Afrikology and Community Conversations on Restorative Cultural practices in the Mt. Elgon area

Introduction

Natural resources supply raw material for getting the work of the world done. Cultural resources organize cooperation among people for getting the work of the world done.


The foundation of our talk in this chapter is the timeless supposition that we are culturally more together than we are alone. Our theme aims to explore the practicalities of culture in peace creation and the workings of Afrikology as an epistemology in East African communities, or to put it simply, Afrikology and cultural clusterism in action. What does Afrikology look like? What is the DNA composition of cultural clusters in Mt Elgon’s cross-border communities?

To begin with, the first articulation of Afrikology declares that: “it is a true philosophy of knowledge and wisdom based on African cosmogonies. It is afri because it is inspired by the ideas originally produced from the cradle of humankind located East Africa. It is not Afrikology because it is African, but it is africologos because it emanates from the source of the Universal system of knowledge originating in Africa. The philosophic product is therefore not relativistic to Africa but universal in essence with its base in Africa. It is also –(ko)logy because it is based on the logos-the word, which was uttered to set in motion the Universe in its originality. It was from that word that human consciousness first emerged and it was from that consciousness that humanity emerged as thinking and acting agent with language from the word as the active cultural understanding. As Dani Nabudere, the epistemological and philosophical grandmaster of Afrikology, in one of his last books (before his sudden death) Afrikology: Philosophy and Wholeness (2011) illustrates:

Afrikology is not African-centric or Afrocentric. It is a universal scientific epistemology that goes beyond Eurocentricism, or other ethnocentrism. It recognises all sources of knowledge as valid within their historical, cultural or social contexts and seeks to engage them into a dialogue that can lead to better knowledge for all. It recognises peoples’ traditions as a fundamental pillar in the creation of such cross-cultural understandings in which the Africans can stand out as having been the fore-bearers of much of what is called Greek or European heritage as fact of history that ought to be recognised, because from this fact alone, it can be shown that cross-cultural interactions has been a fact of historical reality.

Professor Nabudere argues meticulously that for centuries the African personality has been bedeviled by the burden of foreign domination that has thus affected her self-understanding. Subsequently, Nabudere urges that the process of reawakening and recovery in Africa has to be one of a historical deconstruction, what he calls “consciousness raising,” not by others, but by Africans themselves tracing the origins and achievements of their civilizations. This, he insists, requires the adoption of Afrikology as an epistemology that recognises orality as a valid source of knowledge. He therefore, encourages researchers and practitioners alike to adopt a holistic approach towards recognising that orality can only be interpreted under a platform that accommodates multi- and interdisciplinary approaches. Appropriately enough, this is what he calls “act locally, think globally.” Implicit in this epigram is the belief that it is local struggles in the villages that can guarantee African-rebirth, resurgence and renaissance and ensure that local communities reject neo-traditionalism that had been instituted by the colonial state. However, Nabudere at the same time warns that this should not be seen in isolation but in solidarity with other local groups elsewhere in the world. The argument here seems to be that if the driving force towards globalization is domination, then globalised resistance based on “global consciousness” ought to be its antithesis. The imperative, as such, for the authentic liberation of Africa, as argued by another revered philosopher Mogobe Ramose, requires neither a suplicative apologia nor an interminable obsequies in defense of being African. “The African must simply be an African, that is, a human being second to none i.n our contingent but complex universe”

The brutal and systematic assault on communities across Africa and the subsequent systems (cultural, religious, epistemological, curricula’s, governance etc) imposed on communities denotes that this is essential.

The dialectical impact of colonialism in Africa

For Africans the world over, the advent of colonialism by Europeans was a tragic experience. In 1885 during the so-called ‘Berlin Conference’, Africa was scrambled up among occupying powers with the sole aim of ‘violently looting’ as much as they could in their areas of influence. Thus African states were created to facilitate and ease the efficiency of rapid colonial exploitation. The colony became a laboratory of caprice where all sorts of clinical trials (political, social, and cultural) were performed, causing untold suffering to African communities- effects of which still remain visible this present moment. The dialectical inter-phase that occurred during colonization also left Africa ruined psychologically and intellectually. The experience left two broad “legacies” on Africa; first was the denial of African identity and second was the foisting of western thought and cultural realities and perspectives on Africans. In Egypt for instance, the late Palestinian-American academic Edward Said has observed that when the British ruling class tried to assume political power over Egypt, it did so by first establishing British ‘knowledge of Egypt’. Said further elaborates that:
The British were initially not concerned principally with military or economic power over Egypt, but their knowledge of the Orients, including Egypt, was conceived as a form of power. The objective was to have such knowledge about the “distant other” in order to be able “to dominate it and (exert) authority over it.” This in effect meant denying autonomy of knowledge over the object of domination since to do so would have recognised the existence of knowledge of the object over itself. The object’s existence could only be recognised, in the words of the Colonial representatives, in as much “as we know it.”

As such, the current cultural value crisis among Africans is the result of the impact of liberal philosophy and its associated constructs, socio-legal ideas, and judicial structures designed and defended by Eurocentric philosophies. Ugandan scholar Mukasa Luuttu has argued elsewhere that this perception of African justice systems implies that indigenous Africa was insensitive to human rights and as such, the concept of human rights and its protection originated from Western civilization. On the same basis, human rights have been misappropriated and patented as an organic attribute of Western society and values; this has portrayed the West as the mode, the yardstick and arbiter over human rights concerns in the world.

One other key problem characterizing the post-colonial state in East Africa has been its tendency to fragment its own communities into hostile factions. Instead of politically uniting its people within and across its borders, the African political elites have resorted to colonial tactics of ‘divide and rule’ and the ideology of ‘neo-tribalism’ by exploiting the ethnic diversities of their communities to their benefit and to the detriment of unity in the so called ‘state’. It is common place in East Africa to be asked by state operatives: We, toa kidogo or kitu kidogo or at times if you are very unlucky toa kitu yote (produce your identity card, or money). Instead of utilizing the rich ethnic and cultural diversities of communities as building blocks to a people’s African unity, they use these diversities to divide the people even further in order to, yet again, enrich themselves. In so doing they perpetuate neo-colonial domination and fall prey to powerful global force. They are therefore deliberately failing to deconstruct the exogenously hegemonic agendas wearing economic, religious, charitable and other guises programmed into the colonial state, preferring instead to reconstruct it in every way the former colonialist would have wanted - one that supports them and not communities.

