

DEPICTION OF CROSS-CULTURAL CONFLICTS IN SELECTED UGANDAN NOVELS

BY

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A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION AND ARTS IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

This study analyzed the depiction of cross-cultural conflicts arising from Western influence on African educational, religious and socio-cultural values in eight selected Ugandan authors, namely:

Wangusa, Ocwinyo, Aloka, Nyabongo, Okurut, Kyomuhendo, Bakaluba and Kaberuka, whose literary works have not received the attention they deserve. The study was guided by three objectives in particular. First, to analyze selected authors' depiction of cross-cultural conflicts between Western and African *educational values* in Ugandan novels. Second, to assess these selected writers' portrayal of cross-cultural conflicts between Western and African *religious values* in Ugandan novels. Third, to examine the selected authors' representation of cross-cultural conflicts between Western and African *socio-cultural values* in Ugandan novels. The study adopts a qualitative study design to analyse the selected Ugandan novels. This study has used a qualitative content analysis for identification of the presence of certain concepts, words, phrases, themes, characters, or sentences within texts to unfold subjective interpretation of the novels. Secondary sources supplemented the primary sources. The study was undertaken in the framework of postcolonial theory. The study found that, in the education arena, the writers depict the educational systems in the novels as full of conflicts in comparison to the traditional African education. The education system is found to be characterized by irrelevancy and exemplified by cram work/rote learning, use of a foreign language, authoritarianism and corporal punishment. Besides, the system is portrayed as full of immorality, corruption, bullying and gender based biases. In the area of religion, the Ugandan novelists are found to portray cross-cultural conflicts arising from sexual immorality, religious clashes, hypocrisy, syncretism, baptismal rites, polygamy, and interpretation dilemmas. On the socio-cultural aspect; rape, virginity, arranged marriage, bridal wealth, polygamy, circumcision and community orientation are found to be the major areas of cross-cultural conflicts. We conclude that the society created by the Ugandan novelists is full of cross-cultural conflicts in the educational, religious and sociocultural arenas. These may be fictitious but they represent one historical reality. Several recommendations are made. Further literary scholarship should focus on inter-ethnic cultural conflicts within Africa, or within Ugandan space, which this study has assumed constant. Further studies could also analyse conflicts within the characters in Ugandan novels. Since Ugandan novels are very rich in orality and use of local languages and names, further studies could be undertaken to expand on this phenomena. Further studies may also dwell on the current cultural dynamics in Africa without recourse to the past.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for any academic award in any University or institution of higher learning.

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APPROVAL

We confirm that the work presented in this dissertation is the work of Naula Mary under our supervision and is now approved for submission.

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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the Almighty God and to my husband and the children.

God has provided for me in amazing ways. Thank you dear God for the gift of life that you have given me to this day. I give you all the glory, honour, praises and exaltation. You have done what no man could ever do for me. My Lord you have been gracious and given me the opportunity to study up to this level.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This is a multi-disciplinary study that seeks to investigate creative written works in terms of how they reflect cross-cultural conflicts in education, religion and socio-cultural values. The study therefore benefits from literature, educational studies, religious studies and sociology. The main thesis of this study is that the works of eight prominent Ugandan fiction writers - Timothy Wangusa, Julius Ocwinyo, Aloysius Aloka, Akiki Nyabongo, Mary Karooro Okurut, Goretti Kyomuhendo, Jane Bakaluba and Jane Kaberuka - depict cross-cultural conflicts arising out of contact between the West and Africa. This study is based on the proposition that an understanding of cross-cultural conflicts in educational, religious and sociocultural values is crucial in the understanding of the above-mentioned writers' fictions.

This chapter presents the background to the study, problem of the study, purpose and objectives of the study, research questions, scope, justification, significance and theoretical framework of the study.

1.2 Background to the Study

General Background

Cross-cultural conflict is as a subject that has engaged the minds of many literary scholars in Africa (Ngugi, 1965; Whitehead, 2005; Sembene Ousmane, 1976; Okot, 1967; and Ndebele, 1989). African writers employed both fiction and poetry to depict the

various topical issues in their societies. African authors like Ngugi, Mwangi, Achebe, p'Bitek, were fully engaged to depict how colonial and post-colonial dispensations greatly bothered and influenced African societies (Andersson, 2004). One of the many issues that have been widely written about is cross-cultural conflict caused by colonialism. A good example of cross-cultural conflicts in education in the early post-colonial Uganda - and even today - is that pupils were punished severely for speaking their mother tongues at school. They were expected to speak English in and outside of class. Pupils who could not speak English would keep quiet the whole day until they left the school compound. This is a classical case of cultural imperialism brought by Western influence.

Culture can be understood as the totality of the pattern of behaviour of a particular group of people. Aziza (2001: 31) defines culture as everything that makes one group different from other groups of people - their education, social norms, dressing, greeting habits, songs, food, taboos, dance, rites of passage from birth through marriage to death, occupations, religious as well as philosophical beliefs. The Uganda National Cultural Policy defines culture as *socially transmitted behaviour patterns, beliefs, institutions, arts and knowledge (Uganda, National Cultural Policy, 2006)*.

To perpetuate Western cultural hegemony in Africa, colonialism expressed the ethnocentric belief that the culture of the colonizer was superior to that of the colonized (Okoduwa, 2008:13). This belief was purposely put into action through the establishment of schools whose curricula were tailored to achieve the goals of the colonizer rather than train the colonized to be independent (Rodney, 1972). Their missionary ventures helped a great deal in promoting the religious concepts and beliefs

of the West and inclined the colonized to Western religion (Ngugi, 1977). The western cultural hegemony also caused the destruction of the African cultural values and the African educational, religious and sociocultural values were viewed by the west as inferior (Gebrewold, 2008:8-10).

The West employed many tools including literature to justify the colonisation of Africa and consequently to culturally dominate the continent. European writers like Joseph Conrad (1899) in *The Heart of Darkness* and Rider Haggard (1885) in *King Solomon's Mines* paint the African values as backward, uncivilised, savage and cannibalistic, to justify European intervention in Africa under the pretext of promoting civilization in the "Dark Continent". This is why the African writers woke up to counteract these beliefs by the West and to write literature from the African perspective.

Before colonialism, indigenous communities in Uganda were similar to one another in some ways (Ocitti, 1993:19 and Ssekamwa 2000:10). For example, their social, political and economic organization revolved around the family, clan and/or the institution of the traditional leader. Their daily activities were intrinsically linked to, and determined by, their cultures (*The Uganda National Cultural Policy, 2006*). Western culture was introduced in Africa and Uganda in particular through the overseas trading Companies, the Christian missionaries and colonialism. The colonial government accelerated the spread of western culture in many ways through persuasion and force.

Aspects of culture such as indigenous knowledge, religious beliefs and moral-ethical values were directly or indirectly discouraged through the teaching of western education accompanied with western religion and value systems (Idang, 2015:10 Igboin,

2011:17). In this way indigenous creativity, innovation and the whole social fabric in Uganda were undermined. This has brought about continuous cross-cultural conflict between the western and the African ways of life, and this conflict has been captured in several Ugandan works of fiction.

The cross-cultural conflicts arising from colonial educational, religious and sociocultural values as depicted by African scholars are similar elsewhere in the colonized world. Some of the literary scholars like p'Bitek (1967), Ngugi (1965) depict both the colonial and the neo-colonial experiences in Africa whose effects are as current today as they were a century ago. The background literature review below handles the three aspects of cultural conflicts namely, educational, religious and sociocultural values.

Conflicts in Educational Values

Education transmits values, knowledge and attitudes which bring about desirable changes in the way one thinks, feels and acts (Mbiti, 1981; Ocitti, 1993). Education is crucial for the preservation or destruction of people's culture. The greater proportion of African traditional education is informal, being acquired by the young from the example and behavior of elders in the society (Mbiti, 1981). Under normal circumstances education grows out of the environment, the learning process being directly related to the pattern of work in the society (Ocitti, 1993; Wandira, 1971; Tiberondwa, 1998). At the onset of colonialism and Western education, the basis of African cultural values, including indigenous African education, were undermined and replaced with foreign cultural beliefs and values, hence the creation of cross-cultural conflicts.

Rodney (1972) identified the following features of indigenous African education: its close links with social life, its collective nature, its many-sidedness; and progressive development of the child. Ssekamwa (2000) maintained that in traditional Africa there was no separation of education and productive activity or any division between manual and intellectual education. Indigenous African education produced well rounded learners to fit into indigenous African societies.

Indigenous African education was rich and practical. The elders were the teachers who taught out of experience at the homesteads and the fireplaces (Mbiti, 1981; Ocitti, 1993, Wandira, 1971). The learners had the right to ask the why questions which helped shape them into responsible citizens. Indigenous education ensured that every child was taught the culture, ethics and the language of his/her society.

Indigenous education among the Africans involved the children not merely being taught abstract pieces of knowledge to be memorized for exams, but knowledge that was necessary in everyday African life. This knowledge extends into three practical areas: social duties, social values, and spiritual beliefs (McGarvey, 1997). The African indigenous learning was practical and the skills learned could benefit the whole community and not individuals. For example a boy in Buganda or Busoga learned the skills of manufacturing bark cloths practically and his initial products were not thrown away but used as door mats or as carpets (Ssekamwa 2000, Tiberondwa 1998).

African educational and sociocultural values arise from the transmission of aptitudes, skills and knowledge by the elders from generation to generation (Idang, 2015). They share some commonalities, such as the paramount place of elders in the system. From

birth, Africans are immersed in a cultural setting that values the authority of elders and emphasizes practical knowledge. Elders embody wisdom and knowledge, and the death of an African elder is equated to the burning down of a library (Igboin, 2011; Iguisi, 2014).

Storytelling is also an important part of the African traditional educational and societal values. Full of moral values, African storytelling, in addition to its entertainment and educative values, is an efficient way to handle flaws and vices and to encourage communal living, respect, humility, endurance, hardship, and other socially healthy value systems.

Through the extended family, children learn how to become responsible fathers and diligent workers, or good wives. The skills learned through the family include cooking, dressing, and appropriate interaction within the community. Mentorship lies with the parents, the extended family and community. Full right is given to any member of a family or community to correct the children who misbehave. The journey from childhood to adulthood is a hard and rich process through which the child learns how to become a responsible adult by acting according to the laws and guidelines of a specific community (Fafunwa, 1974: 48; Idang, 2015:2).

While African transmission of values to the young is through elders and family, in the West it is done differently and has different objectives. The role of elders, mothers and the community shifts to younger, technically trained professionals who might come from different communities (Freire, 1993). The transmission location shifts from houses or fire places to schools built on the European model and the medium of values

transmission is no longer local languages but foreign. The values passed on to the children are no longer for community responsibility but for job-seeking (Idang, 2015; Kyalo 2012).

The advent of Western influence in Africa meant forced recruitment of students from families in order to impart in them western values. The students were kept in boarding schools away from their families, language and culture. The agenda was to change them culturally (Ssekamwa, 2000). This created new local elites and the rest of the population were attracted by the Western value systems (Igboin, 2011; Iguisi, 2014). As the family gets more disintegrated in the West, values transmission also gets more and more disintegrated. The pursuit of paper qualifications becomes the primary objective of the mentoring and training process. This has caught up with the African societies as well.

The importance of paper qualification in the “modern” African society is discussed in many African novels. Buchi Emecheta (1982) in *Double Yoke* raises this issue of young African students who resort to nasty means to earn their degrees. The example of the main character in the novel, Nko, who has an affair with a professor in order to get her degree, is cited by some African traditionalists to criticize Western values, which they accuse of being a source of depravity and loss of traditional values. To Ssekamwa (2000) Western values are perceived by some Africans as being the main cause of current African moral decay and joblessness. The youth no longer want to work on the farms (Ssekamwa 2000:19), and every student is expecting that the government will provide them with jobs. In most of the cases governments cannot satisfy the employment needs of these youth.

Western education, on the contrary focused on abstract knowledge - how to read, write and pass English, arithmetic, sciences and social studies (Mbiti, 1981; Ocitti, 1993). The differences in focus were bound to create conflicts which have persisted for years. While Okot p'Bitek (1967) held the view that colonial education was not the best for Africans because it brainwashed learners into hating their culture and pushed them to blindly imitate Western lifestyles. To him, the purpose of the educated class in Africa was to fight this brainwashing so that students are helped to discover that their culture is rich and valuable.

The West transferred their own curricula to Africa without reference to African conditions. History lessons covered how the Vikings invaded Britain from the north of Europe and how the British captured America, defeated the Red Indians and how the British Empire grew. African history was considered either nonexistent or unimportant (Ssekamwa 2000). The great men who were studied in African schools were the kings of England. In Geography African elders taught the young about African seasons of the year, the flora and fauna, lakes and rivers while the Western teachers taught European and American seasons of the year: spring, summer, autumn and winter. They taught them about the coniferous trees in America, the Canadian plains, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes of America, which were far removed. They hesitated to teach that River Nile is one of the longest rivers in the world or Lake Victoria as one of the largest fresh water lakes in the world (Mbiti, 1981; Wandira, 1971; Tiberondwa, 1998).

The Western curriculum was structured in such a way that the language spoken is foreign to Africans. The emphasis was put on the use of the English language; this was all meant to make the blacks reflect themselves in the Western mirrors. Ngugi says that

“the bullet was the means of physical subjugation; language was the means of the spiritual subjugation” (Ngugi 1986: 9). The irrelevance of the Western curriculum to African situations was bound to generate conflicts and loss of interest in Western education.

African educated elites who took over power from the colonialists had already been culturally disoriented by several years of western cultural domination in administration, schools and churches. African elites became imitators of the white man in many respects. Administration of African politics, education and churches followed the footprints of the white predecessors (Fanon, 1967). Ngugi is particularly disappointed that the post-independence ruling African elites have not broken from the economic, social and political institutions created by the colonialists. In one of his writings in the mid-1980s, Ngugi argues that imperialism is the root cause of Africa’s many problems. In *Decolonising the Mind*, Ngugi rejects western cultural control and domination, including the English language. He detests the domination of the mental universe of the colonized people through:

The destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of people’s culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the colonizer (Ngugi 1986:16).

Ngugi asserts that ‘economic and political control can never be complete or effective without the mental control’. This explains why the White man sets up schools as an ideology to hold the mind captive and make the conquest and exploitation of the Africans in totality.

The use of the English language was the only means of communication. This was intentional because the colonial masters were aiming at colonizing the minds of the African, and their plan was to start with the children who have no say. The school was the best place to do this. As the children are taken deeper and deeper into the English language, they are separated from their way of life in their own societies which results in values conflict. And through this the children are drawn to the White man's way of life. This made the children begin despising their own cultures and embraced fully the culture of the White man through the use of the English language (Ssekamwa 2000; Wandira, 1971; Tiberondwa, 1998).

The colonizing government realized that she gained strength not necessarily through physical control but through mental control. This mental control is implemented through the school system. Kelly and Altbach (1984) stated that "colonial schools sought to extend foreign domination and economic exploitation of the colony". They felt that education in the colonies seemed directed at absorption into the metropole and not separate and dependent development of the colonized in their own society and culture.

According to Kelly and Altbach the process is an attempt to strip the colonized people away from their indigenous learning structures and draw them towards the structures of the colonizers. Just as the West controlled African participation in the new economic order, they carefully structured African education so as to perpetuate their underdevelopment and dependency. The system of education was designed to impose upon Africans the white man's mythical, racial superiority and African inferiority. This was increasingly opposed over time and led to the birth of African Nationalism which fought for African independence.

The West designed its teaching in such a way that Africans could internalize their inferiority and recognize the white man as a superior class. Western education aimed at African *subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment* (Walter Rodney, 1973:380). Colin (1968) contends that a certain amount of technical training was essential to provide cheap semi-skilled labour but that could not be allowed to continue beyond a given standard or the Africans would soon be competing with whites. Often, the implementation of Western education in Africa left Africans with lack of identity and a limited sense of their past (Cheriet, 2015). The indigenous history and customs once practiced and observed, slowly slipped away. The colonized became hybrids (Bhabha, 1994:34) of two vastly different cultural systems with potentially devastating conflicts.

Alex La Guma in *the Fog of the Season's End* depicts how the colonialist allocated bad schools with bad teachers and no facilities to the blacks, while well facilitated schools were reserved for the Whites (La Guma, 1972). According to Alex La Guma the South African colonial education system was structured in such a way that it makes the Whites superior to the blacks. He further emphasizes that subjects like mathematics were not for blacks supposedly because the blacks were inferior to the Whites and had no brains for mathematics. Colonial education removed African confidence in their ability and capacities to overcome obstacles. That is why the African educationalist, Abdou Moumuni (as cited by Walter, 1972), posits that colonial education makes Africans see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and desire to distance themselves from it.

The deliberate destruction of African societal values was done through the educational system that elevated the West as the centre of the universe occupied by a superior race (Ngugi 1981: 56). This made the converts of the educational system desire permanent identification with the culture of the West. A notable British geographer, James MacQueen, as cited by Falola (2007), arrogantly states that “If we really wish to do good in Africa, we must teach her savage sons that white men are their superiors”.

The West intended to dominate the colonized not only through physical control but also mental control. Whitehead (2005:5) remarks that *Ugandans who passed through the schools were ‘brainwashed’ to discard their own cultures and embrace Western cultures*. This is an indication that indigenous Africans were brainwashed to discard their own cultural values and adopt the Western, which were supposedly superior, resulting in the cultural “values” of dependency, mental enslavement and a sense of inferiority. Mental and social control was carried out through western education. Their educational goal was to expose Africans to superior cultural values. Colonizers thought education would bring Africans into the modern world and to a higher level of civilization. Since the colonial education brainwashed and made Africans doubt their indigenous names, language (Okot p’Bitek, 1967), environment, heritage, unity, capacities and identity (Ngugi, 1981), it was bound to cause cross-cultural conflicts among those who have faith in their African identity.

George Urch, in his article *Education and Colonialism in Kenya* states that a policy of granting huge tracts of land to the wealthier settlers, created a great demand for African help of all kinds (Urch, 1971). As the Africans developed an interest in Western educational values, the colonial government began to realize the necessity of training

Africans for service to the white man as catechists, messengers and clerks to assist them in realizing the social and economic development and transformations desired by the European missionaries, administrators, merchants and traders (Omolewa, 2006; Kelly, 1984).

Ngugi, in his book “Decolonizing the Mind” (Ngugi, 1986) regrets that the type of education given to the African messengers, clerks, and administrators made them deny their own identities in order to fit the service of the foreign masters. This was a source of cultural values conflict.

On the subject of education in Kenya, Ngugi (1964:47) depicts the Western teacher as an authoritarian character who does not take time to get to the learners’ level. Teacher Lucia is a symbol of authoritarianism. The pupils feel intimidated and fear to make mistakes while learning. At one time she beats the whole class for making mistakes while greeting the European visitor (Ngugi 1964:47). She forces Africans to learn a language which was irrelevant to their social environment. She uses the weapon of coercion, a familiar colonial weapon, to force the pupils to do her will. She provides no space for any questions. The school system is modeled on the colonial mode of unquestioning subservience and wants to groom a generation of submissive mimic (Bhabha, 1994:34) subjects. This inevitably caused cross-cultural conflict.

Conflicts in Religious Values

Pre-colonial African life was heavily influenced by religion. Almost every aspect of life was seen and interpreted in terms of the supernatural. The moral code of African religion is based in tradition, which flows from God to the ancestors. The ancestors are

the repository of the tradition. Through the spirits and the priests/medicine men, the morality of the society is maintained. African religion holds the belief in the omnipresence of the spirits (Magesa, 1997). This is why the spirits are believed to play a major role in the implementation and maintenance of morality. Africans believe that the spirits punish the culprits of theft, corruption, immorality and all kinds of perversion. However, colonialism attacked the foundations and structure of African beliefs and values upon which the moral fabric was based.

Christian missionaries introduced Western education in Africa because they were eager to use literacy training to introduce Christianity and win converts to their religion (Omolewa, 2006). Lawino, the protagonist in Okot's (1967) long poem, complains that Western education has blinded Ocol from the beauty of his culture. He calls Acoli language, dance, food, medicine and ways of estimating time primitive. He also states that Acoli traditional religion is inferior compared to its Western counterpart which he calls superior.

Various missionary groups used education as a tool for expanding religious activities and enlarging their own sphere of influence (Urch, 1971). African religions were treated as an evil which had to be encountered and uprooted. Moyo remarks that the introduction of Christianity gave the impression that African religious beliefs were inferior to the Western ones and that to become a Christian, Africans had to be detached from their indigenous cultural and religious values (Moyo, 1988). Christianity was turned into an ideology which could be used to convince people not to resist white domination (Hilde, 1997).

On the contrary, African Traditional Religion (ATR) is not evil and inferior as depicted by the Christian missionaries (Aylward, 1978). It is an authentic religion with sound fundamental beliefs that were handed down from generation to generation. This was the origin of religious values conflict.

Several decades of research have come to the finding that the fundamental beliefs of African traditional religion are as follows: (a) This Universe was created by a Supreme Being; (b) the Supreme Being brought into being a number of divinities and spirits to act as His functionaries in the orderly maintenance of the world; (c) death does not mean the end of human life; (d) the divinities, spirits and the ancestral spirits work together with the Supreme Being and are interested in what goes on in the world of men; and (e) the divinities and the ancestors have laid down some rules of conduct and guiding principles for the benefit of men and women and for the maintenance of peace in the community (Omosade, 1976; Westerlund, 1985; Aylward, 1978; Timothy, 2002).

According to Omosade (1976) Africans believe that this is God's world and that He has brought into being divinities and spirits as well as the ancestral spirits for the orderly governance of the universe. God and His functionaries are interested in the behavior of men and women and have laid down guiding principles for human behavior in society. Man is able to respond to Deity's order because he is created a moral agent endowed with a conscience and capable of distinguishing between good and evil (Westerlund, 1985; Timothy, 2002).

Okot p'Bitek (1967) suggests that the hatred among African communities came as a result of the introduction of Western religion. Christian religious rivalry has been a

major concern of other Ugandan literary works, especially, Wangusa's *Upon This Mountain*, Nyabongo's *Africa Answers Back* and Mary Karoro Okurut's *The Invisible Weevil*. *Africa Answers Back* opens with religious wars in which Anglicans triumph over Catholics. As for *The Invisible Weevil*, it depicts how a father and a son almost fall out in post-Amin Uganda when the latter joins a political party that is not religion-based.

Traditional African society is characterized by a series of harmonious ties. These ties include extended family members, the clan, village, the community as well as ties with the ancestors who are interested in the day-to-day life of their living children (Omosade, 1976; Westerlund, 1985; Aylward, 1978; Timothy, 2002). If a man or a woman steals or practices sorcery, his action causes displeasure and harm to members of his society and such an action will not go unpunished. Africans have a high sense of morality and this morality leads to established customs, taboos, and rules which are prominent in many African societies (Westerlund, 1985). Because of the love of the community and the fear of divine punishment, men avoid vices such as cheating, dishonesty, selfishness, sorcery, treachery, theft, witchcraft and extramarital affairs (Omosade, 1976; Aylward, 1978; Timothy, 2002).

