasing, Expressions, Creativity) (20 marks)		
ACCOMPANIMENT: (Skill, Style, Control) (10 marks)		
GENERAL OBSERVATION: Presentation of the piece (Solos, duets, etc.) Musicianship (10 marks)		
SUB-TOTAL:		
PENALTIES: Time (5 marks) Item over-limit (5 marks) Discipline (5 marks)		
TOTAL:		

ADJUDICATORS: 1. Sign 2.

..... Sign

6.2.7.2 Ganda Songs Adjudication Form

The adjudication form prepared for Kiganda songs or church songs in the native Kiganda compositional style has been designed in a different way compared to the western hymns adjudication form. While there might be a few similarities such as monitoring of the tempo, diction, accompaniment and interpretation, the context in which they are judged based on my experience as an adjudicator greatly differs from the perspectives in which western music treats them. The opening column is about singing style, which in this case has to be similar to how the Baganda sing with *eggono*⁴⁶, as most writers of Kiganda music have observed. It is considered to be one of the unique characteristics and therefore a feature of identity among the Baganda. Therefore, the style alone is awarded a maximum of ten marks. Next is the diction which in this case is strictly in relation to Luganda. However, this time, it is awarded ten marks since it is taken for granted that everyone who participates in this festival is a Muganda and will therefore not have problems with the pronunciations of words. The column on tempo follows, and my informants confirmed to me that here special attention is given to the manner in which the tempo enables diction: a very fast tempo will consequently affect the column on diction. More focus is also given to the ability of a choir to move from one type of tempo (which is common to music in a Kiganda style), to another with ease. Alongside this is the consideration of the steadiness of the tempo as opposed to unnecessary tempo fluctuations which in essence destroy the general flow of the song and message being delivered.

The next column considers accuracy of note values, intonations, choice of key as well as in pitching. From my experiences with both the adjudicators and at the adjudication table, I noticed that here a choir is monitored from the beginning to the end to see whether the key it chose was favorable and not influenced by any of the traditional musical instruments that were used. I noted that unlike in the western pieces where

⁴⁶ *Eggono*: This is a glissando-like technique used by the Baganda in singing. Normally applied to the last phrases, of a sentence, the voice undulates between two notes (as in the spoken language) to form a nasal sound similar to trills used in western music. The Baganda and a number of researchers who have studied Kiganda music identify *eggono* as a unique characteristic of Kiganda vocal music technique (Makubuya 1999, 2000).

choirs are required to strictly follow the key on the music score provided to the adjudicators, in Kiganda songs choirs are free to choose a key that enables them to sing comfortably and audibly so as to get out the message. Intonations while singing in Luganda as earlier seen are very strict and if altered, the entire meaning of a particular sentence can be lost. As such, it is also given special consideration since it is one of the unique characteristics of the language in question.

The next section of the Kiganda songs adjudication form is accompaniment, which in this case is purely Kiganda musical instruments as required by the festival regulations. Here the tuning is considered, along with control, classes of instruments, playing techniques as well as the appropriateness of instruments in relation to the song being sung. The section earns a maximum of fifteen marks since one of the adjudicators equated it to taking tea without any accompaniment while another used food without soup.

Emmere bw'ebulako enva, esobola okukutuga, n'olwekyo enva nazo nkulu nnyo nga emmere bweri.

Mere food without soup can choke one who is taking it. Therefore the soup is equally as important as the food itself (Nnamukangula interview 10 June 2010)⁴⁷.

All their examples were directed at illustrating how essential the accompaniment section is to the entire song structure. Therefore, because of its importance and time invested to perfect it, it needed to be rewarded slightly more compared with the other elements being assessed.

The last two columns are Interpretation and General Effect. They carry more marks, that is, 25 marks and 20 marks respectively. Luwaga informed me that they account for a lot of art and creativity that the western music system of adjudication does not cater for. Among these he mentioned things like the costuming, setting of the song and other extra musical sensibilities that a member of the audience might get from

⁴⁷ This 'Food and Soup' model should be understood specifically in a Ugandan context whereby it is uncommon to find a meal served without both food and soup. In the local context, food implies a combination of the two with the soup specifically served to enhance easy digestion of the food, though in the long run, it makes the food taste better.

one song compared to another. In other words, all of these reflect the creativeness of the director and of a choir generally. Again, in general effect, while there is a conductor present, his/her influence is considered only as part of the general elements since conductors generally are a foreign influence in the Kiganda performance tradition. Kiganda musical performance did not have conductors to guide performances. They were simply a result of western influence on church music. Later, the Baganda started to mimic western conductors, making it compulsory to have them. However, an examination of the roles of these conductors differs greatly in western and Kiganda musical performance. In western music, a conductor has a clearly set role while church musicians who conduct Kiganda pieces just mimic the western conductors, never articulating what the western conductor does. This mimicking has more to do with the powerful role of the conductor as exemplified in western systems. Bhabha notes: "Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an immanent threat to both 'normalized' knowledges and disciplinary powers" (1994:86). The role of these conductors challenges the power a usual western conductor would have as leader of a choir. This is why I find it necessary to review the roles of these conductors since while they do not perform like their western counterparts, they signify something extraordinary as we have analyzed. All the columns are also designed in a way that enables the adjudicators to write comments justifying why they awarded a particular mark to a certain choir.

KAMPALA ARCHDIOCESE MUSIC COMMITTEE

SACRED MUSIC ADJUDICATION FORM - GANDA HYMNS

NAME OF THE CHOIR:.....

TITLE OF HYMN:.....

GUIDELINES	REMARKS	SCORE
SINGING STYLE: Belonging as stated (10 marks)		
DICTION: (Clarity of Words, Articulation, Unanimity, Freedom) (10 marks)		
TEMPO/RHYTHM: (Speed, Steadiness, Freedom, Time keeping) (10 marks)		
ACCURACY: (Appropriateness of key, Note-values, Pitching, Intonation) (10 marks)		
ACCOMPANIMENT: (Playing techniques, Appropriateness of instruments, Control, tuning, classes) (15 marks)		
INTERPRETATION: (Dynamics, Phrasing, Expressions, Creativity) (25 marks)		
GENERAL EFFECT: (Presentation, Musicianship, Conductor) (20 marks)		
SUB-TOTAL:		
PENALTIES: Time (5 marks) Item over-limit (5 marks) Discipline (5 marks)		
TOTAL:		

ADJUDICATORS:

1. Sign 2. Sign
.....

6.2.7.3 Sight Singing Adjudication

The adjudication form for sight singing is generally focused on the sonic elements of music, namely rhythm and pitch. The piece described above is normally eight bars long and each bar is awarded three marks for correct rhythms and three marks for correct pitch. Two marks are reserved for group participation, after which the total is multiplied by two to have the final out of a hundred marks. From observations carried out during the fieldwork period, sight singing literally examines the progress of a choir and the effectiveness of their trainer who has been taking charge of teaching sight singing. In another way, it is aimed at encouraging and motivating those choirs that give it special attention since it is the result of a continued struggle with choristers who may not necessarily have a musical background but at least have the zeal to sing in the church choirs.

As soon as a choir comes on stage, the judges have a variety of usually four sight singing exercises marked A, B, C and D, among which they draw a ballot and the choir leader selects one of them which is used to test the choir on stage. Usually, one of the judges will have a pitch pipe for giving the choir the tonic note on which to base their sight singing. The specific key in which choirs are expected to be judged is communicated during the music course that is held four or five months earlier. After sounding the tonic note, the sight singing piece of eight bars of music consisting of crotchets, minims, quavers and semi quavers is usually given to a choir on stage, after which one of the judges conducts the choir (using the specific time signature) to sing it. After each performance, the papers are collected so that new choirs coming on stage do not have a chance to see them before reaching the stage.

According to Kaabunga, judging is mainly based on both relative pitch and rhythm, such that each rhythm that a choir performs correctly earns them a mark and the same applies for each correct pitch. At the end of the performance, depending on the conducting judge's decision hand in hand with all the three or four presiding adjudicators, there are three marks for group participation which are either given to a group that participated wholly, or denied to a group that had only some of the

members singing while the others just echoed what these knowledgeable ones were singing correctly. This is done for each group, that is, both the females and males. At the end of the day their marks are added together so as to get a total of 100 percent. Below I present an example of an adjudication form completed by the judges when they award marks for sight singing.

Figure 7: KAMPALA ARCHDIOCESE MUSIC COMMITTEE

SIGHT SINGING ADJUDICATION FORM

NAME OF THE CHOIR:

BAR	PITCH		RHYTHM		TOTAL MARKS
	FULL MARKS	MARKS SCORED	FULL MARKS	MARKS SCORED	
1	3		3		
2	3		3		
3	3		3		
4	3		3		
5	3		3		
6	3		3		
7	3		3		
8	3		3		
SUB-TOTAL					
GRAND TOTAL : + 2 = X 2 =					
GENERAL REMARKS:					
.....					
.....					
.....					
.....					
.....					
.....					
.....					
ADJUDICATORS:					
1. Sign					
2. Sign					
3. Sign					
Date Venue					

In order to enforce time keeping in relation to arrival on stage and the length of items selected by the different choirs, KAMUCO appends penalties to each adjudication form so that each choir can clearly know how much was deducted from it and in respect of the offense committed. At one of the annual Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals that I attended during my fieldwork, one of the choirs which had nearly won the general performance was denied a trophy because of penalties inflicted on it for rehearsing at the venue. This was very painful to the choir members who tried to appeal to the committee but it upheld the adjudicators' decision. However, on the other hand it was viewed as a way of enforcing discipline to the rest of the festival participants who learnt a lesson from this painful experience.

From my analysis, I note that the western hymns adjudication form has been designed in an effort to cater to the church's requirements or expectations from this festival, as well as the hybridized elements of music that is generally performed within this context. The church sets themes annually which are also passed over to the festivals for composers to get new hymns particularly reflecting the themes. The church therefore continues to evangelize through these themes by having a set piece in this festival which is directly composed based on the annual theme. To ensure this, the church vets the set pieces, so as to choose the best, which in this case (among other things) is one that best reflects its interests. At the same time, the church's interests are more pronounced in the instruments that accompany these songs as well as the other songs in the festival repertoire. Its agenda of having traditional Kiganda musical instruments accompanying the singing in the mass has not only been achieved but also placed it uniquely within the global Roman Catholic Church.

By the fact that the adjudication sheets are designed by KAMUCO (which is the church's arm entrusted with liturgical music), the festival ensures proper training, enforcement, and fulfillment of its goals through the festival adjudication process. In turn, the overall winner is someone who has truly abided by what the church wants and has recommended. While some of its recommendations are leaning more on cultural and native music encouragement, the local church in this way situates itself

within the global Roman Catholic Church. Whereas the festival is directly under Kampala Archdiocese, the Vatican manages to extend its arm of control through the Second Vatican Council decree on sacred liturgy, to which the archdiocese must adhere. Similarly, KAMUCO is also required to observe the constitution on sacred liturgy when training, vetting songs, repertoire, preparing liturgical hymn books as well as in the adjudication process. As earlier observed in the requirements or qualities of an adjudicator in this festival, the Catholic requirements generally reflect what the Vatican advocates and therefore fulfilling them means a success scored for the global Church.

A critical consideration of the Kiganda adjudication form illustrates that there are both cultural and religious representations in the manner of examining this item of the repertoire. As such, the interests of the local church in Kampala Archdiocese as mandated by Vatican II are equally represented along with the need to clearly identify itself as a specific element of the global Roman Catholic Church. Elements such as the Kiganda singing style are given prominence in adjudication, implying that while there is a need to develop and advance the interests of the global Roman Catholic Church based in Rome, there is also a need to clearly identify the local church as situated in the Buganda region and thus the need for localizing some of the church performances. While the lyrics are monitored and are strictly based on sacred scripture or on a sacred subject, the language used is Luganda and the performance style as explained to me is a Kiganda style. Likewise, all the Kiganda nuances of performances that include incorporation of dance and drama are part and parcel of the entire performance. The instruments used are also reflective of the ethnic attachment since the festival regulations require that the musical instruments that are used for this song must be Kiganda so as to be in sync with the nature of the song being judged. Different ethnic groups have differing tuning systems and this is one of the reasons for emphasizing this aspect. All these elements are assertions of the locality of this music while based in a Catholic Church context.

On the other hand, the packaging could be considered here. A locally accepted music genre is used to market or as a medium of evangelizing a global message dictated by the Vatican. This dichotomous nature of conveying a message to people in a more appealing and attractive manner reflects the spirit of Vatican II which is more closely related to inculturation. While the Church benefits in the sense that its message and doctrines are delivered to the people, the identities of the people delivering and to whom the message is being delivered are not suffocated. This symbiotic approach on the one hand works for the global Roman Catholic Church while on the other hand partially promotes the interests of the local church based in Kampala Archdiocese. In relation to my study, this is glocalization at play, particularly utilizing Robert Holton's third thesis that is closely concerned with polarization (2000:146). Here the polarity can be viewed from one angle between the global Catholic Church which originally as seen in Chapter Four was in conflict with the local musical practices and from another angle with the Kiganda musical practices which include language working together, not necessarily in conflict as polarity might imply.

Hybridity comes into play once again. By Vatican II's *Constitution on Sacred liturgy* acknowledging the existence and vital role that native languages and cultural practices play in societies, it set out to use them for its own glocal benefit. By making its liturgy hybrid, the Catholic Church acknowledges the presence of the local culture and therefore appears to incorporate it into its formal church practice so that it does not seem to be entirely imposed from above, as it was during the time of the French and English missionaries. In the same way, the church seeks to utilize the local modes of understanding Catholicism in order to expand or extend its area of jurisdiction since by including local practices such as music, more people will be drawn to the church.

The encouragement accorded to sight singing on the one hand reflects the continued enforcement of the Church's goals. In an effort to train music literacy and also have lively liturgical celebrations with the active participation of all people (all inclusive), the church encourages sight singing, which is also awarded a separate trophy. While

this might be considered as a deliberate way of forcing the musicians to learn music so that the work of singing is light for them, in the long run it serves the Church's purposes for when choristers are able to sight sing, then the church will benefit since the congregation will slowly learn by rote method. But again, many of the students would be members of the congregation but if equipped with sight reading skills, then the future congregation will be an active one fulfilling Vatican II's recommendation of active participation of all the laity. Again, the number of songs that are just archived since choristers cannot sing them will be reduced since many songs will be sung with this new development. A number of choirs have libraries of songs and I discovered that many of the choirs do not sing specific songs regularly but only when a technical music trainer is available to instruct them because of their difficulty.

On the other hand, however, sight singing could be viewed as a deliberate attempt at drawing the Church back to colonialist tendencies earlier noted in relation to colonizing the mind. As earlier observed, while staff music notation has been successfully used by people to learn western-leaning music genres such as hymns and Kiganda classical pieces among others, it still has a great shortcoming of rightly representing what the Baganda perform in their music. Whatever is transcribed using the western staff notation system particularly in relation to native Kiganda music used in the festival is an approximate representation of the reality that is seen and heard on the stage. Scores of Ganda songs have been continuously interpreted differently by various performers because of the composers' inability to ably represent what they wish performed which is largely caused by the system employed, in this case the western staff notation. As such, its continued use while benefiting the church in some respects gets us back to what postcolonial scholars imply when they write statements like that the internalization of colonial sets of values was to a degree "an effective way of disempowering people" (MacLeod 2000:19). Given the missionaries' (and colonial government's) refusal to include traditional music on the school curriculum for reasons best known to them, one can rightly conclude that the continued use of some of their ineffective systems denies Africans a chance to improvise at the cost of publicizing the inappropriate systems. The scores are rather restrictive and once used

like in this case, the level of improvisation (as Kiganda music usually displays) it is much more controlled, which could also be seen as a way of muting the colonized. Musically, this conservative approach delays the process of the Baganda developing a more representative system of their traditional music and language.

Viewed from another angle, notation freezes individual pieces of music into a fixed form, giving them an identity as discrete “pieces” of music. These pieces have to be reproduced in performance exactly as they have been notated, thereby denying the music a chance of adjusting to the performance environment to which Kiganda music usually adhered. This way of freezing the music with the more “disciplined” relationships created when notation is used contrasts with a much more flexible and open-ended approach to the performance of musical “pieces” that creates a very different set of relationships-between the singers, and between the individual singer and the musical piece. In other words, it limits the music’s ability to create or invoke more social relationships through musical performance, a characteristic more identifiable with colonialism.

6.2.8 Announcement of Results, Recognitions and Awarding of Trophies

At the end of the day after all the choirs have finished performing all the items as stipulated in the repertoire, the Master of Ceremonies (M.C.) invites all the choirs that have participated in the festival to take their places (usually the gallery is reserved for the participants) and to listen to a number of speakers. Among the customary speakers of the day is an official from the music committee (KAMUCO), the chairman of KAMUCO as well as any invited chief guest of the day. Later the students are requested to pay special attention to the comments or the general analysis of all the performances of the day presented by one of the presiding adjudicators. In this presentation, the adjudicator will comment on the general performance, carefully trying to avoid basing his or her comments on one particular choir since this might affect its morale. He cautions performers on the “dos” and “don’ts” of church musical performances depending on what the judges witnessed throughout the day.

Like Frank Gunderson and Karen Ahlquist have indicated in their edited volumes about competitive music performances in East Africa and chorus and communities respectively, the overall reward in most music competitions is prestige (Gunderson 2000 and Ahlquist 2006). The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals crown the day with recognizing the most outstanding performers of the day alongside the awarding of trophies to the best choirs. Though the awarding ceremony is not aimed at reimbursing the costs spent by these choirs, it is a highly awaited ceremony as it is the time for people to get rewarded for their hard work. According to one of the head teachers I talked to in this festival, Kiryowa Matthias, “it is the decisive moment, to identify the boys from the men”.

A list of the most outstanding performers in the various categories is read out for special recognition and awarding of “Certificates of Merit”. Among these categories are the best conductors, performers on the various musical instruments (both western and Kiganda), the best soloists in Kiganda songs and western performances taking into account the different sexes, the most punctual choir, the smartest choir, the best director, along with certificates of attendance to all the choirs that have participated in the festival.

The last activity is the announcement of the marks scored by each choir in the different items performed. The marks are announced by another adjudicator who eventually reads out the overall winners in the different categories, namely equal voices choirs, chamber choirs, and mass choirs, each of which receives a trophy on which are inscribed the year and category won followed by the name of the school. The trophies normally send the students wild in celebration since this is considered the best moment of the day, something choirs usually work hard to attain. Songs of happiness from the winning students fill the entire place as well as carrying their respective trainers and music directors high up as a way of thanking and congratulating them for the great success. During fieldwork, I happened to take back one of the teachers of a winning school to his residence and there at the school, I witnessed the arrival of the winners being welcomed like heroes after which the head

teacher called for an assembly and granted them a party the next day to thank them for their hard work as well as their devotion.

Before 2007, the winners of the trophies used to return them the following year to defend them again. However, with a new policy introduced by KAMUCO in 2008, each choir that wins a trophy is entitled to owning that trophy permanently since the names of the winners are even inscribed on their respective trophies.

6.3 Justification for the Festival (After the Festivals)

The Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee usually selects the best two performers in each category to represent the Archdiocese in the Interdiocesan Music Festivals. According to informants, the Interdiocesan Music Festivals were also started as a result of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools' Music Festivals. The schools that take part in the Interdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals are those schools that have won the local diocesan festivals in the different parts of the Buganda region.

A trophy in any of the two festivals (either the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals or the Interdiocesan Schools Music Festivals) not only helps to publicize the school but also secures the head teachers a lot of trust and confidence from their superiors. These head teachers leading winning schools get a chance to be visible and obtain promotions based on their work. On the other hand, schools that rarely succeed in the festivals will have this as contributing to the low number of students at their schools, which has important financial consequences. Among other music related activities that usually result from participation in the festivals is recording of the songs by the individual choirs as a means of documenting their achievement. These recordings are then sold so as to raise funds for the school choirs' needs. Again, they increase the school's visibility since this is a way of advertising the school to the general public and within the Catholic community. It is therefore a very important avenue for the schools, helping them to show what they are capable of doing, since the most successful schools in these festivals have always been at the top

of the country's Ministry of Education examinations. Examples are Uganda Martyrs Senior Secondary School Namugongo, St. Mary's College-Kisubi, Uganda Martyrs' High School Lubaga, and Trinity College Nabbingo to mention just some of them.

For the students also, a lot is achieved. Many schools do not teach music as a subject, and students from these schools who participate in these festivals have a chance to get introduced to both theoretical and practical aspects of music through the festival and preparations for it. Many of these students I interviewed from Our Lady of Africa Lubaga Girls Senior Secondary School and Uganda Martyr's Senior Secondary School Namugongo confirmed to me that it is through the festival that they get introduced to music in theory and practice. Firstly, sight reading enables them to start learning songs independently of their trainers and teachers, whereas a considerable number of them also learn how to play a number of musical instruments such as xylophones, tube fiddles, drums, and lyres. Other aspects that students learn from the music courses and festivals include conducting, singing classes, gaining more knowledge about church music as well as learning how to direct the choirs in the absence of their teachers.

The Church, which institutes these festivals annually, is also another big achiever at the end of the festivals since almost all of its goals are realized. As earlier observed in my discussion of the reasons that the festival was started, most of the Church's short-term intentions have been achieved, while those that require a gradual process are heading in the right direction. Students get to know more about their church; the audience gets evangelized as well as entertained through attending these festivals as well as listening or viewing recordings of the music festivals. Technically, the church's repertoire has increased so tremendously that by the time I interviewed Albert Kiragga who is responsible for the new songs, he informed me that the church has reached a stage of not lacking songs in most of these fields. More people have been trained in various aspects of technical music including directing, conducting, playing musical instruments as well as composing. A number of these former music directors who were introduced to music through the music festivals went ahead and

joined Makerere University's department of Performing Arts and Film which offers degrees or diplomas in music as well as dance and drama. More so, more research is being conducted on church music and publications are slowly increasing, which is another achievement for both the local Catholic Church in Kampala Archdiocese as well as the global Vatican-based Church.

Music compositional techniques have greatly been revised by the different generations of musicians who have been involved in the festivals. While originally the intention was to incorporate Kiganda music into the Church by first experimenting with it in the festivals, the festival has turned out to be a major space for negotiating any aspect of religious music composition, performance, publication as well as satisfying other aspects of culture that equally serve for religion in this church music context. Among these has been the revisiting and later inclusion of traditional dances mainly from the Buganda region into the liturgy after a lot of trials, debates and modifications. While the inclusion of dance has posed so many challenges to the Church (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2001, 2005, Naamala 2008), it is a gradual process that has not yet been concluded. However, according to various informants, it would not have reached this level without the help of Post Primary Schools Music Festivals which have provided a platform for both a redefined and recontextualized sacred drumming and dance within the Roman Catholic Church among other things. This has not, however, ruled out the ability of the Church to promote other colonial tendencies attached to western institutionalization as inculturation analyzed above has been found to possess.