Under the liberal heritage (that has guided European thought on development and human rights for the last four hundred years) that has since been hurriedly imposed on African communities, by exogenous forces in collaboration with local elites, African thought and society has subsequently experienced a crisis of meaning, of life, persons, and community. This is because this liberal heritage imposed on Africans its notion of the world, values, and manner of living. According to this heritage, social evolution constitutes the basic principle of the world and its main assumption is that technical knowledge is therefore the only key to human development. This Western view of development is based on the idea that humanity moves in a linear fashion and that this movement or progress is unidirectional and irreversible. One implication of this view is that there is and can only be one path or direction that humanity can take, and that this is the one provided by advanced Western countries. And as Malawian Philosopher Harvey Sindima has pointed out, this is the understanding behind the concepts of ‘modernity’ and ‘progress’. Professor Sindima rightly concludes, that “centuries have shown that the alliance between progress, science, and technology has not eliminated misery; on the contrary destitution has emerged and the future of all creation hangs in the balance.”

The legacy of liberalism on African ‘intellectuals’ and policy makers

Nowadays in East Africa, Eurocentric ideas are still very prevalent and their liberal notions pervade all aspects of life, particularly in urban areas. ‘Modernity’ or ‘catching up’ with the West: its technology, infrastructure and even way of life seem to be the primary objective towards which many countries are busy striving towards. This precarious mentality has been worsened by a brigade of natives under diverse name tags such as “intellectuals,” “change agents,” or even “modernists,” euro-centrically trained, it seems, in the fine art of social, political, and worst of all cultural banditry. They tend to reject and at times even deny Africa’s own cultural and intellectual achievements. In another arena, one critic captures this self-denial psyche well: “It was African scholars who were affected by Eurocentric education or who had not been exposed to the rich cultural history of Africa that denied the existence of African philosophy during the “Great
Debate” of the seventies and eighties.10

Sadly, there are certain writers such as
the Ghanaian Kwasi Wiredu in his 1980
publication Philosophy and an African
Culture, who have busied themselves
with the appalling task of watering down
the insulting language of Eurocentric
writers and their condescending attitudes
towards African tradition - by supporting
their fundamental insinuation that
Western tradition of thought is essentially
superior to the African tradition of
thought. They have gone even further by
saying much more than this. Their
conclusion is that Africans may never
develop any respectable tradition of
thought unless and until they can copy
western paradigms.

Cultural rootless leadership and
community fragmentation in East
Africa

Today, one pertinent problem that
continues to characterize our so-called
states in East Africa is their tendency to
fragment their own communities into
hostile factions. Instead of politically
uniting their people within and across
its borders, our political elites have
resorted to colonial tactics of ‘divide and
rule’ and the ideology of ‘neo-tribalism’
by exploiting the ethnic diversities of our
communities to their benefit and to the
detriment of unity in the so called ‘state’.
In so doing they perpetuate neo-colonial
domination and fall prey to a powerful
global force.

It is fair to point out, as such, that the
current economic, political and intellec-
tual elites suffer from an acute sense of
cultural relevance before the generality
of their people. Thus they espouse vi-
sions and programs of modernity and
development driven by imported cultural
benchmarks. This is a direct result of the
impact of western ways of thinking and
doing things and its associated discourses
on them, which instils an allergic inst-
tinct against African cultural rootedness
which is fashionably castigated as ‘back-
wardness’, ‘ignorance’, ‘superstition’,
‘primitive’, ‘parochial’ etc. In a word, the
African state can be summed up as what
Professor Patrick Chabal has called ‘non-
organic state’. Chabal argues that the
African state is both ‘overdeveloped and
soft’. It is overdeveloped because it was
fastidiously and artificially put into pla-
ce. All the textbook institutions of a state
and its government are present. It is soft
because, although powerful, it cannot
administer welfare. This observation la-
ter gave rise to his other book Africa
Works (1999) that Chabal penned with
Jean-Pascal Daloz, in which he argued
that, after all, there might be a way of per-
ceiving Africa as quite sufficient – if only
we were to remove a western lens.11

The changing global political
culture: from globalisation to
glocalisation

All over the world today, there is some-
thing taking place, a ‘wind of change’
of some sort if you like. We are seeing a lar-
ge shift of socio-cultural and socio-politi-
ical attitudes where communities by and
large are retreating to the local as the only
source of security in a world where little
seems to make sense anymore. With so-
ciety at the international and national le-
vel seen as abstract and unrealistic, the
local is increasingly being viewed as real
and practical. In a world where once eve-
ry local phenomenon was examined from
the point of view of its national and inter-
national ramifications, the reverse is likely
to be the case today. British political so-
ciologist Frank Furedi captures this change
good: “ironically, the more the world is
becoming internationalized, with every
region brought into an intimate rela-
tionship with the world market forces, the
more the singularity of the experience of
the parish-pump is insisted upon”.12

Social movements and
community interactivity

In the Mt. Elgon area of East Africa, this
restorative exodus has also caught on.
As if responding to Herbert Stein, the
American economist’s caustic aphorism
“If something cannot go on forever, it will
stop”,13 Community Sites of Knowledge
(CSK – depositories of indigenous
knowledge systems) are increasingly
becoming nurseries for alternatives socio-
cultural and political leadership leading
to organic restorative practices, at the
centre of which one finds efforts to address
persistent questions of marginalization,
discrimination and social and cultural
exclusions. This is in large measure a
response to the declining political and
cultural capacity of the state and triggered
by the realization slowly taking place in
the region that democratization will not
come from periodic elections, which
political parties have for so long
mistakenly viewed as their exclusive
domain of operation. Political parties
across East Africa, instead of being a force
for democratisation, have instead been
empty vehicles for tribal barons or cabals
of kleptocrats without a committed agenda
for cultural restoration or political or social
reform. Political parties have been
instruments of convenience for powerful
individual politicians. Rather than help
forge cultural consciousness they’ve led
to further fragmentation of the state that
has in turn led to further violence at the
heartbeat of communities”.14

Newton Garver in his tidy article What
Violence Is (1968)15 has suggested that
violence is not only a matter of physical
force but rather that it is also psycho-
logical in that it affects ones ability to make
their own decisions. He went on to show
that each kind of violence has both
personal and institutional forms. It is not
my aim to take issue here with Garver’s
account but merely to tap into his
observations that I think are relevant in
the context of our present conversation.
Garver’s account is valuable as it stands.
It gives a useful way of viewing a vast
range of very diverse and often specta-
cular human behaviour, a way which
enables us to see through the diversity
and spectacle to certain essential features
in respect to Afrikology and its application
in communities.