From the foregoing it has been shown that ATR creates a good relationship with God and man. Both relationships are to be maintained because it is in the maintenance of the two that man finds peace and happiness. In both cases, God and His functionaries are the judges (Omosade, 1976). One of the most essential benefits of ATR is the moral restraint arising from the fear of God's immediate punishment for sin. Could it be that Christianity's lax attitude to sin should be responsible for the current corruption with impunity in Africa? Christianity at least partly teaches that punishment for sin will be

on the last day which many people think will never come, while ATR teaches that sin is punished immediately (Omosade, 1976). Little is left to wonder that Africans have over time embraced Christianity because it is an easier option. The West has demonized and devalued ATR and made it less attractive to Africans and yet it was the reason for the peace and harmony that were enjoyed for centuries (Westerlund, 1985; Aylward, 1978; Timothy, 2002).

When the first British missionaries arrived in Buganda in 1877, it is said that they found a superior civilisation in Buganda and the acceptance of Christianity and literacy enhanced that superiority (Ward, 1991). The influence of the missionaries upon the Baganda culture transformed the Baganda into agents who, on behalf of their new masters, conquered other tribes in the claim of spreading Western religion. Both missionaries and the King of Buganda (*Kabaka*) had varying interests. The *Kabaka's* intention was to use “the missionaries’ to strengthen his military force (Rowe, 2002, 56). The *Kabaka* expected the missionaries to come with guns to fight against his enemies. But when the missionaries came they were not able to bring the guns but the Gospel (Titre, 2010:60). The agenda of the Western missionaries was to totally change the culture and outlook of the Africans (Okot p’Bitek, 1967). This is the origin of cross-cultural conflict which persisted throughout most of the missionary period in Uganda.

Conflicts in Socio-Cultural Values

Colonialism destroyed the indigenous values of love, community relationships, and deep spirituality (Okot p’Bitek, 1967; Omolewa, 2006). Other African values weakened include kindness, honesty, hospitality, accommodation, generosity, compassion,

faithfulness, diligence, self-sufficiency, etc (Igboin, 2011). Dignity of labour, an esteemed African value, has been replaced with corruption and quick and shrewd ways to success. With the increasingly globalizing world, greed, selfishness, corruption, intolerance, "cutthroat competition", disharmony, pride, arrogance, covetousness, and loss of community are taking over from the age-long cherished value systems (Omolewa, 2006; Idang, 2015; Kyalo 2012; Igboin, 2011; Iguisi, 2014).

Before it was distorted by Western influence, the African sense of family attached so much value to marriage that single parenthood, divorce, separations, rape, homosexuality, lesbianism and prostitution were unheard of. For a woman to be found a virgin at marriage carried a high value and a dignity that attracted respect and honour to her parents. African societies saw marriage not only as a relationship between two individuals but also as a structural link between groups (Hendrix, 1998:734).

Africans place high value on communal living. The willingness to help others for the development of the community is reciprocal. It is within this communality that Africans are mostly fulfilled. This is beautifully expressed by Mbiti (1969): "I am because we are. And since we are therefore, I am." This is dialectically opposed to crude Western individualism, which has unfortunately threatened the very root of African communalism through colonial contact.

Communal values embed and state the self-understanding and self-worth of the community; it is these values that the social interaction of the people towards a common goal is guided by Africans who share mutually; they care for one another and are interdependent. Whatever happens to one happens to the community as a whole.

The joy and sorrow of one extend to other members of the community in profound ways (Igboin, 2011).

Relaying a personal experience of a Chagga from Tanzania, McGarvey (1997) reports that in order for the colonizers to exploit the Chagga for labour they first needed to establish themselves as the authority to replace the authority which traditionally rested in the hands of the Chagga elders. The colonial schools began socializing the children in ways that conflicted with their cultural values which was a sure way to dismantle African values. The children began to lose faith and respect for the elders as authority figures, and began to see the colonizers as the authority and consequently lost the knowledge that had enabled them to be self-reliant. They became dependent on the West to provide them with everyday needs such as food, clothing, and shelter (McGarvey, 1997).

Scholarly Works on Cultural Conflicts in Uganda

Kahyana's (2014) study on "Negotiating (Trans)national Identities in Ugandan Literature" examines the kind of influence which colonial education created in colonial Uganda as depicted in two early Ugandan literary texts - Ham Mukasa's (1904) travelogue and Akiki Nyabongo's (1936) novel. He asserts that colonial education produced African subjects who were both delighted with colonial rule (subservients) and critical subversives as well as the strategic syncretics.

To Kahyana, the subservients worked hard to open up their societies entirely to western modernity through colonial institutions like churches, schools, and hospitals, while the subversives conflicted with the colonial institutions, hence the genesis of cross-cultural

conflicts. Kahyana also explores how Okot p'Bitek and Peter Nazareth represent the national struggle against colonial rule and the first nine years of independence. He claims that these texts are all loaded with cultural and national identity tensions. He echoes Okot p'Bitek's view that colonial education was critical because it brainwashed students to hate their past and imitate the West.

Kahyana's study makes a major contribution to Ugandan literature criticism by depicting the connection between construction and negotiation of national identities in Ugandan literature. Our present study contributes to the discourse by analyzing the cross-cultural conflicts arising from Western influence as depicted in Ugandan novels.

William Phelps, writing a preface to Nyabongo's (1936) *Africa Answers Back*, notes that Nyabongo's community was enlightened, had people dwelling in peace and harmony and had their own ideas of government. They had their own ways of living and thinking and had developed methods of hygiene that were unknown to the rest of the world (Nyabongo, 1936: ix-x). This is an indication that the Ugandan community was civilized. Comparing Phelps's observation and what we know today, it is the West that is responsible for disorganizing the African communities over time.

Wayanzuvuko's (2010) study entitled "The Portrayal of Christianity in the Works of Timothy Wangusa", based on *Upon This Mountain* and selected poems of this author indicates that both the novel and the poems depict the clash between Christianity and indigenous culture. This conflict comes from the missionaries who impose on the indigenous people their own interpretations of Christianity from their Western cultural perspective.

Eiyo's (2014) study on "Christian Religious Impropriety in African Literature", based on Julius Ocwinyo's *Fate of the Banished*, reveals that the norms and values of Christianity are violated by the very people who are supposed to be the custodians of the faith. Eiyo shows that the issue of priestly celibacy was one of the greatest contributing factors in promoting sexual immorality among the priests.

Asasira's (2011) study on "Language and Social Reality in Selected Novels of Mary Karooro Okurut" traces socio-cultural influence on language in this author's fictions. Her findings reveal that Okurut is not only dealing with gender issues, as most critics argue, but also with the relationship between language and society. She also brings out the negative influence of colonialism in Africa through political leaders like Duduma (Idi Amin) who was supported by foreigners.

Current studies on prominent Ugandan literary scholars like Wangusa, Ocwinyo, Okurut and Kyomuhendo that have so far handled the portrayal of aspects of cultural conflict limit themselves to single aspects like Christianity (Wayianzuvuko, 2010); the Roman Catholic value of priestly celibacy (Eiyo, 2010), language (Asasira, 2011), and ethnic politics (Okuyade, 2015), leaving out the aspects of conflicts in educational, and socio-cultural values, which this study seeks to reveal.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

When colonialist came to Africa and Uganda, in particular, they introduced their culture that influenced the Ugandan educational, religious and socio-cultural values. The

colonial educational values influenced the school systems, cultural norms, socio-cultural values and life style of Ugandans.

As noted in the background, many fiction writers raise many cross-cultural conflicts in their different works that have negatively affected the African and Ugandan cultures by influencing the traditional way of life and depicting them as backward while promoting the Western values as being progressive and modern. Many new value systems, life styles and cultural norms have been introduced in Africa and Uganda in particular, for example the dress code, use of foreign language, seeking for paper qualification, preferring to have western names as opposed to African names, modeling of the telecast life styles, dependence on social media, promotion of individualistic living as opposed to communal living, which are total contradictions to the Ugandan way of life.

Whereas cross-cultural conflicts are evident in Ugandan novels, no comprehensive scholarly study has explored the themes and literary elements employed in the depiction of this subject at the levels of educational, religious and socio-cultural values.

This study therefore sought to fill that gap by investigating how cross-cultural conflicts are portrayed in Ugandan novels taking a case of the works of; Timothy Wangusa, Julius Ocwinyo, Aloysius Aloka, Akiki Nyabongo, Mary Karooro Okurut, Goretti Kyomuhendo, Jane Bakaluba and Jane Kaberuka.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The general objective of this study is to establish how cross-cultural conflicts in educational, religious and socio-cultural values are portrayed in Ugandan novels by eight different authors.

1.5 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives are to establish:

- 1) How the selected authors of Ugandan novels depict cross-cultural conflicts in educational values.
- 2) How the selected writers of Ugandan novels portray cross-cultural conflicts in religious values.
- 3) How the selected authors of Ugandan novels represent cross-cultural conflicts in socio-cultural values.
- 4) What specific literary devices are severally employed by the eight selected authors.

1.6 Research Questions

1. How do selected authors of Ugandan novels depict cross-cultural conflicts in educational values?
2. How do selected writers of Ugandan novels portray cross-cultural conflicts in religious values?

3. How do selected authors of Ugandan novels represent cross-cultural conflicts in socio-cultural values?
4. What specific literary devices are severally employed by the selectes authors?

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study analyzes how cross cultural conflicting educational, religious and socio-cultural values are depicted in the works of Akiki Nyabongo's *Africa Answers Back* (1936); Jane Jagers Bakaluba's *Honeymoon for Three* (1975); Timothy Wangusa's *Upon This Mountain* (1989); Goretti Kyomuhendo's *The First Daughter* (1996); Julius Ocwinyo's *Fate of the Banished* (1997); Mary Karoro Okurut's *Invisible Weevil* (1998); Jane Kaberuka's *Silent Patience* (1999); and Aloysius Aloka's *Iteo Alive* (2000).

The geographical scope is represented by the setting of the eight books. Akiki Nyabongo's *Africa Answers Back* is set in Bunyoro region of Uganda; Jane Jagers Bakaluba's *Honeymoon for Three* is set in central Uganda; Timothy Wangusa's *Upon This Mountain* is set in the Eastern region; Julius Ocwinyo's *Fate of the Banished* and Aloysius Aloka's *Iteo Alive* are set in Northern region and Goretti Kyomuhendo's *The First Daughter*, Mary Karoro Okurut's *Invisible Weevil*, Jane Kaberuka's *Silent Patience* are set in the West. Therefore, the study covers the entire scope of Uganda.

The time scope of the study ranges from the colonial period to the present time. Akiki Nyabongo's *Africa Answers Back* (1936) is written during the colonial period; Jane Jagers Bakaluba's *Honeymoon for Three* (1975) is written thirteen years after Uganda's independence; Timothy Wangusa's *Upon This Mountain* (1989); Goretti Kyomuhendo's *The First Daughter* (1996); Julius Ocwinyo's *Fate of the Banished* (1997); Mary Karoro

Okurut's *Invisible Weevil* (1998); Jane Kaberuka's *Silent Patience* (1999) and Aloysius Aloka's *Iteo Alive* (2000) are written at the turn of the century.

1.8 Justification of the Study

In any society one expects to find a unified education, religion and family values that guide the members of that society in terms of their behaviour. Each culture therefore tends to preserve its educational, religious and socio-cultural values in order to maintain its identity; and in the event of interface with other cultures there is a tendency for one to dominate the other and that is what constitutes conflict. This conflict has to be logically understood from both the Western and African cultural point of view; the former being the propagator, and the latter the recipient of the culture in the areas of educational, religious and socio-cultural values. Conflicting cross-cultural values has been manifest in the works of African fiction writers, but an analysis of how they do it has been pending, with regard to Ugandan prominent authors, namely; Wangusa, Ocwinyo, Aloka, Akiki, Karoro, Kyomuhendo, Bakaluba and Kaberuka. In view of what we consider as need for education and enlightenment on how cross cultural values have influenced the different aspects of our cultural history, and a study on how these specific cross-cultural conflicts are portrayed in those works is justified.

1.9 Significance of the Study

This study is significant because it concentrates on analyzing how cross-cultural conflicts in educational, religious and socio-cultural values are portrayed in eight selected Ugandan novels. These cross-cultural conflicts result from the collision of Western and African educational, religious and socio-cultural values. This research is

therefore important in understanding how cross cultural conflicts are portrayed in Ugandan literature based on the evident value conflicts that have been scantily studied as compared to other African writers like Chinua Achebe, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Okot p'Bitek.

A detailed critical analysis of the portrayal of Western and African cross-cultural value conflict is generally lacking and therefore any serious library study at this level is a welcome venture in contributing to the understanding of the significant effect of the cross-cultural conflicts. Since Ugandan novelists have in their works and from their perspective vividly portrayed the reality and consequences of the clash between civilizations that was associated with colonial and post-colonial history, it is high time that Ugandan counterparts in literary appreciation came up with their responses. This study is the first of such responses.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

The study applied the post-colonial literary theory combined with the Freireian Theory of Cultural Invasion. Post-colonial literary theory deals with the literature written in previously colonized countries that highlight the way colonizing culture conflicts with the experiences of the colonized people. The theory also deals with the literature written by the colonized persons to attempt to reclaim their past by articulating their identities in contrast to those of the colonizers (Lazarus, 2004).

Postcolonial theory began with the work of Edward W. Said, born in Jerusalem in 1935, who attained a PhD from Harvard University in 1964. When he published his path-breaking book *Orientalism* in 1978, he created a new way of theorizing the last few

centuries, of how the imperialist West constructed their colonies as abnormal cultural and political objects, with a need for the civilizing efforts of the colonial master. In the case of Asia, Said (1978) discusses ways in which the Europeans undermined the Asian culture, defining European culture as 'normal' and Asian culture as 'other'. He greatly influenced the colonial and subsequently postcolonial studies and their offshoots (cultural studies, women studies, ethnic studies) with his writings and political journalism.

The ideas of Asian scholars in the post-colonial literature include Gayatri Spivak and the terms that she used frequently in her writings such as "subaltern" and "othering", Homi K. Bhabha who coined a number of post-colonial neologisms including "hybridity", "mimicry", "ambivalence" and "stereotype" and, Dipesh Chakrabarty strongly criticized the historiography of Western scholars.

A renowned work of a Caribbean scholar (from the French colony of Martinique), Franz Fanon - *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) is a foundational text in post-colonial literature which considers violence as the supremacy of white values and the aggressiveness which has permeated the victory of these values over other ways of life. His argument is that in the colonial countries the agents of government speak the language of pure force and the means of oppression and/or domination brings violence into the home and into the mind of the native (1963:37-42).

Major African writers such as Chinua Achebe (Nigerian), Ngugi wa Thiong'o (Kenyan), Wole Soyinka (Nigerian), Ebrahim Hussein (Tanzanian) and Leopold Sedar Senghor (Senegalese) have also contributed to the postcolonial theory by focusing on the impact

of colonialism on African culture. It has been argued that colonialists affected many aspects of African societies, such as language, education and religion (Kanneh, 1998). As a result of colonialism, people's national identity, cultural history and cultural identity were distorted and sometimes eradicated through, for instance, the imposition of rule and assimilation in the name of civilization.

The aftermath of colonization left behind distortions that post-colonial writers have responded with urgency and commitment to address the relevant issues and 'to re-equip themselves culturally' (Kanneh 1998: 92) in order to restore African values, culture and identity. African literature has now been associated with the quest for an African common identity (Gikandi, 2009).

Freireian educational philosophy and theory of cultural invasion is the brain child of Paulo Freire, born in 1921 to a middle-class family in Brazil. Freire became familiar with poverty and hunger during the Great Depression of the 1930s. He stated that poverty and hunger severely affected his ability to learn. This experience influenced his decision to dedicate his life to improving the lives of the poor. Eventually his family's misfortunes turned around and their prospects improved. He enrolled in law school at the University of Recife in 1943. He also studied philosophy, and the psychology of language. Although admitted to the legal bar, he never practiced law. He instead worked as a teacher in secondary schools teaching Portuguese.

Freire's educational thought began to manifest with his appointment in 1946 as Director of Education at an employer's institution set up to help workers and their families (Gadotti, 1996). Here he began to see more disconnections between elitist educational practices and the real lives of the working class. In 1967, Freire published his first book,

Education as the Practice of Freedom. He followed it with his most famous book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, first published in Portuguese in 1968.

Freire's *Pedagogy* is an approach to education that aims to transform oppressive structures by engaging people who have been marginalized and dehumanized and drawing on what they already know (Freire, 1968). Freire contributed a philosophy of education that came not only from the more classical approaches stemming from Plato but also from modern Marxist and anti-colonialist thinkers. In many ways his works emphasized the need to provide native populations with an education which was anti-colonial (not simply an extension of the culture of the colonizer). For education, Freire implies a dialogic exchange between teachers and students, where both learn, both question, both reflect and both participate in meaning-making (Gadotti, 1996).

The Freireian theory of cultural invasion deals with the outcome of the colonization of one nation or group by another. Because of cultural invasion the invaded people lose their own culture because they see truth through the eyes of the invaders. They accept the imposed norms and values and perceive the invaders as superior, and as a result they look at themselves as inferior. The invaded persons or group lose their identity. They become helpless. The invasion leaves the oppressed getting fascinated by the culture of the oppressors and adopting it as part of themselves. This leads to alienation of the oppressed from their own culture. The oppressors do the thinking for the oppressed, which makes the oppressed become objects (Freire, 1993).

After critical evaluation, we find that post-colonial literary theory and the Freireian theory of Cultural Invasion are very appropriate for this research. Both theories are linked in such a way that they address the exploitation of Africa by the Western World.

1.11 Biographies of the Selected Authors

Timothy Wangusa

Wangusa was born in Bugisu District, in Eastern Uganda, in 1942. He studied English at Makerere University College and at the University of Leeds before joining the Literature Department at Makerere, where he had a distinguished career (1969-2001) as an academician, poet and novelist. He got his PhD in English Literature from Makerere University. Professor Wangusa served as Head of the Department of Literature as well as Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Makerere University. Formerly, he subsequently served as Vice Chancellor of Kumi University in eastern Uganda. Wangusa played a pivotal role in establishing the Department of Languages and Literature at Uganda Christian University, an Anglican University in Mukono and he was also a Research Professor (and Dean of School of Research and Postgraduate Studies) at the same University.

His writing career spans more than four decades, during which he has authored highly acclaimed works of both fiction and poetry. His poetic works include: *A pattern of Dust*, *Anthem for Africa* and *Africa's New Brood*. His fiction works are *Upon This Mountain* and *Betwixt Mountain and Wilderness*. Wangusa is lately a visiting Professor of Literature at Uganda Christian University and vice chair of LuMasaaba Language Academy. He is engaged in co-writing with Cornelius Wekunya the first LuMasaaba Dictionary, now at an advanced stage. He posits that poetry is the mother tongue of mankind, while he perceives literature as a verbal rendering of the human soul or the community's condition.

Julius Ocwinyo

Julius Ocwinyo was born in 1961, in Teboke, northern Uganda. He is an editor, poet and novelist. His other novels include *The Unfulfilled Dream* (2002), *Footprints of the Outsider* (2002) and *The Price of Grandma's Love* (2009). His work has appeared in several newspapers, including the New York Times.

Ocwinyo studied at Aboke Junior Seminary and Lango College, before joining the Institute of Teacher Education at Kyambogo, where he earned a Diploma in Education. He later studied at Makerere University, where he received a Bachelor of Education. Ocwinyo taught at various educational institutions before becoming an editor with Fountain Publishers, Kampala.

Some of his works have been recognized nationally. *Fate of the Banished* won the 1997 Uganda Publishers and Booksellers Association (UPABA) award for best adult fiction. In 2004, *Footprints of the Outsider* won the Kinyara Award for best adult fiction. *Fate of the Banished* was also selected as one of the study texts for the Ugandan A-level Literature syllabus. His poetry was published in Uganda Poetry Anthology (2000).

Mary Karooro Okurut

Mary Karooro Okurut was born in Bushenyi district on December 8, 1954. She attended Bweranyangi Primary School and Bweranyangi Girls' Senior Secondary School for her elementary and middle school education. In 1972, she entered Trinity College Nabbingo for her A-levels. In 1974, she entered Makerere University, graduating in 1977 with Bachelor of Arts in Literature and three years later, in 1981, she graduated with Master of Arts in Literature from Makerere University.

She took up employment as the press secretary to the Vice-President of Uganda from 1994 until 1996. Between 1996 and 1999 she served as Commissioner, Education Service Commission in the Ugandan Ministry of Education. From 1999 until 2004, she served as the Press Secretary of the President of Uganda. In 2004 she entered elective Ugandan politics.

Karooro Okurut's literary publications include: *The Curse of the Sacred Cow* (1993), *The Adventurous Sisters* (1993), *The Invisible Weevil* (1998) and *The Official Wife* (1997), *The Blood Brothers* (2003), *Potiphar's Grand Daughter* (2013) and *The Switch* (2016). She also edited *A Woman's Voice* (1998), a collection of short stories by Ugandan women writers.

She is a Ugandan educator, author and politician. She is currently Ugandan Cabinet Minister in Charge of General Duties in the Office of the Prime Minister since 2016.

Goretti Kyomuhendo

Goretti Kyomuhendo, born on 1 August 1965, is a Ugandan novelist. She participated at the inaugural International Literature Festival Berlin in 2001. She obtained a Bachelor of Arts English Studies degree in 2003, from the University of Natal, Durban, South Africa, and a Master's of Arts in Creative Writing 2005, from the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa.

Kyomuhendo's novels have been recognized internationally. She has also earned notice in African literary circles for her service from 1997 to 2007 as the Programs Coordinator for FEMRITE - Uganda Women Writers Association, and her founding of African Writers Trust in 2009, after her relocation to London, UK, in 2008.

Kyomuhendo's first novel, *The First Daughter* (1996), was well received in Uganda, earning some regional attention as well. Her second novel, *Secrets No More* (1999), won the National Book Trust of Uganda Award for 1999. Kyomuhendo's third novel, *Waiting: A Novel of Uganda's Hidden War* (2000), has garnered the most international recognition to date.

Jane Kaberuka

Kaberuka was born on 28 August 1956 in Bunyoro, Western Uganda. She went to Kyebambe Girls Secondary School and then to Gayaza High School. Kaberuka married at the age of nineteen. After graduating with a Bachelor of Science degree in Biochemistry and Zoology in 1979, she went to Australia with her husband and was awarded a Bachelor of Education degree in 1982 at La Trobe University. She did some science teaching and started a postgraduate degree at the University of New England. After the change of government in Uganda in 1986, she and her husband returned with their four young children in January 1987.

Kaberuka took up an anti-corruption post in the office of the Inspector General of Government in 1992. She also worked as a columnist for a newspaper between 1992 and 1994. In 1999 she published her novel *Silent Patience* which begins with an arranged marriage.

Akiki Nyabongo

According to Danson Kahyana (2016) citing Gikandi and Mwangi, Akiki Nyabongo was born in 1904 to Omukama Kasagama, King of Toro Kingdom, which had come under Britain's influence in 1891 when Captain Fredrick Lugard of the Imperial British East Africa Company signed a treaty with the Omukama, in which he promised to 'protect' him against Omukama Kabalega, the powerful king of the Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom whose forces had fled. Nyabongo studied at Harvard University for an MA and Oxford University for a PhD in Philosophy and worked at Tuskegee University and North Carolina A&T University in the 1940s and 1950s. He returned to Uganda after the country became independent in 1962.