Equally important are the trainers, music teachers/directors and accompanists/organists. During my research period, I encountered a number of these trainers and music directors who make a living working for the music festival. Put in another way, the festival has even led school head teachers to realize the need for employing professional technical persons knowledgeable in the music field. While they have contributed to the Church with their technical knowledge in the various fields of music and liturgy, the Church has also provided them with an opportunity for

getting employed. This symbiotic relationship whereby they contribute musically to the church's development while the church provides an avenue for their employment has cemented the relationship between these people and the Church and is thus a win-win situation for the two parties.

From the above sections about the ethnography of the festival, we note that the entire festival arrangement is based on a western bureaucratic system whereby there is a lot of control of whatever is happening within this particular space being discussed. As the Catholic Church has been known internationally, it has also spread its institutional framework to other parts of the world so as to minimize the extent to which other practices are included in the church practices. From the songs in the Kiganda style we can tell that the level of indigenization is highly controlled, leading to a kind of institutionalized glocalization, in the modernist sense of the creation of bureaucratic institutions to manage social and cultural life. Putting it another way, bureaucratic systems are the part of the heritage of colonialism which manifest themselves in various social, political, religious and to some extent cultural lives of Ugandans. Such western means of institutionalized local cultural production are aimed at regulating the extent to which indigeneity is invoked or assumed to be revived.

The overall picture that emerges here is that the Church needs reforms to be made by its members. The reforms cannot be done with the Church sacrificing its authority and autonomy in this festival. It therefore delegates some of its powers to the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO), which it authorizes to take care of all church music related business regulated by one of its diocesan priests. Operating with strict terms of service, KAMUCO trains the various stakeholders in the church music industry, strictly abiding by what the Vatican and the archdiocese recommend.

A number of scholars who have studied music festivals and competitions have singled out triumph as the overall reward for the competitors in most cases (Barz 2000, 2003, Cooke and Dokotum 2000, Ellison 2000). Frank Gunderson has noted that in most cases the prize that is won is prestige and the accumulation of social capital (2000:13). Like Veit Earlmann (1996), I do concur that musical knowledge is power

and that the ability to excel among a given group of people implies possessing extraordinary power, since they look up to you as a model. This is the social capital which Veit Erlmann refers to as the accumulation of social capital “through the demonstration of difference, the very condition of social practice as performance” (*ibid.* 226). As such, while there are not many tangible rewards for the personalities or people who have excelled in performance, prestige serves this purpose and as such, the festival keeps going on without members getting any kind of material rewards.

I have presented an ethnographic survey of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals situating them in the larger Kampala Archdiocesan Church Music Festival. The intention of this survey is to shed more light on the reasons that it is conducted, the process of organization, the repertoire, adjudication process, significance of the festival, as well as the aftereffects of the festival. However, my study will address issues related to glocalization of Catholicism through musical performance in the next chapter, particularly deciphering the material presented in this chapter for a more detailed analytical interpretation.

Chapter Seven

7.0 Musical Performance, Meaning, and Power

Introduction

Globally, a number of scholars have engaged in studying and interpreting the meaning of musical performances (Feld 1994, Gunderson 2000; Kezilahabi 2000; Gilman, 2009, Kirkegaard 2005; Meintjes 1990; Barz 2003, 2005, 2006; Wolensky 2006; Russell 2006). The interest in this subject has been mainly generated by a raised concern and awareness for analyzing the extent and levels to which a musical experience can entail meaning (Lonergan 1972; Becker 1974; Herndon and McLeod 1979; Small 1998; Barz 2001, 2003; Lotrecchiano 2005). Musical performances have therefore come to be viewed as multiple representations of various social milieus, all embedded in these performances. On this note, Martin Stokes writes:

Musical performance is increasingly seen as a space in which meanings are generated, and not simply 'reflected'; 'ethnic' markers, like any other, are the negotiated products of multiple, labile, and historically constituted processes of difference making. They operate upon space and do not simply reflect differences already 'there' (Oxford Music Online, see also Stokes 1994:4).

It is no longer a question of whether musical performances reflect meaning but this is widely seen as an alternative avenue where new meanings can be generated, especially by watching live performances where space is constructed. While live stage music performances have been idealized by quite many of these scholars and identified as one of the primary means of communicating with audiences (Kirkegaard 2002, 2005; Thorsen 2004; Erlmann 1996; Barz 2000; Gunderson 2000; Cooke *et al.* 2000), a number of other processes which the music undergoes before it reaches this stage cannot be overlooked. More so, there are processes that this performed music undergoes after a performance that are also important in understanding it.

Howard Becker points out that making art is a process that involves the cooperation of a network of people with special talents and abilities and describes these as "collaborative links" in "art worlds" (1974:768). Other scholars on performance have

gone an extra step to examine who contributes, and the roles of each of the contributors to meaning in a performance (Small 1998, Barz 2001, Shelemay 2006, Turino 2008). Christopher Small has noted that while the composers and performers contribute greatly to conveying meaning, they are not alone in this task (1998:8). In line with Small, Andy Bennett also contributes by stressing the role of the audience as a very important aspect in meaning generation, especially from performances (2000:55). Stokes, however, stresses that music and dance do not simply reflect meaning but rather provide the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed (1994:4). Concurring with Stokes's observation of considering place, a number of these scholars also stress that understanding meaning has to be approached from a social perspective (Feld 1994:77). Using the concept of *musicking*, Small explains:

If we widen the circle of our attention to take in the entire set of relationships that constitutes a performance, we shall see that music's primary meanings are not individual at all but social. Those social meanings are not to be hived off into something called "sociology" of music that is separate from the meaning of the sounds but are fundamental to an understanding of the activity that is called music (1998:8).

Small's perspective implies that music's meaning is deeply rooted in the social space in which that music is being performed. We cannot therefore separate it from these social dimensions (Feld 1994:77-79). From Small we realize that therefore, there is not any one meaning to music, but multiple meanings to music. By "social" is implied the audience and circumstances and surroundings of the music making environment which contribute greatly to meaning generation. In elaborating on this issue, Barz extends the stance on meaning in a musical performance further to mean "something beyond itself, to suggest reinterpretation of earlier experiences and ground the interpretation of those yet to come thus referencing both the past and future" (2001:108). In other words, Barz looks at a musical performance as informed by dialectical processes that engage both contemporary and historical contextualization (*ibid.*, also Omolo-Ongati 2009:9). The social space that is responsible for meaning generation in this respect is vital for analysis if we are to understand the meaning of the music or performance. It is particularly responsible in ascribing meaning based on

the context of performance. Brian Schrag notes: “Applications of the arts to local contexts thus rely on understanding the meanings ascribed to them by the communities that produce them” (2007:201). Schrag also brings in a dimension whereby the arts, in this case music, dance and drama, have particular ascribed meanings by the communities that make them. In this study I also note that while there might be particular ascribed meanings, the process of generating meaning is not static but continuous and rather fluid. As such, new meanings will continue to emerge in almost every new performance. However, there are various factors noted in this particular study that affect the social space in which church music is performed, as we shall establish.

From the above discussion, we see that the issue of meaning is rather a complex one to address, especially in relation to musical performance. This is because meaning is continuously being generated at all levels, that is, from composers, social context, directors, performers, audience and other elements. Steven Feld adds yet another dimension whereby he notes that “we cannot speak of meaning without speaking of interpretation, whether public or conscious” (1994:78). In his study Feld emphasizes meaning and interpretation as a process of interpreting symbolic forms. Thus Feld introduces to this discourse a new concept of interpretive moves which involve the discovery of patterns as our experience is organized by juxtapositions, intersections, or choices in time when we engage symbolic objects or performances (*ibid.* 86).

While there might be meanings embedded by people or institutions, the final interpretation is made by the consumer, in this case the individual member of the audience since not any two people can interpret the same type of music in exactly the same way. In this case interpretation itself becomes a relative process depending on background knowledge as I will explain later. Meaning should also be considered as multidirectional and depending on the people watching the performance since their varied lifestyles inform the manner of their interpretation (*ibid.*). As Stokes explains, interpretation and meaning are also informed by the place and settings. In this case, settings embed specific signs, among which are icons and indices. It is important to

distinguish the two for purposes of understanding how each deals with meaning. In light of the above point, Shelemay argues:

Music's meaning is shaped by the sounds and settings of musical performance. It can persist across different musical genres and settings, and can also change over time (2006:127).

Shelemay also notes that music can convey meaning or signify it in three different ways, namely: 1) sound's ability to imitate or to refer to other sounds, drawing on sonic characteristics held in common (*ibid.*). Composers have used this first case especially in contemporary compositions and sometimes referred to it as word painting. 2) Sound can also signify entities or ideas. Sound here becomes an icon, a likeness of something else related by association to the phenomenon it represents (*ibid.*). Earlier this is what we termed as a social construct known and understood within the society that is involved in formulating this meaning. 3) Musical sound can also communicate specific meanings within individual cultures or subcultures (*ibid.*). This third example is presented in relation to language, which according to Shelemay, can be substituted by music in this context.

While Shelemay is generally so innovative and analytical about music and connecting it with meaning, she is restrictive here in the sense that she does not account for any other meaning that can fall outside of the three examples or instances she raises. A different example can be when someone has never heard of the music genre being performed and it sounds strange to him or her. Does that mean that the music is insignificant? The point I am making here is that meanings cannot be restricted especially when the music is being heard by more than one person. Every individual has a different life story from any other person and the factors, influences and other elements that comprise his or her story are responsible for the way one interprets or responds to the music he or she hears.

Again, Shelemay's reference to an icon as a likeness of something else related by association to the phenomenon it represents is more applicable to an index. "Icon" has more to do with classifications such as musical style, form, and genres. In other

words, an icon is a sign that denotes resemblances. By using ‘association’, there is confusion generated over “icon” and “index”. In this case an index “refers to a sign that is related to its object through co-occurrence in actual experience” (Turino 1999:227, also Meintjes 1990). In this sense, the sign and object are experienced together (2008:8). Turino also indicates that the power of indices derives from the fact that the sign-object relations are based in co-occurrences within one’s own life experiences, and thus become intimately bound as experience (*ibid.*). In other words, there is a particular direct impact caused by this experience of the sign and its object simultaneously.

Therefore, the concept of meaning as established from the discussion is rather problematic to particularize and has therefore always been very complicated in both philosophy and anthropological studies. Consequently, I will not attempt to define it since there is no unified meaning of the varied meanings; rather, they are diverse. While in most cases we may have a particular prescribed meaning, “the meaning”, it does not stand in isolation from many other implied/interpreted meanings. In this study, church authorities try to determine the meaning of the individual songs, performances, and the music festivals as a whole. In implementing it (the meaning), a number of other issues and meanings are generated. Meaning is not a given in the sense that it is continuously negotiated and re-inscribed. At the same time, all actors perceive it differently, which actually makes it even more complicated. In the next part I try to examine the different players who inscribe meanings to the choral performances in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals and how they do that.

7.2 The Players in Generating Meaning of Music Performed in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals

I therefore take a consideration of the levels at which meaning is generated in the various performances at the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. In approaching this interpretation and analysis, I am informed by a number of studies as the review above has highlighted. As it has often been rightly argued, a piece of music does not take place in total isolation or independently, but within a specific context. In light of this, Mikhail Bakhtin has also emphasized that texts never exist in a vacuum but are virtually related somehow. Since meaning in or of music is socially constructed, it is necessary to relate the context in which this music is performed to the people performing it alongside those for whom it is performed. The overall aim is to consider some of the ways each of the various players in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals contribute to meaning construction and eventual interpretation of these performances. An eventual consideration will be the multiplicity of meanings from the various considered angles and their effect on either the music or the society in which the music is performed.

I will not reduce my discussion to particular meanings since they are quite many and ambiguous enough that a myopic treatment of specific meanings would not do justice to the diverse possibilities available here. Rather, I will take a consideration of the various players in meaning generation with a critical scrutiny of each player's role in contributing to the final performance which is responsible for communicating, inspiring or simplistically entertaining the members of the audience. I will consider meaning at two levels. Firstly, I will consider the level of the "messages" in the songs, and how all the players are involved in mediating (or not mediating) these messages. Secondly, I am to consider the level of the "meaning" of the festivals more broadly to all the participants, including the audience.

7.2.1 The Role of the Church (Vatican / Kampala Archdiocese)

The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals as already established are officially authorized by the Catholic Church in Kampala Archdiocese (Archdiocese of Kampala 2006:19-25). The local church uses a decree from the Second Vatican Council which authorizes it to do as it pleases for purposes of developing church music in its diocese (Sacred Music Chapter IV). While the festivals target secondary school students from mainly Catholic-founded or Catholic-run secondary schools, a number of players mediate this process before the final product that we see on stage is performed by the students. Howard Becker points out that making art is a process involving the cooperation of a network of people with special talents and abilities and describes this as “collaborative links” in “art worlds.” (1974:768). Without the cooperation of the different people, meaning in this music is limited. Becker also notes that this kind of cooperation may or may not be mediated by conventions (*ibid.*). In the case of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, the first group contributing to this meaning are those who set up the conventions to be followed during the festivals: the music censoring body (committee) of Kampala Archdiocese, known as the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO).

It is quite essential to critically reflect on and analyze Kampala Archdiocese, the organizers and “owners” of this festival, in order to understand their task and level of influence alongside the emerging meanings generated. Christopher Small has explained that it is only by understanding what people do when they take part in a musical act that we can hope to understand its nature and the function it fulfills in human life (1998:8). As the archdiocese, they designate the context in which this festival should be conducted and also using the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee, they set the rules and regulations that govern this music festival. Since their role has been presented earlier it is important that we move on to what it represents as far as meaning construction is concerned in these festivals. Writing about festivals dedicated to African music in Denmark, ethnomusicologist Annemette Kirkegaard notes:

While in some way the discourse over mega events must be seen as a question of hegemony and power – of resistance and subversiveness – the events and the tendencies also embrace another trend, one of compassion and caring expressed through music events. This relates closely to the stressing of a global *ecumene* (emphasis in original) within the world music circuit – which is claimed by both Veit Erlmann and Ulf Hannerz (2005:146).

Whereas Kirkegaard is specifically referring to mega events in the ‘transnational’ sense, she raises important points of consideration even to my study. Particularly hegemony and power are some of the areas I use to interpret the archdiocese’s role in the construction of meaning in this festival. As the local representative of the Vatican, Kampala Archdiocese regulates whatever is included in the festival as far as Catholicism is concerned. Similarly in the festival, the interests of the Vatican as earlier implied are embedded in the message which the archdiocese is tasked with spreading as the Catechism of the Catholic Church. In this festival, therefore, the power and influence of the Vatican through its local governing ‘archdiocese’ is evident in the context, place, time, nature and mostly in ‘the message’ that is strategically packaged in the festival activities. In an interview with the chairman of KAMUCO, Fr. Edward Ssonko, he informed me that his work on the committee was to protect the interests of the Church (interview 3 September 2009). Control in this case means the power to authorize, power to regulate and effect. Again, in most of the interviews I had with adjudicators and members of the committee, they usually quoted one source and that it was either ‘the Church’ or the Vatican, implying its place in this process of music performance and generating meaning through performance. By dictating the context and other issues in the festivals, the Archdiocese on the one hand subjects the Catholics (audience/congregation) to interpret meaning in this festival primarily in relation to Catholicism and hence the continued reference to doctrines, theology and the Bible, which are the basic tools attached to music in this context.

However, Gregory Barz looks at a “musical performance as informed by dialectical processes that engage both contemporary and historical contextualization” (2001:108). In this case, it is difficult to restrict meaning to a unidirectional perspective that might be only related to one of the two perspectives presented by Barz above. In terms of the Catholic Church and the Kampala Archdiocesan Post

Primary Schools Music Festivals, multiple interpretations and levels of meaning can be assigned to the different performances as prescribed on the festival repertoire. Therefore, while the Church restricts the lyrics to be sacred, strictly from the Holy Scriptures, (the Bible), it is inevitable to read both the religious, social and political metaphors that can be extrapolated from the various performances of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

Turning back to Kirkegaard's other element of resistance and subversiveness usually reflected in these festivals, the local Kampala Archdiocese's role could also be closely interpreted as one of decolonizing the local church from the colonial influence.

Vatican II has authorized the local dioceses to carry out the work of inculturation as they find necessary. However, the role of inculturation in this case cannot be viewed from only one lens. In this section, I look at the work of the local church in trying to free itself of many of the foreign practices and church customs as a way of decolonizing the minds of the believers (Ngugi wa Thiong'o quoted in Childs *et al.* 2003:59, also Ashcroft *et al.* 2007:56). In this effort, the archdiocese has encouraged the involvement or integration of traditional Kiganda musical styles, dances, and musical instruments. These are also upheld by the adjudicators, since on one of the adjudication sheets for a Kiganda song, one of the adjudicators had indicated on the column of instrumentation that "you can also include other classes of musical instruments apart from drums" (Anonymous).

The Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee has also encouraged the incorporation of dances into the liturgy to make it more understandable and easy to interpret to the native Baganda, who form the biggest part of the Catholic congregation in the archdiocese. This move has seen a lot of debate within the Catholic Church whereby some people are for the inclusion of traditional dances while others greatly oppose it based on a number of criteria. While Vatican Council II and other accompanying documents (among them the *Music in Catholic Worship*, *The Snowbird Statement*, and others) have continued to uphold the status of the organ in the Catholic Church liturgy, the local church is also teaching the native Baganda (who originally objected

to the use of drums in the church) how to appreciate their own musical instruments. Furthermore, the campaign of including native musical styles from Buganda also acts as mode of sensitizing the Catholics that even what belonged to the colonized is good enough in the current context. As such, a number of languages are accepted in the festival songs and most musical instruments have been incorporated into the church. Therefore, the local church could be seen as making a strong decolonization statement both musically and liturgically, which may not necessarily be in disagreement with the Vatican but in the long run may actually promote the interests of the global Roman Catholic Church. Using part of its authority delegated through the Second Vatican Council, the archdiocese tries to see that the liturgy reflects the region in which it is being performed, hence the advocating or recommending some of the native cultural practices such as language and music to be used during the holy sacrifice of the mass. While meaning is what we ascribe to a piece of music, significance is what stands out as the level of importance. In the above-presented discussion, the archdiocese and the Vatican try to influence the significance of the music and of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

Closely related to the Archdiocesan authorities, especially through its Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee, is the issue of the occasion of performance which has also been widely identified by scholars as an important aspect in ascribing meaning from performances (Racy 2000:302). While the context of performance has been singled out as outstanding, the occasion of performance, particularly in this festival granted by the music committee, means a lot for both the audience and performers in the process of interpreting or generating meanings out of this festival. In relation to the occasion of performance, Herndon and Macleod have observed:

While songs can be studied in any manner, one of the most revealing ways is through the occasions upon which music occurs. This is not a theoretical concept; rather, it is a methodological one. The occasion may be defined as the point of focus encompassing the perceptions, performances, or creation of music. The occasion includes what Westerners call performances, but it is not restricted to formal events. It is assumed that there will be something similar about all occasions of a particular type upon which music occurs; one of the similarities may be the kind of music which is performed. While this idea is simple, it has extensive ramifications as far as the concepts of repertoire, ceremony,

ritual ordering, and specialized personnel are concerned (Herndon and McLeod 1979: 34-35).

By providing the occasion and space in which these festivals take place, the archdiocesan authorities are involved in a prior inscription of meaning or situating the audience to view the performance from a specific angle, which is mostly a church-related or religious angle. The committee's contribution to directing meaning in this festival therefore takes a more diverse angle incorporating other secular musical considerations into the liturgy to end up with a specific church music genre.

Again, meaning in the festival is not limited to this bi-directional angle but involves numerous other ways, some of the most important of which will be considered in this section. Barz extends the stance on meaning in a musical performance further to stand for "something beyond itself, to suggest reinterpretation of earlier experiences and ground the interpretation of those yet to come, thus referencing both the past and the future" (2001:107). In reference to the past and particularly relating it to the festivals in question, it is also useful to consider the composers of the music that is performed. I consider them in the next section.

7.2.2 Composers in the Festival Structure

The composers of the music play a significant role in the generation of meaning since they are regarded as the creators. They are credited for composing the music using the various tools available to them. Therefore in these festivals, the composers include lay people or ordinary Catholics, the clergy, that is, priests and other religious workers, and also the ancestors in faith. The ancestors in faith include the missionaries who either composed some of these songs or brought them, introduced them to Uganda during the missionary days. As we have noted earlier, some of these missionaries were involved in composing songs for the church in Uganda though again we saw the shortcomings and the effect these songs had and still have on the church music repertoire in the Catholic archdiocese of Kampala. In this festival, therefore, the missionaries' compositions and song repertoire consist of the much treasured and cherished church music heritage. Both the older and contemporary composers of

church music in Kampala Archdiocese mainly base their compositions (including their lyrics) on what the Catholic Church teaches, as well as the written scriptures. While these composers receive the instructions and direction on how and what to compose for, they are responsible for the overall novelty particularly in consideration of how meaning is generated out of a performance. Any kind of interpretation and performance done during the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals is largely dependent on the ideas and creativity of the composers since they ‘create’ the artwork. Whereas we might assume that the meaning of a music piece is thought to be generated or contained only in the lyrics, there are more texts that need understanding and interpretation in order to supplement what is literally presented in the lyrics. The composers are therefore credited for giving the song its structure, melody, harmony, tempo, lyrics, form, and other elements of a composition, all of which are interpreted by individuals for purposes of understanding. It is from these that other people such as music directors, conductors, instrumentalists, and choristers base their final interpretation of the same piece of music after critically studying what the composers wanted. While the composer gives the song or composition what I term as ‘basic’ meaning in this context, the other players also play their roles and in the process contribute to the meaningfulness of the song while at the same time escalating its ambiguity. By the time the finished product (i.e. the song or piece) reaches the audience, there are multiple layers of meanings which are also based on the many people watching or performing it. However, the chief architect of any of these and the one credited with the idea is the composer.

7.2.3 Music Directors, Trainers, and Producers

The performances witnessed at the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals not only mediate composers’ ideas and intentions, but they also reflect and mediate that of the music directors, trainers and teachers who are involved in the partial interpretation of the songs for the students at their respective schools during the training period that lasts for over three months. This group is what we commonly refer to in the context of performance as the producers of music. According to Aloysius Ssekimpi and John Vianney Zziwa, who are both music

directors of schools which consistently participate in this archdiocesan festival, the music directors and trainers in this festival are usually tasked with a number of roles. Firstly, they select the different songs or pieces, then study and try to interpret them on their own before introducing them to the students in their schools. These songs are then introduced to the students and taught to them, taking good care that they learn the right music. Then Zziwa goes ahead to explain that it is the work of the music director to identify potential students to take up the different roles in the choir such as conductors, instrumentalists, as well as soloists. After identifying them, the music director has to take charge and train them personally, keeping in mind the design of the piece and how he wants it worked upon. John Vianney Zziwa explained to me in an interview:

The music director is usually the man behind the song or performance since he does all the donkey work that precedes the performance. We even hear people saying that, 'that is so and so's production' because they can see that particular person's interpretation of the song reflected in the performance. For that reason also the attitude of the students [towards the choir] depends on the trainer (interview 9 November 2010).