Garver roots his account of violence in a
specific moral practice, namely, the
evaluation of behaviour in terms of
fundamental human rights. He argues that
we get an even greater resolution of
diversity if we focus on the question of
what is common to these two basic kinds
of violence. Much of who we are depends
on our ability to act in concert with each
other. This is true of our physical survival.
Few of us could live for more than a few
days, and none of us would have matured
into adults, without the ongoing support
of various forms of interactions. This
interdependence, according to Garver, is
also true of our community and cultural
life. Our language, our knowledge, our
arts, all of our social structures, and even
much of our sense of self are a function of
our capacity for interactions. I think it
is fair to say that most of what we value in
life is creatively woven out of our capacity
for complex, diverse, sustained and
systematic interactions. One fundamental
purpose of Afrikology is to enhance our
ability to interact with each other so as to
improve our lives. It enriches us by
amplifying our ability to satisfy our desires, power, through concerted activity. It is just as clear that diminishing each other’s ability to participate in such forms of interactivity impoverishes us all, sometimes as is the case in most places in East Africa, in violent ways. Afrikology is the art of interactions.

**Afrikology in communities**

Over the past few years, all the major social science paradigms from structuralism to Marxism, world systems theory and globalization that had sought to explain the predicament of African societies in terms of structures and epistemologies have been countered and critiqued by a perspective that places primacy and emphasis on the human heart, creativity and resilience, in a word – Afrikology. One of the most important features of Afrikology to the epistemological struggle in the academic understanding of social and cultural change in Africa has been its capacity to explode often victimizing approaches in exchange for a much more balanced understanding of communities at work in Africa. Commenting directly on the heritage of the social science and humanities’ enterprises in Africa, Nabudere, as part of his intellectual trajectory for the twenty-first century, and in direct reference to Afrikology, has referred to two diametrically opposed orientations. He characterized one as Eurocentric and subservient to European social sciences and the other as Afro-centric in that it is steeped in African knowledge from the past. He however, makes it clear, as the following case studies will attempt to show, that Afrikology is universal and it is at the core of the creative process of social transformation and cultural restoration, understanding perceptions, ideas, and needs.

**About the case studies**

As a way into this conversation, what comes to mind and heart immediately are three recent compelling community accounts. The first is a dialogue in search of meaning that focused on ‘language, culture and women’s rights’ that took place deep in the villages at the heart of communities across Uganda and Kenya. It was through this afrikological podium that we discovered a discourse in which the old traditions and cultures were able to interrogate modernity and vice-versa within their own contexts, which were varied. Such a dialogue between the two worlds had been an ongoing struggle and counter-struggle that has to be recognized and understood. The two constituted a dialectical relationship and this relationship had to be interrogated. We came to the conclusion that modernity had not fully managed to contain and destroy tradition, but that on the contrary in some cases the latter had outlasted the former although with the odd modification. This interrogation proceeded along the path that sought to highlight the strategies of survival adopted by traditionalism against the destructive impact of a globalizing and universalizing modernization – which offered no new benefits to those affected by modernization.

The second narrative comes from Iwokodan community site of knowledge based in Palisa, Uganda as it searches for judicial balance through the workings of restorative justice in redressing inter and intra-community transgressions. This arises out of realisation of the fact that western analytical philosophical paradigms, which inform social sciences and the humanities, tend to polarise situations. This is in a way what dialectics has meant for western thought right from Plato and Hegel. Philosophically, the Iwokodan restorative approach has led the community organised as a clan to rediscover its sense of uto or humanness cultivated in an Afrikological epistemology that recognises unities and complementarities in relationships between humans and nature in general. The African beliefs, which we find represented in the basic idea of ‘Ubuntu,’ or the need to take into account ‘reciprocal relations’ that guide peoples’ perceptions of themselves are crucially important in defining a comprehensive solution to global and local situations, which in African conditions, happen predominantly in rural conditions such as is the case in the Iwokdan community site of knowledge.

The third account captures afrikological efforts by cross-border communities around the Mt. Elgon area in search of collective identities through cultural elitism organized through a peace and cultural animation festival that took place in November 2012 in Kaphorwa on the slopes of Mt Elgon. Cross-border conflicts in the Mt. Elgon area have had many dimensions with various correlated causes and factors. Although land has been a major contributing factor to the conflicts, other social and economic underlying factors have also played a role in fuelling the conflicts. In addition, the conflicts have had negative social, cultural, and economic impacts on all cross-border communities living in the area among them: displacement, physical harm to individuals; the destruction of property; death resulting in a high incidence of orphans and widows; rape and other forms of sexual violence and exploitation; and the resulting food and general insecurity. Furthermore, these problems have presented the cross-border communities already dealing with conflicts of multiple types, from mineral extraction to cattle rustling, to drought, to post-conflict inter-ethnic violence, to the creation of national parks for tourism in both sides of the mountain in Kenya and Uganda. However, until now, there has been no comprehensive effort in focusing on culture as an alternative dispute resolution mechanism as well as restorative practices of cross-border communities as a soluble alternative in promoting peace and regional security in Africa. After all, the concepts of ‘culture’, ‘peace’, ‘security’ and ‘development’ are indeed, intimately related.

**Case Study 1: Community Dialogues on ‘Language, Culture and Women’s Rights’ in Uganda and Kenya**

Having identified the verbal dependency of most African intellectuals and social activists on Western processes of development and its concepts of rights as a major obstacle to Africa’s development, and because of the prejudicial biases that exists within their ‘modern’ inclined psyches, the purposes of our journeys in communities in rural northern and eastern Uganda and rural western Kenya were an attempt to bring about a meaningful, and productive dialogue between modernity and traditional conceptions and misconceptions of human rights by engaging the so called ‘intellectuals’ representing the modernist view and the ‘uncertified/uneducated’ rural masses/natives representing their own traditional view.

The objective in part, was to create an afrikological podium that would diffuse the hostility that exists between modernists and traditionalists, both of whom view each other’s motives with suspicion. Modernists tend to view traditionalists as ‘illiterate and backwards,’
whilst traditionalists on the other hand, tend to look at modernists as *muzungu* (foreign) minded, with imported ideas and in a rush to rid tradition and replace it with modernity. In a sense, similar to Western assumptions where the "barbarian" is inferior to the "civilized", the rural dweller is accordingly seen as subservient to the developed urban intellectual. Therefore, the verbal distance that exists between the two is, among other things, manifested by their ways of understanding, perceiving, interpreting, and evaluating as well as in their modes of articulation and communication of issues of human rights. The lack of meaningful interface between the two groups appears to be a problem deriving from the issue of language, culture, and meaning.