Jane Bakaluba

Jane Jagers Bakaluba's date of birth and biography are yet to be established. She is better known for her short stories, some of which have won international prizes. Jane Bakaluba's *Honeymoon for three* narrates the story of a young courageous village beauty who, after attending boarding school was unable to accept the values and attitudes of the older generations. Naiga disagrees with her father's choice of a suitor in favour of her own choice, Nuwa "the poor Christian". Her relationship with her father becomes bitter and she flees and marries the man of her choice. The story takes interesting turns in the last moments of Mukasa's life when he calls his daughter for reconciliation. Mukasa's last action on his death-bed is to forgive his daughter who receives this good news a bit too late.

Aloysius Aloka

Aloysius Aloka was born in Matany, Moroto, in 1961 and went to the local Apostles of Jesus Seminary. He did his O-level in Kenya and his A-level at Moroto High School, and then he joined Makerere University. Aloka read Literature for his first degree and followed it with an MA thesis on the songs and poetry of the Karimojong. He taught for four years before joining government in 1990s. Music is one of his delights and he plays the organ at Moroto Cathedral. He worked as Senior Assistant Secretary in Moroto.

1.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter laid the foundation to prove the proposition that cross-cultural conflicts resulting from the differences between African and European educational, religious and socio-cultural values are depicted as a major issue in several fictions. The chapter presented the background to the study in its various aspects, then the problem of the study, its purpose and objectives, the research questions, its scope, justification, significance, theoretical framework and ended with the biographies of the selected authors. The next chapter is the literature review.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of the works on the influence of colonialism on African culture and the various ploys they used to suppress African cultural identity. It also mentions related studies on selected novels. It then goes into the specifics of cross-cultural conflicts in the educational, religious and sociocultural values arising from colonial influence in Africa and ends with a chapter summary.

2.1 General Overview

From the very beginning the contact between the West and Africa was bound to generate cross-cultural conflicts because the Western and African beliefs, attitudes and value systems were different. To rationalize the colonisation of Africa and consequently the cultural dominance of the continent, the West employed many tools to implement their plot, one of which was literature. European writers like Henry Rider Haggard in *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) paints the African as backward, uncivilised, savage and cannibalistic to justify European intervention in Africa under the pretext of promoting civilization in the "Dark Continent." This Western mentality generated the initial African resistance to foreign cultural dominance, hence the beginning of cross-cultural conflict.

Some of the most notorious colonial novels as cited by Okaka (2008) are Joyce Arthur Cary's *The African Witch* and *Mister Johnson*, Henry Rider Haggard's novel *Allan Quatermain*, Joseph Conrad's *The Heart of Darkness*, Graham Green's *The Heart of the*

Matter, Nicholas Monsarrat's, *The Tribe That Lost Its Head* and Robert Ruark's *Something of Value*.

These writers painted the picture of a backward, useless Africa that could not do anything for itself, while they depicted Europeans as intelligent, courageous, reasonable and good-natured, hence the justification for racism and colonialism. Gebrewold (2008) argues that the colonizer considered the colonized as inferior beings justifiably to be exploited and subdued, and it was the colonizer's ethical and Christian responsibility to civilize and expose Africans to a superior culture. This superiority-inferiority attitude was very demeaning and was bound to cause conflicts.

To counteract this bad image, many African literary scholars like Ngugi wa Thiongo, Chinua Achebe and Ousmane Sembene rose up to challenge the negative colonial image that was perpetuating the ideology of cultural imperialism meant to sustain the myth of the "Dark Continent" (Okaka, 2008; Kehinde, 2004). European colonialism was responsible for disorganizing and destroying some of the most glorious cultures in Africa. To Achebe, the West did not just use military and political might, but also invaded the cultural and social realm, where the real lifeblood of a people is (Monsman, 2006).

African literature was born as a weapon to counteract Western cultural imperialism, as Ngugi (1986:95) is quoted to have said, "The battle for images is the most ferocious and most relentless", especially in a world where "the image of the world is itself colonised" by centuries of Western control. Edward Said (in Stiebel, 2001: 6) also observes that, "to represent Africa is to enter the battle over Africa". It was precisely to confront and

disable colonialism that the African novel and poetry were created in order to retell the African story from the African perspective.

2.2 Theoretical Review

Post-colonial theory is not a single theory but a set of different theories. There is an immense diversity of post-colonial theory which focuses on different issues such as literature, art, music, linguistics, slavery, migration, discrimination and historiography and discusses different kinds of subjugation like identity, nationalism, racism and gender.

Both subaltern and post-colonial studies are based on the main aspects of colonialism and its pervasive effects which have persisted remarkably even after the end of the colonial rule. As the term implies, the historical phenomenon of colonialism is at the heart of the post-colonial writings. The theory will be elaborated by analyzing the writings of the most important figures in the field such as Memmi, Fanon, Césaire and their successors like Said, Spivak, Bhabha and Chakrabarty. The influence of leading scholars as Foucault and Gramsci on the construction of many post-colonial critical accounts will also be presented.

2.2.1 The Concept of “Post-colonial”

The term “post-colonial” may be assumed to be misleading since it refers to the period when the colonies of ex-European empires became independent sovereign states. However, this definition would only mean that the colonial rule ceased at the attainment of independence. Given that the political independence is even an illusion

for these ex-colonies, colonialism continues in a neo-colonial mode after taking different forms. For these countries, the achievement of political independence did not solve the problems which were expected to be overcome by expelling colonial masters but instead, new forms of domination appeared. The literature, therefore, shows consensus in using the concept of post-colonialism to cover all practices used in the process, starting from the beginning of colonialism till today.

Post-colonialism is a continuing process of resistance and reconstruction and post-colonial theory, thereby, involves discussion about experience of various kinds such as suppression, resistance, representation, difference, racial and cultural discrimination. Post-colonial theory is about the continuing process of imperial suppressions and exchanges throughout a diverse range of societies, in their institutions and practices.

2.2.2 Pioneering Scholars of the Post-Colonial Theory

In this section, the wide diversity of post-colonial studies and the related terminology used is elaborated by featuring the major works of the pioneering scholars including Aimé Césaire, Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon, and their successors such as Edward Said, Spivak, Homi Bhabha and Chakrabarty. I start the discussion with Aimé Césaire.

Aimé Césaire, a Caribbean from Martinique, was an influential figure in shaping the ideas of current post-colonial writers. In *Discourse on Colonialism* (originally published in 1955), Césaire holds that colonization actually decivilizes the colonizers and brutalizes them in the true sense of the word. By equating colonization with “thingification,” Césaire claims that what Western civilization cannot forgive Hitler for

is the crime against the white man and the fact that he applied colonialist practices in the European continent.

Césaire also argues that colonization destroyed the great civilizations including the civilizations of the Aztecs and the Incas and ruined the cultures and institutions, religions and national economies of societies which were once democratic, cooperative and fraternal (1972:2-7). Césaire is also the acknowledged inventor of the famous term “negritude” which was defined by him as “the simple recognition of the fact of being black, and the acceptance of this fact, of our destiny as blacks, of our history and of our culture” (Quotation from Vaillant, by Thompson, 2002:144).

Césaire, therefore, emphasized the need for the development of colonial societies and the resistance to the discriminatory policies of colonizers. By doing this, he tried to make the native people who were alienated from their own culture under colonial rule and who were ashamed of being Negroes, realize their internal strength. In his introduction to Césaire’s distinguished poetry book *Return to my Native Land*, Kunene notes that negritude was essentially a doctrine “which asserts the black man as a man with his own culture, his own civilization and his own original contributions” (1969:20). What Césaire desired was the recognition by Negroes of their own achievements in social, cultural and economic terrains, which was denied by the major colonial powers. I now turn to Albert Memmi.

The best known works of Albert Memmi, another influential writer of post-colonial critique, is *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, which was originally published in 1957 when the independence movements in the colonies were active, including in his own

country, Tunisia. In this thought-provoking book, Memmi analyzes the psychological effects of colonialism like Fanon and his analysis includes both the colonized subjects and colonizers themselves.

As Sartre points out in the preface of this book, Memmi, a Tunisian, belongs to one of those native but non-Muslim groups that are “more or less privileged in comparison with the colonized masses, but... rejected ... by the colonizing group.” Sartre, therefore, tries to explore “who Memmi really is?” and maintains that he would say “neither the colonizer nor the colonized” or “both” (Memmi, 2003:17-18). This spiritual “twofold rejection” and “twofold liability” nourished Memmi’s writings.

Memmi notes that although it is impossible for the colonizers to be aware of the illegitimacy of their status, the simple truth is that they are not any more concerned about the life of the colonized subjects more than they are worried about the weather of the colony where they will reside. By asking for how long the colonizer fails to see “the misery of the colonized and the relation of that misery to his own comfort”, Memmi maintains that the colonizer actually realizes that this was an easy profit and it was so great only because it is wrested from others. He, therefore, discovers the existence of the colonizer and his own privilege at the same time:

If his living standards are high, it is because those of the colonized are low; if he can benefit from plentiful and undemanding labor and servants, it is because the colonized can be exploited at will and are not protected by the laws of the colony; if he can easily obtain administrative positions, it is because they are reserved for him and the colonized are excluded from them; the more freely he breathes, the more the colonized are choked... If he preferred to be blind and deaf to the operation of the whole machinery, it would suffice for him to reap its benefits; he is then the beneficiary of the entire enterprise (Memmi, 2003:51-52).

Nearly forty years later from the publication of *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, another significant work of Memmi, entered into the post-colonial debate in late 2006: *Decolonization and the Decolonized*. In the introduction of this work, which Memmi regards as the continuation of *The Colonizer and the Colonized* to some extent, he acknowledges that nothing really seems to change for the former colonies after the years of national liberation and the independent states failed to solve the problems such as malnutrition, famine, political crisis, widespread corruption and tyranny (Memmi, 2003:x-xi). Next I turn to Frantz Fanon.

Frantz Fanon was born in the French colony of Martinique in the Caribbean and as a black intellectual, he was known for his analysis of the relationship between colonialism and racism. His medical and psychological practice enabled him to focus on harmful psychological effects of colonial administration and racist policies conducted under colonial rule. However, Fanon was not only concerned with the psychology of the colonized people but also with their colonial masters. As a psychiatrist, Fanon defines colonialism as a source of violence and focuses on its psychological effects on human conscience since he believed that only a psychoanalytical interpretation of the black problem can lay bare the anomalies of the effects of colonialism.

In Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (originally published in 1952), another significant work on post-colonial literature which Fanon defines as a book on a clinical study, he notes that: "There is a fact: White men consider themselves superior to black men. There is another fact: Black men want to prove to white men, at all costs, the richness of their thought, the equal value of their intellect." Fanon holds that if there is an

inferiority complex of the Black man, it is the outcome of a double process; primarily, economic, and subsequently, the internalization of this inferiority.

While attempting a psychopathological and philosophical explanation of the *state of being* (emphasis in original) a Negro, Fanon tried to establish the attitudes of the Black man in the white world and concluded that a Negro behaves differently with a white man and with another Negro. This self-division, according to Fanon, was a direct result of colonialist subjugation and the theories that have tried to prove that the Negro is at an early stage in the slow evolution of being a man (Fanon, 2008:3-8). Although Fanon noted that his observations and his conclusions were valid only for the Antilles, his writings strongly inspired anti-colonial independence movements particularly in the African continent.

His *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) is a foundational text in post-colonial literature. In this book, he considers violence, which, in his thought and that of many of the post-colonial writers, has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world, as a destruction of native social forms without reserving the systems of reference of the economy, the customs of dress and external life. To Fanon, this violence affirmed the supremacy of white values and the aggressiveness which has permeated the victory of these values over the ways of life. Fanon furthers his argument by holding that in the colonial countries, the agents of government speak the language of pure force and the means of oppression and/or domination brings violence into the home and into the mind of the native (1963:37-42). Next, I discuss Edward Wadie Said.

Edward Wadie Said was an American citizen through his father, a Palestinian who fought for the US army in World War I and was granted US citizenship for his military services. After the War in 1919, Said's father moved to Cairo where he established his stationery business. Said spent his childhood in Jerusalem and Cairo, where he attended elite British and American schools. Subsequently he left for the United States, where he obtained a Bachelor's Degree from Princeton and a Doctorate in English Literature from Harvard. Said then joined the faculty of Columbia University in 1963 where he became Professor of English and Comparative Literature in 1991. Some of the great works of Said are -*Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography* (1966), *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (1975), *Orientalism* (1978), *The Question of Palestine* (1979), *Covering Islam* (1981), *Yeats and Decolonization* (1988). Said is best known for his book *Orientalism*.

Said's work became one of the foundational texts for Post Colonialism or Post Colonial studies. When he published his path-breaking book *Orientalism* in 1978, he created a new way of theorizing the last few centuries, when the imperialist West constructed the colonies as abnormal cultural and political objects, needing the civilizing efforts of the master races. In the case of Africa, Said (1978) discusses ways in which the Europeans undermined African culture, defining European culture as 'normal' and African culture as 'other'. He influenced colonial and subsequently postcolonial studies and its offshoots (cultural studies, women's studies, ethnic studies) with his writings and his political journalism.

The first version of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, which is also considered as a seminal work in the post-colonial field together with that of Memmi, Fanon and Césaire, was

published in 1977. In Said's analysis, the term orientalism, connotes "the high-handed executive attitude of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century European colonialism." By taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point of Orientalism, he also defines the concept as a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."

Said further claims that the presentation of the "Orient" by the Western world was used to justify the colonial ambitions of these powers. Moreover, the relationship between Occident and Orient is itself a relationship of power, domination and varying degrees of a complex hegemony. "In time such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls a discourse, whose material presence or weight, not the originality of a given author, is really responsible for the texts produced out of it."

In criticizing the misrepresentation of colonial people in the political-intellectual field, Said heavily draws on the work of Michel Foucault. He explicitly notes that he finds it useful to employ Foucault's notion of discourse as described by him in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and in *Discipline and Punish*, to identify Orientalism.

He further argues that "without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage and even produce the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period." It is perhaps in the nature of the creation of an identity itself to arrive at a definition

of a “self” in contrast with “the other.” Said explores how European culture gained strength and identity by defining itself as against the Orient.

Following Foucault’s ideas on the relationship between power and knowledge, Said defined Orientalism as a discourse which is produced with various kinds of power including power political, power intellectual, power cultural and power moral (1979: 2-12, 94).

The ideas of the aforementioned writers have strongly influenced the current writers in the field and as all of these scholars pointed out, the main feature of post-colonial theory is the examination of the continued heritage of colonialism. Post-colonial theory discussed and theorized a wide range of issues like racism, slavery, nationalism, identity, migration and the legacy of European colonial and imperial histories as well as practices.

The ideas of some major scholars in the post-colonial literature and the key concepts developed by these writers -which are accepted to be central to post-colonial theory- will also be elaborated within the following few paragraphs. These selected writers include Gayatri Spivak and the terms that she used frequently in her writings such as “subaltern” and “othering”, Homi K. Bhabha who coined a number of the post- colonial field’s neologisms including “hybridity”, “mimicry”, “ambivalence” and “stereotype”; finally, Dipesh Chakrabarty who strongly criticized the historiography of Western scholars.

2.2.3 Contemporary Post-colonial Scholars

One of the prominent contemporary post-colonial scholars is Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak who contextualised the “Subaltern” approach in India and Southern Asia since the 1980s. The term “subaltern”, meaning “inferior rank”, is a term adopted by Antonio Gramsci to refer to those groups in society who are subject to the control of the ruling classes. Subaltern classes may include peasants, workers and other groups denied access to ‘hegemonic’ power (Roy, 2010).

Subaltern is also expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office. The term subaltern is used in the context of oppressor-oppressed relationships (Roy, 2010). The elite represent the oppressor and subaltern classes represent the oppressed. This phenomenon is not limited to Indian and South Asian society. It is vividly evident in Africa and in the entire colonized world.

Ashcroft et al (1998) suggest that Spivak’s “Can the Subaltern Speak?” is the most cited question that is used to draw attention to the representation of the Third World within Western discourse:

Her controversial question “Can the Subaltern Speak?” was frequently misinterpreted to mean that there was no way in which subaltern peoples could ever attain a voice (Ashcroft et al., 1998: 79, 215).

Spivak also introduces to post-colonial literature the concept of “Other” and characterization of colonial subjects through dominant colonialist discourses, or assumed “scientific” race theories which explain the inferiority of the colonized. In the

colonial era, the cultural basis of 'othering' was laid through the notions of superior race and the white man's civilization mission.

The term "othering" was used by Spivak for the process by which colonial powers create their "others" through discourses. The construction of the 'other' is fundamental to the construction of the 'Self'. Spivak draws attention to the process by which the 'other' is the excluded or "mastered" subject created by the discourse of power.

'Othering' describes the various ways in which colonial discourse produces its subjects and to Spivak, it is a dialectical process because "the colonizing 'Other' is established at the same time as its colonized 'others' are produced as subjects" (Ashcroft et al., 1998:171-172).

Spivak points out that the discourses of the West created the subaltern through continuing construction and historical silencing. Not surprisingly, therefore, the "subaltern cannot speak" (Spivak, 1988:271-275, 308). To Spivak, even the word "subaltern" is a European invention for she points out that "simply by being post-colonial or the member of an ethnic minority, we are not sub-altern.

Spivak argues that our historical narrative is usually one written from the perspective and assumptions of the West, and for the history of India to be represented by its imperial masters as a "homogeneous" entity is not realistic. Spivak's aim is to work against such imperialist representations and narrativizations of history and to introduce a true history instead (Young, 2004:200-201).

Homi K. Bhabha is one of the most important figures in contemporary post-colonial studies. He was born in Mumbai in a family of Parsi background. Besides having a successful career as a Harvard professor and as a writer of two influential books - *The Location of Culture* and *Nation and Narrations*, he has published widely in journals including *New Formations*, *October*, *Oxford Literary Review* and *Screen*.

Homi K. Bhabha is a known scholar in cultural studies and theories of colonialism and post-colonialism. His study of oppressions and traumatic colonial feelings is deeply influenced by Foucault, Edward W. Said, Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan and Jean-Paul Sartre. His theoretical postulations are based on fundamental but experimental cultural concepts of liminality, mimicry, hybridity and ambivalence.

Bhabha's key concepts are summarized in four words: *liminal*, *mimicry*, *hybrid*, and *ambivalent*. They describe ways in which colonized peoples have resisted the power of the colonizer, a power that is never as secure as it seems to be. Instead of seeing colonialism as something locked in the past, Bhabha shows how its histories and cultures constantly intrude on the present, demanding that we transform our understanding of cross-cultural relations (David Huddart - *Postcolonial Theory and Autobiography*).

Bhabha's concept of *liminality* comes from the Latin word *līmen*, meaning "a threshold". A British anthropologist, Victor Turner, describes liminality as the transitional state between two phases, where individuals are "betwixt and between": they did not belong to the society that they previously were a part of and they were not yet reincorporated into the new society. Liminality is an indeterminate state, an ambiguous period

characterized by humility and seclusion. According to Bhabha this state of cultural being is productive and the cause of hybrid generation of culture.

Bhabha has a different idea about liminality, though he seemed to be impressed by Victor Turner. Liminality, for him, is one of the factors of amoebic re-productivity of culture itself. In an effort to deal with these "in-between" categories of competing cultural differences, Bhabha attempts in his introduction to *The Location of Culture* to shed light upon the "liminal" negotiation of cultural identity across differences of race, class, gender, and cultural traditions.

The second of Bhabha's concepts is *mimicry*. In colonial and postcolonial literature mimicry is most commonly seen when members of a colonized society (say, Indians or Africans) imitate the language, dress, politics, or cultural attitude of their colonizers. Under colonialism and in the context of immigration, mimicry is seen as an opportunistic pattern of behavior: one copies the person in power, because one hopes to have access to that same power. Presumably, while copying the master, one has to intentionally suppress one's own cultural identity, though in some cases immigrants and colonial subjects are left confused by their cultural encounter with a dominant foreign culture that there may not be a clear preexisting identity to suppress.

Mimicry is often seen as something shameful, and a black or brown person engaging in mimicry is usually ridiculed by other members of his or her group for doing so. (There are quite a number of colloquial insults that refer to mimicry, such as "coconut" - to describe a brown person who behaves like he is white.

Though mimicry is a very important concept in thinking about the relationship between colonizing and colonized peoples, and many people have historically been ridiculed as mimics. Mimicry is frequently invoked with reference to the “been-to,” someone who has traveled to the west, and then returned “home,” seemingly completely transformed. Frantz Fanon mocked such people as in “Black Skin, White Masks”.

Mimicry, however, is not all bad. In his essay “Of Mimicry and Man,” Bhabha described mimicry as sometimes unintentionally subversive. One straightforward way in which mimicry can actually be subversive or empowering is when it involves the copying of “Western” concepts of justice, freedom, and the rule of law.

Besides there is also reverse mimicry, which in the colonial context was often referred to as “going native.” Though mimicry is almost always used in post-colonial studies with reference to colonials and immigrant minorities imitating white cultural and linguistic norms, mimicry could also be reversed, especially since there are so many examples, in the history of British colonialism especially, of British subjects who either disguised themselves as Indians or Africans, or fantasized of doing so. For other writers, the possibility of “going native” was seen as a threat or a danger to be confronted; the prospect that Kurtz has “gone native” is certainly one of the animating anxieties in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, for example.

Hybridity, by contrast to mimicry, is a relatively fixed and limited idea. Post-colonial hybridity can be quite slippery and broad. At a basic level, hybridity refers to any mixing of eastern and western culture. Within colonial and post-colonial literature, it most

commonly refers to colonial subjects from Asia or Africa who have found a balance between eastern and western cultural attributes.

However, in Homi Bhabha's initial usage of the term in his essay "Signs Taken For Wonders," he clearly thought of hybridity as a subversive tool whereby colonized people might challenge various forms of oppression (Bhabha's example is of the British missionaries' imposition of the Bible in rural India in the 19th century).

However, the term hybridity, a metaphor from biology, is commonly used in much broader ways, to refer to any kind of cultural mixing or mingling between East and West, but this definition has many limitations. It does not help us explicitly account for the many different forms of a mix of eastern and western attributes, nor does it differentiate between people who have consciously striven to achieve a mixed or balanced identity and those who accidentally reflect it. It is therefore important that there can be very different forms of hybridity, from slight mixing to very aggressive instances of culture-clash.

It might be more helpful to think about different hybridities - a set of differentiated sub-categories: i) racial, ii) linguistic, iii) literary, iv) cultural, and v) religious.

First, in racial hybridity, the term "hybridity" derives from biology, where hybrids are defined as reflecting the merger of two genetic streams, so it might seem logical to talk about hybridity in terms of race. But in fact applying the term this way does not seem productive. Most formerly colonial societies have their very specific, localized words to describe people of mixed race ancestry, and the term "hybrid" is generally not used in the context of race.