Zziwa's explanation reveals two important aspects of the contributions of the music directors to the overall performance as well as the way these performances mediate the music director or trainer's interests. In this way, to some extent these festival performances turn out to be a critical contest between the different music directors to see who wins the trophy, putting aside all other factors involved. This is a power issue since like Frank Gunderson has indicated, "musical knowledge is power" (2000:13, see also Veit Erlmann 1996). While many scholars will mainly concentrate on the rivalry that exists between the competing school choirs, in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, it is mainly the music directors who are yearning for power. Winning a trophy for a school in the festival represents great ability and knowledge in music that surpasses all other trainers in the festival. In the last festival I attended, a certificate of merit was even awarded to one of the music directors with the best production, based on the marks awarded by the adjudicators in the various items performed. Like Gunderson suggests, winning in this festival to a music director implies accumulating social capital, prestige and the power to be

declared as winner. In the long run this increases that particular music director's visibility and just like football coaches, his or her demand is expected to rise.

Explaining power in *isicathamiya* music competitions in South Africa, Veit Erlmann notes that power is essentially contested for in performance. It is therefore a characterized by conflicts (1996:225-226).

Like in the *isicathamiya* competitions, the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals offer an avenue for the professional musicians to compete (for power) by directing choirs. The winner is the most powerful, and therefore the most knowledgeable in this particular festival context. Church music festivals are part of social practice and also becoming a very serious element of religious practice; as such they shift the power struggles from the leadership to the laity whereby they perform Catholicism through Choral competitions as a way of signifying their total surrender to the Church's instructions and demands. However, how do the festivals manage to mediate these people's approaches?

In one of the instances at the festival, I was watching the festival proceedings as I filmed and recorded my neighbor whom I knew very well. Seated close to another friend, he started commenting about the performance on stage. I therefore overheard one of them telling the other, *Oyo Ganda alina kuba wa Martin* ("That Ganda [song] must have been trained by Martin.") and then I was forced to ask him why and he responded, *Ggwe tolaba oba okuwulira nti yenna alinga kifokosong?* ("Don't you hear and see that it sounds just like a folksong?"). I got interested in this statement and at the break I therefore decided to debate with this person on how he had come to such a conclusion and what was the basis of his conclusions in this context. He later told me that when he watches a production on stage, he and a number of his colleagues, with whom he has been in this business for quite some time, can immediately tell who trained the students. In other words, these festivals' stage performances are an incarnation of a particular trainer or director's approaches, interpretations, techniques and other elements involved in preparing for a performance. In the staged performances, therefore, these people involved in

producing the performance are visible through what the performers do on stage and this subjects the audience to partially see the performance on stage through these people's lenses since the production embeds a lot of their hidden interests and perspectives to life, music etc. As such, their contribution to meaning stands out as one means of bestowing life to the composer's music score, without which it is not yet alive.

7.2.4 Adjudicators/ Festival Judges

A consideration of the key players or influencers in generating meaning and a sense of direction during the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals would be incomplete without discussing the adjudicators or panel of judges that decide the overall winners. The festival is technically watched and judged by a panel of three or sometimes four judges. In terms of where the festival gets its multifaceted meanings, the judges are part of the entire process since from my fieldwork observations, I noted that most of these judges have previously worked or are working with the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee. This raises a number of concerns relating to their roles firstly as members of the committee and then as members of the adjudication team. When interviewing a number of musicians who have previously presided over the festivals as judges, I noticed a great sense of autonomy that is attached to the adjudicator's position which in a way accounts for the power he or she has over the overall outcome of this festival. Adjudicators represent the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee, which is the appointing authority and thereby they also represent Kampala Archdiocese since the committee is there to uphold what the diocese instructs it to do. To put it another way, it is the professional wing of the diocese.

However, a critical examination of their work reflects that when they are presiding over that table⁴⁸, they are supposed to be independent-minded persons who will

⁴⁸ Table (directly translated from Luganda *meeza*). It is a common way to refer the presiding judge at the festival. Usually the judges are referred to as those sitting at the 'table'.

always combine their theological or liturgical knowledge with their musical abilities to critically analyze, understand and evaluate the performances on stage.

At one of the festivals finals held at Summit View College, Kyengera, I talked to one of the adjudicators, Raphael Mpagazi, about the criteria he uses to mark the sight singing exercise since it was purely an academic and practical issue. This is what he informed me:

Bw'obeera wali ku meeza oba tokyali Mpagazi oba Ssempijja. (When you are at 'the table' you are no longer Mpagazi or Ssempijja). The Archdiocesan Music Committee will always give us guidelines as a basis but most important is the trust in us. Some of these things engage a lot of common sense whereby one has to find the intersections between church practice and music performance conventions which of course not all members of the committee know. But the trust bestowed on us enables us to combine our knowledge musically, theologically, liturgically as well as with common sense. For example if a Musoga has played a Kisoga motif, within a Kiganda song, do you rule it out of order? In some cases it will be counted as part of improvisation since God does not believe in these ethnic divisions of Musoga, Muganda, Mugisu etc. and what have you. So we find that sometimes we set precedence that others will base on as points of reference (Personal communication 2010).

Another informant and member of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee, Richard Kaabunga, also informed me that a greater percentage of the decisions made while on that 'table' are based on a combination of factors among which personal integrity, knowledge and common sense rank highest. Kaabunga pointed out a column for interpretation on the adjudication form and one of the aspects considered here is creativity. In being creative, performers are not only limited to the known but also free to explore the unknown provided it can easily be synchronized within the conventions of the performance. Schools usually come up with great innovations and it is the work of the judge to watch them critically and either uphold them or rule them out of order, clearly stating the reasons why. Like Mpagazi explained to me above, the judges set the precedence which can legalize a new practice that has not been known to all the performers. Through their comments which are usually presented at the end of the festivals before the announcement of the final results and eventual declaration of the winners of this festival, the judges will uphold what they think is good innovation and denounce what they think has been performed out of context. In this action, the adjudicators contribute to meaning generation since

whatever they either uphold or condemn has to be accompanied by reasons that relate to the spiritual, musical, doctrinal, theological, performance practice and other metaphors (aesthetic values) embedded in this festival.

According to a KAMUCO meeting that I attended on 7 November 2009, the judges' comments at the festivals are supposed to reflect the good aspects of the day's performances as well as those that need more consultation, research and exclusion from the church music liturgy. Therefore, the practice in the festival (from my observations from 2004-2010) of paying greater attention to the adjudicators implies that what they stress is the most important and what they might leave out could be regarded as not so important. For example, in my observations carried out at Uganda Martyrs Senior Secondary School Namugongo, during preparations/rehearsals for the 2010 Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, one of their trainers was a former adjudicator at the festivals of the preceding year. His presence was always marked with a lot of respect, silence, and extra attention that was never given to any other trainers. Later, when I asked one of the student conductors why he commanded a lot of respect compared to their other regular trainers, she answered me, "*Anti oyo ye yali ku meeza omwaka oguwedde*" (Because he was sitting on 'the table' the previous year).

This experience opened up to me one important aspect that sitting on 'the table' was not merely sitting on any table. While the table looked like many other tables and in essence was made from similar workshops, it differed greatly in terms of the sense of place, time and occasion for which it was used. In this particular sense, 'the table' was a metaphor used to designate a position of power and authority. "A metaphor is at the root of the construction of power relations. Metaphoric predication is a means of 'entitlement' as Kenneth Burke called it, that is, a means of creating identity, of defining situations and the place of the self in time and space" (Erlmann 1996:232, quoting Burke 1966:359-79). The power to judge others and finally declare who is better than the rest in choral church music performance is entailed in this metaphor of 'the table'. Earlier we noted Veit Erlmann (1996) asserting that if musical knowledge

is power, then the authority to grant that power stands out as significant in the analysis of any social competitive performance practice. While the church and KAMUCO have more power considering the church hierarchy, if we take into consideration the sense of space, place, and time, then the judges will have more power during the time that the festival performances are going on in a prescribed venue. Having more power here implies having an upper hand in the social construction of meaning. Erlmann notes:

The meaning of a given action is socially constructed from different ends of the power spectrum. Clearly, then, in analyzing the dynamics and aesthetics of competitive performance we have to be aware of the underlying power strategies as the driving forces of the construction of alternative social space (1996:231).

Consequently, whoever sits at this 'table' is or has automatically been entrusted with this power of judging the performances. As I considered in Chapter Five, there are strict qualities that the music committee considers before selecting someone to be a judge at these festivals. Thus here we can rightly claim that for this festival, performance is entirely in the hands of the panel of judges since the space in which it takes place gives them the autonomy to exert their influence while utilizing the prescribed guidelines. In doing so, the judges or adjudicators contribute to meaning generation alongside other stakeholders in this festival, as this section has already identified. This aspect of performance in relation to social practice is singled out by Erlmann when he writes: "If the study of performance can lay any claims to offering a particularly rewarding avenue for treating social process as a dialectic, it is because the polysemy of performance provides an effective base for a relatively autonomous realm of discursive freedom" (*ibid.*)

The Adjudicators/ Judges at “the Table” watching and analyzing students’ Performances



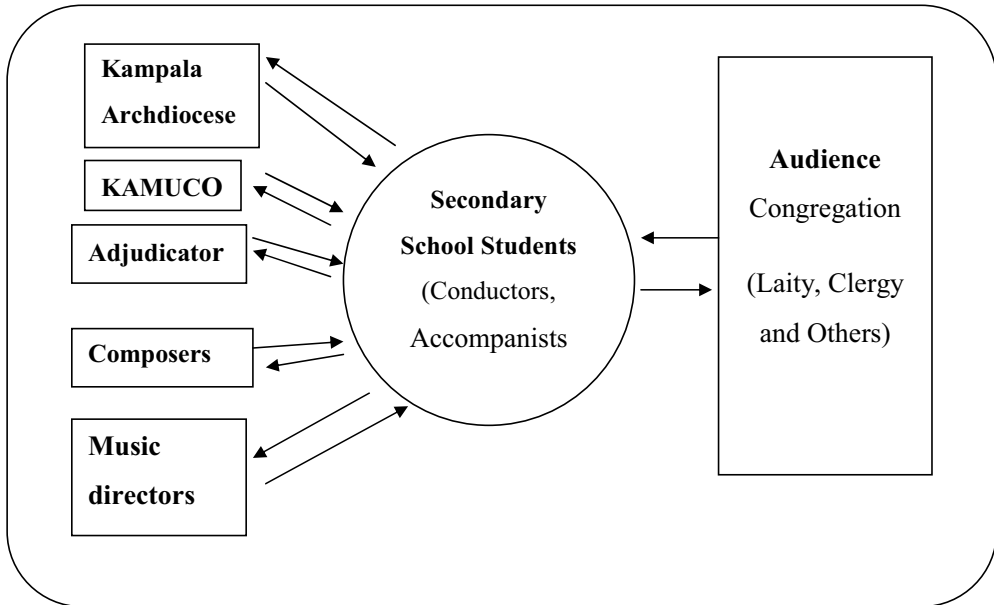
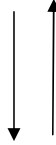
The photo shows the judges at work. Note the distance between ‘*The Table*’ and the rest of the audience which is sitting and watching in the background.

7.2.5 The Performers/Secondary School Students

A graphical representation of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals would place the students at the center of all the festival’s activities. In starting this festival, the central focus was on the secondary school students as earlier explained and therefore everything revolves around students. In the diagram below, I demonstrate how the students occupy a central place in the activities of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals and thus also play a leading role in the communication and eventual generating of meaning to this festival.

A Diagram Representing Levels of Meaning Generation in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH – (Sacrosanctum Concilium)



In the diagram above, I represent the levels of influence in the process of generating meaning out of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. In the middle are secondary school students who form the different choirs that come to compete in these festivals. The students are the mediators of all the meanings that arise from the left hand side to the audience which is on the right hand side. In turn, the audience is made up people representing all other groups of people including those categories on the left hand side and so they also add to the meaning.

In the above diagram, everything is happening within the Roman Catholic Church guided by its Second Vatican Council document and decrees of the Constitution on

Sacred Liturgy. In a global context, the Vatican therefore influences the meaning generated by all the other groups contained within this broad classification of the global Roman Catholic Church. In the Church, all the other partakers in this process of meaning generation also partially influence the Vatican's position or instructions. By implication, what the students present to the audience mediates all the groups represented on the left hand side. However, the audience or congregation to which it presents these performances consists of all people including those from the left hand side. As such, they too have an effect on what happens in the festival as we shall later encounter. The arrows reflect the circular flow of meaning and the effect each category has on each other while in turn receiving feedback.

The performers are primarily mediators of meaning carried by the music which they perform. However, in the process of performance and rehearsing, they also participate in the work of creating meanings. Like I will explain later, students make their own meaning out of these festivals beyond the theological "messages" contained in the songs, as they indicated to me that this is the only time for them annually to learn aspects of technical music such as conducting, playing instruments and others. I bring this prior to its discussion to indicate that students have other meanings apart from those that they are told to perform with the music. Similarly, this is reflected in their response to the performances and the festivals. It is therefore imperative that we focus on how and why these performers respond to the music they perform. Christopher Small has explained that in order to understand what music means, its nature and the function it fulfills in human nature, we have to understand how people respond as they take part in a musical act (Small 1998:8). Small uses the concept of *musicking* to explain that the entire meaning of a musical performance must be approached from a social perspective. As already indicated, the social perspective of the performers (in this case the students) has a number of influencing factors which are responsible for what is performed on stage.

This study is primarily concerned with how the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival is an arena where glocality is performed in terms of religious

Catholic Church music. This section is specifically concerned with the different roles in the festivals and what part they play in the social construction of meaning. In the process of musical meaning, the students play a two-fold role. Firstly, they perform the music and in the course of performing they communicate differently to different people. As such, their performances have been informed by multiple sources, as I have already observed. The students or performers in this context translate this in a performance context to firstly communicate and secondly to interpret it, thereby assigning more meaning(s) to whatever they have to communicate. Since the message that is entailed in the songs that comprise the repertoire of the festival is primarily tailored for these students, as performers it firstly communicates to them and then later to the audience. Like Barz has explained that choirs are communities that meet to define, affirm, and perform their spirituality and express their faith musically (2000:380), the students' rehearsals also serve as catechetical classes since they involve a critical analysis of the lyrics so that the performers understand everything before interpreting it. In other words, in these rehearsals, they are reminded of their spirituality: they affirm, express, and also perform Catholicism through sacred song.

The second phase after the message clearly sinks into the performers' minds is the mediation of this message through music, dance and to a lesser extent drama. This is the central concern for this study since it illuminates how multidirectional these performances are. Mainly this study considers the glocal nature of these performances since they embed both global and local elements. Whereas a myopic consideration of only the music especially in the African context might yield some results, it is often important to consider all three disciplines (that is, music, dance and drama) since in referring to music particularly in the Ugandan context, the three would be expected to be closely intertwined. For the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals and the Church in Kampala, this presents a challenge since the Church has attempted to separate the three and concentrate on the music alone. This did not work well at first and by the time the missionaries handed over the Church to the native priests, arrangements were immediately made for inculturation to take place. Though in the western sense mediation through performance can largely be achieved by the

use of only music, it can carry more meanings if all the three media are incorporated to support each other. An example from these festivals is that there are no marks for dances and drama but still the students are performing them since they feel they can convey more meaning this way than through music alone. In an interview with George Jingo, one of the adjudicators, he also referred me to the religious culture in which this music has to be performed.

Whether it is right or wrong, such phenomena reflect an interesting ambivalence in the power structures at play. While the church has full control of the students and the performances, it does not have control of the manner and nature of expression used in the culture of the Baganda who are supposed to be performing this music. In the workshop I conducted during fieldwork, one member hinted on his colleague's Ganda sounding like a folksong and the reason was that it had almost all the elements that are embedded in a folksong apart from the lyrics. Turning to this folksong, there was a lot of spectacle, in the dance, costuming, dramatized action as well as singing.

Whether he intended it or not, the Ganda song as required on the repertoire is to an extent hybrid such that the message contained in the lyrics is not fully in the Kiganda context but from another culture. As such there are difficult words to translate. Again, the space in which the performance is taking place is more or less European. As such the performance tends to be hybrid and in this case, there are factors that dictate the power structures, for example (as seen above) the Vatican and KAMUCO. But then once they are performing in another culture, there are some vital aspects of performance in some cultures that cannot be translated but will persist until they overtake the foreign traits. In this case, the dances and dramatic action were not permitted at first but now they are part and parcel of the performances at this festival. This is only one way in which the students play a leading role not only to influence meaning of the performance in the festival but to some extent they also influence what is practiced in the main Catholic Church since, as we have already established, the festival in one sense functions as a laboratory.

In conclusion, therefore, students play a very big role in the generation of meaning and enriching of these festival performances. Since they are located in the middle of this meaning-generating continuum, they are affected from all the sides, that is, by the church, music directors and trainers, by themselves and also by the audience to which they perform since it reacts to them when they are performing. Similarly, they also affect all these sides as the forces behind this meaning. This makes this category the most important in this festival since their usefulness is not limited to only one angle but also to many other angles as explained above.

7.2.6 The Audience

The audience is another category of meaning inscribers that is worth noting and analyzing. In the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, it is futile to talk about meaning and leave out the members of the audience or to talk about church music in liturgy and rule out the influences of the congregation. Returning to Martin Stokes, the audience's interpretation is informed by all the above discussed factors as well as the place and setting of the performance. In this we cannot rule out the possibility of the audience partially being also informed by other members of the audience since in the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals, the audience also takes part in the performances though its role is limited and very much controlled as earlier explained. Important aspects always connected with the audience include identifying with the performers of the groups that they support. However, the audience's support is also based on what they want, as far as taste is concerned in musical genres. The audience is also partially responsible for marking out the territory and context of performance as far as the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals are concerned. It also generates meaning just as the other players that I have discussed in this festival. However, for a detailed consideration of the audience and its impact on the generation of meaning, the next section, particularly the part concerning the local in the festival, will enumerate in detail and analyze how the audience invents, negotiates and inscribes meaning in this church music context. I will address the role and provide examples of how the audience participates in meaning interpretation later. The next section deals with the question of mediation

specifically, questioning the role of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals as a mediating entity.

7.3 Mediation and the Role of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals

The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals serve a lot of intentions but most prominent of all these is their ability to mediate the society or local church, Kampala Archdiocese and the Vatican-based global Church. In this section I want to show that while these festivals are primarily church music choral festivals conducted under the Roman Catholic Church umbrella, their usefulness transcends the musical to the social and religious spheres. Drawing from other scholars who have explicitly studied music festivals both in Africa and other parts of the world, I use illustrations from the festivals to prove how versatile they are in nature.

Primarily, the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals mediate the gospel and catechism of the Roman Catholic Church glocally. In this context, I draw from Tomlinson (1999:152) and Giddens' (1991:243) interpretation of mediation as the bridging of time and space in communication. Therefore, a mediated experience is "the involvement of temporary/spatially distant influences with human sensory experience" (*ibid.*). The themes used in the festivals draw from the local archdiocese's needs and observations and for that reason they carry the message of the local church. In a way, they mediate the gospel and thus assist the priests and bishops who are supposed to do this work. While the themes selected mostly reflect concerns of the local church (that is, Kampala Archdiocese) the general theological orientation of the festival is aimed at glocalizing Catholicism since once the local church has been effectively evangelized, then this benefits the global church, particularly the Vatican, since the numbers of Catholics and its influence are expanded. The glocal evangelization takes place in all the songs performed at the festival (since even the themes usually reflect the Pope's concerns for that particular year). The rest of the songs have their lyrics or stories adopted from the Bible or other

holy scriptures as explained earlier in the ethnographic section. In a way, the performances could be seen as offering spiritual nourishment mainly to the Catholics since they carry the message of the church leaders in song. In his study on Tanzanians *kwayas*, Gregory Barz has noted that these *kwayas* perform spirituality expressing their faith musically (2000:380). In other words, these singing performances by secondary school students should be viewed as avenues where the gospel is mediated. While the audience is partly made up of other choir members and lay Christians, the message carried by the students is primarily intended for them (post primary schools or institutions), alongside other Catholics in the archdiocese of Kampala. Like Kidula (2008) has noted, the gospel packaged with music has more power to attract even other people who might not have intended to come and attend. Here music and other aspects of accompanying it such as dances, drama and spectacle act as powerful tools that enable the proper communication of the church's theology in a musically packed festival. However, this is only part of the role played by the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals as the following sections will elucidate.

The same competitions as already discussed play a particular role in building a sense of pride and honor in different ways. For the Kampala Archdiocese which is the organizer, performing a genre of music that in this case could be referred to as Catholic Church music contributes greatly to enhancing pride among the Catholics while it can also be considered as honor. When a festival is conducted under the Catholic Church, then the church wins a lot of respect and honor. This partly boosts the confidence of the Catholics nationally since their music signifies their presence, and kind of marks off a specific genre as a widely accepted Catholic technique within the music circles. An example would be the Kiganda Gregorian chants which are only performed within the Catholic Church in Uganda. However, the honor and pride also boosts the numbers of Catholics which in the long run is empowering for the Catholic Church among other Christian churches in the country.

Evelyn Lutwama-Rukundo (2008) uses the concept of *edutainment* to denote a kind of social entertainment model that is packaged with normative inscriptions all

integrated into one. In these festivals music education that would have been provided in academic or school atmospheres is enhanced by teaching the students how to sight read and other aspects of music performance which are not given due attention at their respective secondary schools. While the missionary-introduced education system only catered for the teaching of western music, since it did not regard African music as serious, Ugandan scholars who had been abroad such as George Kakoma ensured that traditional music is also included in the music syllabi. This saw the introduction of music as a subject taught in class and part of it was traditional Ugandan music, which has remained as a taught subject up to today. However, the challenge remained, and still remains, that very few schools teach music in Uganda. Even in schools where music is taught as a subject, the numbers of students opting to study it to higher levels such as up to the university are very few, making it one of the subjects with the lowest number of students in secondary school education.

The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival served a purpose as a festival that strategically was intended for Catholic students. In this festival, music teaching and training, especially aspects of performance, are approached just as they are for a student majoring in music performance. In this way, the festival bridges the gaps that are created by the education system while catering for its own needs as well. A number of students I talked to studying in schools that do not teach music formally intimated to me that the festival season is the only chance they have throughout the year to learn how to play musical instruments as well as techniques of singing alongside sight singing. In this way, while the participants get entertained as they rehearse the music, they also acquire skills that enhance their literacy in music performance and sight singing. Therefore, festival performances in this context act as a form of social – religious edutainment, whereby it both educates as well as entertains. Therefore, claiming that the festival mediates both educational as well as musical aspects is not incorrect.

Competitive performances are arguably one of the best ways that scholars have identified as acting as social equalizers whereby they bridge the over-pronounced

class divisions in society. While the festivals being considered here are mainly secondary schools music festivals, there are a number of factors that determine where a Ugandan student attends his or her school. Among these factors is the social class to which the students' parents and home belong. The social class has been extended to the schools whereby there are secondary schools that are for the rich. In terms of academic circles in the country, there is a ranking in the Ugandan media that usually portrays some schools as 'super' because of their renowned academic excellence. Most of these schools are the traditional missionary-founded schools, a great number of which are Catholic-founded. Students from these schools also have a sense of pride since their school is presumably visible and worth mentioning in society. The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals therefore provide an atmosphere whereby such tendencies of social class superiority and inferiority complexes are neutralized.