Thus, this afrikological community conversation was a direct attempt at scratching the fabric and personality of Afrikology, in order to try and understand what is in the heart, not just the mind of those engaged in the conversations. It adopted the use of dialogue as opposed to debate; this is because dialogue unlike debate emphasizes listening to deepen understanding. A dialogue draws participants from as many parts of the community as possible to exchange information face-to-face, share personal stories and experiences, honestly express perspectives, clarify viewpoints, and develop solutions to community concerns. Dialogues go beyond sharing and understanding to transforming participants. While the process begins with the individual, it eventually involves groups and institutions. It develops common values and allows participants to express their own interests. It expects that participants will grow in understanding and may decide to act together with common goals. In dialogue, participants can question and re-evaluate their assumptions. Through this process, people are learning to work together to improve relations. Ultimately, dialogues can affect how policies are made. This in effect is restorative learning and unlearning that can only be cultivated by adding that language is a modelling system, and that "no language can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture; and no culture can exist which does not have at its centre, the structure of natural language". This is apparent in the use of vocabulary and the semantics of words. Clearly, from Nabudere’s point of view, there is no particular language or culture that names everything or catalogues the whole compass of knowledge of the world. Underlying a word, therefore, is its relationship with other words, and the goal of analysis is to discover vocabulary sets that carry the underlying semantic components of the language and a people’s culture.

Luutu has pointed that all education in East Africa has been colonially oriented; it had delinked people from their communities and societies. "Education as such has been presented to us as modernity, which has created a further distance between individuals and their rural community". These days, the script is clear. The state through the constitution imposes cultural restrictions under the auspices of the human rights law - i.e. you are allowed to do all you want culturally as long as it is not repugnant, in some cultures homosexuality is considered repugnant. The law criminalises this. Good conscience is considered good Christian values. Polygamous relations are prohibited but having many mistresses is allowed.

A community dialogue, with 12 community researchers, was held in the Acholi region to focus on two key issues, viz (a) Bride Price and (b) Gender Based Violence. This dialogue was of particular importance because of the northern armed conflict between the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) led by Joseph Kony’s (now a fugitive from international justice) and Uganda’s national army that ended in 2006 as a result of a peace agreement signed in Juba, in the then Republic of Sudan. It was one of the longest armed rebellions in Uganda’s history and one of the world’s worst humanitarian disasters. It began soon after President Yoweri Museveni usurped power in 1986 also through a five year armed-guerrilla war. It led to the deaths of thousands while at the same time leaving around two million people internally displaced. The 23 year civil war also led to a near collapse of family and traditional structures; communities in this area registered high levels of poverty and crime rates, they became dependent on the state and the donor community. It also led to the prevalence of HIV and AIDS in the area. As is mostly the case in conflict situations, of all the structural and physical violence that this community experienced, it was women and children who suffered the most.

A first dialogue question was "who was Kony’s mother?" asked by a local woman Councillor, in perhaps trying to understand Joseph Kony’s background, and maybe to also reach her own sense of closure. This triggered a heated discussion on African femininity and the role of mothers in conflict resolutions. Rhyming well with an observation made earlier by Nabudere that one cardinal requirement of Afrikology is the feminine principle in African consciousness and existence. This has been an aspect, he has pointed out, which Western epistemology has tried to undermine and sideline in advancing their patrilineal cultural values in Africa. The discussions continued into women’s participation in decision-making about war and peace, it was agreed by most participants that Acholi women were part and parcel to the initiatives that led to the end of the war and that their role has been pivotal in post conflict reconstruction of their community.

Calls to involve women in matters of war and peace have begun being taken seriously in other societies around the world as well; this follows the 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, which returned women’s role to the forefront of peace activities. The conference suggested that
governments should be encouraged to increase the participation of women in the peace process at the decision-making level, including them as part of delegations to negotiate international agreements relating to peace and disarmament.

Violence as such produces enormous insecurity and requires one to tread carefully when asking questions concerning those affected such as those in the Gulu forum. People living in contexts of open violence as have community members in this dialogue tend to watch constantly for their personal and collective security. They search for ways to feel and be safe, and to find protection as insecurity has the capacity to create the permanency of feeling uncertain.

It was explained that uncertainty goes hand in hand with the experience of unpredictability. In seeking safety, we have tended to suspend trust in what was happening around us. To be insecure has meant that no longer having a clear sense of self and having to suspend trust in others. This is the plight facing Acholi children today, especially those born at the apex of the conflict, as well as those who grew up in the camps. "Our youths especially males are very bitter".

It is widely recognised that periods of war or disaster can produce ruptures or crises within societies from which new orders can emerge. The Acholi community has clearly not been an exception. Through the dialogue, it was agreed that War, urban displacement, inter-tribal and international presence, NGO interventions, government development projects, women’s and children’s rights promotion - were all identified as having had a dramatic impact on the Acholi community in particular kwo town – the Acholi community living in and around Gulu town, and how they perceive issues of rights.

There were mixed reactions from some participants when it came to discussing the catalysts of the cultural transformation that has taken place in their community, this led to some ambivalence and controversy over the meaning of the social changes that have taken place in their community. For example, one person took a modernist view and argued that for some, especially women and young men, town life, despite its material hardships, has been the foundation for a world that is modern and global, unlike restricted rights for women under traditional and local arrangements. In spite of a cry from elderly men in the dialogue, rising to object her views, she argued that Acholi elders and chiefs have largely lost their power of social regulation, as Acholi women are liberating themselves. Economically, women have gained access to loans, both individually and through groups. They own property in town, such as buildings, vehicles, and land, and businesses. Women also express satisfaction at having learned to sell agricultural produce and save money. Socially and politically, women pointed out the number of women who are now in positions of authority in prominent NGOs and in the local government system. Women are achieving higher levels of education and undergoing training by NGOs and government on health and other issues concerning their rights.