The idea of “racial hybridity” today seems awkward; in large part because it clearly relies on the idea, inherited from nineteenth-century race science, that racial difference is an empirically verifiable reality. Today, the norm amongst most scholars is to deemphasize biological or genetic race in favor of “culture.”

Secondly, linguistic hybridity can refer to elements from foreign languages that enter into a given language, whether it is the adoption of English words into Asian or African languages, or the advent of Asian or African words into English. In talking about linguistic hybridity, one benefits from reference to linguistic terms, including the ideas of “slang”, “pidgin”, and “dialect”. Over the course of the long history of British colonialism in India, quite a number of Indian words entered British speech, first amongst the white “Anglo-Indians,” but over time these words entered the English language more broadly.

Today, words like “pajamas,” bungalow,” and “mulligatawny” are often used without an awareness that they derive from Indian languages. Similarly, words like “mumbo-jumbo” have entered the English language from African languages. As a result of colonialism, the English language has become established in African, Caribbean, and Asian societies formerly colonized by England. In Africa, beginning in the 1970s, quite a number of prominent intellectuals rebelled against English.

The Kenyan novelist Ngugi w’a Thiong’o, who started his career writing novels in English, decided to give up that practice in favor of writing in his native Kikuyu. Arguing against Ngugi, Achebe defended his use of English as a language that many Africans

might have in common (for that matter, Achebe argued, even within Nigeria, there are so many languages that English might be the only national language of the country.)

Thirdly, literary hybridity (at the level of narrative form) is fundamental to what we now know as post-colonial literature. In part, basic modern literary forms such as the novel and the short story are modes of writing invented in the West, though they were readily adopted by colonial authors in Africa and Asia (the first Indian novels were being published in the 1860s).

But almost immediately after it emerged, the “foreign” genre of the western novel became one of the primary ways by which Africans and Asians began to collectively imagine a sense of national, cultural identity. The fact that the novel may have been a borrowed form did not seem to be a limitation for the first generations of Asians and Africans who used it; in fact, the novel has proven to be an incredibly flexible and open format.

Literary hybridity is often invoked with contemporary post-colonial literature that uses experimental modes of narration, such as “magic realism.” The Indian writer Salman Rushdie and African writers like Timothy Wangusa, Goretti Kyomuhendo, Aloysius Aloka and Mary Karoro Okurut have experimented with modes of storytelling that blend local traditions and folk culture with experimental (postmodernist) ideas.

Another way of thinking about literary hybridity relates to post-colonial literature’s response to the Western Tradition (the Canon). While post-colonial writers have freely adapted Western literary forms for their own purposes, as with the question of language there remains some anxiety with regard to how Canonical authors have represented (or

misrepresented) Africa and Asia in their works. As a result, post-colonial writers have often attempted to “write back” to the British Canon with revisionist adaptations of classic works.

Fourthly, cultural hybridity, under colonialism seems to be a close cousin of mimicry. It is very difficult for an Indian or African, subjected to British rule, to adopt manners or cultural values from the British without in some sense suppressing his or her own way of being. Something similar might be said of a new immigrant in England or the United States: there is strong pressure to quickly acculturate to the norms of the place where one lives, which sometimes entails curbing a thick accent or changing one’s dress styles or habits.

Fifthly, religious hybridity (specifically, religious conversion) is such a widespread theme in colonial and post-colonial literature. It also seems like a fitting place to end, since Homi Bhabha’s example of hybridity specifically invokes the imposition of the Christian Bible in India. Bhabha notes that despite the fact that local Indians “under a tree, outside Delhi,” readily accept the authority of the Missionary’s Book, they can only understand the Christianity they are being exposed to through their own cultural filters. Perhaps, instead of becoming simple Christians, the local Hindus are simply adding the reference point of Jesus to a very crowded Hindu pantheon.

The goal in invoking “religious hybridity” is not to pose people who practice a local religion as “pure,” while those who may have converted might be seen as hybrids. In fact, religious traditions like Hinduism were heavily influenced by the encounter with British missionaries under colonialism. Hindu leaders formed societies such as the

Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj (and, in the Sikh tradition, the Singh Sabha movement), which instituted reforms and in many ways aimed to recast the Hindu tradition in a way that made it more legible, and perhaps more acceptable, to British missionaries as well as western scholars of religion. In short, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the way Hinduism is practiced and interpreted by many Hindus themselves reflects a certain amount of "religious hybridity."

Major works, such as Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, centrally feature the issue of religious conversion. For Achebe's Okonkwo, his son Nwoye's conversion to Christianity is seen as a loss and as a form of subservience to foreign cultural values.

Aside from that the word hybridity is synonymous with *ambivalence* and basically refers to a condition of mental or social or cultural behaviour of people which includes both positive and negative aspects. According to Bhabha the change in the system of culture that takes place after the colonial period of any nation will always be ambivalent and hybridized. Hybridization of any culture creates an ambivalent condition—a condition in which people feel their culture and habits belong to 'no man's land.'

To Dipesh Chakrabarty, the relationship between knowledge and power is crucial in the post-colonial critique: As emphasized by Said who followed the ideas of Foucault, colonial powers were holding the access to knowledge and power during the colonial era: While the colonial subjects were learning the European languages, culture, literature and history, they knew little about their own heroes since it was believed that these people enjoyed no historical records worthy of note before the conquest of colonial powers.

This view ignored the great ancient civilizations established long before the European arrival. Chakrabarty, who is also an acknowledged important figure in the post-colonial critique, explores the ways post-colonial discourse affects history-writing. By doing this, Chakrabarty does not only criticize Western historiography but also focuses on the failure of the “subaltern” to represent themselves. He asserts that post-colonialists have failed to write their own histories. While analyzing the idea of “Indians” representing themselves in history, Chakrabarty believes that as far as the academic discourse of history is concerned, “Europe” remains the sovereign subject of all histories, and all these other third world histories, which are in a position of subalternity, including that of India, become variations on a master narrative that could be called “the history of Europe.”

The subalternity of these non-Western histories is also nourished from the fact that third world historians feel a need to refer to works in European history whereas historians of Europe, who produce their work by ignoring non-Western histories, do not feel the same necessity. According to Chakrabarty, “the dominance of Europe as the subject of all histories is a part of a much more profound theoretical condition under which historical knowledge is produced in the third world.” However, Chakrabarty also notes that this is not peculiar to historians but, instead, this ignorance is also available in literary studies (1992:1-2).

The writer of *The Empire Writes Back* (originally published in 1989) tries to fill this gap by writing back to the center. Interestingly, these ex-colonial people use the colonizers’ language when writing their own histories. The writers in this volume have all re-written particular works from the English ‘canon’ with a view to restructuring European

'realities' in post-colonial terms (2002:32). As McLeod a note, post-colonialism involves the challenge to colonial ways of knowing, "writing back" in opposition to such views although colonial ways of knowing are still present (McLeod, 2000:32).

There are obviously many writers who influence the post-colonial account with their valued ideas and scholars who expressed sympathy for the field as well as many critics; however, it is far beyond the scope of this work to discuss the assumptions of all post-colonial writers, and the entire debate in the post-colonial field. A limitation was inevitable and focusing on the main representatives of the post-colonial critique was preferred in order to provide a better understanding.

2.3 Review of Studies on Conflicts in Educational Values

Kahyana's (2016) article on the "Depiction of African Indigenous Education in Akiki Nyabongo's *Africa Answers Back*" portrays instances of African indigenous education in diverse situations. For instance Mujungu, the protagonist, makes two visits during a holiday to his uncle and to the King of Buganda, the former becoming an occasion for learning about animal life. In his visits he also learns societal values such as telling stories, setting and/or answering riddles, and remembering proverbs, hence proving that he is not alienated, despite his Western education.

The process of imparting African traditional educational values to the young generation is known to be intimately integrated with the social, cultural, artistic, religious and recreational life of the people. In Kahyana's analysis, it is suggested that while appropriate and relevant indigenous African practices need to be preserved, those from

other traditions, such as Western medicine, need to be acknowledged. It is beneficial to keep open the dialogue between African indigenous practices and their Western counterparts.

Kahyana has done significant work in describing the portrayal of the relationship between educational and sociocultural values in Nyabongo's novel *Africa Answers Back*. The present study is an extension of this line of research on other selected Ugandan novels.

Spencer's (2014) study on "Writing Women in Uganda and South Africa" observes that according to the African traditional norms, even if Nkwanzi, in *The Invisible Weevil*, went to school and attained one of the highest positions in government as Minister of Foreign Affairs, she is supposed to remain calm, obedient and submissive to her husband. Also, Kiyimba (2008), using the metaphor in Tamale's book *When the "Cocks" Begin to Crow (1999)*, brings out the issue of women submissiveness to their husbands.

It is implied that even if the hen (i.e. woman) learns to crow it has to lay the eggs and then hatch them. Women may take on non-traditional responsibilities but, they must find a way of balancing them with the traditional African household responsibilities to avoid failure.

Kiyimba's (2008) analysis of Okurut's *The Child of a Delegate*, pursues the female child protagonist called Hero. He makes clear to the reader that the process of Hero's growth and movement through the education system depicts the nature of the society in which she is bred. In this education system the students are coached to pass the examinations.

He goes further to say that Okurut exposes greater social evils in the society where men, whom Hero meets in positions of responsibility, are all sexually greedy.

When Hero joins University, the Registrar wants sex from her in exchange for a place in a Hall of Residence and one of her lecturers too threatens that she has to “co-operate” fully or she will not get a degree at all, let alone a first class degree. The Registrar and the Lecturer are symbols of authority who should lead by example but are not. The West has gone perverted in the sex revolution. They are known to have degraded the place of sex initially meant to be exercised within marriage and have expended it not only outside marriage but also to include homosexuality, lesbianism and transgender (LGBT). Because of globalization this new vice is being promoted world-wide as a form of new faith. No wonder they have won followers among Africans, especially where the propaganda is accompanied by monetary rewards. Africans who are promiscuous are therefore images of the decadent Western value systems. It is right to say that traditional Africa was not all the holy. It is reported that some few Africans also practiced homosexuality but it was highly secretive because it was a taboo. Kiyimba in his analysis of Hero’s challenges with sexual harassment does a vital work by pointing out the evils that come with the Western education system. The present study broadens Kiyimba’s work, which focuses on one novel, by looking at a range of other novels.

Sicherman (1993) categorizes Timothy Wangusa's novel *Upon This Mountain* as a Ugandan bildungsroman written in the post-Amin period but set during the years before independence. The protagonist, Mwambu, moves through childhood and adolescence toward adulthood, and toward his eventual role as a member of an emerging elite group

in a country and yet hardly aware of its colonial, dependent status. Mwambu's development to adulthood was difficult because of the conflicting demands of indigenous and foreign cultures.

At Elgonsec, his encounter with Christianity and education alienates him further from tradition. His dream of excelling in school is represented by his childhood imaginations about the mountain. The desire, then, to reach the peak of the mountain is a portrayal of his dream to attain the highest achievements in life. He however faces challenges and becomes increasingly doubtful of himself.

Mwambu's attempt to define himself as an adult is frustrated by the specific circumstances in his environment. In Mwambu's ancestral culture, "individual" and "community" are complementary terms, with "community" taking precedence. In contrast, the heavily Christian colonial culture focuses squarely on the individual. The community expected Mwambu to undergo the traditional circumcision as a rite of passage to adulthood but his Christian faith and education made him choose the hospital alternative. This act challenges communal norms in favor of a specifically Western individualism. Sicherman has done a commendable work by analyzing Mwambu's character traits in *Wangusa's Upon This Mountain*. Our study attempts to deepen the analysis.

2.4 Review of Studies on Conflicts in Religious Values

In a study on "the portrayal of Christianity in the works of Timothy Wangusa" based on *Upon This Mountain* and selected poems of the author, Wayianzuvuko (2010) finds that both the novel and the poems portray the theme of Christianity. She also emphasizes

that Wangusa uses Christianity for different purposes, the most prominent being to show the clash between Christianity and indigenous culture.

These conflicts happened not between the Gospel and indigenous culture but between the Gospel and missionaries who imposed on the indigenous people their own interpretations of Christianity from their Western cultural background. Although Wayanzuvuko goes to considerable lengths to describe the conflicts created at the religious level, her work does not handle the accompanying educational and sociocultural values aspects.

A study by Eiyó on “Christian religious impropriety in African Literature” reveals that Christian religious impropriety is predominantly portrayed from the onset of Christianity in Africa (Eiyó, 2014). The Christian missionaries discouraged the existing African culture and promoted their own using their misguided interpretation of the Bible. One of the novels studied by Eiyó (2014) is Julius Ocwinyo whose work, among other things, satirizes Christian religious dishonesty which takes on different forms such as religious hypocrisy, sexual immorality, materialism, dishonesty in imparting formal education and exploitation of the Africans by the European missionaries. These forms of dishonesty in African novels tarnish the image of the church and erode the moral values of the Africans.

Eiyó reveals that the norms and values of Christianity are violated by the very people who should uphold them. She finds that the issue of priestly celibacy was one of the greatest contributing factors in promoting sexual immorality among the Catholic Church leaders. Although Eiyó goes to great lengths to illustrate the conflicts created at the

religious level between Christianity and African traditions, her scope does not cover the three aspects which this research is out to analyse.

A similar scenario is presented in the play *I Will Marry when I Want*, where Ngugi raises the issues of hypocrisy in Western religious practices. Christianity was meant to bring salvation to man but was instead used as an instrument of exploitation and further impoverishment of the poor. Ngugi blames the missionaries for holding the Bible in one hand and the gun in the second. With the gun they grabbed the Africans' fertile lands and pushed them to the marginal lands.

Kruger's study (2011:30) on *The Invisible Weevil* criticizes the hypocritical life-style of the born-again Chemistry teacher (nicknamed Equation) who impregnates Goora, causing her to be sent away from school, yet he himself is not punished. Equation abuses Goora when she has gone to his house for extra lessons in Chemistry. After abusing her sexually he threatens to kill her if she ever reveals the secret. Goora is expelled from school but the teacher is not (Okurut, 1998:86). Kruger has done significant work in addressing the depiction of the conflicts in religious values in *The Invisible Weevil*. The present study explores in greater detail the cross-cultural conflicts as portrayed by this and the other aforementioned Ugandan authors.

2.5 Review of Studies on Conflicts in Socio-Cultural Values

Okuyade's (2015) article "Negotiating growth in turbulent Scapes: Violence, Secrecy and Growth in Goretti Kyomuhendo's *Secrets No More*" examines a case of a child-protagonist, Marina, whose parents were murdered in the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

The genocide is portrayed to have had a very heavy toll on the female gender as the perpetrators are mainly males. African societies are awash with these negative attitudes towards the female gender.

In this particular study Okuyade argues that the child-figure in African literature has become a powerful symbol that writers deploy in order to evaluate the pressing post-colonial concerns, like violence, identity, politics and migration. Marina narrowly escapes murder and walks to a refugee camp where she is picked by Father Marcel and brought to an orphanage in Uganda. Marina grows up in this orphanage and hides all her secrets while suffering serious trauma. When she grows up and tries to open up, she is raped by a close confidant and her hopes are dashed once again.

This is typical of negative African socio-cultural values that minimized the female gender. Okuyade's work has brought to light issues of child abuse as portrayed in one of the Ugandan novels. The current study extends the frontiers of children's issues to cover wider socio-cultural conflicts as depicted by other selected Ugandan novels.

Kiyimba (2008) also studies *Secrets No More* but he stresses female vulnerability in the face of male dominance. Kiyimba's study points out the unequal relationship between the dominant West and the vulnerable Africa and the consequent inevitable cultural conflicts. Although both Okuyade and Kiyimba go to considerable depth analyzing post-colonial concerns like violence and male dominance, identity crisis and ethnic politics on African children as depicted in Kyomuhendo's *Secrets No More*, they do not do a detailed analysis of the various other socio-cultural value conflicts portrayed in the novel.

Kruger's (2011) study on *The Invisible Weevil* also brings out certain issues that are relevant to our investigation. Kruger analyses one of the themes that run through the book, namely sociocultural values, whereby the protagonist Nkwanzi exhibits a character that opposes several African cultural norms that are oppressive to women. She is portrayed opposing polygamy, the sharing of a wife by brothers, the father-in-law's 'tasting' of the son's bride before the son, blind obedience to one's husband, denial of education to the girl child, and child marriage.

Kruger does well to handle a wide spectrum of sociocultural values conflicts in Okurut's novel. My study is a multidisciplinary that covers educational, religious and sociology.

Kiyimba's (2008) article studying Okurut's *The Invisible Weevil* under "Male Identity and Female Space in the Fiction of Ugandan Women Writers" observes that Okurut deals with closely entangled social contradictions that are a common feature of the Ugandan society as a result of male violence and dictatorial political regimes. These contradictions seem to have roots in Western interference in African affairs. The female protagonist, Nkwanzi, is in love with Genesis, but Nkwanzi will not go in for pre-marital sex with Genesis despite the pressure because she wants to remain virgin until her marriage day, to "redden" the traditional white sheet and honour her parents, and her culture.

Kiyimba focuses on the story of Nkwanzi's rape by Rex on her wedding day. This puts an end to Nkwanzi's "white-red-sheet dream", causing a crisis in her vision and bringing her into direct confrontation with her tradition. Kiyimba has done a commendable work analyzing Okurut's novel by identifying virginity as one of the cultural values in African society; our study extends the analysis to eight selected Ugandan novels.

Asasira's (2011) study of "Language and social reality in selected novels of Mary Karoro Okurut" traces socio-cultural influence on language in this author's fictions. She demonstrates that there is a relationship between language use and society's practices in Okurut's fictions. Her findings testify that Okurut is not just concerned with gender relationships and issues of feminism, as most critics argue, but also with the relationship between language and society.

Asasira's analysis of Okurut's work on the use of language as a reflection of political and social depravity brings out the negative influence of colonialism in Africa through political leaders like Duduma (Idi Amin). The conflicts that society experiences during such dictatorial regimes in Africa are more or less engineered by their European advisors, an example being Bob Astles during Amin's regime. Asasira's study makes a major contribution by helping us appreciate the link between language use and socio-political environment in one Ugandan novel. My study is a multi-disciplinary that seeks to explore creative works on eight Ugandan novels and how they reflect cross-cultural conflicts in educational, religious and socio-cultural values.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter gives an overview of the influence of colonialism on African culture and the various manifestations of Western-African cultural values conflicts. It further explores the theoretical foundations of post-colonial literary theory and its original and contemporary proponents. It also analyses the related analytical studies on the selected novels. It then presents the specific themes of cross-cultural conflict in the area of

educational, religious and socio-cultural values arising from colonial influence in Africa.
The next chapter presents the methodology of our analysis.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design, methods, outline of the selected primary and the secondary sources. This is followed by data analysis and content overview.

3.1 Research Design

The nature of the study being cross-cultural conflicts between the western and the African values as depicted in Ugandan novels made this research to adopt multifaced study designs - descriptive, exploratory, and analytical - as explained below.

Descriptive research is used to obtain information concerning the status of phenomena and to describe how it is portrayed. The study adopted a descriptive research design to provide answers to the five 'W' questions - *who* are the characters, *what* are the themes, *when* (time setting), *where* (geographical setting), and *how* are the conflicts portrayed.

It is also an exploratory design because there are no earlier studies to refer to or rely on to predict an outcome in this research. The focus of this study was to gain insights and familiarity. It is exploratory because the study established understanding of how cross-cultural value conflicts are portrayed in Ugandan novels.

The study was analytical because it was broad in approach; it examined how cross-cultural value conflicts are portrayed in different fictitious work of different authors. It challenged deeply embedded, rigid assumptions in the depiction of cross-cultural value conflicts. It used tools of argumentation derived from philosophical traditions,

concepts, models, and theories of African writers to critically explore and challenge the depiction of cross-cultural conflicts in Ugandan novels by using examples, relevance of logic and evidence in academic debates, to analyze arguments about fundamental issues and to discuss existing discourses in this research problem. It used tools of analysis that described the nature of reality; for example by basing on what is real and what is not, what is fundamental and what is derivative. It also explored the nature of knowledge; for example, by looking at how cross-cultural conflicts are portrayed. It studied values by looking at what values individuals or groups hold and how these values are related to interest, desire, will, experience, and means-to-end and the difference between matters of fact and a matter of value.

3.2 Methods

The study uses qualitative textual analysis which involved reading the text several times followed by identification of particular concepts, themes, words and phrases, characters, or sentences within texts or sets of texts and literary elements to show subjective interpretation of the novels on cross-cultural conflicts in educational, religious and socio-cultural values. A qualitative analysis is “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of the text through the systematic classification process of identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005:1278). We used qualitative analysis to identify themes or patterns, characterization, symbols and figurative language. The purpose of qualitative content analysis is to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2011).

We started by reading several Ugandan novels then categorized them by cultural regional representation - western, central, eastern and northern - just for practical purposes. We are aware that a cultural region is not cultural homogeneity. From further reading of the novels in each category, the following were selected as representatives for each region: Akiki Nyabongo's *Africa Answers Back*, Goretti Kyomuhendo's *The First Daughter*, Mary Karooro Okurut's *Invisible Weevil*, and Jane Kaberuka's *Silent Patience* as representatives of western cultural region of Uganda; Jane Jagers Bakaluba's *Honeymoon for Three* as representative of the central cultural region; Timothy Wangusa's *Upon This Mountain* as representative of eastern cultural region of Uganda; and Julius Ocwinyo's *Fate of the Banished* and Aloysius Aloka's *Iteo Alive* as representative of northern cultural region of Uganda.

The choice of novels was also prompted by temporal representation. The colonial period is represented by Akiki Nyabongo (1936); the first quarter of the century after independence was represented by Jane Jagers Bakaluba (1975); the second quarter of the century after independence is represented by Timothy Wangusa (1989); Goretti Kyomuhendo (1996); Julius Ocwinyo (1997); Mary Karooro Okurut (1998) and Jane Kaberuka (1999) and the third quarter of the century after independence was represented by Aloysius Aloka (2000).

Gender was also represented. Four female and four male authors were purposely selected.

After the selection of the eight representative novels, we did systematic classification by identifying themes or patterns, characters, concepts, words and phrases or

sentences within texts or sets of texts and literary elements. The content analysis involved reading the eight novels and analyzing the writers' depiction of cross-cultural conflicts in educational, religious and sociocultural values arising from colonial, post-colonial and neo-colonial presence in Africa.

3.3 Primary Sources

We purposefully sampled the following novels as the primary sources of information; *Upon This Mountain* (Timothy Wangusa, 1989); *Fate of the Banished* (Julius Ocwinyo, 1997); *Iteo Alive* (Aloysius Aloka, 2000); *Africa Answers Back* (Akiki Nyabongo, 1936); *Invisible Weevil* (Mary Karooro Okurut, 1998); *The First Daughter* (Goretti Kyomuhendo, 1996); *Honeymoon for Three* (Jane Jagers Bakaluba, 1975) and *Silent Patience* (Jane Kaberuka, 1999).

We chose these eight novels because they depict the pertinent concerns of our thesis. We used these eight Ugandan fictions because they address the cross-cultural conflicts in Uganda in a very potent way. The texts portray the various roles that the different characters played in cross-cultural conflicts, as well as the impact of these conflicts on their everyday lives.