The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals have a number of common elements with other regional festivals especially related to mediation. Writing about the *ngoma* in Tanzania, Gunderson notes: "Competitive *ngoma* have been great social equalizers, simultaneously antagonizing existing orders and helping to bridge seemingly unsurmountable gaps between social classes" (2000:11). This observation also rightly serves the church music festivals being considered here. By students having to attend the music courses and learning together whether one is from St. Mary's College-Kisubi, Uganda Martyrs Senior Secondary School-Namugongo, or other less visible schools on the Ugandan academic scene, there is a level of antagonizing that goes on since students who belong to the same voice are taught together and in a sense this makes them appreciate each other. More so, by virtue of being under the Roman Catholic umbrella during all the festival activities there is a common unifier or denominator that will bridge all other differences either caused by academic, sports or any other activities that contrast students' academic abilities. The festivals therefore bridge these differences in an amicable way since in belonging to a group, whether of Catholics or a choir, one learns to be interdependent. There is a level of relying on others for the common success. By participating in a competition,

people learn to appreciate what others do and can perform better with them, thereby having more respect and consideration for them. The social interactions that students have during the entire festival season creates insurmountable bonds that teach them to appreciate each other and thereby limit the social cohesion that might be created by attending different schools.

The festivals have also demonstrated an ability to construct both individual and community identity. In this case, the festivals particularly cement cooperative identities. Jonathan McCollum (2004:6) has noted that identities are usually structure-bounded and one of the means communities use to sustain them is by continuously performing those culture-binding displays, which in this case is the festival under consideration. Like I explained about group identities and issues related to time and space, the festivals are conducted within a Catholic Church space and therefore are aimed at specific intentions. Given the fact that the community for which the festivals are prepared consists of mainly Catholic students in Catholic-based upper secondary schools in Kampala Archdiocese, there is a sense of identity forged during them. This is in form of a group collective identity. The large numbers of students that turn up from various schools around the dioceses in a way get to know each other under the umbrella of the global Catholic Church but particularly in Kampala Archdiocese. The students are taught the nature of the music that identifies them as Catholic and customs or practices of the Church through the Catechism or messages embedded in the lyrics of the various songs. While the main focus is on church music, there are also spiritual talks that are conducted by the priest, mainly the chairman of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee. These are also focused on creating a Catholic fraternity that is solidified in the competitive performances. The numerous unifying factors such as all being Catholics, students and most of all choristers belonging to the Archdiocese of Kampala are what creates and solidifies identities through the festivals. Like McCollum noted, "In terms of ritual performance, this environment exists as a place where cooperative religious celebration cements group collective identity" (*ibid.*: 6). In the same way, McCollum argues that religious performance through both music and ritual becomes a strong marker for cultural

identity. “Humans seem naturally drawn to identify with those to whom they draw historic ties, though this is certainly not a necessary truth” (*ibid.*). Similarly, this is also what takes place in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals since there is a kind of common denominating factor of being Catholics in Kampala Archdiocese. In the festival generally, there is a glocal representation that includes performance of native Kiganda music and other musics imported from Europe.

The audience to a large extent is also part of this fraternity that identifies itself in different ways. While the audience consists of many different categories of people, the fans are the most prominent. Their consistent support of a specific group of people or schools in these competitions already implies a certain level of identifying with them. As such, many fans develop a number of similarities with the groups with which they identify. Gunderson has also commented on this aspect and stated: “Furthermore, competitors and their fans identify at numerous levels with each other, a fact which signifies an interesting identity construction indicator; competitive performances are powerful magnets that can attract the like-minded and repel others” (Gunderson 2000:16). A level of attraction is hereby emphasized by Gunderson as existing between the like-minded people, in this case, competitors and their fans. However, it is not only limited to fans but can also develop between one group of competitors and another. All this identity construction and solidification is mediated by the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

Just as a number of scholars on competitive music performances have established, the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, particularly the final competitive stages, avail opportunities to negotiate and challenge social power structures. In this particular context, even the religious power structures are questioned and in some cases revisited. While there is a bureaucratic system that is strictly followed in the Catholic Church particularly relating to church music composition and performance practices (as already explained), the competitive festival offers the participants an audience to challenge them. Partly, this is important

since the festival serves as an experimentation arena whereby some of the practices are just being tested for future integration within the Catholic liturgical practices. Among these as already encountered is the use of traditional musical instruments in the church, dancing in the church, singing of specific genres of songs, all of which have already been revised. The festival has structures including a forum where the patrons and music directors of the various school choirs voice their concerns. This is usually at the Schools' Music Course which normally opens up the festival season. On the program of this course as I witnessed during my research, there is a time set aside for a meeting between the patrons and the officials of KAMUCO. The meeting specifically analyzes the past festival and any matters arising are also welcomed by KAMUCO where necessary. Explanations are given and sometimes, the committee also bends to the concerns of the school patrons and music directors.

An example of the challenging of power structures discussed above was at one of the music courses that I attended at St. Joseph's Girls' Senior Secondary School, Nsambya on 6 March 2010. In this interface between committee members and the patrons, it was agreed at the request of the patrons and music directors that they could forward names of people to preside over the festival as adjudicators. While these names would be considered it was not compulsory that the people forwarded would automatically become adjudicators but the committee would sit and evaluate the names forwarded, after which it would make the final decision. In the same meeting, concerns were raised about the flexibility in the way sight singing was conducted in the festival whereby the music directors requested at least one minute for the students to go through the sight singing exercise before one of the adjudicators could start conducting them (Music Course). The committee promised to discuss this and later the students were granted one minute allowing them to identify the key among other preparatory measures.

Competition has also been seen as a reflection of wider economic processes that may be ingrained in a particular society (Gunderson 2000:16, also Nyoni 2000). In Uganda, the education system is divided into privately owned secondary schools and

government run secondary schools. The past decade has seen an enhanced level of competition academically, prompting schools to even exploit other aspects of scholarship, which had earlier on been ignored. Among these activities are those popularly referred to as co-curricular activities, in which schools that do not teach music as a subject involve students in performance-related aspects. This drive has been triggered by the struggle for supremacy in order to attract a meaningful number of students in various schools. Consequently, many schools have turned to advertising themselves in all possible ways so as to remain visible and in the long run attract more students. The existence of publicized competition will always attract schools not because participation is the primary motive but mainly to win and become visible, thus proving their worth in the system. At the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, a number of church dignitaries attend, including the Bishop, Diocesan Education Secretary and officials from the Ministry of Education who are to some degree the appointing authorities. Therefore, any school that is concerned with this kind of social competitive practices will always look at the festivals as an avenue where they can excel and hence kind of advertise themselves, as well as the leaders of these institutions proving how hard-working they are in order to secure better positions (promotion) in the education system. In doing so, for example winning such church festivals, many parents will admire them and send them their children so as to acquire some of these displayed skills on stage. This is a part of the meaning of the festivals to the head teachers.

Therefore, winning a music festival is not only a result of musical prowess on the stage, but is also a socially constructive way to define and accentuate visibility in the education system in mainly urban Ugandan secondary schools. Competitions in this case mediate extra musical abilities, they become a forum for emphasizing socially related superiority as well as redefining statuses of the competing parties. Like Veit Erlmann (1996) has noted, musical power could be a tool for signifying what the society ought to know about the performers and therefore emphasis is put on articulating those elements during performance and ensuring that the audience can read them and also rightly comprehend them.

To put it another way, the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals offer an avenue of negotiating the place of the arts, specifically music, dance and drama, in performance studies theoretically in the secondary schools education system. It avails a platform for challenging the exclusion of music and other arts from the school academic curriculum. One of the observations I have made over time is that before the festivals became an important concern for schools, the status of the professionally trained music, dance and drama teachers in society was still underrated. The emergence of these festivals not only created more opportunities for employment of professionals in this field but also provided prospects of teaching the wider public how to appreciate the performing arts. An example was Mathis Kiryowa, who narrated to me in an interview that he studied for a Bachelors of Arts degree in Education from Makerere University but could not find employment anywhere. However, having participated and undergone training in music, he entered the system as a Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals choir director from where he continued to rise up in the ranks. By the time of this interview, he was the deputy head teacher at St. Mbaaga's College, Naddangira which is one of the Catholic-founded schools discussed in this dissertation.

A number of other musicians who are personally known to me have had admission to university for music degrees and diplomas after being noticed either performing or directing during these festivals. In turn, the students who have been largely biased not to take the subject and field of music 'seriously' have had a change of attitude after participating in these festivals. Consequently, many schools today have interhouse music, dance and drama competitions among the different groupings in a school and in these, music directors and trainers from the festivals are utilized. More so, the adjudicators have usually been from the Catholic Church festivals since they are highly respected and with a lot of experience from the church festivals. Therefore, the festival has created an opportunity for artists and the field to make a statement and prove their relevance in society.

A consideration of the festival repertoire this time in a rather different angle demonstrates that the festival is a meeting point whereby the colonial and postcolonial aspects of church music composition, performance and the repertoire are renegotiated. As already seen in Chapter Five, the missionary-introduced repertoire was one way in which the local music was colonized and refused to be performed in the Catholic liturgy. In this case, the process of inculturation offered opportunities in which the now natively run church and particularly Kampala Archdiocese could decolonize themselves from the missionary-colonized church musical practices. These particularly included the repertoire and inclusion of the native Kiganda music compositional techniques. The power structures established by the colonial encounter are repeatedly renegotiated in practical ways and altered in many cases. However, the influence of the Vatican still remains supreme, indicating a constant factor in the decolonization process of the church musical practices in Kampala Archdiocese. However, as indicated, the renegotiation and contestation of the power structures is an ongoing process in the postcolonial period, hence the Vatican's continued supremacy since the colonized and colonizers will never be at the same level. However, the performances and the competitive festival offer space where these structures could be reversed or revisited.

The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals also mediate community values. They offer opportunities where community values are not only taught/trained but also enforced. In this particular case, the Catholic Church values and particularly Catechism are introduced to the students. In reference to values, I am considering both Kiganda ethnic identity and also the shared identity of Catholics as a social group. The students' performances not only point to liturgical music issues, but also to the wider social space in which the festivals are conducted. Issues of who and what is symbolic in the culture in question also arise; thus Gunderson states:

Music competitions are a place where community values are displayed, remembered and also reinforced. Ethnic groups with differing value systems draw boundaries via competitive display demonstrating who they are in competitions. Group members mobilize and rally behind around their leaders, in most cases highly charismatic

individuals, who are held as representative symbols of the group as a whole. (Gunderson 2000:14-15).

In reference to ethnic groups, Gunderson implies a certain level of redefinition and an evaluation of who the ethnic groups have been in relation to what they are performing on stage. Gunderson seems to equate community values with ethnic group identity. The festival portrays two hybrid cultures: Kiganda culture on the one hand and the Roman Catholic Church culture on the other hand. Now values of the two cultures are not only performed but also enhanced within this festival since it has a competitive structure. As already noted, the mode of dressing is usually emphasized to be consistent with the Kiganda cultural aspects of neatness, decency and smartness.

As I have explained in Chapter Six on ethnography, the festival preparatory period extends over two months, in which the intending participants attend a music training course organized by the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO). After the music course, each school is charged with training students to get them ready for the competitive festival. It is during this period that students undergo a vigorous training in church music, particularly choral singing. During my fieldwork, students of Our Lady of Africa, Lubaga Girls Senior Secondary School informed me that this is the only time they have throughout the year to learn vocal techniques, learn to play new musical instruments as well as getting to know about what is required of Catholic liturgy and some other information related to church music performance. However this does not imply that social values are neglected since musical, liturgical and social values are upheld. As seen in the remarks of Richard Kaabunga, one of the judges of the 2010 festival, the costumes used in this case exemplify that social values are highly considered. An example is when he contrasts the dress used in church and in the secular arena while commenting on the costumes students put on when performing dances in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival. Other issues include the general conduct of the students which in the case of the Kiganda culture is given high priority.

By using the concept of the choir, which is a foreign introduction, rather global in nature but recontextualized for use in the Kampala Archdiocesan churches, the festival is an arena where unity is not only emphasized but also strengthened since aspects such as identity largely depend on the level of unity that prevails in a specific region. Students learn to live with each other even though sometimes they might be from diverse backgrounds, ethnic groups and sometimes even religions. At the festival venues, the level of unity is also emphasized since winning partly depends on how unified a group is. Even the adjudication sheet that we reviewed considers aspects of unanimity which have to do with unison, an aspect cultivated musically to function socially. By the Catholics being unified, the church gains prominence and power.

While the festival may be mediating a lot more than what this study has analyzed above, I have identified issues that concern both globality and locality so that later, in the next section, I can exemplify how the performances at the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals are an ideal site for glocal Catholic musical practices. In the next section I therefore take a more detailed consideration of other aspects that are necessary to widen our understanding of glocalization in relation to this festival in question.

7.4 Catholic Church Music as Enabler:

Music as both enabling and enabled in Church

(The Place of Music in the Catholic Church)

Art organizes and idealizes life, which, in reality, is often unharmonious and capricious. While evidence of organized energies abounds in day-to-day existence, the energies of art are “culminating and conserving”: they idealize experiences whole, complete, in order to effect the ideal balance of relations that constitutes the work of art. In musical works and performances, control is exercised over contrived events, relationships, refinements, and idealizations (Samuel A. Floyd Jr. 1995:226).

I open this section with Floyd’s quote since I intend to review the position of music in the Roman Catholic Church globally. The intention is to establish why all this music

has to be specifically prepared according to given guidelines, and also vetted before it is brought into the public domain. I will conduct my discussion in dialogue with various church documents which have attempted to clarify the position of music in the Roman Catholic Church, alongside other texts that offer insights into music's usefulness in religious practice. I will draw some of my examples from the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music festivals in order to justify or substantiate my arguments.

Whereas some religious belief systems have regarded music as an impediment to their particular religious practices (Shiloah 1997, Qureshi 1997, Otterbeck 2004), the Roman Catholic Church has had a history of not only giving music a special place in its system but also actively engaging in the process of music composition, performance as well as supporting various musicians. In the history of western music, a number of great musicians are identified as having served the Church such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525-1594). Explaining the special place music occupies in the life of the Church, in its *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy*, the Second Vatican Council opens the fourth chapter with the following statement:

The musical tradition of the universal Church is a treasure of inestimable value, greater even than that of any other art. The main reason for this pre-eminence is that, as sacred song united to the words, it forms a necessary or integral part of the solemn liturgy (No.112).

In Catholic liturgy, music is always part of the religious ritual within which it is performed. As earlier observed, each ritual has specific music set aside for it. Inasmuch as there might be good music for the mass, other devotions such as the benediction also have specific music which befits the ritual being performed. In these rituals, it is believed that the music performed has the ability to facilitate the communion of believers with their Gods (Euba 2003:63, Gjertsen 2006:109). As already noted, music has the power to affect a ritual to achieve its intended objective. Stressing this unique element of music in rituals, Akin Euba writes: "...the music performed during religious events creates an atmosphere that is conducive to spirituality and facilitates communion between worshippers and their divinities"

(2003:63). Music has the ability to articulate the symbolic meanings of the ritual, as well to enhance communal unification. Shelemay argues:

Music and movement are crucial to expressing what cannot be conveyed through words. Moreover, music's role in the ritual process is vital to producing a sense of transcendence, a feeling that the moment has special significance that extends beyond the limits of everyday experiences (2006:347).

It does this by empowering the participants in a specific ritual (*ibid.*). The ritual, particularly in context of the Catholic Church, shapes the nature of music performed when it is conducted. It is therefore connected to one of the reasons that we earlier addressed as having brought about the starting of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. The music that was available was not covering the different parts of the mass as it should. Therefore, the festival provided an avenue where themes would be brought up and addressed during this festival, and the musical gaps in the mass could be filled. Composers would be requested to compose for e.g. the communion songs, offertory, credo and other parts of the mass. In doing this the festival was not only contributing to the repertoire of the church but also addressing the need for the various rituals to be fulfilled.

A number of scholars have considered music as a process that is providing means where other activities take place (Stokes 1994, Floyd 1995, Bohlmann 1997, Solomon 2000, Cook 2003). Particularly for the Roman Catholic Church this is well documented and has had a lot of debates either opposing it or supporting it. In an interview with Msgr. Dr. David Kyeyune, he noted that the Catholic Church at the recommendation of the Second Vatican Council resumed the utilization of icons and images. My particular interest in bringing this up is connected to music being used alongside the icons for a particular effect on the believers as Kyeyune informed me. "For the Orientals, the icons are the Bible in images; the hymns and songs is the Bible in music" (interview: David Kyeyune 19 February 2010). They (the Orientals) combine the two, that is, icons and images. These icons were originally used by the Oriental churches which combined both images and sound or what in contemporary terms I can refer to as the audiovisuals before the advent of literacy, particularly

reading and writing. By using both music and icons the believers would better understand what was being preached to them.

In explaining this to me, Kyeyune was trying to emphasize a particular point about music's use in the Catholic Church. Here we note that music is used to comprehend what the scriptures, doctrines and other documents want the Catholics to learn. In other words, the focus is on the lyrics and the ability of music to transmit the message to the people. In comparing music and lyrics, Kyeyune said,

Whereas church music in the Roman Catholic churches, it is the message that is more important than the music. And always it has a power to create something new in you. And if that message has been based on the Holy Scripture properly, the power of the word of God has the power to transform you. For that you can take Isaiah 57.6/11. The power of the word of God has the power to transform you and that is why church music is different from any performance because it involves everybody to encounter Jesus in his personal experience. In your own personal experience.

The music which accompanies it [the message] is to empower you to internalize the message. Music is very creative, it can make you to internalize it [the message] in order to live it and bear witness it in your life (interview: 19 February 2010).

Although he overemphasizes the message in the lyrics, Kyeyune enlightens us on an important contemplation of music in combination with the lyrics (message), which is that music also has the power to affect a specific situation, ritual or environment. Though he does it briefly, Kyeyune seems to be in unison with Samuel J. Floyd (1995:227) as quoted above about the ability of art and particularly music to organize reality beyond mere words or message. The discourse on rituals in the Roman Catholic liturgy will always be incomplete without a consideration of the appropriate music for a particular ritual. The liturgical action is incomplete without the right music performed as is explained by the *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy*, which is one of the most authoritative documents that govern Catholic Church music. Article 112 in Chapter Four states:

Therefore sacred music is to be considered the more holy in proportion as it is more closely connected with the liturgical action, whether it adds delight to prayer, fosters unity of minds, or confers greater solemnity upon the sacred rites. But the Church approves of all forms of true art having the needed qualities, and admits them into divine worship (No 112).

The *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy* here gives prominence to music by clearly explaining how the church regards it while at the same time enumerating the exact role of music, how it qualifies the ritual or liturgical action in which it is performed. What the *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy* attempts to explain here was later clarified by the *Musica Sacram* document of 1967, which followed the Second Vatican Council and acted as an elaboration particularly on music. The document initiated into the Church the use of the term ‘ritual music’ to explain “how music is tied to the ritual forms [in the Catholic liturgy] and how problematic liturgical music becomes when it is inadequately formed [*sic.*] by the structure and spirit of the liturgy” (1993: Art. 5). Later, another important Vatican statement on church music, The *Snowbird Statement* of 1993, clarified the issue of ritual music by explaining that “aesthetically high quality music has the ability to make the rituals more powerful and more engaging” (*ibid.*). In regard to ritual, the music has power to affect a particular ritual in the Catholic Church. Since in religious experiences ritual performances are ways of relating to the supernatural within the boundaries of space and time (McCollum 2004:274), the music greatly contributes to affecting this relationship with the supernatural. Though earlier church positions had reflected the power of basically European genres of music to be more effective, statements from Episcopal conferences which were later integrated into the Vatican documents also stressed the ability of other genres of music to equally play an important role in the Church. One such pronouncement came from the *Snowbird Statement*, Article 22 which partially explains that “A discerning use of traditional music can be a spiritually edifying enhancement of liturgical celebrations and a sign of our union with and indebtedness to our forebears” (1993: Art. 22).

Lyrics of Catholic Church music are believed to partially fulfill the work of evangelization which the church ministers or priests and bishops are supposed to do when they preach/read the gospel to the congregation. In the Catholic faith, this is one of the most important uses of church music apart from its work as explained above in the ritual. As earlier seen, the church strictly controls avenues where the music is supposed to be released in order to ensure that its doctrines and catechesis are well

pronounced and accurate. In music genres used in the Church globally, including in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Music Festivals, there is a kind of poetic sequencing which the Church advocates for in order to get the message across to the believers. Referring specifically to hymns, the *Snowbird Statement* notes:

The hymn represents a poetically generative form of time-tested value for stimulating congregational participation. Well-crafted new hymn texts serve to amplify lectionary themes and bring spiritual enrichment to the hymn-singing tradition. Strophic hymnody, a well-established part of the religious culture of the English-speaking world, may rightly be seen as an authentic expression of liturgical inculturation. Hymnody is also ecumenically important as a musical bond between various Christian traditions (1993: Art 19).

Other church documents that are consistent on this include the *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy* (1964) as well as the *Music in Catholic Worship* (2007). Reflecting on the above quote, our next question is: how does the hymnal style manage to achieve what the *Snowbird Statement* has noted in the paragraphs above? In order to answer this question we need to take into consideration whether hymns actually serve these functions. An awareness of socially constructed meanings is vital before we proceed with analyzing music and particularly the hymns' effect especially as pointed out above. Like Christopher Small has noted, reality is not objective or absolute but socially constructed. Memberships that individuals hold in various social groups shape each individual's perception of reality (1998:132-133, also Cohen 1995, Kivy 1984). While some of the meanings are derived from the intrinsic qualities of this music, other meanings come about by association. In other words, musical sounds themselves may not necessarily have connotation, but rather their meanings accrue by association (Mahrt 2007). Inasmuch as one will examine various musics to identify which particular qualities they embed so as to signify sacredness, there are various points to consider, most of which are either by association or socially constructed, such as being solemn. In this particular case of church music, a combination of socially constructed patterns of perceptions based on particular associations with which the music is identified together with other intrinsic qualities of music, most prominent of which are lyrics, harmony, melody and other sonic elements, play a big role. Another element for our consideration is derived from Peter Kivy's 1984 work

Sound and Semblance: Reflections on Musical Representation where he discusses how musical pictures are musical representations. I take particular interest in Kivy's notion of *cross-modal associations*, which he employs to metaphorically or figuratively clarify the ability of music to be described with "non-musical non-sound" word associations such as "sad", "cheerful" and "melancholic" among others (1984:62-63).