Three women in particular objected to these modernist observations, accusing them of exaggerations. Modernity, they observed, has had a significantly negative impact on women’s quality of life. Because many men have died, joined armed organisations or abandoned their wives, women in large part have been left with the primary responsibility for providing for their families, which have often expanded to include a number of dependents in addition to their own children. Water, firewood and grass for roofing are hard to come by, women are now forced to go out and earn money so that they buy land and or rent a house, they must also pay for their children’s school fees and other medical facilities that are often inadequate and very expensive. Another negative consequence brought about by "town life", they pointed out, was the methods of making money that have emerged in the context of, and which they constantly drew attention to, specifically prostitution for women and thievery for men.

For many older Acholi participants, however, this dominance of ‘NGO moneyed culture’ in town was an mitigated evil, a corruption of Acholi society and its cultural values. As one elderly man pointed out, "before the war, wealth was not held in money, but in cattle". As a result, money itself was widely perceived as a symptom and agent of the destruction of Acholi society, as it replaced tangible, rooted resources. All money-oriented economic activity was seen by some elders who spoke in the dialogue as a betrayal of the values of Acholi culture: "Gulu town had given birth to a lost generation of Acholi, addicted to material riches, disconnected from their roots in the land and without even basic cultural knowledge".

In pre-war Acholi society, significant authority was held by a lineage- and clan-based structure of patriarchal, generally gerontocratic. This structure was brought into crisis by the civil-war and displacement. Many elders died, and the civil war presented bigger problems for ‘traditional’ leadership to resolve. The authority of this lineage-based structure has also been undermined by the creation of the Local Council system, which has taken over many of the conflict resolution roles previously held by ‘traditional’ authorities. Their disempowerment has been further intensified by NGO initiatives which tend to favour women and youth. Finally, displacement itself has had a significantly negative impact on lineage-based leaders, as clans have been dispersed; restrictions on movement have made clan meetings difficult and land also difficult to access, the dialogue noted.

The dialogue then returned to the primary subject matter and delved into the issue of meaning. The Acholi community attaches so much significance to the marriage ritual, that failure to marry is considered a curse (or an abnormality) and it is common for the elders to be called in to monitor events. Childlessness is also counted as one of the most serious misfortunes to befall a couple, with women typically taking all the blame. In such cases, the marriage could be dissolved or the husband be allowed to marry another wife. Polygamy is regarded as a normal arrangement.

A young man chiefly depends upon his lineage to get both the permission to marry a girl and the ability to provide the material goods required to pay her indispensable ot-lim (bride price). Although marriages were sometimes organized without the consent of the boy and the girl in the past, such scenarios are increasingly rare today, with most people embracing the modern ideal of freedom of choice. Because it was often the father’s wealth that afforded the boy the ot-lim, there was little he could change. The items to be delivered as ot-lim (which is a practical way of saying thank you to the girl’s mother) are discussed and a specific date
set for the delivery. Instalments are often accepted. *Ot-lim* can take the form of cattle, goats, sheep, household items or money. Often, the girl’s *ot-lim* is not spent but saved to offset her brothers’ *ot-lim* when it is their turn to marry and pay. Refunds are made in the event of a divorce. Participants then engaged in discussions centering on *ot-lim*, what it meant from a traditional point of view and how it is being perceived in modern times. It was observed that *ot-lim* is too expensive and this is why we are seeing our boys running away from their responsibilities by impregnating girls and absconding*. A participant argued that parent demand a hefty *ot-lim* if their girl is ‘educated’. A girl ought to be a girl in spite of educational attainment, he stressed.

Another thought that the problem with *ot-lim* was the distorted meaning.* “Ot-lim* traditionally meant appreciation; but nowadays it literally means paying or buying a wife (bride-price). This traditional custom established good relations among families and legitimized the children born in the marriage. But today, some women are given away to the man who pays more. This, in a way, can be seen as the commodification of women or forced marriage, which was not the original intention of *ot-lim*.

Another argued that the problem in part lies with old men that are modernized – commercialized, people even do electronic cash transfers and people start businesses with it*. One blamed Acholi community in the diaspora. “They are the problem as they are the ones disorganizing our community. They disregard our traditional customs when marrying and see things in terms of modern rights and law”, he said.

The dialogue then turned its attention to the issue of divorce and inheritance. It was observed that the purpose of marriage was unity, and argued that in Acholi culture divorce was very much discouraged - all things possible were initiated to prevent a couple from getting divorced.

Drawing from the community conversations, it is logical that governments in East Africa, in one way or another, try and make decisions about the legal and political position of both tradition and modernity in their social and legal systems. Most of the crises that local communities are facing have been expounded by the recommendations that these communities have received from foreign and local "experts" on human rights and development. The concept of development has its roots in the notion of progress, which is fundamentally a materialist philosophy bent on unlimited growth or exploitation and accumulation. The African bureaucrats and political elites have been unable to draw on their concept of community when taking decisions on national policies.

Women’s rights, no matter how we eventually refine the concept, demand that residents old and young, male and female in the urban as well as in the rural areas are heard, and not pushed aside. Rural people, commonly referred to as the "illiterates" or the "uneducated" in modernist lingo, who make up the majority of the African communities, need to gain a ‘voice’ in the parlance of contemporary community, cultural or political studies speak. Whether we use the older language of “empowerment” or the current speak of the epistemology of the ‘heart’ as defined by Afrikology, the philosophical language of the moment, the message is clear. People cannot plan and or speak for others; people must be given a chance to participate in meaningful ways in resolving the challenges of discrimination whether man-made or natural. Solutions must be inclusive not exclusive. As a result, these dialogues about modernist verses tradition conceptions of women’s rights have depended on thinking about the world in organic, incremental, bottom-up terms rather overarching, top-down abstractions. It has also been about accommodation and accumulation of small-scale change that adds value to our communities in how community members view women and the discourses concerning their rights. To paraphrase the late professor Nabudere’s horizontal concept, there can be no single ‘centre’ that will determine the existence of all human beings everywhere because ‘one-size fits all’ will no longer be allowed to dictate global or local development. All human beings have to assume responsibility for their own survival and abandon the unilinear epistemology of looking at complex and diverse realities in a one-dimensional manner.

In the course of these dialogues, a consensus built up in most participants that traditional role models of men and women defined their behaviour and how they perceived rights and entitlements. This was a help for both of them. For instance, it was agreed that most disagreements could be settled in the homestead, rather than making the matter public and going to court. The rules in the village were simple for everybody. The statement: "in the old days, there were not so many options in life as there are today", as one participant in the dialogue put it, indicated that participants and the community at large was suspicious of the new freedoms perpetuated by modernist advocates.