3.4 Secondary Sources

The secondary sources provided us with vital background information on the parameters of the study. They have enabled us to cite previous researches done and to extend the frontiers of knowledge and understanding in these aspects of African history as portrayed in the novel. They also helped to support our ideas through already

researched work. Through secondary sources we got into a position to describe, analyse, interpret and draw conclusions from the primary sources. These secondary sources helped us in the explanation and discussion of evidence by adding a layer of interpretation and analysis. Therefore we confirm that secondary sources are important for literary criticism and that they do help to put the primary sources in their historical contexts.

Using secondary sources included the critical analysis of the works of literary critics. The secondary sources supplemented and strengthened the discussion on cross-cultural conflicts on educational, religious and socio-cultural values arising from colonial and neo-colonial experiences as portrayed in the primary texts.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis involved reading and the systematic classification process of identifying themes, concepts, words and phrases, characters, or sentences within texts or sets of texts or patterns, characterization, symbolism and literary elements.

The textual analysis was guided by post-colonial approaches together with the Freireian Theory of Cultural Invasion. This is because we found that these two theories are in a position to explain cross-cultural conflicts as portrayed in the selected novels. The two theories guided the analysis of the eight texts by characters, themes, words and phrases, concepts or sentences within texts or sets of texts and literary devices as deployed by the authors.

Post-colonial theory handles the literature written in previously colonized countries, highlighting the way the colonizing culture conflicts with the cultural experiences of

the colonized people. The theory also handles the literature written by the colonized people in their attempt to reclaim their past through the articulation of their identities in contrast to those of the colonizers (Gikandi, 2003). The Freireian Theory of Cultural Invasion deals with the outcome of the colonization of one nation by another. Because of cultural invasion the invaded people lose their own culture because they are able to see the “truth” only through the eyes of the invaders (Freire, 1993).

These theories have been used to critically analyze cross-cultural conflicts in the selected Ugandan novels and from them, conclusions and recommendations for a way forward in African writing and in educational, religious, and socio-cultural and political living have been drawn.

3.6 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. Chapter one outlines the general introduction and sets the background for this work. Chapter two reviews the literature and related works, while chapter three outlines the research design and methods. Chapter four analyses and discusses the literary texts with reference to cross-cultural conflicts in education. Chapter five critically analyses and discusses the literary texts with reference to cross-cultural conflicts in religion. Chapter six critically analyses and discusses the literary texts with reference to cross-cultural conflicts in socio-cultural values. Chapter seven evaluates the discussions and findings and chapter eight presents conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FOUR: DEPICTION OF CONFLICTS BETWEEN WESTERN AND AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL VALUES IN UGANDAN NOVELS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we investigate the depiction of cross-cultural conflicts between Western and African educational values in Ugandan literature based on eight novels. The conflicts investigated in the texts are not intra-cultural (cultural conflicts within a country) but cross-cultural, between the South and the North.

Colonial agents used education as one of their major weapons to introduce Africans to colonial ideology and interests which were different from those of Africans. Kahyana (2014:31) citing Althusser argues that colonial education was not only employed by the British colonial government to “civilize” Ugandans, but also to promote British interests, to “ensure subjection to the ruling ideology”.

Colonial education, given by schools and churches, among others, was intended to achieve a number of things, for example to make Ugandans submissive to their colonial masters - the missionary teachers, colonial administrators and tax collectors. Colonial education succeeded because Africans believed that the British were superior in education, language, dress and food. This resulted into imitating the white man.

This is mimicry (Bhabha, 1994:37), whereby members of the colonized society (Africans) imitate the language, dress, food, politics, or culture of their colonizers but at the same time try to retain African practices. This is seen in the lives of several Africans like Mwambu, Nuwa, and Mujungu in the studied Ugandan novels.

According to Nyamnjoh (2012:2-5) the participation of the missionary church in education brought in the uncertain alliance of State, Capital and Church authority to brainwash the African mind. Colonialists used education to disarm and silence Africans in body and soul and to reduce their warriors into cringing cowards. Okot (1989:14-19) maintains that colonial education caused Africans to think and to look like the white man, to bleach and slim themselves physically and culturally to the point of the absurd and the ridiculous.

Ngugi (1997: 28) argues that education has been the main ideological conflict between economical, political, and cultural forces of oppression. According to Tugume (2015:53) the main aim of colonial education was to remove the African from his or her social and cultural values so as to turn him or her to the white man's cultural values.

Our concern in this study is to examine the depiction of cross-cultural conflicts between Western and African educational values in Ugandan literary texts. This research is guided by the post-colonial literary theory that deals with the literature written in previously colonized countries, stressing the way the colonizing culture conflicts with the experiences of the colonized people (Lazarus, 2004); and the Freireian theory of cultural invasion, which deals with the outcome of the colonization of one nation by another (Freire, 1993).

The values often portrayed in the Ugandan novels tend towards the West. Value-based conflicts are at the core of these novels. The most pronounced conflicts are those related to methods - cram work/rote learning and teaching in a foreign language - authoritarianism and corporal punishment; immorality, corruption, bullying and gender

based prejudices among others. Below we present the value-based conflicts according to the themes common to all the eight novels.

4.2 Teaching Methods

4.2.1 Cram Work or Rote Learning

Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* (2008) presents the Western kind of education as full of cram work. He portrays a typical case where the teacher teaches the multiplication table by cram work:

One times one is one
Two times two is four
Three times three is nine
Four times four is sixteen
Five times five is twenty five.... (Ocwinyo 2008:42).

The teacher makes sure that the students cram this until they can say this off head up to twelve times twelve (Freire, 1993:52). Erabu has learnt this chanting without thinking much about what it means. Although he enjoys the chant, he often wonders what connection it has with his life. (Ocwinyo 2008:42).

This cram work leads to nothing beyond enjoying the chant, just like Erabu is doing in his class. The impact of what he is learning will never be seen. He has very little to contribute to his nation from the chanting kind of learning that he has got from the school (Ocwinyo 2008:42).

Knowledge acquired from school should aid the students to solve problems. Students should be trained to think creatively instead of cramming what has been prepared by the teachers without the students' input. According to Klemm (2004) education should bring understanding to the students. Rote learning is inefficient and it encourages

learners not to think but to cram without proper understanding of what they are learning.

Furthermore Christopher John Devers (2009:23-31) citing Freire, (1970) argues that the use of dialogue and discussion cultivates growth through a deeper understanding of critical issues because it probes students' own understanding of a problem. The purpose, as Freire (1970) suggests, is to help students to think critically about what they are learning and not just cramming it.

He continues to say that a critical pedagogical approach encourages people to develop and use critical thinking skills throughout their lives. Simply answering a question or lecturing in a class may not promote learning and critical thinking processes. Students need to be given an opportunity to articulate and defend their ideas, theories, beliefs and criticisms of their thoughts than just cramming. Garrett (1989) points out that a Freirean approach helps the students to come to school prepared for class, by intentionally synthesizing and analyzing the materials given to them.

Rosemary Seninde, the Ugandan State Minister for Primary Education currently (2018) encourages Ugandan teachers to acquire better methods of evaluating the students than repeated tests which limit the student's critical thinking. Ms Frances Atima, the Principal Inspector at the Directorate of Education Standards (DES), in an interview argues that if the weaknesses of the repeated tests are not addressed early, learners will continue to be promoted to the next class without the competences, which will affect their performance at a higher level in the education cycle. Atima echoes the

need to make the students understand what they are learning because it will affect their career tomorrow (www.newvision, June 7, 2018).

Cram work is very common with the teacher-centred method of teaching where the student has almost no role in the process. This is what Paulo Freire calls “banking education”. The Western education system presupposes that an African has nothing in the brain and, therefore, there is need to fill up the empty brains. Freire describes Western education as a metaphor which considers students to be containers into which teachers must deposit knowledge. This brings in the shortage of critical thinking and knowledge ownership in students, which at the end supports oppression (Freire, 1993:53):

Narration (with the teacher as a narrator) leads the students to memorize mechanically the narrated content, worse yet, it turns them into containers, into receptacles to be filled by the teacher (Freire, 1993:53).

Freire describes this form of education as fundamentally a narrative in which the teacher is the subject and an active participant and the student is a passive object (Freire, 1993: 53):

Instead of communication, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the banking concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to students extends only as far as receiving, filling and storing the deposits (Freire, 1993:53).

Education is therefore seen as a process of depositing knowledge into passive students who know nothing.

The outstanding characteristic of this narrative education, then, is the sonority of the words, not their transforming power. “Four times four is sixteen.” (Freire 1993: 53)

The student records, memorizes, crams, chants and repeats these phrases without perceiving how they come to sixteen as an answer of four times four (Freire 1993: 53).

Banking education follows the 'transmission' model of education (Freire, 1993). This model views education as a specific body of knowledge that is transmitted from the teacher to the student. It emphasizes teacher-centric learning, where students are passive absorbers of information through cram work and that the purpose of learning is memorization of facts. Unfortunately, this method of teaching does not emphasize understanding; students simply cram facts without truly understanding what they are learning (Freire, 1993: 53).

This kind of learning makes the students become collectors of the materials they store up, and they will go through this kind of education without creativity and critical thinking (Freire 1993: 53):

In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, it negates education and knowledge as a process of inquiry (Freire 1993: 53).

The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence. (Freire 1993: 53).

The students, alienated like the slave in the Hegelian dialectic, accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher's existence - but unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher (Freire 1993: 53).

The teachers are the epistemological authority in this system; students' pre-existing knowledge is ignored, apart from what was expected to be deposited into them earlier (Freire 1993: 53). Cowan (1988) asserts that effective learning takes place when one

can make a connection between the new and the old in order for it to be coded or to make meaning.

Government of Uganda (in *The New Vision* of June 6, 2018) has accused teachers of training learners for only passing examination (cram work) and overlooking interpersonal, critical and vocational skills to deal with real life situations:

The Monitoring Learning Achievement of Primary Two in Literacy Report indicates that almost six in every 10 primary school-going children assessed are unable to read. The findings by the Directorate of Education Standards (DES) say other competences were also only partially achieved with interpretation and writing skills not faring any better. This means that children are promoted to the next class when they have acquired only 50 per cent of the required competences; hence learners lose out on the content and eventually get into the upper classes without fully learning the basic competences.

The Directorate of Education Standards (DES) is quoted having said that for a very long time learning has been focusing on teachers with less emphasis on the learners. The global trends dictate now that education systems must shift from the mastery of facts (cram work) to learning to be, learning to do, learning to live and learning to know (*The New Vision* of June 6, 2018).

Okurut depicts the Mathematics teacher of Western-type schools as harsh, when teaching and reciting to the students as a method of learning. The Mathematics teacher commands Goora to recite the multiplication table for number six. She is frightened and loses her speech. The teacher canes her. The teacher yells, “Stupid girl, recite the table”. She goes quiet. The teacher, enraged, canes her again. Her friend Nkwanzi cries uncontrollably. The teacher calls out to Nkwanzi, “Come here. You’re weeping for nothing! Well, I’ll give you something to weep about. Recite the number six table” (Okurut 1998: 36). Nkwanzi had written the tables on the palms of her hands. ‘Turning

in such a way she could look at her palm stealthily, she slowly recites the terrible number six times table':

Six times one is six
Six times two is twelve
Six times three is eighteen...
And six times twelve is seventy two' (Okurut 1998: 37).

For stealthily reciting the multiplication table from her palms, Nkwanzu receives a serious beating from the Mathematics teacher. Besides, the Mathematics teacher insults her:

I can't even punish you. You are beyond repair. You are a thief, a cheat, he hissed. Get out of my sight, you scum! My cane is too precious to touch your vile body (Okurut 1998: 37).

Nkwanzu having written the multiplication tables on the palms of her hands and reciting it stealthily, the teacher finds it very irritating. He thinks that Nkwanzu is beyond repair, calling her a thief, cheat, has a vile body and then sends her out to his house to fetch water and to fill his drum of one hundred litres. What does such a girl learn from this kind of teacher? In African traditional education, the teachers are the models for the students. What about the Western type of education? Are they not modeling bad habits to the students who will be teachers tomorrow?

In response to the weakness of rote learning, Martha and Mitch (2005) quote Harold Rosen (1986:235) who argue that students should not just memorize and transcribe because the creativity in them will automatically die. Furthermore, Martha and Mitch (2005) cite Albert Einstein (1992: 65) who believes that creativity is more important than knowledge. But this important part of education is ignored in the Western type of education. Imagination is a key in solving problems. This goes beyond right and wrong

answers; it will help the students to think outside the box. Egan (1989:11) depicts imagination as a kind of energy, vividness and flexibility that comes from the ability to think of possibilities. The mental thinking will be more meaningful in the life of the students and it will create images in the mind of the young than just cramming what has been given to them by the teachers.

Devers (2009:24-31) quoting (Freire, 1970) observes that one of the main objectives of critical pedagogy is to help one develop critical thinking patterns in everyday life so that students do not simply accept norms as truth. Giving a wrong answer and defending it is more important than giving the answer itself (Garrett, 1998). It is in this process that the learning occurs. Devers continues to argue that often, a mistake could be used to promote learning.

A participatory learning environment created by the teacher is often engaging as students are encouraged to actively participate through discovery and reasoning skills. When students are not challenged to think critically about their ideas, they may not realize many issues surrounding a particular solution to a problem.

Cram work does not impart creativity to the students but dependency (Bhabha, 1994). The students' brains are not challenged to think beyond cramming what has been given to them. They are not trained to think and come up with new ways of solving a problem but only to grab what has been prepared for them (Martha & Mitch, 2005).

From the foregoing section, one sees that the Western-influenced education system is awash with cramwork as opposed to the traditional African Education which is practical oriented and aims at understanding. Herein lies the conflict.

4.2.2 Teaching of Foreign Language

Moeller and Catalano (2015) define foreign language learning and teaching as the teaching and learning of a non-native language outside the area where it is commonly spoken.

In *Fate of the Banished*, Ocwinyo (2008) portrays colonial education as one which conflicts with African traditional education. He portrays Mr. Jean-Paul Tchicaya (Tabu-Ley) as an unqualified, unprofessional, disgruntled, and disappointed teacher, who forces the students to learn the French language without any interpretation. Apire is supposed to learn French at lower secondary level but the attitude of the foreign teacher makes him hate the subject.

The method that 'Tabu Ley' uses to teach French as a foreign language (Ocwinyo 2008:80) is not suitable. This method of teaching could not persuade Apire to learn French. Apire is punished for skipping the French classes. He is forced to dig up a termite queen from an anthill, which he does.

Apire should have made it clear to the teacher that his method of teaching was not suitable but he feared to confront the teacher's hegemony. In the subaltern thinking, an inferior Apire cannot challenge a superior teacher who is a symbol representing the white race (Spivak, 1988).

The main function of language is communication. If communication is done in a language that cannot be understood by the recipient, then communication has not taken place (Khosravi, 2011). Since 'Tabu Ley' is teaching in French and he does not

translate what he is saying in the language that students like Apire can understand, then he has not communicated at all to his students.

According to Asma (2015:8), the colonizer created a channel of communication between the West and the colonized through the use of foreign language. The colonized are subjected to learn how to speak the foreign language through brutal encounter with the colonizer. And slowly by slowly, they find themselves integrating their native language with that of the colonizer because of the brutal treatment of the colonizer.

The colonizer introduces his language through education or by subverting the colonized and forcing him to learn the foreign language in order to communicate with the West (Asma, 2015:8). According to Moeller and Catalano (2015) the traditional way of learning a foreign language was thought to be a mimetic activity, a process that involved students repeating or imitating new information from the teacher who is all knowing.

This is where Bhabha (1994: 86) asserts that the copying of the colonizing culture, behaviour, manners and values by the colonized includes both mockery and a certain menace because mimicry is both resemblance and menace. Mimicry reveals the limitation in the authority of colonial discourse, because colonial authority cultivated the seeds of its own destruction, and results in cross-cultural conflicts between the West and Africans (Bhabha, 1994: 86).

Noam Chomsky (1959) argues that language is a rule-governed activity, and not a set of habits. He asserts that the creative aspect of language behavior involves the human mind in deep processing of meaning rather than in memorized responses to

environmental stimuli. Chomsky argues that children are biologically programmed for language and have the ability to discover for themselves the essential rules of a language system.

Teacher 'Tabu Ley', in accordance to Chomsky's reasoning, is lacking in these techniques and as a result causes conflict between the teacher and the student in the learning process. To Freire (1993:53) this is banking education which makes the students "containers" for the teachers' deposit of knowledge. This results in shortage of critical thinking and knowledge ownership in students, which supports oppression (Freire 1993:53).

4.3 Authoritarian Teacher

Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* (2008) portrays a conflict between a Senior Five Economics teacher, nicknamed Turkey, and a student called Apire. Apire questions Mr. Turkey when he veers off the topic "Labour and Wages" to his personal marital problems and keeps going on and on off topic. Apire then interjects, "We're not interested, sir", in an attempt to stop the teacher from continuing to waste time on irrelevancies. The teacher moves in Apire's direction and lets him know that:

I didn't spend three years in the University and nine months in teacher training so that I could later be insulted by my students (Ocwinyo 2008: 84).

The teacher orders Apire to stand up as he is speaking to him and immediately slaps him and orders him out of the class. Apire revenges by fighting the teacher and injuring him. Apire is thrown into police cells, where he spends five days and is then expelled

from school (Ocwinyo 2008: 86-87). He has to go back to the countryside, where his family has shifted to (Ocwinyo 2008: 88).

To Ocwinyo, Teacher Turkey is responsible for Apire's departure from school and failure in life. Apire leaves school, tries to do petty jobs which are not paying, and is later convinced to join the rebels in the bush, which ruins his future as he kills Father Dila and ends up in jail (Ocwinyo 2008: 88).

In the subaltern philosophy (Spivak, 1988), this was an attempt by the suppressed to challenge the oppressor but it turns violent and the suppressed does not benefit from his attempts; indeed Apire does not.

Nyabongo in *Africa Answers Back* (1935) presents the school as a place where prefects imitate the dictatorial tendencies of the master. At the chapel, the service ends late but the Reverend Hubert keeps Mujungu (the new school entrant) behind for a while, giving him rules of conduct. At the end, he finds all the food had been served and he misses out. The prefect later brings him food but he refuses because he and the prefect had an exchange over why he is late. When it is time for bed, Mujungu stays longer but he is forced to get to bed.

The prefect commands him to keep quiet. In the morning he sleeps longer and skips chapel. The prefect punishes him by getting him to sit on the platform (Nyabongo 1935:129-130).

Here the newly enrolled student challenges the representatives of the superior class. They try to silence him by several punishments but they do not succeed. This is a case of the subaltern speaking where he should not (Spivak 1998).

Nyabongo further depicts Mujungu reading the Bible to the family members. He reads in the book of First Kings the story of King Solomon who had seven hundred women and three hundred concubines (1 Kings 11:3), bringing the total to one thousand wives. This story disturbs the chief for being called a sinner by Reverend Hubert, yet the Bible reports of a man who had one thousand wives. He and his wives confirm their suspicion that the white man is a liar (Nyabongo 1935:204-207). Mujungu was to be punished by Reverend Hubert for reading Magazines and the Bible but he refused to be punished.

Although Reverend Hubert expects Mujungu's education to serve the white man's interests it ended up causing him extreme discomfort. Mujungu is not religiously loyal to him as expected. Mujungu's sharing of his knowledge with his family members helps expose a lot of weaknesses in the white man's educational system. Besides this, Mujungu disobeys the subaltern principle, where the oppressed are not expected to speak (Spivak, 1998).

Tugume (2015:97) citing Ngugi on *Weep not Child* sees teacher Lucy as an authoritarian teacher when she punishes Njoroge for not reciting a certain dialogue well. Corporal punishment given to Njoroge makes him fear teacher Lucy, and not only that: Njoroge is intimidated and feels nervous during the lesson.

From the discourse above it is evident that the authoritarian teacher, who is a product of colonial mentality and Western superiority complex, does not facilitate learning. This is in opposition to the traditional African education which made the learning environment very conducive and friendly. This is the basis of the conflict.

4.4 Irrelevant Education

Nyabongo in *Africa Answers Back* (1936) depicts the doubts the African chiefs have with the Western-type education. The Reverend Hubert asks the chiefs to take their children to school. One of the chiefs answers that they are ready to take their children to school but he wants to know what type of education the children are to be given. Hubert answers that he is going to teach their children to read and write, learn new things, adopt the Europeans' ways and lose their old fashioned customs. But the chief says that they do not want a school where children are taught to disrespect their parents (Nyabongo 1936: 233-234).

The African chief, representing the African parents, questions the relevance of the education the white man is giving to the Africans and swears that he would not allow African children to be taught to be disrespectful to their parents. According to the subaltern philosophy, the chief represents a voice to the otherwise voiceless oppressed people (Spivak, 1988).

Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* (2008) mocks the Roman Catholic priests who spend a lot of time learning Latin, a dead foreign language which is no longer used by any particular people. Linguists know that Latin is a dead language because it has no native speakers; it has no people who would call it their mother tongue (<http://ashbrook.org/publications/oped-moore-03-latin>).

This means that Reverend Father Dila is forced to learn it simply because he wants to become a priest and nothing more. When Catholic priests are presiding over mass,

important items of it are said in Latin, which the natives cannot understand. The phrases below are usually said in Latin:

Chistus vincit
Christ regnat
Christus, Christus imperat (Ocwinyo 2008: 56).

Unfortunately, this language is irrelevant to African priests and the Christians. It is like the irrelevant education African children receive, where they are taught a lot of stuff at school, including the geography of North America, which they cannot apply to their daily lives. Moreover, pre-colonial education in Uganda ensured that every citizen in the tribe was taught the essential knowledge and practical technical skills. All this knowledge and the realistic skills helped them to be functional to themselves, to their family and the society at large (Ssekamwa 200:18).

Colonial education made Africans behave like foolish little children (p'Bitek 1989:12), even to the extent of rejecting meaningful African names and adopting the names of white people which sound like “empty tins, old rusty tins thrown down from the roof-top” (p'Bitek 1989:62). This attracted songs of laughter instead of the songs of praise. This education of the white man is to cultivate a “bitter tongue” - “fierce like the arrow of a scorpion”, “deadly like the spear of the buffalo-hornet”, “ferocious like the poison of a barren woman”, and “corrosive like the juice of the gourd” (p'Bitek 1989:12-14).

Franz Fanon (1967) observes that colonial education was given to Africans to remove them from their traditions, creativity, self-confidence and achievements, and only to be filled with European practices, traditions, and ideas. It is an education to belittle Africans and reproduce mediocrity from colonial education. Colonial education is used as a method to destroy the manhood of African men in the classrooms; their testicles

are smashed with large books!” (p’Bitek 1989:95). Africans who finish this educational system become like castrated men and sterilized women.

At the end of the colonial education the Africans behave like a hen that eats its own eggs, a hen that ought to be imprisoned under a basket (p’Bitek 1989:14). Lawino says that when her husband is reading a new book or when he is sitting in his sofa, his face is covered up completely with the big newspaper that makes him look like a corpse in a tomb, he is so silent and storms out like a buffalo and “throws things”.