As noted above, hymn singing has the ability to communicate the message for meditation through the lyrics. By employing some of these cross-modal associations, which are themselves social constructions, music has the ability to create a picturesque imagination in the worshipper as one is meditating on the significance of what he or she is singing. Particularly in the Ugandan case, as well as the African continent where people could not read and write or where hymn books are scarce during mass, the lyrics communicate an important part of the message that is embedded within them. Thomas Oduro notes:

The theology of Western hymns has become a veritable teaching tool for some African Christians who do not have the privilege of attending Bible colleges and seminaries. Many African Christians use the hymns and songs as means of ensuring spiritual growth. Western hymns and songs are accordingly used in prayer and meditation (2008:91, see also Mahrt 2010:3).

Like Roberta King (2008:27) observes, the dominant purpose of hymnody was to instruct people in faith rather than to convert as Oduro notes above. Through the careful selection of the lyrics, harmony and particular form of hymn used such as strophic or stanza and refrain among many others, a member of the congregation is able to meditate on the message while repeating a central theme as dictated by the hymn's responsorial nature. The Kiganda hymns commonly used in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals could also be viewed in this line as an expression of liturgical inculturation, while at the same time binding the missionary repertoire to the current Church music traditions in Kampala Archdiocese. Judith Cohen notes: "Whilst music defines a sense of 'this place', it also marks relations of kinship, alliance and affinity with places elsewhere" (1995:439). Hence, the singing of Kiganda hymns in this case not only reminds the Baganda of the

English missionaries' music culture but also the bond between the Kampala Archdiocesan Church with the global Catholic Church, while at the same time articulating a sense of place to the Christians as belonging to a particular Catholic church based in Kampala Archdiocese. This is possible using a number of musical elements, among which I have already highlighted language. Reflecting on the power of the arts and particularly music, Brian Schrag notes that, "artistic arts are special kinds of communication that create, modify, expand and shape messages" (2007:200). This signifies that the power of music to inscribe multiple meanings is not unidirectional but rather multidimensional.

The meaning of music in Catholic worship consequently led to the elevation of the status of the 'choir' in the same church. This was due to the ability of fine choral music to enhance worship, which depends on the structures of the liturgical rites. Choirs have therefore been taken in high regard given their important role(s) which, according to *The Snowbird Statement*, are as follows:

The choir serves in a particular way to give voice to the glory and beauty of the liturgy; the choir bears witness to angelic choirs in the New Jerusalem; the choir is a joyful attendant of the pilgrim people of God and a festive sign of their heavenly home; the participation of the choir is crucial to the realization of solemnity and majesty in liturgical events (1993: Art.20).

The recognition accorded to choirs in this respect partially testifies to the fact that the Catholic Church recognizes liturgical music-making as a process in itself consisting of various players at different levels who all constitute what is regarded as the final product experienced during the Catholic liturgical activities. Therefore, the choir's role and position in Church is one of such great importance that even the Second Vatican Council has to include it in its decrees on sacred music, advocating for the training of the musicians in the church service. Since the process involves them and in essence this implies that the choir has a huge impact on the way the various rituals are conducted, in order to perfect the Catholic rituals, whoever contributes to them has to undergo training. Again, the churches use the choirs to generate a sense of unity amongst the believers. This study views Catholic Church choirs particularly in Kampala Archdiocese as social organizations that not only sing the music but sing it

“in harmony”, thereby embracing the element of unity by regular association. This unity is extended to other believers for whom these choirs perform either in church as they lead the liturgy or in the festivals when they attend.

While choir members in the Ugandan Catholic Churches are not paid in monetary terms, they are held in high regard and their position is clearly discernible in the church premises. Where possible, the various parishes extend financial support to the choirs according to their abilities. In the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, the church encourages school administrators to support their school choirs so that they can effectively conduct their work. In interviews with students in various schools among which were Uganda Martyrs High School Lubaga, Our Lady of Africa, Lubaga Girls, Trinity College Nabbingo among others, I noted that there are a number of other privileges attached to the choir so as to keep the members motivated in their work. Among these are annual picnics, ‘outings’ or other occasions to represent the school, which are considered a privilege. Leaders are also identified and recognized from their roles in these associations. In essence, the choir is used by the Church to achieve a lot of communal goals as highlighted above.

My experiences coupled with the interview details I acquired from fieldwork indicated another aspect of Catholic Church music with respect to the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals whereby it acts as social-religious edutainment⁴⁹. As briefly mentioned earlier, I use edutainment here so as to combine the two aspects of educating as well as entertainment which are all in one. One of my informants, Sebastian Ntabo, hinted on the festivals acting as any other festival whereby they are a place to get entertained and in a rather specific way that is only limited to the Kampala Archdiocesan Festivals, also act as religious educational avenues in part educating the professionals about the latest aspects of performance and composition that there are in the archdiocese. While Ntabo might have assumed that all festivals are specifically entertaining in nature, he raises a unique

⁴⁹ Edutainment: Having the ability to encompass both qualities of entertaining and at the same time educating the listeners.

characteristic of the festival in question, which is that it educates both trainers and students.

Like most other festivals, there are many people either watching the competitive performances or moving around and eating. More so, there has also been beer drinking since its original venue where the festival was always conducted until two years ago had an attached bar. This enables performers who have completed their performances to go to the bar and have some beer as a way of relaxation. This feature is common to many aspects of most entertainment. However, the festival in question also adds another feature which I came to understand as the venue where new techniques in church music performance are displayed enabling other professional musicians to learn and apply them elsewhere, most commonly in other dioceses where similar festivals are conducted.

While ‘the message’ as packaged by the powers that be concerns evangelization and spirituality in general, we cannot ignore the ability of these Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Music Festivals to integrate other social-educational aspects into their performances. As earlier noted, experiments are done and as such, every year, there are new compositions in all the categories which exhibit something new. The reason for this is that the performances contain all the elements of performance, notably music, dance, drama and also spectacle. However, these elements are taken for granted and there are more such as unity, identity, and social cohesion, most of which have been discussed earlier. These features have come to characterize this church music, shifting the original perception that it was working for religion and nothing else. Today in Kampala Archdiocese, we find priests who perform Catholic gospel music as a means of evangelization though this time it is performed both in the sacred and secular arenas.

In a twist therefore from the original perceptions, church music today also embeds both socio-religious abilities which have been most promoted since the advancements in technology that led to the introduction of Catholic radio stations (radio Maria and radio Sapientia), as well as the enlargement of the recording industry whereby the

Church currently even owns recording studios mainly devoted to church music though even secular musicians have also been working from there. Therefore, as a means of carrying forward its evangelization tasks, the Catholic Church has devised alternative ways of mediating its gospel and one of these is through entertainment which is evident at the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

Many schools that participate in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals conclude the festival season by recording an album of the songs that they sang for the annuals festivals. These albums are distributed mainly to Catholics such as the participating students' parents and also sold at churches. Many of the people who buy them use them for private purposes such as listening to them at home, sometimes playing them at funerals as well as birthdays and other parties in Catholic homes. In turn the school choirs raise money for their activities as well as documenting their achievements in the history of the schools. But mostly, these albums serve as 'pride' to the school. On a number of occasions, the head teachers of these schools will lobby for the playing of these music recordings on the radio so that the schools gain social capital as earlier illustrated in the section on mediation.

In the new developments, music not only serves the Catholic religion but in some way, it shapes the nature of the rituals given the influence of global conventional compositional and performance trends. In taking interest in the secular spheres, the church's reputation is articulated while building confidence in its followers. More so, it can also reach a wider congregation that even includes its members who are in the diaspora. Therefore this turns out to be a symbiotic relationship whereby as the church benefits, the music is also given other opportunities of development, publicity etc. However, globality in this festival is not only experienced in the religious doctrines emphasized but in the general structure of the festival as the next section elucidates.

7.5 The Global in the Festival: Performing Religion

The central point of reflection as far as globality is concerned within the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals is the Vatican, the seat of the

global Roman Catholic Church. This study is interested in how the Vatican as an institution has been able to exert its power, control and influence over the way Catholicism is practiced globally and particularly how this influence greatly affects the music culture in Kampala Archdiocese through the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. The study essentially focuses on a specific strand of cultural globalization in relation to religious globalization. As has already been stated elsewhere in this dissertation, globalization is a multidimensional process that gets seemingly dissimilar countercurrents to devise a point of convergence. What Holton terms as the polarity in globalization works to unite and even harmonize the conflicting parties in this glocal hybrid.

This study therefore considers Roman Catholicism as a global religious practice with a vast range of homogenous practices ranging from doctrines, language, rituals, symbolic figures to the music used for the various rituals. Its enforcement of the various seemingly homogenous practices happens in form of international councils comprising of the main stakeholders at the center of this church (the cardinals) as well as a representation from other lay Christians who form the periphery in this case. An example that greatly concerns this study was the Second Vatican Council which was conducted in the Vatican, Rome from 1962 to 1964. In this council and others like it, conventional ways of harmonizing Catholic practices globally are prescribed and the necessary implementing subcommittees authorized not only to accomplish the Vatican's directives but also to act as watchdogs for the Church. In relation to African churches, Paul Gifford notes that the Catholic Church has "a strongly universalist strand in its theology, and the local church is incomplete in isolation – so the links are by definition constitutive" (1999:308). While efforts are being made to achieve homogeneity in the way Catholicism is practiced, there is a kind of reflexive consciousness in the sense of inculturation which enables the recipient cultures to adapt Catholicism to their local cultures, creating a cross-over culture that practices Catholicism adjusted to its own society. As globalization theory informs us, discussion of the local is inevitable as we try to articulate what globalization is and therefore I will keep the latter in context of the former in this discussion.

In view of globalization in relation to the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, Catholicism is a transnational religious system with a non-static geographical situatedness unrestricted by either borders or boundary inclinations. It is a western and precisely a European instituted belief system that extends to other parts of the world such as South America, Africa as well as in Australia. By implication, therefore, its influence also extends far and wide to all corners of the globe. This study views Catholicism in this festival as a global culture that was born out of privileged historical circumstances and was therefore able to spread globally through these privileged circumstances. Among the major historical factors or incidents that enabled Catholicism to attain a global status is colonialism. While the British colonial masters were still at the helm of governing Uganda as its protectorate, the Roman Catholic missionaries also came along, partly utilizing the situation or circumstances in which colonialism had been spread throughout the country. As such, most of their earlier policies focused on building a base and broadening their area of jurisdiction in the country as well as to its neighbors. The privileged position as expressed by John Tomlinson (1999) is also about the way the entire institution is organized. The Roman Catholic Church has specific structures throughout the world that includes a consistent hierarchy of leadership with the Pope at the top, followed by cardinals, bishops, priests, other members of the clergy and the laity at the bottom. This constitutes power structures that dictate how orders are to be given and follow and each one's place in this so-called global hierarchy.

However, just like globalization theory implies, global practices are hybrid in nature. Since they are global, they encompass a number of cultural interrelationships emanating from the varied locales which these practices have undergone, which Holton refers to as a "transnational identity" (2000:145). In the case of Catholicism, it has not been maintained only in its original western form, if at all the form itself was 'pure', and therefore if carefully scrutinized, it carries within it some Hebrew / Jewish practices as important components of celebrating the Catholic mass globally. In Kampala Archdiocese and particularly Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, the nature of Catholicism practiced (as earlier explained in Chapter

Five) carries both English and French musical practices since the missionaries who spread the religion into the country came from both of these countries. Among the most important elements yet to be considered are the languages and songs used in the liturgy particularly in Kampala Archdiocese and specifically included on the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals' repertoire. In the festival, these practices have been carefully integrated over a period of time with Kiganda musical practices through the process of inculturation. This has ensured that the nature of Catholicism practiced in Kampala Archdiocese focusing on the repertoire is both a unique identity of the local Catholic church, while at the same time embracing a lot of similarities with all Catholic religious practices globally, hence the use of the concept of glocalization. Among these glocal elements are: church doctrines, languages, repertoire, performance techniques, musical instruments, and others which will be discussed in the sections that follow.

The Catechism of the Church which is practiced within this festival repertoire, in items such as the set-piece themes, hymns, Ganda free choice songs and others, is global in nature. While it encompasses some local traits as advocated for by the Second Vatican Council, it carries the standard global Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church. This is ensured through the vetting of these songs before they are brought to the Church for inclusion into the liturgy. To ensure this, there are both liturgists and theologians on the committee who critically study the lyrics of the new compositions before forwarding them to the music experts. The aim here is seen as ensuring that the Church doctrine is protected and maintained as uniform throughout the world (Edward Ssonko interview: 3 September 2009). Sometimes even the nature of the music compositional technique is affected when the Church works towards standardization or homogeneity in specific circumstances.

The music can be considered in a general sense as consisting of both local concerns as well as following the globally considered conventions in music composition and practices. The repertoire of the festival consists of both western songs and Kiganda songs. In the western songs, attention should be mainly focused on the set piece

which is usually composed in English and following the western music compositional techniques, while the lyrics focus on the Catholic Church's concerns. The set piece songs are usually harmonized, and their form is clearly identifiable and more closely related to the western techniques while the accompaniment is restricted to only keyboard instruments. From an analysis of the set pieces used for the past ten years, none of them are in Luganda and the music technique used in composing tends to lean on the western side since all of them are harmonized in four parts for mass and chamber choirs, and three parts for equal voices choirs. The arrangements are also a global concern since they are common in most parts of the world. While writing about the music heritage of Western Missionary Churches, Thomas Oduro notes that "the singing of hymns and songs [arranged in a western way] tended to forge unity among tribes" (2008:89). The harmonic uniqueness required choirs/members to work together in order to achieve what the composer intended. This enabled the missionaries to ensure that their converts worked in sync, which in the long run benefitted the church more than it did the individuals. In the festivals, measures are put in place to see that songs are sung as a western choir would sing them, and this is through the adjudication form.

A critical evaluation of the adjudication form used by the panel of judges to award marks for this song indicates that western performance practices/techniques have to be followed while performing this item. The form monitors presence of elements such as a western tone, phrases, accompaniment, conductors, interpretation, rhythm, diction among many others. While one might argue that some of these musical elements are the general or common sonic elements every individual would consider when adjudicating, in this festival they are mainly considered in light of the way the west presents them, hence the common reference to them as *ennyimba ez'abazungu* (songs for westerners/Europeans), to contrast them with Kiganda (local) songs. However, the performance of these western songs does not fall short of Bhabha's notions of mimicry and mockery whereby, in an effort to emulate the colonizers (or the western trend in this case) in performance, the local community ends up "producing a blurred copy of the colonizer" that can be quite threatening to the

authority of the colonizer (McLeod 2000:125). In globalization, this is the hybrid nature of a global practice which also takes part of the local practices and turns out to be a hybrid of both the original western practice as well as the local practice. The mimicking of the westerners in this sense can never be an accurate depiction of how they perform these songs, (since the songs are after all composed by local composers), but rather it is a customized, unique way of performance. Aspects such as conducting and singing turn out to be globally approached but from a critical perspective, never perfected, thereby creating a unique socially constructed identity of the local community. In an interview with one of my informants (Richard Kaabunga), I asked him how they (adjudicators, judges) come to award marks for one of the elements on the adjudication sheet termed as “musicianship”. He informed me that it depends on how the choir responds to the music and then we have to see whether it rhymes with what is being performed (interview 24 July 2009). We do not expect any two individuals to perform uniformly since the factors that engender this response transcend the mere occasion on which this music is being performed. Usually each person’s response to music is dictated by numerous factors that are beyond the control of any individual since they range from one’s background and the nature of music that individual has been exposed to in life. Therefore, uniform responses from a group of students is either a learned social behavior or an enforced pattern.

Again, while the concept of the ‘festival’ is a western introduction to Uganda and particularly to the Ugandan Catholic Church, it has acquired new meanings after embracing both global and local sensibilities. In the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, the global understanding of the festival culture as well as the local innovations and modifications have been blended and in turn given the festival a unique flavor. In this case, the blending of the religious, social, cultural, musical, and educational elements in this festival makes it unique among other festivals since while it is designed strictly for Catholic students, even non-Catholics are attracted to the performances and therefore participate. During my fieldwork, one of the students awarded a certificate of merit was a Muslim but belonged to his school’s Catholic Church choir. By the festival being introduced in the western sense

as a periodic celebration or an event with a particular focus/concern, the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival has blurred these definitions to embrace local sensibilities, as implied in the term glocalization. However, it carries the primary meaning of a festival in the western sense since its timing, social activities and other practices are well known to the participants. One of the consistent terms used in these festivals is the notion of a choir, which is largely viewed and regarded as having come to Uganda after Uganda's contacts with the European missionaries. Today, "choir" is a globally utilized name for various groups of people in specific contexts which are worth discussing.

Like the notion of festival, 'choir' is also a western or global term that has lately come to include other local interpretations based on the location, style, activities, level, and age of members. The nature of the choir and its function signify a western system of re-organizing society for a particular reason. In this case, the reasons for the festival have already been explained. Choirs are not only designed for choristers but also serve the entire congregation or audience who make up the society or community. Vatican II's *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy* also emphasizes congregational participation (see also Archdiocese of Kampala Synod 2006). Even the numerous studies conducted about choral music and choirs have explained in detail the functioning of these choirs based on their original western functioning in the Christian churches. According to Gregory Barz, a *kwaya* (choir) is a "distinct social cultural system" and "functions as a distinct microcosm of an idealized social system" (Barz 2006:21). In relation to this case study, choirs are used as community-organizing mechanisms for the overall benefit of religion both globally and locally. In this sense, singing, which is the main activity of the choirs, goes beyond mere entertainment and development of performance skills to community reconstruction and redefinition. Therefore, choral festivals are also credited with contributing to social redefinition as other scholars have remarked. Frank Gunderson notes that "music competitions play a big role in the goal of community formation and solidification, bringing and holding individuals, clans, voluntary associations, ethnicities, and nation-states together in both traditional and creative new ways"

(2000:15). Therefore, if we are to take Gunderson and Barz seriously, then choir performances enhance community coherence. In doing so, they aim at creating a kind of communal identity, one that transcends all other distinguishing factors and in this case creates a glocal Catholic identity among the community. However, the concept used here cannot be referred to as a local concept but a global one which has been refigured (Nederveen Pieterse 1992:11) to accommodate other locally accrued meanings to the original concept.

The kind of identity that Ugandan choirs have is similar to what Barz states in his study of Tanzanian *kwayas*. School choirs as well as many parish choirs are not limited to singing in church or the musical and performances spheres, but the concept of “choir” extends to include all other communal activities and exercises carried out by the group of people who identify themselves as choristers with a particular name. In turn, this community of choir members caters for the wellbeing of its individuals and vice versa. In this sense, *kwayas* transcend the literal meaning as suggested in English and acquire a more socially oriented role that is not limited to church music or liturgy but as a kind of fraternity or social group that even caters for its members’ humanitarian needs. These other acquired roles are the ones Nederveen Pieterse refers to as ‘countercurrents’ (1993:9), transcending the west or the impact non-western cultures have been making on the west. Thus the term *choir* becomes reflexive while acquiring a glocal sense.

This hybrid (local-Catholic) identity is a kind of glocal identity that makes many of the participants view themselves as Catholics on the global arena, while identifying themselves as Catholics belonging specifically to the Archdiocese of Kampala because of the factors discussed. For the students and audience (which consists of mainly the Catholic congregation), the festival acts as a socio-religious edutainment, on the one hand teaching them Catholic doctrines while at the same time reminding them of their social backgrounds in a sense continuously redefining and situating them in the global Roman Catholic Church.

Whereas choirs are capable of creating unity, these social organizations are also capable of factionalism as has been observed in a number of circumstances. By being a group of people who define themselves in a specific way, they articulate what they are not and therefore create an “othering” situation. Melinda Russell has indicated that “In expressing group solidarity, choral music can also express factionalism, as when the choral traditions of whites and African Americans remain separate, or when Decatur’s striking workers occasionally used choral singing to articulate their group cohesion but also their separation from the mainstream” (2006:67). When choirs are busy articulating who they are and what they stand for in performances, dress code and other elements, they in turn create a faction based on what they are not. Choral music uses a number of elements to ensure that it communicates effectively within society and situates itself in a society catering to its diversity as well as its expression. Russell expresses that the diversity of choral music in terms of context, style, function and substance makes it a fundamental thread as a social fabric (*ibid.*). With a number of attached local connotations to the concept of the choir, it has managed to achieve a status and social significance both based on the local sensibilities (as the countercurrents) as well as the global conventions, making it a hybrid genre.

The languages used, especially English and Latin, in a way entail globality since they imply a bigger ‘transterritorial’ grouping that cannot be explained in local terms. Latin has historically been directly connected with the global Roman Catholic Church as its official language. It is the language used by the church for all its official communications, official prayers and also prior to Vatican Council II, the *Liber Usualis*⁵⁰ was in Latin. This has caused the language to be embraced as a feature of identity by the Catholics. Within the Catholic Church, it is an authoritative language and that is why official communications from the Vatican down to the cardinals and bishops are always in Latin. Even locally in Uganda, Latin is highly regarded as the

⁵⁰ *Liber Usualis* (Lecouvet 1950): this was the official song, and prayer book for the global Catholic Church until Vatican II made changes. It was in Latin and included the various prayers for mass as well as Catholic devotions. All songs had been transcribed and were Gregorian chant form.

Language within the Catholic Church circles even though very few people can speak or understand it. In the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, the regulations promote its use in accordance with the Vatican Council II's spirit whereby it is regarded as above all other languages in the Church hierarchy. The other two languages are only secondary but constantly in a kind of competition which works to effect the Vatican's concerns and intentions of evangelizing the world and spreading Catholicism to Ugandans. By globalizing Latin in Catholic practice, the Vatican gives it a broader platform for collective expression and creates a kind of connectivity structure operating throughout the Catholic Church. However, it is not the only language used in the festival that implies globalization in the Catholic sense.

One of globalization's much emphasized theses is the increasing of cultural interconnectedness. Cultural interconnectedness is used to refer to a number of activities that lead to a mass, homogenized culture. In this category, language(s) feature prominently (Burke 1966) in various ways. While English features both as one of the remnants of the colonizer's legacy, it also squarely implies globalization in the context of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals since, as Croucher has indicated, it is used by an estimated quarter of the human race and mainly by the most affluent (2004:26). In the festival English has a two-fold connotation. In the Archdiocesan synod of 2006, English was one of the languages that were singled out as appropriate for use in the Kampala Archdiocesan church functions (2006:3). Its colonial connection is related to the fact that it was initially introduced by the colonial masters and later adopted as the national language. The Catholic missionaries therefore had no option but to conduct their activities in the language of the regional colonial masters. In other words, as Henry Kyabukasa informed me in an interview, at the beginning the missionaries taught in Latin at the seminaries but later had to change to English (interview: 10 June 2010). Therefore, English is the mode of communication used by all the schools and educational institutions in the country, and is also regarded as the national language as per the Ugandan constitution of 1995. In terms of globalization, English is used to communicate to a wider international community as compared to Latin. For example,

during the beatification of the late Pope John Paul II in the Vatican, a number of announcements to the different people were first communicated in English after which other languages such as French, German etc. followed suit (1-5-2011). By using it in this festival, the participants are able to communicate to more people than they would if their repertoire was limited to only Luganda or even Latin. As a way of viewing it in the global arena, there is a linguistic homogeneity developed by upholding the colonizer's legacy through language since partly, Catholicism was earlier taught by both the French White Fathers (now Missionaries of Africa) and the English Mill Hill missionaries. In this sense, the colonizer's legacy is partly kept alive through the language used. The identity of the other colonizers (France) is not completely dissolved but in a way renegotiated alongside Latin and Luganda.