Women participants in the dialogue recognised the importance of women’s organisations in raising their voice and providing them with a space in which to come together and discuss their problems. Most of the organisations they referred to are those oriented around small income-generating activities or give out loans. As one woman group leader in the dialogue explained, women’s voices are now heard in public, whereas before ‘women’ were not supposed to have a voice’, demonstrating the value placed by women on having a voice, being heard, both as an individual and collectively as a community. In all the dialogues most women resonated the need to have a voice as a key feature to the resilience of a community and its sense of identity. Having a voice, for them, means defining their own future, thereby repositioning the feminine principle as a core constituent of Afrikology.

Case Study 2: Iwokodan Community Site of Knowledge

Post-conflict communities are increasingly turning their attention to the legacy of indigenous practices of dispute settlement and reconciliation. The argument is that traditional and informal justice systems may be adopted or adapted to develop an appropriate response to a history of civil war and oppression. *Iwokodan* community site of knowledge based in Palisa, eastern Uganda captures well this change.
At this site, organised as a clan, the community has incorporated strong elements of modernity in order to preserve their traditional justice system and traditional clan governance structure. The Iwokodan Clan is modelled on a modern government structure, it has a written constitution, with modern governance structures. It has opted for restorative justice in the event of conflict adjudication, recognising that modern courts are not able to deal with an increasing number of criminal cases. This has led to increased cost and delay with self-evident injustice being caused to individuals and hence a feeling of injustice. The other problem Iwokodan’s local government minister Mr. Joseph Okwalinga pointed out is that criminal litigation is particularly dependent on individual memory. Documents that can objectively refresh memory ordinarily play a small part in the usual kind of criminal case. Witnesses must rely solely on their recollection. When it takes more than a year, and sometimes three years, for a case to come to trial, memory becomes suspect. There are a number of inter and intra-communities murder cases that the Clan has resolved cordially without reference to the high courts. Consequently, there is an increasing demand for Afriology’s holistic approach to justice among communities across the east African region, which seeks to shift the focus of the trial from the battle between the lawyers to the discovery of truth by modifying the complex rules of evidence, encouraging the defendant to contribute to the search for truth, and requiring full and open discovery for the prosecutor. For defence lawyers, under the current adversarial system, courtroom victory usually translates into obtaining an acquittal, and consequently they regard discovery of the truth as incidental or even irrelevant to this pursuit. There is a dichotomy that is normally created between the need for justice and the need for reconciliation. Yet these processes are in fact two sides of the same coin. The answer this, as the Iwokodan cases vividly demonstrates, is a new afrikological system that can ensure speed of trial while ensuring that the truth will prevail and the restorative justice approach offers the best result that can integrate the process. The modern courts alone cannot ensure that justice prevails in all cases as experience has shown that modern courts tend to be overwhelmed by criminal cases. It is the primary responsibility of the people who have caused conflict or harm to each other or to society to face the consequences of their actions and try to address the harm done. It is the duty of society at large to provide them with the opportunities and institutional arrangements to enable them to do so. This is what the Iwokodan community site of knowledge is attempting to do.

Case Study 3: The first Mt. Elgon Cross-border Community Festival: The Road to Cross-Border Peace – Overcoming the Legacy of Bordered Identities, Cultural fragmentation and Unresolved Conflicts.

Today’s real borders are not between nations, but between powerful and powerless, free and fettered, privileged and humiliated. Today no walls can separate humanitarian or human rights crises in one part of the world from a national security crisis in another…” Dr. Kofi Anan

Cross-border communities in the Mt Elgon area of East Africa, as is the case elsewhere in Africa, have gone through such untold violence and indescribable grief that the clamour of the victims is still heard, and the sounds of the silenced-guns, sharp spears and pangas (machetes) still reverberate in the minds of the ex-fighters as well as those who lived through the conflict experience. The scars of the conflicts are still visible not only on the bodies and souls of the older generations but also on the young – the continuing stigmatization of widowed women as ‘husband snatchers’ and their children as cultural orphans is one case in point. Community conflicts in the area have had many dimensions with various correlated causes and factors. Although land has been a major contributing factor to the conflicts, other social and economic underlying factors have also played a role in fueling the conflicts. In addition, the conflicts have had negative social, cultural, and economic impacts on all cross-border communities living in the area among them: displacement, physical harm to individuals; the destruction of property; death resulting in a high incidence of orphans and widows; rape and other forms of sexual violence and exploitation; and the resulting food and general insecurity. Furthermore, these problems have presented the cross-border communities already dealing with conflicts of multiple types, from mineral extraction to cattle rustling, to drought, to post-conflict inter-ethnic violence, to the creation of national parks for tourism in both sides of the mountain in Kenya and Uganda.

As Kenyan scholar Robert Simiyu has pointed out, the rhythmic nature of land-related violence in the Mt Elgon area, as often coinciding with general elections and other critical moments in Kenya’s national politics, indicates that there may be more to it than just land disputes or pure intercommunity hatred. He argues that there is a possible political motive for the chaos. This is borne out by the fact that in some instances, state agencies have been implicated in the conflicts, while in others the state has remained ambivalent. The result, Simiyu argues, is that many conflicts remain unresolved, some years after they first started. It is important to note that the land problem has persisted since colonialism, and successive regimes have been unable to permanently resolve the land question to the satisfaction of all community members. In short, the valleys and slopes of Mt Elgon bare testimonies of the severity of the conflicts faced by cross-border communities that have been caged in imagined political boundaries. To overcome these cross-border divisions created in the area, which threaten further fragmentation of communities and clans, we tapped into professor Nabudere’s wisdom and created a situation in which we encouraged cross-border cultural-linguistic communities to regroup as much as possible into ‘clusters’- for instance, linking the Bomasaba with the Samia and Babukasu or the Sabuoti and Pokot or the Iteso with the Karamojong and so forth, so that they become strong nations capable of defending and voicing their local interests and concerns globally.

It is against this background that the Afrika Study Centre (ASC) and the Mt Elgon Residents Association (MERA) with the help of Marcus Garvey Pan-African Institute/University and other stakeholders organised the Cross-Border Peace and Cultural festival that took place in November 2012 in Kapchorwa town on the slopes of Mt Elgon in Eastern Uganda. The social concept and cultural context in which we undertook the cross-border cultural ‘integration’ tried to imagine and invent new ways to enable communities to break out of their encirclement first by the global system and then by African elites who control state power that conti-
nue to marginalize communities. The festival is an ongoing afrikological endeavour by the ASC and local cross-border communities to deal with the destabilising effects and consequences of western colonization and domination. After all, there has been no comprehensive effort in focusing on culture as an alternative dispute resolution mechanism as well as restorative practices of cross-border communities as a soluble alternative in promoting peace and regional security in Africa.