Lawino laments “that children’s cries and coughs disturb him!” But Lawino argues that “what music is sweeter than the cries of children?” “Who but a witch would like to live in a homestead where all the grown-ups are so clean after the rains, because there is no mud for kids to fall on their bosoms after dancing in the rains and playing in the mud?” (p’Bitek 1989:45-51). Lawino looks at colonial education as a transformer of Ocol into an unthinking zombie and a witch that has killed the societal value of love for children.

Aloka in *Iteo Alive* (2000) also depicts the shortcomings of Western education. He tells us that the products of Western education look down upon African storytelling as an outdated method of teaching the young. Before his death, Iteo is informing us that storytelling is very important. The young generation should not look down on it.

He says that without storytelling, the young generation will have nothing to tell their children. He says that the animal stories are very helpful. Storytelling is used for entertainment but at the same time it educates the family members. Through

storytelling, the young will learn that walking at night is very dangerous. Darkness is a source of evil which should be avoided.

Walking alone is also bad because when one meets with a wrong person, he or she can harm you, but when walking in a group, there is safety. The children are also taught that wrongdoing is not accepted in society; that if one is caught, he or she is punished and therefore they should refrain from it (Aloka 2000: 9-10):

Most of us who have gone through formal schooling tend to look down on these stories and, therefore, throw them out of the windows of our minds. Consequently, we have nothing to tell our children. Those stories of cannibals. Cannibals are very huge, they used to tell us. With very strong arms. Muscles bulging big and voracious faces. With teeth like those of a hungry angry hyena. Some very hairy, rapacious beast. These cannibals come and climb fences to pick up and take away stubborn children, lonely children and other people. People travelling alone in the dark are also in danger of these cannibals. But they never attack anybody travelling in the daytime. They could never attack anybody who walks together with other people. They are after wrongdoers only. That is what my parents told me (Aloka 2000: 9-10).

Aloka depicts formal education as underlooking African traditional education where storytelling is used as a method of teaching various values. As a result the graduates of formal education will have nothing to tell their children.

Several sources agree that if teachers fill their student's brain with various facts and data without any connection to any story, the brain will catch all the information, then toss it and lose it. Stories can organize the brain to receive information, remember and tie content together (Caine & Caine, 1994:121-122).

Martha and Mitch (2005) assert that stories go straight to the heart, then it connects to the brain. The head will not hear anything until the heart listens to it. The heart knows something today but the head might understand the same the following day. In addition,

Martha and Mitch (2005) argue that young children can associate new ideas when they are presented to them in form of a story. Stories help even older students to understand new concepts and think over them faster. Martha and Mitch (2005) continue to argue that there is power in telling a story to the students because it captivates their minds.

From the above, storytelling is a great tool to engage the learner throughout the learning period. Storytelling can articulate emotional aspects as well as factual content and allowing expression of unspoken knowledge which may be difficult to communicate. It gives the broader context in which knowledge arises and increases the potential for meaningful knowledge-based interactions. It is structured in such a way that learning will take place and be passed on to another generation.

Storytelling can deliver results like those conventional modes of communication that anyone can use and become better at. It is an encouragement to the learners because it hooks them into the mood of learning. Storytelling makes the teachers' work very easy and the learning becomes natural. This learning begins from the known to the unknown. No wonder Aloka is complaining of the neglect of storytelling by the Western type of education. Africans' traditional education uses storytelling as a method of teaching and it works well for them but Western education considers it time wasting.

Jane Kaberuka's *Silent Patience* (1999) does not explicitly portray the ills of Western education, but on appointment as Minister of Health, Agnes, the protagonist, wishes she had been given the Education ministry. She says:

It is the one that needs revolutionizing the most. Other than the fact that we have a system that encourages and perpetuates elitism, it encourages and enhances underdevelopment. Our education system continues to be superficial and irrelevant. It neither liberates us intellectually nor raises our critical

awareness for conscientiousness. It remains an education for intellectual enslavement and confusion! (Kaberuka 1999: 248-49).

From the quotation above, it is evident that Kaberuka is referring to a colonial type of education which is superficial, irrelevant and perpetuates elitism. But she does not portray it evidently until the last chapter where she brings out its ills. Kaberuka questions this kind of education where some of the community members are having PhDs and others cannot even write their names or read a signpost. She suggests the need for an education system that concentrates on skills for self-employment and does not alienate the young from manual labour (Kaberuka 1999: 249).

Kaberuka portrays Agnes' concern in a letter to her mother saying that young people cannot look beyond their noses and cannot appreciate the need for change. She says they just sail through life without giving a thought to what they are doing. She adds that materialism is all they seek - riches, book intelligence, fancy clothes and shoes. She hopes that there is opportunity to change and the youth should embrace it (Kaberuka 1999: 27).

Africans are locked up in a bad education system. They have abandoned our African education and we have been forced into a kind of a system which is not ideal. They can neither return to our traditional education nor change the western one. They are in what Bhabha (1994) calls a state of hybridity. This is a major cross-cultural conflict.

Wangusa in *Upon This Mountain* (1989) depicts modern education as started by Christian missionaries and how the modern education Mwambu receives alienates him from his traditional culture. Mwambu's education, coupled with his conversion to Christianity, gives him a negative attitude towards the traditions of his people.

He is, however, torn between following the traditions of his people and the Western system. Any education that alienates one from one's people is questionable. Mwambu's choice of hospital circumcision is influenced by his formal education and leads to the betrayal of his father, an ardent follower of traditions (Wangusa 2005:50). In this narrative Wangusa portrays Mwambu in a kind of situation Bhabha (1994) calls a state of ambivalence, caught up between two traditions. He cannot return to his traditions and he cannot fully follow the Western education.

Okurut in *The Invisible Weevil* (1998) portrays the staff and students of Makerere University as major clients for one of the prostitutes, Brown, in the slums of Makivu. Brown earns a living by prostitution and says her clients are men who have read Psychology. These are people who are supposed to help others with issues in life but they cannot help themselves. Brown wonders why these psychology professors and students come to her, a Primary Two dropout, to solve their psychological problems when they have read more books than her. The lecturers find their way to her place because they are frustrated or have failed marriages. Different categories of men with different problems seek assistance from her.

Although she needs their money and their company, she is the symbol of Africans questioning the products of the Western education system. Brown questions the Western kind of education because the teachers and students cannot find solutions for people who are hurting, including themselves and their students (Okurut 1998: 123-125).

This is a conflict situation Bhabha (1994) would call mockery. How can the custodians of the extensive knowledge of Psychology fail to solve their own problems and those of their students but instead consult an illiterate, as the Western education system would call Brown? Could this be a failure of the Western educational system?

Aloka in *Iteo Alive* portrays the irrelevance of Western education. He narrates how Iteo has a house of his own, a car and a powerful job but he lacks the knowledge of the history of his people. When Iteo returns to his village to consult with the elders about the history of Karamoja (Aloka 2000: 21), one of the old men asks whether all the book knowledge Iteo got from the white man did not tell him of his people's past. They had always thought that the schooled children knew everything. It was then that they realized there is something they know or have which is vital (Aloka 2000: 24). Another elder asks why the boy had not visited them since he returned from Europe. He wonders whether the children read books to ignore people.

From this narrative, Aloka depicts that Western education does not handle the history of the Karimojong. In other words, the Western education curriculum is not relevant to the local needs. It has the effect of distancing students from their own communities. This is in agreement with p'Bitek (1989) who says Ocol's education is irrelevant to African social life. "Ocol has lost his head in the forest of books"; "the reading has killed" him "in the ways of his people" and he has become "a walking corpse" (P'Bitek 1989:91-95).

However, he loves to be recognized in the eyes of the white man, as "the good children", "who ask no questions, who accept everything like the rubbish pit, like the

pit-latrines which does not reject even dysentery” (p’Bitek 1989:64). Those who have acquired western education “boast in the marketplace, showing off to people”, instead of proving the merits of their education through real achievements (p’Bitek 1989:68). Western education is for keeping up appearances, self-belittlement, self-delusion and talking without listening (p’Bitek 1989:12-14). This colonial education makes Africans become like slaves, doing only what the master wants.

Colonial education is not a selfless mission at the service of Africa. It is meant to provide colonialism with the support of the local staff to help it achieve its goal. If we go back to the drawing board and ask what has changed since independence, this will make us think about the benefits and also the misfortunes due to the colonial educational system.

Francis Nyamnjoh (2012), quoting Bernard Fonlon (1965:21-28), reports that soon after independence, Fonlon called for an education system which is capable of cultivating the authority and dignity of Africans. He argued that the humanity of Africans must be restored. Fonlon agrees with Aimé Césaire in urging that African cultures “must be the foundation on which the modern African cultural structure should be raised; the soil into which the new seed should be sown; the stem into which the new scion should be grafted; the sap that should enliven the entire organism” (Aimé Césaire, in Fonlon, 1967).

From a traditional African education perspective, all education is relevant and is given for a purpose. Western-type education is depicted to contain several irrelevancies. A true African would resist Western-type education because of such in-built conflicts.

4.5 Corporal Punishment

Corporal punishment can be defined as intentional inflicting of physical pain as a strategy of changing the behaviour of a child. It could be slapping, hitting, kicking, choking, and many other practices. One can also use objects like belts, sticks, pins to mention but a few to cause pain to the students (Anderson and Payne 1994).

Many studies suggest that teachers, parents and often children themselves believe that corporal punishment in schools helps to improve performance and that it can correct bad behaviour (Marcus, 2014b:11; Morrow & Pells, 2012:10). But research also highlights that many students do not agree that it helps to improve on their learning or behaviour; instead it makes them scared, confused and it is the cause of violence on the students by the teachers (Burnett, 1998; Clacherty et al 2004; 2005a; 2005b).

Several authors speak against corporal punishment. According to Dubanoski, Inaba and Gerkewicz, (1983); Youssef, Attia and Kamel, (1998); Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, (2006: 92), corporal punishment is one of the reasons why children avoid school or drop out for fear of getting beaten, which reduces their self-worth or self-esteem and increases fear of teachers and school.

Tugume (2015:100) argues that corporal punishment is used to frighten students so that they do not ask questions. It is also meant to kill their cognitive ability to question the sacredness of western education and Christianity. This is in line with Spivak's (1988) philosophy of the subaltern where the weak are not given a chance to speak.

Thus Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* portrays Erabu who loves school in the lower classes because learning is combined with songs, dances and sports, but hates upper classes because of corporal punishment, which he describes as follows:

... frequently took a *kiboko* to you, giving you the kind of hiding that had your buttocks smarting the whole day. They frequently talked in terms of strokes of canes and made you feel as if failing the Primary Leaving Examinations was a disease worse than leprosy and HIV combined and that if you ever had the misfortune to fail such exams, then you should go to the nearest swamp and drown yourself (Ocwinyo 2008:47).

To Ocwinyo, corporal punishment makes learning dreadful. There is no genuine learning that can take place in the midst of threats and punishments. This is very typical of the colonial type of education. Okurut also depicts corporal punishment as administered by the Mathematics teacher on Goora who failed to recite the multiplication table for number six. The fear of failure frightened her and she lost her speech:

She looked at the teacher like a frightened rabbit. The teacher's cane rang out, its impact on the buttocks resounding in the classroom. "Stupid girl, recite the table", he shouted (Okurut 1998: 36).

Goora is quiet, dumbfounded. The teacher got annoyed and caned her again.

Okurut depicts the use of vernacular by the Africans as punishable. Teacher Serpent punishes Goora for speaking vernacular by making her fetch water and fill a drum of a hundred litres. In school they are to speak only English. It is a crime to utter a vernacular word. This makes the Africans think their mother tongue is bad, inferior, primitive and the like (Okurut 1998: 38).

African traditional teachers use African languages to teach the young and yet Western education thought vernacular was bad. Even the children started to hate their own languages. Students were supposed to speak only English and whoever speaks their

mother tongue was punished severely. *In school, they were supposed to speak only English. Woe to whoever was heard uttering a vernacular word!* (Okurut 1998:38).

Furthermore Nyabongo in *Africa Answers Back* (1936) portrays the classroom as a place of torture. The teacher slaps some children and there is a lot of confusion in the classroom. Some cry that the teacher is stepping on their feet as he slaps the student who is dozing while reading. The teacher makes the boys dozing stand at the corner of the classroom while facing the wall but Mujungu is laughing so that he disturbs the class (Nyabongo 1936:122). The pupils seem to express their discontent at the harassment by laughing at the teacher. Mujungu also laughs and the teacher warns him that if he finds him laughing, he will be punished by being beaten on his wrist (Nyabongo 1936: 122).

In the above narrative we see some attempts by the oppressed members of the “subaltern class” (Spivak, 1994), the student, to respond sarcastically to the oppressor by expressing their discontent with the corporal punishment.

In *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe (1966) depicts Nwoye as Okonkwo's eldest son whom Okonkwo fears will become like Unoka his grandfather whom he resembles. Nwoye is drawn to gentleness and he prefers the stories of his mother which his father disapproves. Okonkwo gives his son corporal punishment for joining Christianity. This brings about a conflict between Okonkwo and Nwoye which leads to separation when Nwoye leaves the clan to join the Christians and takes on the Christian name Isaac, an act which Okonkwo views as a final betrayal.

I consider Okonkwo's punishing of his son Nwoye as a result of the zeal to defend his African traditional religious values. However, from the way Okonkwo handles his son

and the kind of beating which Nwoye gets, we see that corporal punishment is not completely Western as portrayed by some Ugandan novels.

According to Paul Ocoock (2012:1) corporal punishment was administered by African chiefs to force labour using *kiboko* - meaning cane. The *kiboko* was used on the young men to force them dig roads quickly and carry goods. He continued to say that African parents used walking sticks to punish herdsboys. He furthermore asserts that Colonial magistrates decreed punishment on thousands of young Africans like caning for the crime of bicycle theft or breach of contract. Looking at how Ugandan authors have depicted corporal punishment and what Ocoock's argument is, it is correct to conclude that the corporal punishment is not completely new, and Uganda as a nation has continued to wrestle with it.

4.6 Immorality

Kaberuka portrays one of her characters, a well educated Jimmy who tricks Agnes in her 4th year in medical school and intoxicates her with chloroform, and rapes her. Agnes becomes pregnant and is forced to marry somebody she does not love. She gives birth to a son and calls him Stefan. After the birth of the unplanned child, Jimmy abandons Agnes and marries another wife. Western education should have helped Jimmy to know that rape is not for the civilised. His action shows that he has not gained anything from this Western education system. By his rape he is mocking (Bhabhah, 1994) the very education system that trained him.

Okurut in *The Invisible Weevil* (1998) presents an individualistic, western-oriented and selfish Rex and his victim Nkwazi, whom he rapes. Rex has been pursuing Kwanzi

unsuccessfully over the years, even when he knows that she is engaged to his friend Genesis. Rex is the image of a selfish-minded, though highly educated, modern man who makes a mockery (Bhabha 1994) of the education system he has gone through.

Ocwinyo, in *Fate of the Banished*, uses the Swahili word *afande* ironically as indication that one does revere the person; it shows the respect that one has for his senior, his *afande* (Ocwinyo, 1997: 18-19). But how can an *afande* rape, kill, destroy property, rustle cows and do all sorts of atrocities. It shows that our security organizations have many crooks who have no respect for any human rights. The Swahili word *askari* means security personnel, who should be there to protect the people. They are, however, the major source of insecurity for the people. How can the very people who are meant to give security to the people be the perpetrators of insecurity?

The *afandes* represent the selfish interests of the West who are out to exploit the very African people they claim to have come to defend/support.

Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* portrays the Roman Catholics priests, one of the most educated folks under the Western system, as immoral and not exemplary. The Reverend Father Dila confesses that his predecessor did not spare any female who came near him.

One of the priests is reported to have:

... poached in all the wrong places. ... Housewives, schoolgirls, catechumens. He never spared any of them (Ocwinyo 2008:26).

Ocwinyo illustrates further that Western education and immorality are correlated. It is not only the priests; but even the bishops, who are even more educated and are expected to be above reproach, that are immoral. Although the bishops are responsible for

disciplining deviant priests, they have no moral authority because they are also quite busy sinning. Ocwinyo reports that the bishop had “a harem of bickering concubines in the Nurses’ Quarters and the convent” (Ocwinyo 2008:56).

This discourse shows that even the bishops are making a mockery (Bhabha 1994) of the Western educational and the religious system.

4.7 Corruption

Wangusa in *Upon This Mountain* (2005) depicts colonial education as a path to corruption where Nabutiru, a widow and mother of Masaaba, parts with something to set his son free. Masaaba has reached school-going age and must be compulsorily enrolled. The mother is not in agreement. She pleads with them to have pity on her old age and spare her last born child to look after her and her animals. One of the chiefs and two teachers take her aside and the chief tells her that they are willing to listen to her plea but she must understand that a man does not eat nothing. She then gives them two hens and Masaaba is recorded as non-existent (Wangusa 1989:22):

They took two hens and Masaaba was permanently written off. Although he was ten years old, an entry was made in the pupils' Recruitment Register to the effect that at the home of Nabutiru, the widow of Watambembumbi son of Wakubona of Musibanga village, there was no child of school-going age.

To Wangusa this is corruption and exploitation. The trained teachers cannot even sympathize with this widow; instead they take the two hens from her.

Ocwinyo also presents the graduates of Western-type education as very hypocritical and corrupt (Ocwinyo 2008:58):

There was hypocrisy and double standards everywhere one turned. Now look at those lawyers who sentence somebody to a term of imprisonment for stealing a banana, one single *bogoya*, when that person was in fact in desperate need of food, and then went off in the evening to receive a bribe of a half a million shillings from the relatives of the murder suspect... The policemen who arrested poor housewives residing in a slum for brewing *waragi* in order to raise school fees for their children, while their own wives were engaged in exactly the same kind of activity in the barracks under the very nose of the local police chief.

A lawyer can sentence somebody to a term of imprisonment for stealing a banana but when it comes to the evening of the very same day, he receives a bribe of half a million

shillings from the relatives of a murder suspect! A policeman arrests poor women in the slums for brewing *waragi* when his own wife and others are doing the same thing in the barracks under the nose of the local police chief.

4.8 Bullying at School

Tugume (2015) defines bullying as a transfer of aggression to force newcomers to do what pleases the person bullying. Okurut (1998) portrays the Western-type school as a place of bullying. Nkwazi and her friend Goora experience bullying, which is a traditional welcome for newcomers at school. The bullying is enjoyable by the older students but to the new students it is a nightmare. When the senior girls announce that there is going to be a film that evening, Nkwazi is excited, not knowing that it was about bullying.

According to Al-Raqad et al (2017) bullying is both physical and verbal violence and it can affect the emotional, social, and physical wellbeing of students and staff. Raskauskas, J., & Modell, S. (2011) found out that bullying is one of the biggest problems that children face in the education system and it is one of the most important health risks. Van der Werf (2014) observes that bullied students fear coming to school because they feel that they are unsafe and this reduces their academic success. Brank et al. (2012) found out that victims of bullying are anxious, shy, and weak and their performance in school is poor.

A study in Kenya by Ndeti (2007) reports bullying taking place in the dormitories, playgrounds, corridors and on the way to and from school. A study in South Africa by Ndebele and Msiza (2014) noted that bullying manifests itself as screaming at others, kicking, beating, calling names, bad treatment, hurting and forcing others to do what they don't like. A study in Nigeria by Bonke Adepeju Omoteso (2010) found effects of

bullying to be: fear, loneliness, depression and lack of confidence. A study in US by Hawker & Boulton (2000) found that students who are bullied suffered from anxiety, loneliness and depression. A study in US by Hymel and Swearer (2015) revealed that bullying takes many forms: physical harm, verbal taunts and threats, exclusion, humiliation, and rumor-spreading, electronic harassment using texts, e-mails, or online mediums.

One of the major characters behind the bullying of girls in Okurut's novel is "Brigadier". The commander, 'Brigadier', is giving the newcomer Nkwazi an impossible task of blowing out the light bulb with her breath. For Okurut to use "Brigadier" to impersonate the security personnel is to let us know what is happening in the security organs:

One big senior girl approached Nkwazi's bed. You! Go and blow out the light, she commanded. ... are you deaf or just stubborn and arrogant?...and she hauled Nkwazi to her feet. Now blow it with your breath... A slap on her cheek did it. The brigadier's voice is heard commanding (Okurut, 1998:67).

"Brigadier" is a military rank - way up in the ladder of the military hierarchy. This senior military rank is supposed to give the people security. Brigadiers are also supposed to defend the citizens of the country. The Brigadier represents the leadership of the nation. For Okurut to depict a senior officer as the one mistreating the innocent citizen, she is exposing the evil that is in the security organs and how the leadership of the country has failed to defend its people. Okurut depicts bullying in school as a major threat to the new students joining school. This kind of behavior by the senior students is dehumanizing to the newcomers.

The bullying continues in the dormitory. This time the students are impersonating the church. Referring to first years as tails is verbal bullying. To mimic what the priests do is a mockery of the church and their rituals, as presented below:

All the tails get out of bed. It's time for you to come to the holy table and receive Holy Communion. Come quietly and quickly. There was a glass with a rusty coloured liquid and ... bits of food of sorts. Come, my children... eat his body and drink his blood and then sing a song of praise. One by one, they went and received holy communion. The wine tasted salt and murky. Nkwanzi almost threw up, ...when the initiation ceremony was over, they learnt to their bitterness, that the wine had been urine and the bread, food droppings (Okurut, 1998:68).

Welcoming the first years to a fake holy table is mimicry of what the priests are doing to the congregation. For Okurut to portray the “priest” giving urine and food leftovers as ‘his blood and body’, is to reveal to us that the church leadership has issues. The reason why the so-called ‘tails’ lined up to drink what they later learnt with bitterness was urine is fear. A study by Rigby (1998; Rigby, 2001) observes that students who are bullied have higher levels of stress, anxiety, depression and illness. He argues that victims are withdrawn and anxious, characterized by tenseness, fears and worries.

Another character who is a victim of bullying in Okurut's novel is Tingo. Okurut portrays that bullying is not only in the girls' school but also in that of boys. Tingo is a brother of Nkwanzi, who in his letter to his sister exposes the evil which the old boys in the school inflict on the new comers. This is how the letter reads, in part:

The first night, the senior boys paraded all the newcomers and each senior boy picked a servant. We were then given the rules for the servants; a servant must make his master's bed every morning, wash his plates, cups, clothes etc... He must collect bathing water for the master in the morning,... He must surrender all the grab he brought to the master... The senior boys order the newcomers to accompany them to the farm; There, the big boys got hold of one of the pigs...

They then forced the small boy to have sex with it... Most of us're still sick when we think about this incident (Okurut 1998:69-70).

Why should the newcomers be paraded before the older boys? School is not a military barracks. Why parading? Does it mean that the dormitory has been turned into a barracks? Education should help the students to acquire knowledge and this knowledge should change them for the better. Which knowledge have these newcomer students received from the senior ones? And if education is the process of gaining knowledge, what kind of knowledge do these students receive after being bullied? How do they interpret this kind of treatment which they have received from the old students?