While these are some of the issues that have been identified as partly referring to globalization, especially relating it to the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, there are numerous other factors to consider. However, since globalization embraces localization as part of its constituent facets, it is imperative that a consideration of aspects referring to the social construction of localization in this festival is also addressed. In this sense, I will exemplify how performing indigeneity is achieved or socially constructed in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. Later, a point of synergy will be drawn between the two concepts so as to qualify the use of glocalization as the main theoretical frame for this study. In the next section, I therefore treat the question of how the local is constructed in this festival, keeping in mind that it is a part of globalization and hence glocalization.

7.6 The Local in the Festival: Religious Performance of Indigeneity

Both globalization and localization have been described by various scholars as concepts which are usually explained in relative terms to that which the scholars want to express. Therefore, an understanding of how localization works or can be interpreted in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals requires that we revisit localization in relation to culture. As I mentioned, localization

implies ways in which particular cultural practices (including music), whatever or wherever their 'origin', become associated with particular places, especially places other than where they are said to have originated. Principally, in this case the description might imply the Kiganda culture, the culture of the Baganda people who occupy Kampala Archdiocese (among the other six dioceses) and the main people who comprise the majority of the audience or congregation that attends the festival. An understanding of locality in the festival also requires an equal awareness of the *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy (Sacrosanctum Concilium)* and its decrees on liturgy emanating from the Second Vatican Council, especially those decrees and articles that regulate sacred music (*Musicam Sacram*).

A local culture is usually perceived as a particularity both in space and time, one opposed to the ambivalent global culture. Pierre Bourdieu emphasizes specific elements of locality (or a local culture) among which are the habitual and repetitive nature of activities resulting in a specified routine, which is mastered by the local community (Bourdieu 1977). Appadurai puts it another way and writes: "The transformation of spaces into places may subsequently be remembered as relatively routine" (2001:104-105). However, this takes us to an earlier encountered perception of a local culture whereby it is perceived as rather static. In this study, locality is viewed as rather contextual in the sense that it provides the frame or setting within which various kinds of human action can be initiated and conducted meaningfully. Mike Featherstone uses the concepts of the 'we images' for the local and the 'they images' for the others as contrasted to the locals (1993:176). In other words, the locals consider themselves as the 'we' in ritual practice, for example, as opposed to 'they' for others.

This symbolic routine as repeatedly performed by the "locals" translates into a kind of ritual without which the local culture cannot stand. Appadurai notes that rites of passages are more concerned with the production of local subjects, while ceremonies such as naming, scarification and segregation are complex social techniques for the inscription of locality on to the bodies (2001:100). This is in reference to the routine

that eventually becomes a symbol of identity within a specific community or group of people and in turn is even simulated amongst diasporic communities. Thus Andy Bennett writes that the local is perceived “as a ‘fixed’ space underpinned by commonly acknowledged social discourses” (2000:65). Through the routine or repetitive nature of some of the local practices, the local society regards them as fixed in a way implying that they have been performed the same way though of course not pointing to the time element (period). Featherstone explains that “our sense of the past does not primarily depend upon written sources, but rather on enacted ritual performances and the formalism of ritual language” (1993:177).

That said, we turn to the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals and here we note that since this is a festival, there are certain identical aspects that unify the entire group of performers, competitors and members of the audience. The festival itself turns out to be a ritual in the local sensibilities as explained above. While these activities do not originate necessarily from the Buganda region, they have come to be associated with the Church through the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals, by the local community. Most of these activities are usually consistent, that is, emerged right from the inauguration of this festival and still conducted in nearly the same way according to my informants, save for a few adjustments being made here and there, as noted in the chapter on ethnography. The content of the repertoire, for example, consists of bits and pieces that uphold the ritualistic element and have been identified with the festival since its inception. Such items as the set piece, Kiganda free choice song, Kiganda hymns from the M.T.O., and the thematic nature of festival have been consistent with this festival since it was started. The scheduling/timing of the festival in this case has been consistent and some of the school administrators I talked to concurred that they are always aware of when the church music festival should be programmed for on the annual calendar. Throughout my fieldwork from 2006 to 2010, the activities have always had more similarities than differences especially in performance.

Locality in this case is usually implied during performance of the compulsory Kiganda song on the festival repertoire through aspects of costuming, instruments, language, performance style and the incorporation of aspects of music, dance and drama. While the Catholic Church might prohibit or restrict dancing, associating it with satanic, pagan or other acts, dancing in the festival is the recontextualized version of some aspects of Kiganda traditional dance, with which the local church has come to be identified. As earlier discussed in the preceding chapters, the local can largely be a social construct that is mainly assumed but can never be factually confirmed. An example is the music in the Kiganda category, as well as the traditional musical instruments used to accompany these songs in the Ganda category. Whereas the dances and songs performed imitate the native Kiganda music composition and performance techniques, songs in this category have also largely been affected by the contact with western music, performance techniques and generally western education. We cannot therefore ignore the effect western styles have had on the local (or initially local) genres of music, and still claim that they are original. Similarly, due to Kampala Archdiocese's location in the capital city, there is an influx of many non-Baganda (and also non-Catholic) musicians and particularly traditional musical instrumentalists who have played a big role in developing the playing techniques of these instruments used in the festival. Their influence on the performance style and techniques cannot be ignored either in view of the songs performed in the Ganda category or on the general trend of performance. Here we denote that the local is crossed by different sensibilities which in turn impose on it specific characteristics. The musical instruments, costumes, performers or instrumentalists and other instruments all affect the way the local is viewed specifically in this festival. All these examples confirm that while there are other global as well as local influences, the consideration of songs and instruments in the sense of locality is more inclined to the social constructs, which makes the local rather subjective. Bennett explains thus:

It should now be clear that in referring to the 'local', we are in effect speaking about a space that is crossed by a variety of different collective sensibilities each of which imposes a different set of expectations and cultural needs upon that space. In doing so, such sensibilities also construct the local in particular ways, a process which ensures that terms such as *locality* and *local identity* (emphasis in original) are always, in part at least,

subjective elements, which begin by utilizing the same basic knowledges about the local, its social and spatial organization, but supplement such knowledges with their own collectively held values to create particular narratives of locality (2000:66).

Using Bennett's explanation, in the case of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals, the music, traditional musical instruments and style (techniques) therefore turn out to be markers of the social space occupied by the Baganda in the glocal Roman Catholic Church in Kampala. In appropriating this music (KAMUCO, composers and other players), owing to its contact with other styles and cultures, new narratives of it are constructed which are identified with their surroundings (what Arjun Appandurai refers to as neighborhoods - 2001:99), hand in hand with other factors that shape the local environment. Clifford James poses a challenge of being "caught up in the invention, not the representation, of cultures" (Clifford 1986:2, quoted in Bennett 2000:67). However, in this study I posit that every other performance of the same music has the potential of generating new meaning to different (or even the same) people since the factors that affect this process are beyond an individual's control. Meaning does not arise *ex nihilo* but out of a collection of historical factors as discussed earlier. In other words, invention is a process that is not codified by only one particular aspect but a collection of activities which together comprise a process.

It is therefore possible to speak of a locally generated musical style that has been developed through the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Music Festivals since performances have the capacity to invent/ascribe meaning. The process of meaning generation has had contributions (or rather restrictions) from the Catholic Church officials cum Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO), and also (as discussed earlier in this chapter) from the students, music directors or trainers, teachers and audience or the church congregation in the archdiocese. While the manner of performance and transcription has external influences, there is a generally accepted interpretation and sense of identity within the society performing this music. A kind of consciousness is attached to Kiganda music and musical instruments that emanates from the secular arena from which this music is adapted. A locally

generated musical style is hereby useful in articulating a specific range of local knowledges and issues for the sake of articulating theological doctrines in relation to inculturation. Among these are performance practices, costuming, and cultural aspects of musical performance that are restricted to the Catholic Church in a specific area of the country. An example can be the dancing which in the church sense is celebratory yet when detached from the church has other different cultural and social connotations. It could entail sexual connotations, traditional worshipping implications as well as other interpretations not originating from the west but locally generated.

Therefore, in these performances at the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, there are instances of production of locality whereby space and time are themselves socially localized. Appadurai notes: "...some of the best work in the social logic of ritual amplifies that space and time are themselves socialized and localized through complex and deliberate practices of performance, representation, and action" (2001:101). To him, these practices are either cosmological or rituals. Therefore Appadurai also notes: "One of the most remarkable general features of the ritual process is its highly specific way of localizing duration and extension, of giving these categories names and properties, values and meanings, symptoms and legibility" (*ibid.*). In the context of the festival in question, all the above outlined factors are exemplified and thus we cannot rule out the social construction of the local using the various avenues discussed above.

However, this local production is not only limited to the festival but even to names such as Kampala Archdiocese. Since the Vatican has authorized the archdiocese as an independent territory, it is established as an independent local Catholic church in Uganda. As such, the festival is performed in a specific space that is regarded as local. Here, the Church utilizes the local Luganda language of the people who comprise the main percentage of the diocese. By the Second Vatican Council's decrees on liturgical authorization (also confirmed by Bishop Christopher Kakooza in an interview), the bishop of Kampala Archdiocese is mandated to authenticate what he regards as right and fitting to be used in the diocesan liturgical activities.

Specifically for Kampala, the archdiocesan synod which took place in 2006 confirmed Luganda as the main language of worship in the local diocese while recognizing English as the other language. More so, a number of priests informed me of differences within the liturgical practices, even within the various Luganda speaking dioceses (which form the Kampala main archdiocesan block). As Appadurai has been quoted above, the uniqueness of the names used should not also be overlooked since it singles out and distinctly identifies one place from another. Thus, when we talk of Kampala Archdiocese, it is the only Catholic archdiocese in the world being referred to by that name and therefore, this is a symbol of its local identity.

A consideration of the local in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals cannot be completed without mentioning the local audiences who are the main consumers and at the same time take part in the activities of the music festivals. Referring to the place of the audience in media use and popular music, Bennett writes that,

The audience' no longer represents simply an 'object of study', a reality 'out there' constitutive and reserved for the discipline which claims ownership of it, but has to be defined first and foremost as a discursive trope signifying the constantly shifting and radically heterogeneous ways in which meaning is constructed and contested in multiple everyday contexts of media use and consumption (2000:55, quoted in Ang 1996:4).

The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Music Festival audience is comprised of mainly Catholics, both laity and clergy, whose ages are unlimited since there are adults (ordinary parish choir members, parents and teachers of participating students), as well as primary school pupils. This group is regarded as local in a particular sense since it forms part of the local church in Kampala Archdiocese, and at the same time contributes greatly in generating meaning out of these festivals performances.

Generally speaking, most of the members of the audience speak Luganda fluently and understand English as well. While in performances of western or hybrid music genres the audience will remain silent, clapping only at the end, the Kiganda song performances will involve them actively clapping and sometimes even cheering throughout the performance, since Kiganda songs usually encompass music, dance

and drama. Here the audience takes part in constructing meaning either actively or passively.

The audience is again referred to as local in the sense that it is the same audience that the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee has been using to provide a forum or arena to recontextualize the various aspects of church music performance in an effort to make them suit the Catholic liturgy. George Jingo, one of the members of the committee, informed me that while the reactions of members of the audience to the different music performances may not bias the adjudicators, they make a lot of sense for the Music Committee since they represent the larger Roman Catholic congregation in Kampala Archdiocese. As such, the committee regards their attendance as vital and at the preparatory stage it will ensure that the public (mainly Catholic community) is well informed of when the festival will be taking place. Thus announcements will run on radio stations (mainly church owned radio stations), and at all churches in the archdiocese while all the Buganda dioceses are provided with a calendar of these activities earlier so as to ensure that they do not collide but they can also attend them.

The local audience is valued since it is used for generating meaning and critiquing the performances in case they are still inappropriate for liturgical use. During my fieldwork, I encountered two instances whereby the audience was useful in informing my research.

On one of these occasions at the festivals, there was a group (two ladies) sitting right behind me as I recorded the festival proceedings for later analysis. They engaged a lot in talking and at first I considered the possibility of changing my location but I could not since later I discover the only available alternative had people making much more noise⁵¹. I decided to remain in this position and do what I could despite the continued talking. Later, when I was analyzing the music, I discovered that these ladies' voices

⁵¹ One element that any researcher or foreigner will note during these performances (and in most other parts of Kampala) is that audiences are never as silent as during the performance of the western classical orchestra. Here they can either compliment or rebuke a choir on stage depending on what they see.

were recorded and most of the information they were discussing was about specific choirs on stage and how they had been performing in the past. They even mentioned circumstances in which some of their free choice pieces were acquired. After the performance of Kisubi Seminary, one of the ladies told her colleague,

Eee newankubadde batugaana okuzinira amazina mu church, bano abaana batulaze nti bbo tebazina lwa balubaale naye balaze essanyu lye balina eri Katonda waabwe mu luyimba olwo.

While dancing is restricted in the church, these students have demonstrated that they are not dancing for their local gods but for the joy towards their God in song (anonymous).

This was important information for my research and it greatly informed me when writing my dissertation. To my ‘informants’ this was the social performance of religion, whereby music is used as a tool for expressing extra-musical societal concerns that are embedded in the music performed.

In this case, the local audience is not only involved in documenting and transmitting the historical aspects of this festival aurally but it is also generating meaning. Meaning is supposed to be based on a variety of contexts to which the individual generating the meaning has been subjected in his or her life time. Gregory Barz explains: “By first accepting that a plurality of life experiences contributes to an individual's understanding of a musical event, we can shift the focus towards the plurality of musical meanings that emerges within the context of ethnographic research with multiple individuals dictated by the individual” (2001:108). Barz makes two important points here for our observation. Firstly, he indicates how a plurality of life experiences affect the way an individual interprets and in essence generates meaning out of a musical performance. By mentioning this, Barz immediately turns and articulates how these meanings are multidirectional since they are generated by various individuals each with a plurality of life experiences. In this particular context of performance, most of these meanings from the local songs or Kiganda Free songs contain local sensibilities, thereby emphasizing the nature of how the local is perceived.

The locals generate meanings in many ways, only some of which will be vital for this study's consideration. While the performers, composers, and music committee might be considered as the main generators of meaning in this church music, local music making practices involve far more than the actual process of composing and performing songs and musical pieces (Bennett 2000:56-57, see also Finnegan 1989:6). By implication, the audiences in the festivals belong to the other silent unmentioned category to which Bennett refers. To adopt Bennett's words, what we call a local church music repertoire is a product of local knowledges and sensibilities and a form of independent cultural territory which is removed from the cultural space occupied by significant others (in the cultural or entertainment arena) yet not exclusively or completely immersed in the new locale of manifestation. In cross checking the interviews that I conducted, I discovered that some songs had been deliberately performed differently by different members of the congregation for a number of reasons. One of the reasons as earlier seen was the lack of ability to read music scores. Some composers do not pay attention to nuances of the local language and thus force the interpreters to correct them without their permission since to the congregations, singing them the way they were composed does not make any sense. As participants in this interpretation and meaning generating activity, they do what composers have referred to as singing these songs incorrectly. However, this does not exclusively apply to all songs that are sung wrongly but to only some cases, since a number of factors account for this, an example of which could be that the choir not be professional enough to sing some compositions. One of the songs that the audience in Buganda region has deliberately altered is Kyagambiddwa's *Yezu eyafa luli* (M.T.O. 174, No. 232).

The congregation or audience at the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Festivals participates in generating local sensibilities in another way. In referring to this, I will employ Lachmann's expression of "marking off territory" (1988:239, quoted in Bennett 2000:59). Here the audiences (as well as the performers themselves) provide the biggest market for the festival recordings that are sold after the festivals. This music is usually on DVDs or CDs and sometimes cassettes are used for distributing

this music. While a number of people buy it for various reasons, such as the Catholic radio stations Radio Maria and Radio Sapientia which play Catholic music, one of the most popular observations I made connects with Lachmann's notion of marking off of territories. There are occasions such as parties, funerals, or functions of lay Catholics where Catholic Church music is exclusively performed. At one of the funerals I attended for a former member of the choirs, the father of the deceased approached the DJ and unconditionally demanded: "You have to play only Catholic church choir music because this is a Catholic family" (anonymous). In such cases, some of the people might want to listen to other music but since these territories have been exclusively marked off as Catholic, it limits the possibilities of listening to other musical genres. However, most of the music used in these situations is what is referred to as church music and in a way used by the local audience as earlier explained. In this case consumption turns out to be a means by which individuals come to realize both space and society. Bennett writes that "one of the ways in which individuals make such simultaneous realisations of society and space is through the act of musical consumption" (2000:64).

However, the local is not articulated only by local traits (which are in this case very fluid) but also by an increased emphasis on the global which in turn clarifies what is not global, which is the local. Mike Featherstone has argued that a "paradoxical consequence of globalization, the awareness of the finitude of the boundedness of the planet and humanity, is not to produce homogeneity but to familiarize us with greater diversity, the extensive range of local cultures" (Featherstone quoted in Bennett 2000:52).

The process of constructing locality is itself a context within which other contexts are situated. While some of these processes might be looked at broadly from one angle, looking at them from a more realistic or different angle can imply something different. This is in conformity with what we have earlier encountered about globalization whereby it has two sides to it, a kind of hybrid identity. These include a global and local aspect. The incorporation of music, dance and drama as in the

African context cannot be overlooked in this festival since it is not common in western music. While considering them separately might imply something different, all of them considered together reflect a local way of organizing or celebrating in society particularly in the African context. In the free choice Kiganda song, the performance of indigeneity is reflected in this item. As such, when all three appear at one time, then a reflection of the local Kiganda society is inevitable since as opposed to the western, the three are usually experienced together in Kiganda traditional musical practices. As a construct, locality is consistently reminded of both the performers and the audience and later accepted as part and parcel of the festival. As such, reading the local elements from the festival performances translates to the performance of indigeneity since the factors responsible for this kind of social construct are in play. Even when adjudicators were making their comments in relation to the free choice Kiganda song, Bennett's notions of 'we' (Baganda) and 'they' (westerners) could not be avoided since reference was always made to folksongs and traditional dances as part of the Kiganda heritage being implied through the performance of music, dance and drama in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

The continuous contest that has been projected between the local and global in these Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals is sustained by an important dynamic that determines the power structures and how they are negotiated in this festival. Since we have located how the local and global are implied in the festival, in the next section, we revisit the power structures in a rather detailed way so as to locate meaning as well as why the festival is glocal in nature.

7.7 The Power Structure in the Glocal Hybrid

Power is never simply stated. It has to be wrestled from the hands of others; it is essentially a contested capacity of doing things. Beyond this, a view of power relations as a field of conflicting forces is crucial for our understanding of the historical dynamics of social practice as it intertwines with performance (Erlmann 1996:225-226).

I open this section with this quote from Veit Erlmann as I approach an essential aspect of both competitive musical performances as well as religious systems,

particularly Catholicism. This section considers power structures in the overall glocal hybrid which is the main concept informing this study. It is also worth noting that while both the global and local form the glocal hybrid, each of these two is also to some extent a hybrid of sorts especially in reference to the power structures and how they are negotiated, reinscribed or, to use Erlmann's phrase, "wrestled from the hands of others" (*ibid.*). Again, being 'stakeholders' in this glocal hybrid does not necessarily imply that both the global and local are 'equal' stakeholders but their levels of influence vary depending on the power structures in play in particular situations as this study will elucidate.

7.7.1 Global Power Structure

In the context of the global, the main power brokers as far as the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals are concerned include the Vatican and Britain (the former colonial master), and to some extent global music stylistic conventions also play a role. The following section reviews the level of authority each of these power brokers seems to exert on the activities of the festivals especially relating to influence on what is performed, how is it performed and the outcomes of the performances.

The Vatican is the main factor to consider here since as we have by now established, most of the power is in its hands. It provides the context in which the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals are conducted. The system according to which the festivals are designed is granted by the Vatican not mainly to satisfy the festivals' needs but rather as a kind of symbiotic strategy whereby as the local archdiocese benefits, the overall benefit credibility is attributed to the Vatican since it shines from the successes of the local diocesan churches. Power in this context is about control and control is specifically directed towards people. By conducting the festival under the precinct of the Catholic Church (the Vatican), there is a level of evangelization strategically aimed at attracting more converts as well as confirming or nourishing the already converted so as to make them proud and firmly rooted in their church. The conversion on the one hand increases the numbers of

Catholics globally which is to the Vatican's benefit, whereas on the other hand, the Vatican's power and influence are extended to more people on the globe, which is the central concern of these hegemonic structures. More people help the Vatican to portray a positive self image and its anchorage in imagined spaces of collective cohesion, which is achieved through the competitive display of musical, cultural and symbolic attributes of power (*ibid.*:225). In the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, for example, the Vatican's influence extends right from the establishment of the archdiocese under which the festival is run, and up to the very compositional techniques and lyrics used in the composition of songs, to the limits of the manner of performance especially in relation to Catholic liturgy. However, for purposes of appropriate management, some of this power is designated to the local diocesan bishop, while by virtue of his office, he concurrently attains some other authority in order to govern the area under his dominion without any problem. More of the archdiocese's influence will be dealt with in a later section in relation to its role in these power structures and struggles.

While this level of hegemonic control has been in existence since the arrival of the first French Catholic missionaries in Uganda in 1879, it has not gone unchallenged by other factors (both British and Baganda), which in contesting it, try to wrestle some level of power and control from the Vatican to themselves. This seemingly polarized state as exemplified by Robert Holton is the one that in turn works for the strengthening of the global power structures as we shall later establish. This polarization is evidenced not by the strong visibility of the power centres as such, but by their synergy and concurrent levels of influence. The more the Vatican delegates its powers, the more its level of influence and areas of its jurisdiction expand. This in turn, contrary to the thesis of polarization, increases the Vatican's power globally hand in hand with expanding its influence to various parts of the world. In the next section I take a critical consideration of the colonial masters' legacy and influence in the Catholic Church practices of Uganda with particular attention on the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

Britain is the former colonizer of Uganda and in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, and its legacy is not only still visible but also audible. From the onset of the Catholic missions in Uganda, the French missionaries who had already conducted their classes in Latin and Luganda, were restricted to using English (and only to some extent Luganda), largely denying them the possibility of having languages taught other than the colonizer's language. As already stated in Chapter Three, the struggles between the English Anglican missionaries and French White Fathers led to suspicions from the colonial government. The situation later led to the invitation of the English Mill Hill missionaries who were also Catholic and helped to uphold the colonizers' legacy through language. This lasted up to 1969 when Pope Paul IV visited Uganda and resolved some of the long-standing tensions between the two missionary groups. While the Mill Hill Missionaries still run some dioceses in Uganda such as Jinja diocese, their legacy is more reflected in the culture of hymn singing which is widely used in Ugandan churches as well as the place of English in the Roman Catholic liturgy. The issue of language was partly strengthened by the arrival of the Mill Hill Missionaries. Since this time English has been a major part not only of the Catholic Church in Uganda but also in the entire country at large since it is the national language. More so, it is also used as the language of communication (alongside other languages) in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Festivals since all students are required to know English since it is the medium of instruction in Ugandan secondary schools. Contrary to the Vatican's prescribed Latin and later (after the Second Vatican Council) other local languages, here English poses a threat of dominance since it surpasses the rest of the languages in usage. Given the Mill Hill missionaries' historical contribution particularly to the music repertoire of the archdiocese as already stated elsewhere in this dissertation, English is an important aspect of the Catholic Church since at some point a whole diocese used it as its official language. Given the colonizer's legacy that is widespread in Ugandan cultural, social and religious practices, the English language stands out as one of the most globally recognized languages whose dominance and authority transcends all the spheres outlined above, that is, social, religious, economic

and to some extent cultural. This should also be considered hand in hand with the hymn-singing tradition which has been consistent in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals since its inception.