For cross-border communities to undertake this transformation, ASC selected four members (two female and two males) in April 2012 from each cross-border community in both Uganda and Kenya (they included: Bukusu, Samia, Sabaot, Sebei, Benet, Iteso, Basamasaba, Pokot and the Karamajong) to undergo a one month intensive ‘Cultural Animation Training Programme’ at the Marcus Garvey Pan Afrikan Institute/University in Mbale, Uganda. Course participants (animators) underwent a process of self conscientisation through restorative cultural learning and unlearning paradigms and cultural memory methodologies.

Upon completion of the training, animators returned to their respective communities to mobilize, learn and prepare their communities for the festival. They were tasked with the responsibility of observing their cultures with deeper interest, learn and contribute to the revival and strengthening aspects that communities were keen on. Overall they were also expected to initiate some learning and documentation centre that will gather materials archived in practices and procedures of their cultures and languages. This way, a socio-cultural treasury of grassroots experiences, mechanisms and technologies of sustainable environment, food and human security systems would be gathered and showcased at the cultural festival and beyond it.

In this, they followed the following principles: Learning by seeing, listening and observing-then practicing; Adopting a doing, using and interacting approach; Aquatining oneself with holistic understanding; Critically adopting transdisciplinary skills in learning; Adopting Afrikology as a transdisciplinary way of knowing, being and relating to the demand for knowledge, truth and justice; Learning to work with culture at the University Campus and the community; Learning and innovating as you work in the community.

The three-day festival was the culmination of ‘a People to People Reconciliation’ linkages and activities that begun in 2006. The basic objective of the festival activities has been to enable each of the cross-border communities to present their culture including foods, traditional medicines, handicrafts, songs, dances, social practices, building technologies and other material cultures in one another. This constituted a learning experience and demonstrated to them the similarities and breaks in their cultural heritages and therefore became a firm basis for restorative peace and transformation. The festival explored the following themes: (a) ‘Food (in) security’ and regional security; (b) ‘Cross-cultural spirituality’ and African traditional cultures; (c) Remembering Dani Nabudere, the "people’s Professor". These themes were spread over a three day festival activity schedule.

Day One was dedicated to matters of ‘Food (in) security’ and regional security-showcasing different cultural foods from each of the Mt Elgon communities. The overall objective was to stimulate interest and revive the culture of traditional ‘granary model’ needs; indicating the common convergence of strategies to respond to and address the common problem of food vulnerabilities and approaches to common collaborative culture of sharing of produce and seeds within the communities.

Day Two was dedicated to matters of ‘Cross-cultural spirituality’ and African traditional cultures, thus creating a space for the recognition of cultural jurisdiction at play in which dialogue about intentions, values, and assumptions were brought out and negotiated. This included awareness building and understanding in which at last dialogue on issues of the ‘African feminine principle’ were revitalized and knowledge and benefits discussed. This was intended to help find ways of better linking modern sciences to the broader heritage of human kind and indeed contribute to scientific knowledge of universal value.

The final day of the festival was dedicated to remembering the "people’s Professor", the late Dani Nabudere without whom, the festival would not have taken place. The day thus reflected among other activities, Professor Nabudere’s community work in the region, the continent and beyond, it featured: Food security; Peace; Cross-border solidarities; International political economy; Pan-Africanism of peoples; Defence of the commons; Cognitive justice and Community Sites of Knowledge; Restorative governance, economy and justice.

**What room for Pluralism in the African Cultural World?**

It is our considered view, in this section that any discussion on cultural pluralism ought to be centered on the suspicious enterprise of modernity whose dogmatic track is that any cultural progress that comes later is inherently better than what was there before. The concepts of rationality, objectivity, and generalization can be considered to be the theoretical bases on which the current plural project is erected.

Subsequently, we affirm the following as considerations to be given weight. Firstly, pluralism appears to be a cultural franchise of globalization aimed at bringing together previously isolated people together voluntarily and involuntarily into new and ever closer neighborhoods by the increasing integration of markets, the emergence of new regional political alliances, remarkable advances in telecommunications, and transportation that have prompted unprecedented demographic cultural shifts. The resulting confluence of peoples and cultures is an increasingly global, multicultural world brimming with tension, confusion and conflict in the process of its adjustment to pluralism.

Secondly, as radical witnesses of centuries of alienation and what has been termed the legacy of one-sided cultural solutions to life and sanitised stereotypes we are beginning to see the link between what is a mono-cultural model being propagated as pluralism. For instance, Rothkopf in 1997, examining the cultural ambit of education’s relation to foreign policy pointed out that the very real prospect of education is now serving as a fourth pillar of Western cultures, in particular American foreign policy in which foreign policy says no to revolutions or any change that is not favourable to U.S while aggressively marketing the culture of the west as cool, as the most just, the most tolerant, the most willing to constantly reassess and improve itself, and the best model for the future. Furthermore, for communities in
Africa, the school environment has been the cultural site at which one begins being cultivated by the systematic denigration of one’s identity, the site at which one learns how to laugh at his own gods while being instructed to worship other people’s gods. School education, although now a human right issue and as such compulsory, is considered to be the place in which the fostering of plural ‘cultural democracy’ is promoted and advanced widely. So, contemporary education in its simplest form can be seen as foreign cultural capital being transmitted via instructions in schools, and institutionalized by the certificates issued by the educational systems. But, despite these shortcomings, as we have discussed earlier, communities especially in the Mt. Elgon area are moving away from the perspective of African “victimhood” and cultural pluralism by experimenting with cultural clusterism fused to the fabric of epistemology’s ‘thinking from the heart’ as an approach towards renewed community-centred empowerment and restorative cultural forwardness.