Okurut portrays the picking of the servants to expose what comes with this education system. To be a servant may mean someone's labour is being used by another with or without pay. To force the newcomers of school to make the master's bed every morning, to fetch water for the master, and to surrender all the grab mirrors Ngugi's contention that Africans are trained in Western education to serve the purpose of the white man. We expect the old students to give positive learning experience to the newcomers but they are doing the opposite. Making the newcomers have sex with pigs is even worse; Tingo laments that they are still sick when they remember this incident. Tingo wonders what kind of teasing this is. These boys are portrayed by Okurut as being bullied both verbally and physically - forcing them to do what they would never do.

The last character who is a victim of bullying in Okurut's novel is Teacher Rose. A Teacher is a person who helps others to acquire knowledge, competences or values, but for Okurut to depict the teacher as the one students are bullying is a mimicry of the education system teacher Rose is representing. If a teacher is a source of knowledge

then the question is what kind of knowledge has she imparted in the students? This is the story of the poor teacher:

One particular teacher, called Rose, had it rough. Whenever she came to class, she would find sticks of bogoya on her table. The whole blackboard would be full of drawings of the banana. The students would start chanting in whispers: Bogoya, Bogoya. Soon the students started putting bogoya on the verandah of her house and on her doorstep. Whenever she set out to go for a walk, some of her students on their way to the well would sight her. The one student would shout at the top of her voice; Bo-oo-oo! Another would hear and pick it up; Go-oo-oo and the third would round it up- Ya-aa-aa. Laughter would follow (Okurut 1998:70-71).

Okurut depicts teacher Rose being bullied verbally and psychologically. The torture which teacher Rose is going through is an indication that the education which these students are receiving is questionable. As an authority of the education system, she is supposed to be respected by the students but instead we see the students are chanting in whispers, *Bogoya, Bogoya*, to her humiliation.

This bullying follows her to her house and even out of her house when she has gone for an evening walk. Okurut reveals to us that this education given to the students has no impact on their behavior. A study by Olweus (1993) and Craig and Pepler (2000) is in agreement with what Okurut has depicted when she observes that those who bully are aggressive towards their peers, teachers, parents, and others. This bad experience which teacher Rose goes through forces her to leave the school.

At secondary school, Nkwanzi, Goora and Tingo expect the senior students to reason as mature people and treat the juniors fairly by welcoming them and directing them on what to do. Instead, they also copy the culture of torture as they too wait for

newcomers to take their revenge. This is against the African culture of respect and mutual co-existence (Okurut 1998: 68-70).

Kyomuhendo in *The First Daughter* (1996) portrays the Western-type school as full of bullying. The students mistreat their fellow students (newcomers) and as a result, they are planting the spirit of torture in the newcomers so that they too will do the same to the new students of the future. Students mock the newcomers in many ways. They even slap them and spit on their faces. With this kind of behaviour, the revenge on the newcomers of next year will even increase:

...this one is brand new, I wonder from which zoo she has come... one of the girls tilted Kasemiire's head as if to kiss her... instead spat in her face. She flinched in fear and backed away... the other grabbed her suitcase, forced it open and took out all the roasted groundnuts and maize she had brought. They shared them among themselves and started munching them noisily... The girl who had asked the question slapped her hard in the face. I am asking you, goat (Kyomuhendo 1996: 32-36).

According to Aghamelu et al (2017) violence can be physical or psychological. Aghamelu argues that physical violence is the infliction of painful injury by the use of instruments like guns, whips, canes, bayonets, rape and fists. Psychological violence involves the use of hostile behaviour such as words to cause emotional damage or harm to the victim. Kyomuhendo allows us to witness the older girls of the school using these words to dehumanize the new students:

This one is brand new; I wonder from which zoo she has come... one of the girls tilted Kasemiire's head as if to kiss her... instead spat in her face' (Kyomuhendo 1996: 32-36).

This is both physical and psychological violence inflicted on the new students who have just arrived at the school. Spitting on someone's face is dehumanizing and it is an indication that Western education has done more harm than good to the African

children. They have lost the sense of humanity and hospitality which the Africans value a lot. The main purpose of violence (Aghamelu, et al 2017) is to diminish the victim's (who are the newcomers) sense of identity, dignity and self-worth.

In the school environment the senior students are expected to have acquired good values through the school system to welcome the newcomers with love, an attitude of equality, empathy, hospitality, honesty and respect; instead they are tortured and mistreated.

In the selected novels the bullying perpetrators are “Brigadier”, Ojuka, Old Boys and Old Girls. Kyomuhendo depicts bullying as one of the evils eating up students in a boarding school. Both the boys and the girls go through nasty welcomes upon arrival at school, and it may continue for a long time. When Kasemiire is ushered in the dormitory, two of the old girls are already in the room:

But no one said a friendly word as Kasemiire organized to make her bed. They all stared at her coldly. After a while, a group of girls appeared in Kasemiire's room, all squeezed into the room (Kyomuhendo, 1996:32).

In this scenario Kyomuhendo is exposing the loss of the African value of community spirit, hospitality, love and empathy. For one to go to a new home and she/he is not welcomed, is not natural to Africans. For the two girls who are inside the dormitory to fail to receive Kasemiire was an indication that danger was awaiting her. This is the first sign of bullying. Failing to welcome someone is a sign of rejection.

This one is brand new, I wonder from which zoo she has come from. One of the girls tilted Kasemiire's head as if to kiss her but instead spat in her face. ...They forced opened her suitcase and removed all the roasted groundnuts and maize.

Have you ever slept with a man? The leader asked. She gets a hard slap (Kyomuhendo, 1996:33).

For Kyomuhendo to portray Kasemiire being told that she *is brand new, I wonder from which zoo she has come from* is foreign to Africans. This reduces someone's worth. This is verbal bullying where Kasemiire is equated to an animal coming from a zoo. To tilt her face as if to kiss her but only to receive spitting on her face is physical bullying. This kind of action dehumanizes Kasemiire and her identity is lost.

This is the reason why at the beginning she is told that she is coming from the zoo. The physical violence is also portrayed by Kyomuhendo, when the older girls force Kasemiire's suitcase open and they eat all the groundnuts and maize as she watches. It is psychological torture as she cannot retaliate or defend herself.

Asking the young girl whether she has ever slept with a man is another kind of verbal bullying which follows with a slap resulting into physical torture. Having sex or not is a private matter that needs not to be announced on the mountain top. Therefore to ask Kasemiire such a question is verbal bullying. All the above inappropriate treatment which Kasemiire receives exposes what goes on in boarding schools in Uganda, and generally elsewhere.

For one of the students to refer to a first year student as someone coming from a zoo is a language of the white man. It is because animalization is associated with colonialists. So for a student to call a fellow student an animal from the zoo, is to adopt the language of the colonial masters. This takes us to the work of colonial thinkers on the language of the colonialist. Fanon (1963) in *The Wretched of the Earth*, for instance, states that:

The agents of government speak the language of pure force. The intermediary does not lighten the oppression, nor seek to hide the domination; he shows them up and puts them into practice with the clear conscience of an upholder of the peace; yet he is the bringer of violence into the home and into the mind of the native (Fanon, 1963:37).

The Western kind of pure force language motivates both physical and psychological violence to the natives as we witness from the bullying of Kasemiire (Kyomuhendo 1996:35-38). A first year student who is tormented through bullying does not retaliate immediately but waits for the newcomers and vents the whole anger on them. This is an awful abuse and a traumatic experience that forces the Africans into submission through the use of the language.

Kyomuhendo continues to depict the evil which comes with taking children to boarding school:

Who is dead? Why do you bring here that coffin? Immediately emptied the wooden suitcase... and threw it in the dustbin. You, what do you call yourself?... She got hold of Kasemiire's ears and led her to room number four (Kyomuhendo, 1996:33).

Having a wooden suitcase is not an issue. It is actually environmentally friendly, but these students associate it with death. Could it be that, subconsciously, they are meaning the death of African traditional values which they are regrettably misrepresenting at this moment?

Kyomuhendo depicts Kasemiire being ordered to remove her clothes and walk naked before her fellow girls. Gadin and Hammarrstrom (2005) observe that the most common form of bullying is verbal harassment - teasing and name calling - which is in line with what Kyomuhendo is portraying here:

Take off your clothes, they ordered her,... A group of angry girls fell on her and tore her clothes. They forced her to walk to the extreme end of the room and back, amidst laughter from the spectators. Some girls even pinched her buttocks as they commented on her figure and some even poured water on her (Kyomuhendo, 1996:34).

To order Kasemiire to remove all her clothes and walk naked while the rest of the girls are laughing is dehumanizing, showing her that she is useless and not even worth being in the school she has joined. This is followed by physical torture when one of the girls pinches her buttocks and another one rushes and pours on her cold water. This is both verbal and physical bullying.

These girls are representing the western mentality. When the white man came to Africa, he did not see anything good in African traditional education and it was considered useless. The Africans were stripped naked of their kind of education system which they had valued for long. This is the kind of bullying which Kyomuhendo is portraying as a replay of how African traditional education was treated by the west.

Kyomuhendo depicts bullying as not only practiced in the dormitory but even in the classroom:

Stand up you dung eaters, can't you see that the honourable Headmaster has honoured you with a visit? What is your name? Kasemiire Jacent... from now onwards, you are the boss's wife in Senior One West (Kyomuhendo, 1996:34-35).

The 'headmaster' and the group calling the newcomers *dung eaters* is verbal bullying causing the students pain. To impersonate the Headmaster who is representing the leadership and the authority of the Western kind of education, is to expose the evil that comes with the leadership of this education system and what Africans have to go through to achieve this new education. Kasemire is brought to school to learn, but to

her surprise she is told that from now on she is *the boss's wife in Senior One West*. A study by Asamu (2006) observes that as expected, bullying is mostly carried out by older students on the younger ones. Kyomuhendo is mimicking the leadership and the product of the Western type education. Crick et al describe physical bullying as behaviours where the perpetrator might punch, hit and/or steal. Kyomuhendo depicts the bullying as not only happening in the dormitories and the classrooms but it extends even to the dining hall:

He had a piece of posho in his hands and he threw it at her buttocks. Everybody in the dining hall laughed and immediately started beating their forks on the plates, making deafening sounds. Ojuka was now behind her; he took hold of her waist and forced her to face him. Roughly, he started kissing her and the students shouted encouraging obscenities. After that he slapped her very hard and gave her a big shove. Kasemiire managed to retain her balance. With tears of rage and shame almost blinding her vision, she ran out of the dining hall (Kyomuhendo, 1996:34).

To throw food on someone is the worst thing to be done to any human being and to throw it on her buttocks is even worse. For this kind of evil to be happening in the dining hall while the rest of the students are ridiculing Kasiimire is truly demeaning. Ojuka kissing Kasemiire without her consent is an act of sexual violence. And after this kind of violence, Ojuka slaps Kasemiire, which exacerbates the matter. A study by Olweus (1993) revealed that males who bully have an aggressive personality combined with physical strength and have little empathy for victims and show no apologies. This is why Ojuka is doing all this to Kasemiire. Kyomuhendo reveals to the readers that even at the level of leadership in the school system there are serious behavioural issues.

Wangusa (1989) presents Namwombe Primary School as a land mark event in the life of Mwambu. The bullying that Mwambu undergoes at the hands of Wayero and his friends

leaves a lasting impact on him and serves as a learning experience. Bullying is depicted by Wangusa as a tradition of welcoming first timers at school in this Western-type education. The spirit of hospitality by the Africans is far removed from this kind of behaviour of the students at school. They are treating the new students who have joined the school with a degree of harrasment that leaves a permanent mark in their lives:

Mwambu wonderingly, fearfully walked over. Within seconds the boys had formed a ring round him. 'I say, *mpioko!*' called the Terrible one. Where did you steal those giant trousers? Mwambu was completely taken aback by the unexpected question. ...Right Tortoise butted in. ...The enire gang burst out laughing. Stupid green leaf! ... Do you know who you are playing with? flared the Terrible one, clenching his fist and bringing it within two inches of Mwambu's nose....(Wangusa, 1989: 13-14)

This conflict is significant in suspending the plot of the narrative. Instead of the boys welcoming Mwambu in the group, he receives a hot beating from Wayero. And the rest of the boys are enjoying the live movie. A school ought to be a place of learning but the question is what are the students learning?

Bullying is one of the things that evidently came with Western education. African tradition presents the young with a picture of the values which the community cherishes, for example the values of love, peace, equality, empathy, hospitality and working as a group. The girls for example used to sleep in small huts where they learnt African traditions. This is one of the places where they practiced the singing, storytelling, riddles, sayings and other African traditions which they had learnt from their elders (Naula, 2012:36).

The hut was like a school where they were able to practise what they had learnt from the elders, with the help of the friends who kept on correcting their peers where they

might have missed out some important part of the story, songs, riddles, proverbs and so on. Through this they were put in a position to refine what they had learnt so that they too could become the custodians of the culture. Children should grow up together in love and unity, able to learn from their elders for the continuity of the culture (Naula, 2012:37). However, in the formal Western-type school system, the story is different. Dormitories have become places where students learn all kinds of bad habits, teasing and torturing their friends who need love.

4.9 Curriculum bias against Girls

Okurut in *The Invisible Weevil* (1998) portrays Western-type education as providing different curricula for boys and girls. At school girls are given courses like home economics, which will help them to be better cooks; or typing, to help them become secretaries; while the boys take on better courses so as to earn more money to take care of both the wife and the children. The teacher encourages Tingo, as a boy, to take hard subjects like commerce, economics and political science and become a permanent secretary or a minister. And when he gets married, his wife will become “a big woman” (Okurut 1998: 91- 92).

According to Francis B. Nyamnjoh (2012) male-biased educational programmes are evident, and reproduced. Even though women were allowed to attend the same schools as men, the purpose is to feminize them and to render them invisible (Amadiume 1987:119-143). African women are subjected to the education of domestication to convert them from the hoe to the needle, and from the outdoor to the indoor life of domestic service and servitude.

Kyomuhendo depicts the Western-type education as favouring boys against girls. Both Steven and Kasemiire are at school but Steven deceives Kasemiire with false love. Kasemiire falls into Steven's trap. She gives in to sex with him and she conceives. When she realizes that she is pregnant, she leaves school but the boy is not questioned. Kasemiire is out of school and she becomes a typical village girl. The school is not bothered to find out who has caused this clever girl to leave school. This kind of education system is questionable. It would be fair if both the girl and the boy were dismissed (Kyomuhendo 1996:47-57).

4.10 Racial Discrimination

Nyabongo in *Africa Answers Back* (1936) depicts the school as a place where African games are not tolerated. The Reverend Hubert tells the students to stop playing African games and learn only European games. He calls the African games barbaric and prone to accidents. The students argue with him that one of the boys broke his arms when he was playing European games. The Reverend Hubert insists that he wants to train the students to do away with the African ways and they should embrace Western ideas. Although these students are punished for playing African games, they are determined not to stop playing them (Nyabongo 1935:135-137).

Nyabongo also depicts the contest between the African schoolboys and the Whiteman over African games and ideas. The African schoolboys try to explain to the Reverend Hubert about the beauty of the *Bali* game but he becomes irritated and stops them from further explanation. He says that the explanation is not making sense to him. At this point the boys want to educate the white man on the games which they are familiar

with so that he appreciates Africans games. He says that he does not mind if the Africans games are better, but he does not want them to play the “savage” game (Nyabongo 1935:141).

One of the boys asks Reverend Hubert why he calls Africans savages. He tells them that it is because they do not live like the Europeans. But the boy insists to understand better, and says if I learn to read and write then I am not savage. Reverend Hubert responds and says it is true. Mujungu then shouts in excitement, “*Yes then I am not a savage because I can read and write*” (Nyabongo 1935:141-142).

The scenario portrayed in the games narrative is very similar to what Freire calls banking education. The students are not supposed to express themselves or challenge the teacher in anything, including discussion over games. Whatever they are told should not be questioned. According to the subaltern theory Spivak (1988) asks whether the subaltern can ever speak. The banking concept of education regards men as adaptable, manageable beings. The more the students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world. The more completely they accept the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend simply to adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them (Freire 1993: 54). According Albrecht (2009) a school environment should allow students and teachers the freedom to express themselves in a non-threatening way which is free from oppression, stereotypes, fear, etc. In this case Nyabongo portrays Mujungu and the other boys as

being in a state of oppression. They are not allowed to explain anything concerning African games to Reverend Hubert.

In addition Freire (1970) points out that this kind of education presents the teacher as knowledgeable and the students as those with insufficient knowledge. This forces the teacher to give students knowledge believing that they are having none. In this way the students' voices go unheard and their needs are not met. The voices of Mujungu and the other boys are not heard. They were named barbaric by the oppressor and no chance is given to them to explain their point.

4.11 Literary Techniques

Storytelling

According to Scotland's National Network for Traditional Arts, storytelling is one of our oldest and most interesting art forms. It stimulates the imagination and builds a sense of unity between tellers and listeners (www.tracscotland.org). As the Indian proverb goes 'Tell me a fact and I'll learn. Tell me the truth and I'll believe. But tell me a story and it will live in my heart forever' (<http://www.wisdomcommons.org>). Africans value storytelling so much that even Ugandan writers use it as one of the techniques to take the message across. For the Africans just to hear "once upon a time" or 'long, long, long ago', is enough to bring order in the room. Green et al (2000) argue that a story goes further in depth than just a theory.

Kyomuhendo in *First Daughter* depicts Kasemiire as listening to stories; her reaction shows that she is participating in the story unknowingly. Kasemiire is anxiously waiting to find out what happened and how the story ends. This story is very interesting and

educative, and it has kept her alert and not bored. One story goes in part: *A long time ago, there lived a man with his wife but this couple did not have a child ...* (Kyomuhendo 1996: 18-19). Another story is told of the white man, Colville, who caused conflict between Baganda and Banyoro by favouring the Baganda more than the Banyoro (Kyomuhendo 1996:58-65, 70-72). Through story telling Kassimire is able to learn the history of her people. And because of the great interest of Africans in stories, learning is greatly facilitated.

No wonder Wangusa starts off his *Upon This Mountain* with “many, many millet granaries ago” (Wangusa, 1989:1). The story announces the significance of time. Time sets the mood, the tone and the rhythm of the story. The orality that Wangusa uses in the novel to communicate to his audience is original. On hearing “many, many millet granaries ago” the children and the old are ready for the story to unfold. The elders get pleasure in telling the story and they tell it with enthusiasm. The listeners get keen interest in the story and receive it with joy and relaxation on their faces. As Mwambu’s mother is telling her son the old story of the Bamasaba, Mwambu gets hooked so much in the story. This kind of story helps the young to learn their history. The young are able to learn their origin with joy and ease.

Wangusa’s other interesting story is that of Sera the proud girl, which is captured in the text below:

Long, long ago, there was a young man called Mwambu who had a sister called Sera:

Now Sera was very beautiful, and brown like induli fruit. ... then one day while Monster was out in the field, Sera slipped out of her prison-house and fled upon wings of wind toward home. When Monster returned from the work he discovered that she had escaped and gave chase. Meanwhile Sera came across Frog and

begged her to hide her in her belly so that Monster may not see her. Failing to descry Sera his side of the horizon, Monster decided to make use of his elastic magic belt to catch her. He flung it ahead of him with a mighty thrust;
Tchuku, tchuku, tchuku, tchuku
Tsyomulye isyomulye...
Go eat 't't't her
... you sly frog!shouted Monster, you have hidden Sera, Not I, Frog protested
Yes you have, you liar! Open your mouth"... (Wangusa, 1989:34-35).

Wangusa portrays Sera as a beautiful girl but she is very proud. She refuses all the young men who come to approach her, but at the end of the story she is punished. She is deceived to fall in the love with a monster that is going to eat her but she is saved by a frog which hides her in its belly. This is one of the ways African use storytelling to teach the young that pride is not a good thing.

Okurut in *Invisible Weevil* also uses storytelling to communicate her message. In order for the parents to make the children learn that walking in the darkness is dangerous they will use a story like this one: "... at night they would light a big fire to keep themselves warm. Then the king of the forest, the lion would see this fire. He would get very annoyed and start roaring”:

Who is lighting a fire in Malongo?
Who lit a fire in Malongo?
I will put it put out!
I will urinate on it!
And the poor travelers would get so frightened that they would scatter in different directions and the lions would eat many of them (Okurut 1998: 12-15).

As the child enjoys the story, he/she learns and the parents also caution them against moving at night. Through such a story, the children are made aware that the lion is the king of the jungle and is a dangerous animal.

Bakaluba in *Honeymoon for three* depicts Naiga drawing the attention of her siblings through storytelling to gather, educate and entertain them:

‘Once upon a time’, started Naiga with a twinkle in her eyes. She enjoyed telling her brother and sisters stories and she was also elated by their attentive listening. There was a great famine. Mother animals did all they could to get food to feed their families, but it was very difficult. Month after month food became more and more scarce and eventually some animals began to die of hunger. ...I will clutch it with my teeth in the middle, and then you fly off with me hanging between you.... Others said that Tortoise was the silliest animal on earth. Poor Tortoise felt miserable and there came a point when he couldn’t stand being insulted in that way any longer.... No, instead the villagers talked the way they did, jeered and even laughed at him. In the heat of the moment he forgot everything and opened his mouth to try to explain to all what was behind his action...’ But what do you think happened? (Bakaluba 1975: 44-46)

Tortoise is clutching the stick with his teeth and so he does not open his mouth without losing hold of it. This story is to educate the young that if someone abuses them, it is better to keep quiet and allow the person to expose his or her bad character. But because Tortoise tried to answer the people who were abusing him he ended up losing out on his mission of looking for food for his family.

Aloka too in *Iteo Alive* uses storytelling to portray changes that occurred in the community of Aloka:

During the days of my great-great-grandfather ... life was worth living ... My grandfather used to tell me all this when, as a child...that man knew many things and taught me the secret of life. He told me that if you want to succeed in life, do not sit down with your legs stretched in front of you on the ground like a pregnant woman basking under the sun like a lizard (Aloka 200: 35-40).

Through this kind of storytelling the children are educated on the secret of succeeding in life. The grandfather is in a position to tell the generation following that to succeed in life does not easily come by one just sitting around but rather, one ought to work.

Storytelling as portrayed by the eight novels is one of the African traditional methods of teaching, warning, educating, and entertaining both the young and the old. But with modern Western-type education, students are drilled to cram what is coming in the examination. Storytelling is considered as time wasting. The age-old African values that are passed on to the new generation through storytelling have been lost through Western influence. Herein lies the conflict between the African educational system and the Western one.

Use of Similes

Kyomuhendo uses 'like' to make us know what is going on in the life of Kasemiire on her first time of leaving home to go into boarding school. "The whole week passed *like* a pleasant dream to her, anticipating a wonderful experience at secondary school" (Kyomuhendo 1996:28) (emphasis mine). She cannot imagine what life outside her home will mean. She has never left her homestead, and has never lived among strangers.

In addition to the above, when the father of Kasemiire hears that his daughter is pregnant, he becomes wild. All his pride of taking his daughter to school is gone. He fails to control himself, "burst into the house and bounced on her *like* an angry leopard" (emphasis mine). Kyomuhendo wants us to get into the state which Kyamanywa is in when he hears that Kasemiire is pregnant. The anger is beyond control; therefore he beats the girl badly and sends both the mother and Kasemiire out of the home (Kyomuhendo 1996:52).