Sheila Croucher (2004) and Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2004) have explicitly dealt with the level of influence language can have on global practices and by implication even on the local practices. The colonizer's linguistic legacy has particular implications on the local scene in Uganda, generating more concerns that seem to create a polarity within the Catholic Church's global influence, thereby challenging its power and authority. While most church documents prior to Vatican Council II and even some after advocated the use of Latin and Gregorian chants in Catholic liturgy, both English and hymn singing have now become global phenomena that are no longer looked at as merely English but already understood and managed on global conventions. Therefore, in the Catholic Church, Latin and English seem to be in a kind of contest for supremacy since the extent to which a language is used globally determines the level of its influence and power. In this case, therefore, English holds more power than Latin since as Croucher noted, it is used by more than three quarters of the world's population. It is one of the most powerful languages on the globe. Nevertheless, in being used in the festivals, English works hand in hand with other local factors as we shall later establish to increase the level of influence, power and authority of the Roman Catholic Church globally. As such, it plays an important part in this polarity whereby on the one hand it seems to contest Latin's supremacy in the Catholic Church, while on the other hand it explicitly works to increase the Church's supremacy globally. This makes the Catholic Church very powerful, concurring with what Roland Robertson has noted:

One of the most significant attributes of the modern global scene is the fact that, in order for a society to be a legitimate member, it must exhibit certain characteristics associated with the strong, relatively centralized state (1983:45).

Robertson and other scholars on globalization have always agreed that while the Vatican functions as the center for Catholicism globally, it is also one of the most powerful religious institutions in the world. Thus it has continually expressed and

reaffirmed its position and authority in the global power brokerage/dynamics.

Edmund Nwaobilo Ogbonna has noted:

Articles 37-40 of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy expresses [*sic.*] the Church's recognition of its pluralistic structure, its universalism, its being a world Church, of its being Roman in tradition and international in expression, of its doctrinal unity in cultural diversity (1999:122).

Therefore in terms of global authority the Catholic Church has been widely perceived as active and the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals have not been an exception. Nevertheless, it would be totally unfair to limit our stance of power dynamics related to the festival to only the Vatican or the Roman Catholic Church and the colonial legacy. There have been other players on the global scene and I take interest in examining their role in this entire power structure.

To some extent, the global music composition and performance conventions are involved in the dynamics of power that form the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. Composers in this festival are strictly required to harmonize the hymns or songs according to a specific criterion. Whether according to Bach's chorale style or such forms as established in academia, this has a lot of impact on the way the religious story is told. As a former member of the music technical committee which is part of the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee, I established that when songs are being vetted, part of the work is to check the harmony, which parts have been doubled, tonality issues, and (in case of modulations) to check whether this has been done according to the conventional practices and many other issues. As earlier discussed in Chapter Five on the ethnography of the festival, this technical music vetting comes along with all the shortcomings of notation such as freezing the music and restricting or depriving it of its more flexible form that the Kiganda culture has enjoyed musically. But also important for this section are the communicative and aesthetic issues. In one way this restricts the manner of communication but then it also limits the story to be told in a specific way and not in any other way. This combined with the aesthetic considerations in music composition and performance restricts the manner of delivery and perception. In a way, this is wrestling the power

of music from the Vatican-instituted norms. Here, the consequences might either be very good for the Vatican or else it might make the composition more complicated (as the case was for the set piece at some point in time). This to some extent affects the long term goals of the festival whereby it is not easy to understand for the ordinary musically illiterate person on one hand, while it can also simplify the message delivery as it is in the Kiganda songs. Of course the latter serves well the interests of the Vatican.

These conventions as reflected upon by Becker are very important for music but also bring about specific challenges which in a way raise concerns about the space where the composition(s) will be performed. For example, the manner in which the western composed songs treat their repetition sections such as in the song *Mugulumize Omukama* by Uganda Martyrs High School, Lubaga (on the attached accompanying CD) works partially contrary to the Kiganda system and presents the musical elements at the forefront, at the expense of the spiritual message in the lyrics which is in this case more appropriate for meditation. Secondly, treatment of repetitions in compositions is usually based on the projection of the musical structure and less on the message or lyrics that deserve emphasis since they contain the main message. In this song by Uganda Martyrs High School Lubaga students, performed in the festivals of 2010, I substantiate some of these discrepancies dictated by the conventional structures particularly relating to the treatment of motifs and repetitions. The many repetitions strictly follow the musically aesthetic concerns whereas some of the meanings of the words could be questioned in relation to the language in which the music was composed. These are just a few of the many elements that make the composer focus on the conventional compositional techniques which at times are rather difficult to synchronize with the lyrical message.

The above highlighted elements present a conflict of interest which in one way might imply a disagreement though at the end, both music and the message in lyrics work together to promote the interests of the Vatican. The seemingly conflicting power struggle is finally addressed since the Vatican strictly adheres to conventional music

practices and therefore follows and upholds them. In turn the ‘musical’ (sonic elements) work with the message in the lyrics to uphold the Vatican’s supremacy and domination as the leading global religious practice, a position of power. Nonetheless, there are song forms such as the Gregorian chant (plain chant) that are more identifiable with the Catholic Church. The later incorporation of other forms of music composition can be interpreted as a move to become an all-inclusive global system. As Ogbonna notes about the *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy*, the church portrays doctrinal unity in cultural diversity as a major factor in its being international in expression.

7.7.2 The Local Power Structures

As stated above, while both the global and local forces act on the way the festival is conducted to varying degrees, their involvement, whether minimal or exaggerated, has had important significance for this study, as we have seen. In this section I try to expound on who the main power brokers are among the local actors, and to what extent they are acting in relation to the global forces.

As already noted above, the Vatican delegates some of its power to the local diocese, in this case Kampala Archdiocese, specifically because it is the ‘local’ diocese, having knowledge of the local people’s language, customs, traditions and practices. The Vatican therefore gives the diocese terms of reference/operation and particularly in this case they comprise the various documents governing church music practices. The local diocese’s major role in this context is to oversee the interests of the Vatican as well as to ensure that there is a proper synchronization of local customs, culture and practices into the Vatican’s theology or doctrines. However, this is granted to the local to uphold global interests which presents interesting conflicting ideologies, since the local overseer is part of the local community.

By implication, therefore, the local “authorities” are in turn involved in wrestling some power from the Vatican though doing it “legally” as granted in the *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy*. Particularly on sacred music, the Second Vatican Council clearly

lays down the guidelines for what it regards as church music. In the guidelines, approval was left to the local authorities who are in this case Kampala Archdiocese. Kampala Archdiocese also lays down certain procedures to follow and like the Vatican, it in turn delegates the work to a number of professional people in various fields but all guided by one of the archdiocese's priests so as to protect the archdiocese's interests. This group of people, KAMUCO, is entrusted with the work of conducting the archdiocese's work on a volunteer basis. Among these and most relevant for this study are the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. The Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee sets down the guidelines, conducts the music training courses, selects the judges/adjudicators as well as the overall management of the festival. It is the most powerful organ at the festival since it is responsible for selecting the set piece and other items of the repertoire. The power to assign judges also rests in KAMUCO's jurisdiction. Using the guidelines provided by the church documents, the committee negotiates some of the colonial and Vatican establishments as far as church music is concerned. All stakeholders in this festival are used in the negotiation and reversal of power structures here in such a way that the festival is a forum where the religious music practices are revised, consolidated and also altered wherever needed. It is here that local practices find their way into the Church after approval from KAMUCO officials when they have experienced them in live performances on stage.

While the music committee (KAMUCO) is the most powerful of all the players in this sacred space, all the other minor players participate in the process of power sharing, whereby they rehearse something and bring it on stage so that the officials appointed by KAMUCO can oversee these performances and ensure that they stick to the very interest of the Vatican as instructed. As such, the composers, music directors, performers and members of the audience are at the last end of this narrative. They receive what they are given and for them (especially the audience), it is mainly through interpreting and reacting to what they watch at these festivals that they can contribute to this current discussion. In terms of power structures, the local personalities are only limited to modifying what the Vatican has instructed them to

do. All that the people in Kampala do is intended in the first place to glorify the global place of the Vatican though in this case due to inculturation, the local church also benefits since most of its systems and musics are given attention and developed alongside the evangelization message.

The performers, mainly the students and their music directors, are limited to the work of interpreting the songs and dances that the Vatican has approved through the Kampala Archdiocesan Music Committee (KAMUCO), and placing them in a specific context. This is the period that follows the music courses whereby each school goes back and tries to select the most appropriate songs that will enable it to win these festivals. The directors are in a way an extended arm of composition since each music director interprets music differently. Therefore, they are the people who give us a personal understanding or conceptualization of the composition according to their personal judgment. While they have some authority, it is limited specifically to controlling the choristers during rehearsals and not afterwards.

The local power structures are not independent from the global power structures. At first they appear to be working in conflict with each other but, at the end of the day, it is for the overall benefit of glocalizing the Vatican which as we have earlier established is a global, culturally diversified church though unified by doctrines. Therefore, since doctrines are set by the Vatican, the latter should be considered as the authoritative voice in this case. As a number of my informants explained to me, "*Roma locuta est, causa finita est*" (Once Rome [the Vatican] speaks, everything is finished without question) (interviews: Edward Ssonko 3 September 2009, Leonard Ssemukaaya 8 November 2009). The statement reflects the Vatican's supremacy in everything related to the way Catholicism is practiced globally. Still, in this section we have noted that Rome largely depends on the local structures for its global influence. In turn the local structures also benefit as they work for the Vatican's interests and the driving force here is upholding the Catholic Church doctrines and practices. This is what we referred to as a symbiotic nature of all glocal institutions as benefit of one of them depends on the other and vice-versa.

By achieving this glocal homogeneity with some outstanding traits from the Vatican maintained as already explained in the ethnographic chapter, the homogenous and hegemonic structure of the Roman Catholic Church based in Rome is evident in most of its activities and areas of jurisdiction. These structures are packaged by the Vatican's local arms, which in this case are the various diocesan bishops who use the local models and structures to uphold the interests of the Vatican among the local community. Thus, there is a hybridity of sorts whose limits are based on uniformity of doctrines as taught in the Roman Catholic Church. Thus also, in reference to Edward Said (1978, 1994), there are cultural dichotomies constructed between western and non-western ways of life. Whereas Said asserted that western cultural imperialism operates through discourses of power, where truth is subordinated to the desire for power and domination, in the current case there is a kind of *win - win* situation for the mutual benefit of both the local and the global, seen in the glocal nature of the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals.

Critically considering this Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals from a glocal point of view and taking into consideration all the major discussions we have had on both global and local power structures, there is a new kind of cross-over culture that is born as a result of the 'refiguration' process that has been widely emphasized by various scholars on globalization and localization (Nederveen Pieterse 1992). Due to the prevailing power structures in the Catholic Church, in the sense that while it continues to identify itself as a Roman Catholic culture, there are a number of traits that will differ from other Catholic practices both musically and doctrinally. Therefore a consideration of the power structures as the latter section has demonstrated enlightens us about the terms and conditions of mixing in order to have a refiguring in the process of hybridization.

The festival exhibits a certain level of 'reworking' on the music from the west so as to glocalize it and in turn identify with it in specific ways as demonstrated earlier in this chapter. In turn this could be interpreted as a way of recognizing and negotiating power structures and in turn reinscribing them as the concept of glocalization implies.

By reworking the music or the liturgy to make them hybrid in response to inculturation, there is a lot of power reinscribed.

Musically, the performance practices as already explained exhibit a high degree of hybridity and in the glocal sense, it can rightly be identified with the 'cross-over culture' since it has been adapted to its new locale. The music has assumed what I refer to as a 'contemporary glocal consciousness' whereby the power structures aiming for homogeneity are at the same time partly responsible for the diversity (local characteristic) and have thus necessitated my study to consider the effect of the 'countercurrents' on the musical structure used in this festival. It goes without saying that the local practices in Buganda have had a great effect on both the music and the performance practices and also the way Catholicism is taught or perceived, as I demonstrated earlier by analyzing manifestations of decolonization, ambivalence, hybridity, mimicry and mockery in both the music and religious cultural practices.

Due to the power structures considered above, I observe that the seemingly polarized state in which both local and global tendencies appear, in terms of musical practices and interpretation of church doctrines as the inculturation campaign created, in turn makes them even more functional in glocalization. Polarization applies to phenomena which are on the surface contradictory, but which are actually complementary and mutually dependent. The polarity, as Holton stated, only works to enhance what the Vatican aims at achieving and in most cases, positive results have been realized with this polarization acting in this context. In this study, I have also observed that the polarity is regulated by the power each of these has since the Vatican's power and authority can never be equated to the local power structures in Kampala Archdiocese. Therefore, polarization in this context is not simply a given that is static but the polarity will also be governed by the rules in place as set up by the Vatican, which is the global governing body.

The hybridity of the church music, culture, performance practices, liturgy, and other aspects considered in this study makes it relevant for a glocal consideration since the power structures that engender this hybridity seem to be pulling in different

directions, yet all converge at the point of fulfilling the requirements of the Vatican. As earlier explained and examined under glocalization, hybridity is an important factor when analyzing “glocal texts” since it embodies the power, nature and conditions of the hybrid.

Power is well articulated in Clifford Geertz’s much cited definition of religion as “1) a system of symbols which acts to 2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by 3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and 4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that 5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic” (1973:90). This quote articulates the power issue as my study has labored to examine and explain it using empirical data. Geertz’s definition of religion asserts one focal issue, which this section summarizes in three related words: authority, power and control. While the means of achieving this power and authority might differ from what this study has considered, music is a very important tool and this study has enumerated how it can be used to achieve glocal power structures in respect of the Vatican.

Chapter Eight

8.0 Postlude: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1 Overview

The current study was aimed at establishing how the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals can be understood as a glocal phenomena. I wanted to ascertain how the festivals, as a hybrid religious and cultural expression, can be understood as embodying the articulation in space and time of the globalized religion of Roman Catholicism and the local culture in Buganda. I set out to find out to what extent musical performance can be used as an avenue of redefining, negotiating and challenging the Vatican's autonomous power and influence in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. I considered choral musical performance not only as an entertainment model but also a medium of communication, negotiation, articulation and redefining both institutional space and power structures in the Roman Catholic Church, in Kampala Archdiocese. In this study, I have drawn on a wide variety of empirical data and other sources as explained in the second chapter to explain my opinions, assertions, findings and conclusions.

In the preceding discussion I established that the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals is a place where the missionary and institutional colonial structures have been reworked in contrast to their original dimensionality whereby they signified imposition as an inseparable module of colonialism in preindependent Uganda. Glocally, the festival is also a space where the hierarchical power structures are semi-autonomous since they largely depend on their subordinates for complete/total autonomy. This has been discussed particularly in the way the Second Vatican Council came to delegate some of its powers to the diocesan bishops as a way of effecting the inculturation campaign, especially in the then missionary lands. The bishops in turn called on professionals in various fields of music for advice though following the Church's guidelines.

In this study I have also established that a musical performance does not only consist of the music scores, choristers, musical instruments and audience as the literal texts, but also the social and religious environment in which this music prevails. Therefore, in considering music as an important aspect of communication or as part of ritual, the social space in which this music prevails contributes greatly to define either the performers, the music itself or the space in which it is happening. I have exemplified this in considering the space in which the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals are being influenced by both global and local forces, in turn all having visible and audible influences on the music structure of the Roman Catholic Church repertoire used in the archdiocese of Kampala.

From another angle, the performance of liturgical rituals has been seen as contributing to the construction of Catholic identity. I have noted that the performance of religious rituals provides a means for the reciprocation of what ritual scholar Victor Turner called *communitas* or an awareness of being bound together with other people historically (1995). On the other hand the same aspect of *communitas* has been identified as one of the driving forces behind the various choirs competing in these Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. Gregory Barz refers to this as group solidarity which transcends social boundaries, as revealed by his study of Lutheran *kwayas* in Tanzania.

By presenting the ethnographic space occupied by the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals, I have introduced the reader to the important domains of ritual performance. In order to understand the music in the festival, it was appropriate to revisit the context in which this music is performed which consisted of the various Catholic ritual practices. The study has presented musical performance not only as serving for ritual in the Roman Catholic sense but also as part of the ritual itself. It serves as an important part without which the ritual might be incomplete. Therefore, this study has in one way called for the understanding of the ritual in order to comprehend the role or part that music performs in that specific ritual. In this

case, the entire ritual serves as the space in which music is performed and therefore the two cannot be separate but support each other in symbiotic ways as analyzed in this study.

The current study has also established and exemplified how the Vatican is an autonomous institution whose influence extends as far as the Catholic Church in Uganda and particularly Kampala Archdiocese's liturgical practices, among which music is an important component. I have noted that while the Second Vatican Council instituted the inculturation campaign to take place, in some ways the process of inculturating both music and liturgical practices seems to work against the whole idea. However, a detailed analysis has indicated that this seemingly polarized state, like in glocalization, works instead to strengthen the position of the Vatican and in turn subscribes to its leadership.

In this study, I have examined how institutional hierarchical power structures have participated in the coining of theological concepts, thus enriching scholarship and asserting their power in defining themselves and their institutions. I have analytically examined the use of particular concepts and established that the power to demarcate the sacred from secular was partly responsible for the creation of the inculturation concept, which arose after some theologians had already utilized the concept of indigenization. In tracing the history of inculturation, I noted that the concept is deeply rooted in the Catholic Church's theological discourse as a way of differentiating it from indigenization (and from both acculturation and enculturation) since the latter was all embracing and rather secular in nature. In order to command power and difference, which Veit Erlamann noted as important elements/symbols of powers, inculturation was coined so as to serve the Catholic Church's glocal interests. From interviews and literature consulted, it has remained largely used to articulate the Second Vatican Council's recommendations, particularly those related to the liberalizing of liturgy that includes local languages, musical practices and other aspects of local culture so as to make it more participatory for the ordinary Catholics.

My work is also an attempt at filling the seemingly empty void of research relating to Ugandan Catholic Church music scholarship, approaching it from both global and local contexts. While there have been some minor studies conducted on some aspects of church music, there has not been any prior study approaching the subject from an ethnomusicological perspective in the way this study has done. By drawing on a large literature base and historical data gathered, my study has combined aspects of liturgy and theology to explain the place of music in the Catholic religious belief system. I have drawn on important aspects of postcolonial studies, hybridity, globalization, inculturation, localization and indigenization in order to explain how music serves both social and religious purposes as well as articulating glocal aspects of Catholicism through performance.

This study has provided alternative ways or means of reading recurrent postcolonial musical acts in the Catholic Church musical practices, particularly those conducted in the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. The study has established that the festival is an avenue where institutionalized postcolonial church musical performances take place. It is a place where colonial notions of power and institutionalization are either reaffirmed, questioned, challenged, negotiated, wrestled or utilized to construct a glocal Roman Catholicism in Kampala Archdiocese. The festival exhibits a high level of postcolonial tendencies such as mimicry and mockery, ambivalence as well as laying a foundation for decolonizing both the music and liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of Kampala.

I have contributed to studies in social sciences and humanities, particularly in anthropology, sociology linguistics, ethnography, religion, music, and ethnomusicology. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this study, it has been inevitable for me to borrow various theoretical, methodological and other approaches so as to substantiate the glocal nature of these Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. In terms of theoretical clarification, I have not only utilized these theoretical concepts but also critiqued them as a way of contributing to their eventual revision as may be deemed necessary by scholars in the different fields that I

have noted above. In this way, I have been particularly cautious as an African scholar to avoid accepting these western-derived theoretical frames without proper sieving, as this is a risk of which I was made acutely aware throughout this project.

My study has also provided an extensive historical documentation on Catholic liturgical music practices right from the arrival of the first Catholic missionaries into Uganda up to the time of concluding my fieldwork in November 2010. Like I noted earlier in my chapter on ethnography, one of my greatest challenges was that there was no substantive research or documentation on Catholic Church music practices in Uganda and my study has fulfilled one of its objectives by tracing the history of this music tradition in order to account for the current trends in church music practices with the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival as the main area of focus. This study's historical documentation will therefore be useful to other scholars in the fields of music ethnomusicology, composition, historical musicology, as well as in anthropology, history, sociology, religious studies, theology, liturgy, philosophy and linguistics.

The current study has demonstrated how ethnography is becoming fluid in terms of methodologies used in the field. I have explained that while there are already documented guidelines about the field and how ethical concerns in fieldwork should be addressed, the practices are largely dependent on each individual fieldworker's judgment given the circumstances that surround him/her at a given time.

The study has addressed challenges faced by people studying their own cultures, some of which have been neglected by foreign researchers. This study has indicated that most of the fieldwork we encounter is 'me research' or autoethnographically based, using a specific perspective dictated by the fieldworker or researcher. Because of this, we are subjected to the same subjectivities and angles of thought as presented to us, since we cannot go beyond a particular research without going to the field. This study has also brought to the forefront the position of the people we originally called informants. This study recommends a more inclusive name for these people, such as "research collaborators". I have observed that as researchers, there is need to share

with these research collaborators our manuscripts before they are published since by beings natives of the subjects or communities we study, they are equally stakeholders in our findings. This has been advocated so as to avoid future rewriting of our studies.

The Catholic Church music repertoire as examined in this study has been confirmed to be of a hybrid nature, and also the factors that are responsible for this hybridity have been critically scrutinized. I have established that the music's hybridity has been due to both missionary and the colonial legacies. These factors have also been analyzed with a renewed stance on the role of globalization, with the Vatican in the picture as one of the major influencing factors of the musical techniques used, languages as well as the musical instruments that are supposed to be performed within the church music circles. The renewed stress on inculturation stems from the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on Sacred Liturgy which stressed incorporation of local forms.

I have demonstrated how hybridity has been a result of both the global and local cultural interactions. Particularly, I have demonstrated that the Roman Catholic Church in Kampala Archdiocese is of a hybrid nature, since after the Second Vatican Council and its great stress on inculturation, many of the originally Roman forms have been refigured to reflect both global and local forces. Here, according to Nederveen Pieterse, refiguring is a result of the relations of power and hegemony, which are inscribed and reproduced within hybridity. This hegemony is not merely reproduced but refigured in the process of hybridization, hence justifying my need to consider the power structures so as to account for the hybridity, specifically in the terms of mixture to avoid considering it as Happy Hybridity. I have applied these concepts particularly in relation to the nature of the music repertoire used in Kampala Archdiocese with primary focus given to the Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals. The liturgical practices in Kampala Archdiocese have also been exemplified as hybrid in order to draw on them for explaining and accounting for the hybrid nature of the music used by both the students in these festivals and the general Catholic congregation in the archdiocese of Kampala.