Thirdly, the wide gap between the pace of economic globalization sitting atop a pile of unresolved historical grievances on the one hand, and the reality of a tense, mistrustful, and anxiety-haunted African society on the other, thrusts into our conscience a new, pungent, and ambivalent human situation we can no longer escape. A leading indigenous knowledge systems expert and culturalist Professor Catherine Odora Hoppers has painted an acute picture when she observed:

As nations and communities big and small rummage about in this confusion, one detects various degrees of hankering for a lost age of social harmony, cultural homogeneity and commonly-shared values – occasionally confusing the past state of things for a vision for the future. In the meantime, the perceived fragmentation of society, concerns about crime, persistent undercurrents of racism, and growing distrust of neighbour and government, have strengthened the attraction of many to the numerous affinity groups mushrooming everywhere. Odora argues that in situations in which large immigrant communities find themselves surrounded by a mainstream culture, the percolation tends to encourage antipathy toward those outside the ‘shared loyalty’ while fermenting a hankering for the familiar though geographically distant safe-haven of a back-home of a fictitious undisturbed social harmony. Out of this emerge a form, content as well as rationale for the sustenance of a parallel, quasi resistance, proto-protest sub-culture right in the heartland of a mainstream culture.

The forth aspect of pluralism we take battle with is its promotion of individualism at the expense of wholeness as understood in Afrikology or from the cultural personhood of an African being that constitutes his or her identity. The African concept of a person as wholeness does not deny human individuality as an ontological fact, or as what the legendary professor Michel Foucault called an ‘analytic finitude’ but ascribes ontological primacy to the community through which the human individual comes to know both himself and the world around him. On this Afrikological reasoning, it can be said that there is a greater wholeness to which the single individual person belongs, though in themselves individual can be seen as partial cultural wholes. Holism is therefore the starting point of the African concept of a person. This derivative concept of a person is apparently alien to those advancing the pluralist canon. This distinction comes as a result of the difference between the holistic and the individualistic conceptions of a cultural person or community. Pluralism accords primacy to individualistic derivative whilst ‘cultural clusterism’ that we are advancing here places importance on Afrikology’s wholeness. The traditional African view of a person denies that a person can be defined by focusing on his or her physical or psychological characteristics alone. It instead places emphasis on how he is defined in relation to his or her cultural world. This primacy is meant to apply not only ontologically, but also in regards to his epistemic accessibility. The reality of personhood in most communities in East Africa as such is therefore one but it has got many aspects to it. In cultural and philosophical terms, emphasis has been placed on the primacy of the greater environing wholeness over that of cultural individualism or for that pluralism.

That said, the global climate of cultural change and acute cultural vulnerability has raised new challenges for all communities in our ongoing pursuit of universal human, animal, environmental and cultural rights. Appreciably, In the wider sociological sense, tolerance as advanced by pluralism carries with it the understanding that intolerance breeds violence and social instability, and has therefore become the social term of choice to define the practical rationale of permitting uncommon social practice and cultural diversity.

Conclusion

As has been illustrated in this article, the first step on the road to constructing cultural defences of the mind, outlined through our cultural conversations in this chapter, is the creation of other concepts and meanings besides what colonialism has bestowed. The ordeals of imagination undergone by culturally violated communities that have survived colonialism, cultural genocides and slavery and imperialisms should find space and inform our understanding of human solidarity under impossible conditions. By incorporating Afrikological notions of human solidarity which are based on the assumption that all people share a common underlying humanity, we looked further and pictured the symbolic cultural and social resources such as clusterism for negotiating a politer human identity. As we take this further, a more profound form of tolerance emerges which resides in the capacity to develop respect, understanding and mutual recognition of others because it simply makes good cultural sense.

Our attention would not normally be drawn towards community narratives as holding the promise, potential or epistemological lessons of Afrikology and restorative cultural action in communities. Yet our experiences, these settings and people hold seeds, buried and unnoticed, but pregnant with life-giving energy that instructs our cultural and epistemological inquiry. The very nature of a seed, we have tried to demonstrate, is a living-dormant container that simultaneously is fruit and promise, draws our attention towards the natural characteristics of Afrikology’s collective well-being and the qualities of cultural resilience that contribute to healthy communities not only in East Africa but all over the world.

These conversations have been a long travel down the community-lane in realising the falsity of dichotomisation of
complex human relations, by certain restraining epistemologies; this as we have attempted to demonstrate, can only be corrected under a system of restorative justice, restorative agriculture, and restorative cultural practices that Afrikology offers aplenty. Through practical means and community-centred interactions, we have demonstrated that communities are moving away from the perspective of African "victimhood" by adopting the epistemology of thinking from the heart' as an approach towards community-centred intellectualism and social as well as cultural activism.

Afrikology stands for manoeuvring space within and interaction with social, economic and political structures that are external to and at the same time part of the community itself. Afrikology is about doing justice to communities’ capabilities to reflect and act without losing sight of the structural circumstances that enable and at times constrain them. It is about the people’s strength. It is about making a difference. It is about creating an indigenous dialectical space for communities to reflect on its social and cultural values and thereby create a connecting relationship between itself that allows room for reflexivity and reflectivity that then reveals the inner soul of the community to the world at large. In the Upanishads of Nabudere, the epistemological grandmaster of Afrikology, we can equate the fundamental nature and universalism of Afrikology as a passage that speaks to how those who become wise lose the Great Oneness, the Way Rivers all flow into the sea. In the transformation from the solitary to the communal, there is a mysterious physics that each generation has to relearn and advance regarding how we are more together than alone. In the hard-earned experience of Oneness, we all have the chance to discover, through love and suffering, that we are at heart the same. The task for us today is to restore connections that history has shattered. Making cultural education a lived experience for many cross-border learners around the Mt Elgon area is not possible in the present regime of culturally isolated knowledge production. The symbolic languages used in current regimens of educational systems are not learnt at an early age by a large percentage of children in the area. For them, education especially cultural, its language, its methods and its packaging represents an alienating experience both culturally and epistemologically.

Notes

1. The author is a transdisciplinary fellow based at the Marcus Garvey Pan-African Institute (currently being constituted into a University) in Mbale, eastern Uganda, where he coordinates the Institute’s research and academic programmes. He is also the executive director of Afrika Study Centre (ASC), a regional community site of knowledge engaged in cross-border restorative cultural research and studies. Email: ronald2wanda@yahoo.co.uk


4. Wanda, R. E., Comprehensive Report on Community Sites of Knowledge, (Unpublished work), MPAU, Mbale, Uganda, November 2010, p.4


7. Arif, N asr ibid p.6


9. Sindima, ibid p.30


11. Chan, S., Grasping Africa: A Tale of Tragedy and Achievement. Pp33-34


16. There were eight dialogues across Uganda and Kenya, but for the sake of brevity, we have only highlighted the Acholi dialogue that took place in Gulu, northern Uganda.