Hybridity has also been reflected upon as a feature of identity in Kampala Archdiocesan liturgical practices specifically in regard to music. This hybridity has ranged from the music repertoire, instruments used to accompany songs in both the festival and ordinary churches, languages authorized by Kampala Archdiocese, and the general nature of liturgy in the archdiocese. While I have clearly enumerated that the conditions of this hybridity differ in the different cases examined in this study, the general sense of this hybrid nature represents the overall scheme of this festival and church as being a glocal church that is fusing both global and local characteristics. Again, hybridity has been viewed as a postcolonial condition marking the encounter with the colonial period and its aftereffects that have had multiple influences on Kampala Archdiocese. There were two missionary groups working in the archdiocese who were the Mill Hill missionaries at Nsambya as well as French White Fathers (now called Missionaries of Africa) at Lubaga. The two missionary groups had a great impact on the nature of music performed in the festivals and also in the church musical practices. In turn, this influence extended to all other dioceses that were carved off the original Lubaga diocese. The current composition techniques in the archdiocese are therefore reflective of these multiple histories and colonial encounters, hand in hand with the cultural practices of the Baganda, whose region the archdiocese occupies.

8.2 Some Unanswered Questions

I have considered how the power structures in the Catholic Church globally come to influence the practices of not only music, but also all the arts involved in Catholic liturgy. While I have been able to critically analyze this power structural level whereby the church authorities even determine the conditions of inculturation that results into a kind of “top-down hybridity” (hybridity from above), which is only a biased or imposed hybridity, there are insights that have arisen from my observations that need further scrutiny. An alternative approach to addressing some of these insights would be to consider how the “hybridity from below” has played a leading role in reshaping the musical practices in the liturgy. In this case, the place of the

local in determining the arts could be important in checking how the global has been influenced over time, particularly in terms of the music repertoire and liturgical practices used in Kampala Archdiocese. In a similar way, the influence of the various local cultures on a particular outstanding local music scene such as Kampala Archdiocese is worth studying. There are many influences from other regions that are affecting church musical practices in Kampala Archdiocese, since it is located in the capital city.

Another insight from the study that might need further investigation is the place of the musical instruments used in the Catholic Church globally and locally. While some scholars consider music, this study has made me aware that music in the Catholic Church cannot be exclusively analyzed without paying particular attention to the accompanying instruments. While the Second Vatican Council allowed the incorporation of traditional musical instruments into the Catholic liturgy, not all instruments have the same role, and consequently the status quo differs within the Church. From my studies of various Church documents, I have discovered that the question of musical instruments used in Catholic liturgy is still a contentious one, since some musical instruments are believed to be more powerful than others even when they are out of their cultural milieu. I therefore foresee a need to study and critically analyze the role of these instruments, power issues related to these musical instruments, as well as the yardstick used to demarcate which instrument is more powerful or useful in liturgy than the others.

Technological advancement and its impact on the way church music is perceived, composed, transmitted as well as consumed is another insight that my study has come to identify as worth pursuing academically. While the church music scene is in transformation, not much attention has been devoted to the role of technology in church music. This could be considered at a global as well as a local level, since both dimensions provide interesting insights into the manner in which the liturgy is conducted in Kampala Archdiocese. While studying music festivals, I noted that church music in Kampala Archdiocese has to some extent been affected by these

technological developments as noted. These have in turn called for more church music recordings, which was not the case two decades ago. This trend presents an interesting angle for researchers interested in church music, particularly in Uganda.

8.3 Final Opinion

My study has revealed that in the Roman Catholic Church globally, musical performance is not to be viewed as mere entertainment, but more broadly as a means of communal expression, a power marker, and also that music remains an essential part of the Catholic liturgy globally. Like Schrag noted, World Christianity is thus indigenized Christianity, at home in every culture's forms of expression. I also note in this study that global Catholicism is glocal Catholicism, rooted in different people's cultural means of expression where music plays an important part. The Vatican utilizes global institutional power structures to incorporate and influence local churches' liturgical practices. The Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festival is an example of the many scenes that have been greatly shaped by both local and global Catholic sensibilities, in turn enabling it to partially determine the destiny of Catholic Church musical practices in Kampala Archdiocese. These have consequently had lasting influences on the neighboring Catholic dioceses in the country, justifying the need for the utilized glocal approach to this study.

Appendix 1
People Interviewed – Formal Interviews

Date	Names	Position	Place of Interview
18 June 2008	Bro. Leonard Byankya	Former Committee member KAMUCO	Kisubi Bro. Mt St. Mary's
17 July 2009	Aloysius Ssekimpi	Member -KAMUCO	Kansanga
18 July 2009	Vincent Wamala	Member- KAMUCO/ Festival adjudicator	Christ the King Church - Kampala
24 July 2009	Kaabunga Richard	Member- KAMUCO /Adjudicator	Ggaba P.T.C.
27 July 2009	Jude Luwaga	Chairman- Technical Committee- KAMUCO	Kansanga Parish - Kampala
11 August 2009	Jingo George	KAMUCO Member /Adjudicator	Gayaza- Wakiso
12 August 2009	Bro. Pius Ochwo	Adjudicator, Musician and KAMUCO Member	Uganda Martyrs University- Kisubi Brothers Residence
13 August 2009	Albert Kiragga	Secretary- KAMUCO	Ntinda

3 September 2009	Rev. Fr. Dr. Edward Ssonko	Chairman -KAMUCO	Lubaga - Liturgical Music Offices
8-September 2009	Rev. Fr. Dr. James Kabuye	Founder KAMUCO Composer	Kiyinda Mityana C.T.C.
8 November 2009	Leonard Ssemukaaya	KAMUCO Member and Adjudicator	Makerere University Flame Tree
9 November 2009	John Vianney Zziwa	KAMUCO Member and Music Director	Lubaga Cathedral
17 January 2010	Mr. George Ssebutinde	Music Director Composer	Gayaza
23 January 2010	Raymond Ssendi	KAMUCO Member/ Adjudicator	Makerere University Flame Tree
19 February 2010	Rev. Fr. Dr. Msgr. David Kyeyune	Prof, and scholar on Liturgy at the Uganda Catholic Secretariat	Nsambya Catholic Secretariat
20 February 2010	Mr. John Chrysostom Muyimbwa	KAMUCO Member	Makerere University Flame Tree
21 February 2010	Rt. Rev. Bishop Christopher Kakooza	Auxiliary Bishop Kampala Archdiocese Chairman –Sanctifying Commission	Nsambya- Bishop's Residence

25 February 2010	Mr. Francis Tebasoboke	Vice Chairman KAMUCO	Dove Tours and Travel, Entebbe Road
12 March 2010	Mr. Ntabo Sebastian	Music Trainer and Composer	Nakulabye Parish
24 March 2010	Rev. Fr. Joseph Kyeyune	Former Chairman KAMUCO	Office - Lubaga Cathedral
2 April 2010	Mayambala Kizito	Music Director Bwaise Parish	Makerere University Flame Tree
5 April 2010	Kabuye Robert	Trainer/Organist	Uganda Martyrs University - Nkozi
10 April 2010	Nsubuga Andrew	Music Director Uganda Martyrs Namugongo S.S.S.	Namugongo Martyrs Shrine
22 April 2010	Kagumba Andrew	Music Trainer and Teacher	Uganda Martyrs High School Lubaga
28 April 2010	Kiryowa Mathias	Music Director, St. Mbaaga College Naddangira.	Makerere University Flame Tree
10 June 2010	Rev. Fr. Dr. Joseph Nnamukangula	Music Scholar, Lecturer, and Composer	Bukalasa Seminary - Masaka

10 June 2010	Rev. Fr. Msgr. Henry Kyabukasa	Priest, Lecturer and Church Historian	Bukalasa Seminary
4 July 2010	Raphael Mpagazi	Adjudicator/Music Director/Head teacher	Kiyinda- Mityana
14 August 2010	Kiyita P.B.	Chairman - Mulago Parish Choirs' Association	Makerere University Main Library
12 November 2010	Mukisa Michael	Former member KAMUCO, adjudicator and diocesan composer	Skype Interview

Appendix 2**Personal Communications**

1. Sr. Maria Sarah Naamala - (Composer /Liturgist)
2. Martin Mulindwa -Director of Music Mulago and Lubaga Parishes
3. Nanziri Christine – Student Conductor – Our Lady of Africa Lubaga Girls S.S.S.
4. Ssewagudde Vianney - Adjudicator/Choir Director- Kiyinda-Mityana Diocese
5. Rev. Fr. Dr. Joseph Nnamukangula – Bukalasa Seminary

Appendix 3
Activities and Functions Attended During Fieldwork

Date	Activity/Function	Venue	Role
22 June 2008	Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals	Pope Paul Memorial Community Center	Researcher
6 July 2008	Interdiocesan Schools Festivals	Lugazi Cathedral	Adjudicator/Researcher
21 June 2009	Lugazi Diocesan Schools Music Festivals	Diocesan Cathedral Lugazi	Researcher/Adjudicator
28 June 2009	Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals	Uganda Martyrs S.S.S. Namugongo	Researcher
5 July 2009	Interdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals	Kasana – Luweero Diocesan Cathedral	Researcher
7 November 2009	KAMUCO Meeting	Dove Tours and Travel	Entebbe rd. Kampala

14 November 2009	M.D.D. Department Annual Christmas Carols Ceremony	Kisubi Parish Church	Researcher
18 November 2009	First Symposium on Ethnomusicology	Makerere University	Participant
28 November 2009	KAMUCO Meeting	Dove Tours and Travels Office, Entebbe road.	Researcher
6 March 2010	Post Primary Schools' Music Course	St. Joseph's Girls S.S.S. Nsambya	Researcher
19-20 March 2010	Parish Choirs' Music Course	St. Jean Marie Muzeeyi Vocational Institute, Mengo- Kisenyi	Researcher
28 March 2010	Christ the King Choirs Association Performance	Christ the King Church Kampala	Researcher
25 May 2010	MAPA Festivals For Makerere College School	Makerere University Main Hall	Adjudicator/Researcher
15 May 2010	Course/Workshop for	St. Jean Marie	Researcher/Facilitator

	Choral Directors and Composers	Muzeeyi Vocational Institute, Mengo-Kisenyi	
12 June 2010	Observations at Festival Dress Rehearsal	Uganda Martyrs S.S.S. Namugongo	Researcher/Participant observer
18 June 2010	Observations at Festival Dress Rehearsals	St. Mbaaga College, Naddangira	Researcher
20 June 2010	Kampala Archdiocesan Post Primary Schools Music Festivals	Summit College-Kyengera	Researcher
2 July 2010	Observations during Festival Dress Rehearsal	Our Lady of Africa, Lubaga Girls' S.S.S.	Researcher/Participant Observer
4 July 2010	Interdiocesan Schools Music Festivals	Kiyinda Mityana Diocesan Cathedral	Researcher
1 August 2010	Mulago Parish Choirs' Annual Retreat	Namugongo- Kampala archdiocese	Researcher
7 August 2010	Ordinations	Lubaga Cathedral	Researcher

7 August 2010	History of Music, Radio Program	Vision Voice FM 94.8, Industrial Area- Kampala	Researcher/Panelist
9 August 2010	KAMUCO Meeting with Auxiliary Bishop Christopher Kakooza	Bishop's Office- Lubaga	Member/Researcher
14 August 2010	History of Music, Radio Program	Vision Voice FM 94.8, Industrial Area- Kampala	Researcher/Panelist
14 August 2010	Ordinations Mass	Lubaga Cathedral	Researcher
20 August 2010	Workshop	Makerere University Flame Tree	Researcher/ Convener
19 September 2010	Kampala Archdiocesan Parish Music Festival	Mulago Community Hall	Researcher
3 October 2010	Parish Choirs' Annual Pilgrimage and Concert	Namugongo Martyrs Shrine	Researcher
12 November 2010	M.D.D. Department Annual Christmas Carols Ceremony	St. Francis Chapel, Makerere University	Researcher

Appendix 4

Introduction Letter for the researcher to the Chancellor to access the Diocesan Archives

**THE LITURGICAL MUSIC DESK
KAMPALA ARCHDIOCESE
c/o The Catechetical and Liturgical Department
P.O. BOX 14125, KAMPALA**

Tel.: 071-2806010, 077-2449327, 077-2489032, 077-4989868
Email: edssonko@yahoo.com, dlwagaba@yahoo.com, akiragga@catholic.org, dovetours@siticable.co.ug

17th July 2009

The Chancellor,
Archdiocese of Kampala
P.O. Box 14125,
Kampala

Dear Rev. Fr.,

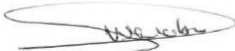
RE: MR. NICHOLAS SSEMPIJJA

I am writing to introduce to you Mr. Nicholas Ssempijja. Mr. Ssempijja was Chairman of the Technical Sub-Committee of the Archdiocesan Music Committee until he went for further studies in 2007. He is studying for his Ph. D. in Norway in Church Music.

This letter is to request you to allow Mr. Nicholas Ssempijja access to the Church archives to help him in his research in his field of study. Your indulgence in this matter will be highly appreciated as we have great hopes in utilising Mr. Ssempijja's knowledge in our Committee.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,



for Rev. Fr. Dr. Edward Ssonko
CHAIRMAN

c.c. Mr. Nicholas Ssempijja

Appendix 5

Recordings on the Accompanying CD

Track 1: *Arise* Set Piece for the 2006 Festivals (quoted on pages 284, 287)

Track 2: *Babeli* by Uganda Martyrs High School Lubaga (Ganda Free Choice Piece 2010, on page 297)

Track3: *Balina Engule* by (Uganda Martyrs S.S.S. Namugongo Ganda Free Choice 2009, on page 297)

Track 4: *Baani Abo* by Uganda Martyrs S.S.S. Namugongo Western Free Choice 2009 (on page 284)

Track 5: *Mirembe Ggwe Nnamasole* by Our Lady Queen of Africa, Lubaga Girls' S.S.S. (M.T.O. 2009, used on pages 283, 287)

Track 6: *Mpulira Ezitujja* by Uganda Martyrs S.S.S Namugongo (Ganda Free Choice 2010, used on pages 297)

Track 7: *Mugulumize Omukama* by Uganda Martyrs H. S. Lubaga (Western free choice 2010, used on page 292)

Track 8: *Otumbidde Ddala* St. Maria Goretti S.S.S. Katende (M.T.O. 2010, used on page 287)

Track 9: The Preacher Trinity College Nabbingo (S.S.A. arrangement - Set Piece 2010, used on pages 283/287)

Track 10: The Preacher by Uganda Martyrs S.S.S. Namugongo (S.A.T.B. arrangement, used on page 283)

Appendix 6

Catholic Church Documents Consulted on Sacred Church Music Authorization

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB). 2007. *Music in Divine Worship*

Catholic liturgists & musicians in English-speaking nations of US, Canada, UK, Ireland. 1995. *The Snowbird Statement on Catholic Liturgical Music*.

Pope John Paul II. 1990. *Redemptoris Missio* (On the Permanent Validity of the Church's).

United States Catholic Conference of Bishops. 1982. *Liturgical Music Today*.

Pope John Paul II. 1979. *Catechesi Tradendae* (Catechesis in Our Time).

US Bishops' Committee on Liturgy: 1972. *Music in Catholic Worship (MCW)*.

Sacred Congregation of Rites. 1967. *Musicam Sacram* (Instruction On Music In The Liturgy).

Second Vatican Council. 1963. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Constitution on Sacred Liturgy)

Sacred Congregation for Rites. 1958. *De Musica Sacra et Sacra Liturgia* (Instruction on Sacred Music and Sacred Liturgy).

Pope Pius X. 1903. *Tra le Sollecitudini* (Instruction on Sacred Music).

APPENDIX 7: Omunaala Gwa Babeli. The full transcription is on the next page.

OMUNAALA GWA BABELI

Fr James Kabuye

Lwa - ki ama-wa-nga ga-bu-gu-ta - na? Lwa - ki ama-wa-nga ga-bu-gu-ta - na? Lwa na? A-ba -

ntu ne ba-lo-woo-za ebi - ta-jja nsa, a - ba - ntu ne ba-lo-woo-za ebi - ta jja nsa. A - ba -

ta jja nsa. Lwa - ki, lwa-ki a - ma-wa-nga ga - bu-gu - ta - na? Lwa - ki lwa-ki

a-ma-wa-nga ga-bu-gu-ta - na? Baa-yo-no-ne-ka nnyo ne ba-ko-la ebi-kya-mu, te-waa-li ako-la ki-ru-ngi

n'o-mu! Bo-nna ba-wu-bwa nnyo, bo-nna ne ba-gwa-gwa-wa-la. Te-waa-li ako-la ki-ru-ngi n'o-mu!

Ne ba-tee-sa n'o-lwo oku-ko-la om-naa-la o - gu-tuu-ka n'e-yo mu ggu - lu. "Mu - lee-te, mu-lee-te e -

bbu-mba tu-li-bu-mbe, tu-jje-mu ama-ta-faa-li ag'o-ku-zi-mbi-sa, tu - goo-kye na bu-lu-ngi ga-ko-le omu-si-ngi

n'e-nvu-mbo tu - si - be wa - mu. Mu - jje, mu - jje tu - zi-mbe eki-bu - ga mu li-nnya lya-ffe.

Tu-ko-le omu-naa-la o - gu-tuu-ka n'e-yo mu ggu - lu, tu - ko - le omu-naa-la

o-gu-tuu-ka n'e-yo mu ggu - lu. Twe-ko-le-re eri-nnya, twe-ko-le-re eri-nnya mu nsi yo-nna yo-nna,

tu-wo-ne oku-jee-ra, tu-wo-ne oku-jee-ra, oku - bu-nga, oku-saa-saa-na mu nsi yo-nna yo-nna.

O - lu - li - mi two-ge-ra lu - mu, n'o-bu-zaa-le tu - li - na bu-mu; ky'e-ki-tuu-fu, ky'e-ki-ru-ngi

Omunaala Gwa Babeli 1

ky'e-ki-saa-nye ffe aba-gu-nju - fu. A-li mu ggu-lu yee-se-ke - ra, O-mu-ka-na ng'a-ba-se-ke-re -

ra. Bwe ya-yi-ma mu ggu-lu, n'a-yi-sa-yi-sa amaa-so mu baa-na b'a-ba-ntu a-la-be ate-gee-ra, a -

noo-nya Ka-to-nda. Nga te-mu-li aba-nge! Ba-la-bye aba-to-nde, nga te-mu-li n'o-mu

a-mu-te-gee-ra. N'a-jja, n'a-jja, n'a-jja, n'a-jja n'a-se-re-nge-ta ku nsi a-la-be omu-naa-la,

a-la-be omu-naa- la o-mu-ntu gw'a-ma-ze oku - zi-mba, n'a-ga-mba nti: E - no,

y'e-nta-ndi - kwa ya - bwe, ky'e-kyo, ba-no ba-ge - zi nna-ki - nku. Te - wa-jja ku - ba ki -

ba-le-ma ba - no. Mu-je tu - ge-nde tu-ba-ta-bu - le mu lu-li - mi, nga te-wa-li n'o-mu a-te-gee-ra

mu-nne. O-lu-li-mi tu-lu-ta-bu - le, wa-bu-le-wo n'o-mu a-te-gee-ra mu-nne. Ba - be-li, Ba-be-li,

o-mu-naa-la gwa Ba-be-li wa-tu-lee-te-ra aka-ba-sa Ba - be-li, Ba-be-li, o-mu-naa-la nna-ta-bu-la,

nna-ta-bu-la nku-kya-ye. O-lee-se enni-mi ezi - twa-wu-dde O-lee - se enni-mi ezi-boo-la-ga-na

n'a-ba-ntu nku-ga-mbye n'o-tu-go-ba. Te - ri a-te-gee-ra mu-nne, tu - naa-ko-la ki? Te -

ri a-te-gee-ra mu-nne ka - twe-ya-wu-le. Te - twe-ya-wu-le. E-nja-wu-ka-na, enja-wu-ka -

na, enja-wu-ka-na, enja-wu-ka - na etu-tuu-ki - ri-dde, yii - no etu-tuu-ki - ri-dde. no etu-tuu-ki - ri-dde. A -

baa-na aba-li ab'e-nda emu baa-bo ba-ge-nda, lu - li-mi ne lu-ba-wu-ka-nya, baa-bo ba-ge-nda Ba -

ge-nda, ba-ge-nda, e-nja-wu-ka-na eggu-se. E-tuu - se nja-wu-ka-na e-tuu -

se enja-wu-ka-na eggu-se. Mu - swa-dde a-be-ku-lu-nta - za nnyi-ni, e-nja-wu-ka - na, mu-swa-dde a -

be-wa-ga mmwe ku nsi, yii - no enja-wu-ka-na Mu no enja-wu-ka-na. Ba - no ba-dda mu-no, ba -

li ba-dda mu-li ba - no ba-dda mu-no, ba - li ba-dda mu-li, Ba li ba-dda mu-li. Dda - la kya ma-zi-ma, dda -

la kya ma-zi-ma, dda - la kya ma-zi-ma, dda - la kya ma-zi-ma, dda - la kya ma-zi-ma, dda - la kya ma-zi-ma.

O-mu-ka-ma ennyu-mba gya-ta - zi-mbye, dda - la kya ma-zi-ma, dda - la kya ma-zi-ma.

a - ba - gi - zi-mba ba-te-ga-ni - ra mu-nye, bya bwe-ree-re O-mu-ka-ma e - ki - bu - ga kya-ta - ku-ma dda -

la kya ma-zi-ma, dda - la kya ma-zi - ma a - ba-ki-kuu-ma ba-te-ga-ni - ra mpe-wo dda-la ki - tuu-fu

A-yi Mu-ka-ma Mu-ka-a wa-nge, o-mwo-yo gwa-nge dda - la te-gwe-ku-za, n'a - maa-so ga-nge go-nna la -

ba si-ga-bii-na. Si - ruu-bi-ri-ra nze bya wa-ggu - lu nnyo, e - bi-mpi-ti - ri - dde mbi-re-ka byo-nna

Ne-dda! N'o-ku-tee-ka ne ntee-ka, o-mwo-yo gwa-nge ne gu-wu-mmu - la mu dde-mbe. Ng'a-kaa-na ku mu-bi -

Omunaala Gwa Babeli 3

ri o-gwa nnyi-na waa - ko. n'o-mwo-yo gwa-nge bwe gu - li mu nze mu mi-ko-no gyo. mu bu-yi-nza

bwo. mu mi-ko-no gyo. Ggwa-nga lya Ka - to-nda suu-bi-ra mu Mu-ka-ma. o-ku-va ka - ti na bu-li-jjo

Ggwanga lya Ka-to-nda suu-bi-ramu Муканае-мирембе н'емірембе гьоана. гьоана гьо-на.

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