Exaggeration

Ocwinyo and Okurut use exaggeration to make us understand the causes of children dropping out of school as being corporal punishment and bullying. This is how Okurut puts it: *'Why Goora, what did you do again?' she asked her as they embraced. 'Nkwanzi, Serpent heard me speak vernacular.'* The teacher is nicknamed 'Serpent' to exaggerate how cruel he is. To degrade and belittle first year students during a bullying night, Okurut uses the word 'tail' to mean very insignificant. *All the tails get out of bed. It is time to come to the holy table (page 68).* Both authors use exaggeration to condemn corporal punishment and bullying at school.

Songs

Songs aid entertainment and education. Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* depicts the teacher who has taught her class two beautiful songs which he says he had learnt in a neighbouring district where he had done the training; one of them was:

*Nyalo doo, nyalo
Kur itura kora
Inyalo doo,*

Can manage, can manage
But you break my back
Can manage,

*Nyalo doo, nyalo doo
Kur itura kora
Inyalo doo;*

Can manage, can manage
But you break my back
Can manage;

*Rup rup rup rup
Kur itura kora
Inyalo doo*

*Rup rup rup rup
But you break my back*

Can manage;

Rip rip rip rip
Kur itura kora
Inyalo doo!

Rip rip rip rip
But you break my back
Can manage! (Ocwinyo 2008:45-46).

Erabu loves school at that age because it means beautiful songs and dancing in the football fields and playing. Ocwinyo portrays the importance of enjoyable songs, which in turn make learning more enjoyable.

Teacher had taught them another song which Erabu simply adored...

Joni obalo nyinga tutwal
(These people have spoilt my name so much)
Joni obalo nyinga tutwal
(These people have spoilt my name so much)
Kadi kona awoto ngwedo dek
(Even when I have gone to harvest greens)
Okobo ni awoto moyo coo!
(He says that I have gone to look for men)

Ani doo
(Even me)
Kubalo nyinga
(They have spoilt my name)
Ai doo
(Oh oh)
Obalo nyinga
(Has spoilt my name)
Kadi kono
(Even when)

4.12 Chapter Summary

In this chapter we have discussed and analyzed various themes which run through the eight Ugandan novels under study. The analysis of cross-cultural conflicts brings out the clashes between the Western and African cultures. The analysis is based on post-

colonial theory **and** Freireian theory of cultural invasion. This study found that Ugandan novelists portray Western educational values using diverse literary techniques as characterized by rote learning, use of a foreign language, teacher authoritarianism, bullying, immorality, bias against girls, racial discrimination, corruption and blind imitation, which are in cultural conflict with the African traditional education values, which it has more or less replaced.

The next chapter discusses cross-cultural conflicts between the Western and African religious values.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONFLICTS BETWEEN WESTERN AND AFRICAN RELIGIOUS VALUES IN UGANDAN NOVELS

5.0 Introduction

The Western world introduced Christianity in Africa in the 19th century which has since generated cultural conflicts given that Africans had their own religions. African resistance to Christianity has been violent in some areas and peaceful in others. The outcome of the religious interactions has given rise to religious syncretism where elements of Christianity and African traditional religions are practiced side by side, leading to conflicts.

The main idea of this chapter is that Ugandan fiction writers portray religious conflicts in their works. The most pronounced conflicts are those related to sexual immorality, religious clashes, hypocrisy, syncretism, baptism, polygamy, religious wars and interpretation dilemmas. The chapter highlights how these values have been portrayed in the selected Ugandan novels using different literary devices. Below we present the values conflicts according to the themes and categorization common to all the eight novels.

5.1 Christianity and African Traditions

Kaberuka in *Silent Patience* (1999) depicts Stella, a Christian, as marrying a non-Christian in an arranged marriage. Although Stella's family members are good Christians, giving their daughter in marriage to a non-Christian did not bother them. Michael, the man Stella's father wants her to marry, is the son of a chief, from a well-

to-do family but not Christians. The parents of the bride and the groom are in charge of the connection and marriage arrangement. The girl has no right to know who the boy is. Kaberuka presents the bride in the marriage as saying:

Although I didn't know the chief's family, I had heard that he had three wives! That being the case, he was bound to have many children. I wondered which one of them was my suitor... I wanted to be an only wife. The men in our family were monogamous as we were Christians (Kaberuka, 1999: 6).

Stella questions the type of Christianity she was raised in and the arranged marriage which was potentially polygamous and in conflict with the Christian value of monogamy. The family of her arranged husband does not believe in monogamy because they are not Christians, but since the family is well known, Stella's family overlooks Christianity and opts to go the traditional way. This depicts the family of Stella as hybridised (Bhabha, 1995), since they opt to keep the African traditional way of marriage and blend it with the Christianity. They feel they should have half of both, the Christianity and the tradition. This brings conflicts in the two religious beliefs.

Kaberuka in *Silent Patience* portrays the five years of Stella's marriage to Michael as a very difficult period for her (Kaberuka 1999:34). Ironically the renewal of marital bliss is short-lived as Stella gets the heartbreaking news that her husband Michael and her daughter Pauline have got a fatal motor accident. Why would death wait until the couple have reconciled before it brutally takes away Stella's husband and daughter? In this marriage relationship, Kaberuka depicts Stella as a symbol of the peaceful African community in its original state and Michael represents the African community after coming into contact with the Western world. Kaberuka presents Africa as very innocent, patient and genuine before the invasion of the Western world. Agnes and Steven

Dronyi's relationship portrays the harmony and sincerity of the African society before being invaded by the Western mentality. The invasion has since generated a series of cross-cultural conflicts.

Okurut in *Invisible Weevil* presents *Kaaka* as a good Christian but one with a strong attachment to the tradition. She decides to go to a medicine man, who gives her herbs to drink and she gets a son that she and her husband had been looking for:

During the time when I knew I was ready to get pregnant for the sixth time, I stole myself and went to the medicine man so that I could give birth to a boy. He gave me some herbs that I should drink the herbs before meeting my husband and I would give birth to a boy. Unknown to my husband, I drunk the herbs and also prayed (Okurut, 1998: 17-18).

Kaaka does this without the knowledge of the husband because he would not approve. She knows that visiting the medicine man is wrong to the Christian faith she has joined but to combine the herbs from the medicine man with prayer is okay. This results in conflict between the traditional religious values and Christianity. Okurut presents *Kaaka's* position as that of hybridity (Bhabha 1995) because of her faith in both Christianity and African traditional religion which link to get her to produce a male child. In this case Okurut portrays the co-existence of two cultures and yet they conflict in their fundamental tenets.

In African traditional culture, being childless is seen as a curse and a woman is blamed if she fails to give birth to a male child since it is believed that she determines the sex of the child (Etuk, 2002: 91). Because of this women are blamed for producing only single-sex children. This kind of belief forces *Kaaka* to go and seek help from the medicine man in order to get a male child, because she already has girls. Okurut is

again portraying Kaaka's state as that of hybridity because she is mixing Western and African culture which results in cross-cultural conflict.

The seminarian Aloka, in *Iteo Alive*, chooses not to mention anything about the white man's religion in his book. Instead, he portrays the religious and traditional superstitious beliefs of his fathers. This comes out vividly during times of hardship. It is reported that there were hardships that punctuated the Karimojong's life history. For example, after the major raids and the government military operations in the region, there was no rain and famine followed (Aloka, 2000: 85). It is reported that from March, when people finished weeding their sorghum and maize, the rains were never seen again until the crops started to wither:

This time it seemed God did not hear or he ignored this teasing or the women did not tease him well enough. The wilting of the crops increased. Even if it had to rain, now the maize crop could not be saved in most places Hopes(sic) were falling (Aloka, 2000: 90).

Aloka the seminarian who is expected to defend the values of the Roman Catholic Church is found to be saying nothing about them. Instead he is found to be presenting and defending the traditional Karimojong values. This is a strange cross-cultural conflict where the Western religious values have not influenced Aloka's life. Or probably he had such a bad experience with the Western religious values that he chose to re-embrace the traditional values.

Aloka presents the book in a context of flashbacks during Iteo's funeral service in church. But hardly anything about the Christian religion is portrayed. Towards the end of the service, the choir sings a song for marching to the cemetery but it is meaningless

to the traditional Karimojongs. The church song cannot make any sense to the mourners as they cannot understand the meaning of resurrection:

The procession to the cemetery was different from the manner in which the ceremony had begun. The choir burst into a song which was meaningless to the many traditionalists present. The question of resurrection was something not in their minds. They could not grasp the concept (Aloka, 2000: 123).

Aloka chooses to portray more of the traditional religious beliefs than Christianity or the white man's religion. Aloka presents the funeral service of Iteo in the church, but what is happening in the church service has nothing to do with the church tradition but rather with the African tradition. The narrator says that even the one song which is sung at the end of the service has no meaning to the mourners of Iteo. This is what Bhabha (1995) calls mimicry because what is being portrayed in the church during the funeral service has nothing to do with Christianity but with Karamong tradition.

Nyabongo in *Africa Answers Back* portrays the tension between Mujungu's Christian convictions and his African roots. Immediately upon his ascension to the throne, Mujungu starts sweeping reforms, sending away his wives, except one.

He immediately began a long list of innovations. First he sent all but one of his wives, whom he had inherited from his father, back to the homes of their parents. When the wives heard of this there was much anguish and all other older people in the clan shook their heads dubiously (Nyabongo, 1936: 275).

He immediately faces a lot of opposition from his family and subjects. He begins to worry as to whether all his reforms have been for the best. He has sent away all his wives but one in the hope that his example would be followed by the rest of his subjects. But the one wife he has chosen is shrewd and an aggressively assertive woman.

The first thing he planned to do was to get a few more wives - three or four at least (Nyabongo, 1936: 278).

Mujungu decides that companionship with her alone would lead him to destruction. He plans to get back a few more wives - at least three or four - to get some peace to carry out his plans (Nyabongo, 1936: 278).

Mujungu has intentionally struggled with his people to achieve a balanced African identity. For the sake of peace he brings back a few more wives, not as many as his father. This again is what Bhabha (1995) calls hybridity, a safe mix between the Christian value of monogamy and African polygamy. Mujungu's state may also be described by Bhabha (1995:292) as that of *liminality*. *Liminality* is a transitional state of being in between two traditions. Mujungu does not fully belong to the African society that he previously was part of and he is not yet fully incorporated into the new (Christian) society which he desires to be in. He is in a state that cannot be understood easily.

Bakaluba in *Honeymoon for Three* portrays a case of ignorance of a clergyman's son about the faith of his father. The clergyman thinks his son Nuwa is automatically a Christian like himself. He is proved wrong because his son cannot explain to Naiga, his girlfriend, why Christianity is conflicting with tradition.

In the presence of Naiga who genuinely wanted to know why Christianity clashed disastrously with tradition.... (Bakaluba, 1975: 34).

He lacks knowledge of what the Christian faith is all about and he fails to explain it to Naiga. He admits that he is unable to defend or explain his faith. Nuwa supports the Christian culture but he is not familiar with its tenets. He is a Christian because he has

been brought up by one. To him Christianity is a way of life which he somehow mixes up with the English way of life. In the presence of Naiga, who genuinely wants to know why Christianity clashes disastrously with tradition, he feels trapped and inadequate to deal with the situation (Bakaluba, 1975: 34).

Nuwa seems to enjoy the traditions more than Christianity itself. In the traditional ceremony where Naiga introduced him to her parents and relatives, he enjoys the singing and dancing and regrets that the church ceremonies are not very exciting, "...now he was all smiles enjoying the party immensely" (Bakaluba, 1975: 58). The first time he met Naiga her traditional name impressed him more than other girls who had Christian names. This is a clear case of conflict between the two religious value systems (Bakaluba, 1975: 50-60).

Nuwa is trapped in between two cultures, Christianity and African tradition. He is in *limbo* or *liminality* according to Bhabha (1995: 292). Nuwa prefers African traditional values to Christianity. His father is a Christian and a priest and it is expected that his son would be a strong Christian. Unfortunately he doesn't seem to be one. He seems to enjoy more and flow better in the traditions. He introduces his fiancé in a traditional ceremony and then weds her in church. Bhabha would describe Nuwa as someone in a situation of *ambivalence* (Bhabha, 1995:292); he wants to follow both Christianity and the African traditions, which results in conflicts.

5.2 Sexual Immorality

Sexual immorality refers to unlawful sexual contact between unmarried persons and it may take the form of fornication, adultery or prostitution.

Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* (1997) portrays the religious leaders - the bishop and Father Dila - violating the religious vow of celibacy through sexual offences. The bishop who is supposed to discipline the priests who violate the celibacy rules is also guilty of the same. Christian religious influence, particularly the celibacy rule of the Roman Catholic Church, has put them in an awkward situation where they are violating both Christian and African religious values on sexual morality.

Mbiti (1969:107) reports that in African traditional society everybody is expected to marry and marriage is a religious obligation. In African traditional society sexual recklessness is a religious taboo (Mbiti 1969:146). In African traditional society, fornication, incest, rape, seduction, homosexual relations, sleeping with a forbidden 'relative' or domestic animals, all constituted sexual offences (Shorter, 1998:94).

Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* portrays the Roman Catholic priests as immoral and the Rev. Father Dila himself confesses that his predecessor did not spare any female who came near him, but pinned them down one by one like a demented he-goat. One of the priests is said to have:

... poached in all the wrong places... Housewives, schoolgirls, catechumens. He never spared any of them (Ocwinyo, 2008:26).

In the Roman Catholic Church, priests are forbidden from marrying. In African religions priests are free to marry and so specifically the Roman Catholic Church with its laws has caused the priests to stealthily poach on the "sheep" in the Church. Hence Ocwinyo expresses it as a form of shepherds resorting to devouring their sheep.

Even the catechists were sexually immoral. Ozoo narrates to Reverend Father Dila how the chief catechist had been involved in a series of sex scandals. It is said that his adulteries were so many that one had to keep ones ears constantly to the ground to keep abreast with them. He is said to have particularly taken delight in housewives. After hearing about these sex scandals of the catechist, Father Dila walks back to the mission very disappointed and full of guilt (Ocwinyo, 2008:27). It is shameful that the adultery of the priests and the catechists were known to the community and Father Dila could not walk freely in the village without shame.

Ocwinyo shows that sexual immorality is synonymous with religious leaders. There is no need to hide, which is why Father Dila was asking the catechist point-blank to explain people's accusation against him. The Catechist denies the story as a case of tongue wagging by those who were envious of him because of the house that the Old Italian had built for him "for he had a disarming way of dismissing the stories as a simple case of tongue-wagging" (Ocwinyo, 2008:28). The African religious leaders in this context are in a state of hybridity (Bhabha, 1995:209) where they are neither fully celibate nor officially married. Ocwinyo is portraying a cross-cultural clash as seen in the religious leadership of the Roman Catholic Church.

The sexual immorality has spread even to the spouses of the religious leaders. The catechist's wife, not wanting to be outdone, has also learnt that this is the way to go; you either join the group or you die of complaining (Ocwinyo, 2008:28).

Ocwinyo depicts Western religion as one which has brought problems to families. The priests and the catechists as well as their wives are competing in sexual immorality. The

chief catechist's wife is targeting idle men whose families are broken. She probably wants to play the game better than her husband and other priests who have taught her.

Ocwinyo illustrates that it is not the priests alone but even the bishops are immoral. Although the bishops are responsible for disciplining the deviant priests, they have no moral authority because they are also quite busy sinning. Ocwinyo reports that the bishop had "a harem of bickering concubines in the Nurses' Quarters and the convent" (Ocwinyo, 2008:56).

Ocwinyo depicts the major character, Father Dila, as an adulterer who against Ozoo's advice chooses Flo, a married woman, for adultery (Ocwinyo, 2008: 27-28). Apire, Flo's husband, had gone to war to defend his people and only comes back to find his wife committing adultery with Father Dila. Apire uses his gun to kill the priest for committing adultery with his wife Flo (Ocwinyo, 2008: 28).

Ocwinyo also depicts one of the charismatic Christian groups - *balokole* - as also behaving immorally. He cites the example of one who bellowed 'Praise God!' 'while pinching the backside of the voluptuous girl seated next to him' (Ocwinyo, 2008:59). The problem Ocwinyo portrays is not only within the Roman Catholic Church but in the Evangelical church as well. The term *balokole* is overwhelmingly used for the *saved* in Evangelical churches. The hypocrisy has even reached the *balokole*, who should be the light of the world. The *balokole* are supposed to be pure. But to find one touching a woman indecently is a mockery of the faith. This is not typical of African traditional religious values but is more of an influence from the West, for in African traditional religions, men

are allowed to have more than one wife but adultery is condemned because it not only steals the wife's fertility, but kills the marriage (Kyalo, 2012:217).

These *balokole* are in a state of mimicry because their behaviour reveals the uncertainty which Christianity brings. The *balokole* have become mimics as they neither fully respect the traditional African religious values nor the Western (Bhabha, 1994: 86). The Africans are in a state of doubt, of religious uncertainty, without a firm foundation to stand as Christians or in Africans traditional beliefs. In summary the behavior of the characters that represent the Christian faith portrays the uncertainty or doubt, or question to outsiders who would otherwise join the religion. The conflicts come in as a result of one abandoning their religion, hoping to get the best from the western type of religion but only to reap disappointments from Balokole who shout 'Praise God!' 'while pinching the backside of the voluptuous girl seated next to him' (Ocwinyo 2008:59).

5.3 Hypocrisy

Wangusa depicts Reverend Graves, the chaplain, evangelist and deputy headmaster of Elgosec, not only as a pious, deeply religious man, committed to his work, but also as a hypocrite. The Reverend Graves is portrayed not only as a defiler of his spiritual self, but also a defiler of the altar of God, when he performs the sinful act with his student, Nambozo, not under some dark corner of the compound, but on "the Holy table cloth for the season of Lent" (Wangusa, 1989:102).

Wangusa portrays the sinful act by the Reverend Graves as a mockery of the religion he is preaching, of the school where he is the chaplain, and of himself as a man married in church. The hypocritical acts of Christian leaders are exposed. To Bhabha (1995)

Reverend Graves would be a mockery because what he is preaching uncovers the bad side of the religious system of the West and exposes the uneven relationship between colonizing and the colonized people. Wangusa portrays Reverend Graves as a symbol of the colonizer who is engaged in mimicry (Bhabha,1995:89).

The Reverend Graves' scandalous affair with Nambozo casts a dark shade on Christianity. Reverend Graves is supposed to be a role model to his flock, the school community and the married. They look to him for counselling and spiritual growth, but he fails to live by what he preaches. His sinful act is a mockery of the doctrine of Christianity and no doubt it tests Mwambu's faith (Wangusa, 1989:102).

Okurut portrays in *The Invisible Weevil* the hypocritical Christian behaviour of Matayo, the community's shepherd, whom mothers entrust with their children, but only to have this trust violated when he sexually assaults Nkwanzi. He is a very pious man and is used to taking the children along as he goes to herd the cows. He is always moving with the Bible in his hands (Okurut, 1998: 30). One evening he tricks Nkwanzi to come with him to the grazing hill to see a beautiful bird with its young ones in the nest. He intoxicates her with bitter herbs, claiming it is medicine for worms (Okurut, 1998: 32). Within no time Nkwanzi is dizzy and asks Matayo to hold her or else she falls badly. Matayo starts rocking her gently to and fro and she feels good and sleeps. He keeps singing in her ears and starts moving his hands to remove her panty.

This is how he sexually abuses the young Nkwanzi (Okurut, 1998: 33). Thereafter he tells the little girl not to tell anybody about the herb and the game. He again sexually

abuses the girl in a very dim light at the family evening devotion in the kitchen, when he is leading a hymn:

Oh happy day
Oh happy day
When Jesus washed my sins away (Okurut, 1998: 34).

At the climax of the abuse he pants, “Thank you, Jesus!” and the mother of the girls replies “Hallelujah”. He continues defiling the girl until one day he is found out (Okurut, 1998: 35). Mimicry is frequently seen as something shameful (Bhabha, 1995) because what Matayo is doing is disgraceful to the child he is abusing, to the religion, and the parents who are trying to teach their children Christianity. Matayo contradicts what he preaches and causes Nkwazi’s mother to call him “a devil who tries to hide in a person” (Okurut, 1998: 35)

Okurut depicts Matayo as a mimic of Western religion (Bhabha, 1995). Matayo sings that Jesus washed his sins away when he is in the act of sinning. What a mockery of Christianity, what a conflict of religious values!

Okurut’s *The Invisible Weevil* also depicts the hypocritical lifestyle of the born-again Chemistry teacher (nicknamed Equation) who impregnates Goora, causing her to be sent away from school, but he is not punished. The story begins with the headmistress, Miss Smith, falsely accusing Nkwazi, a boarding student, of being seen in town past midnight, drunk and walking hand in hand with a man (Okurut, 1998: 76). When Nkwazi narrates the incident to her friend Goora, she is told that this is the trick they use to compel students to get saved.

Nkwazi and Goora then agree to attend their Christian fellowship and act being saved. In the process, Goora claims she genuinely heard the angel ask her to open her heart and accept Jesus (Okurut, 1998: 78). The chemistry teacher, nicknamed Equation, then gets his guitar and starts singing so soothingly. He keeps singing while calling out softly for anybody who feels the Lord is calling. The girls march in front one by one until Nkwazi cannot resist getting up and holding out her hands to receive salvation (Okurut, 1998: 79).

Unfortunately in the second term of her third year, it is discovered that Goora is pregnant, and ironically with her teacher Mr. Equation (Okurut, 1998: 81-83). Mr. Equation abuses her when she goes to his house for extra lessons in Chemistry. After abusing her sexually, he threatens to kill her if she reveals the secret. The girl is then expelled from school and the teacher is not (Okurut, 1998: 86). Teacher Equation is a mimic whom Okurut uses to expose the ills which come with the new Western religion and to reveal the relationship between colonizers, here symbolised by Mr. Equation because of his Western-taught religion and profession, and the colonized, here symbolised by Goora. She depicts the colonizer as positively engaged in mimicry and the artificiality of the Western religion (Bhabha, 1995).

5.4 Christianity and Superstitious Beliefs

Aloka's *Iteo Alive* portrays religious values in form of superstitions. When the rains fail, he brings in the superstitious beliefs that somebody must have done something to stop the rains and that some rituals have to be performed to bring rain. One of the rituals to bring rain is performed by women. A group of women start singing vulgar songs while

marching through the trading centre. They believe that their creator needs to be teased so that he can release the urine which will bring life to the people. They are teasing God, as if singing about their private parts would make God sympathetic and send rain to the parched land (Aloka, 2000: 89).

The cause of the prolonged drought is later believed to be a witch, Naumo (Aloka, 2000: 91). Women gather from all over the country, encouraged to sing their songs with more interest and vigour because their obstacle has been found. Men go into hiding whenever they see a group of women singing and brandishing their “hips and opening dry bottoms” (Aloka, 2000: 91).

Naumo, the malicious witch, has deliberately stopped the rain. In her hut the women find one black grimy pot which is upside down. In her garden there are three other pots and gourds which she uses for witchcraft. The pots are arranged in a semi-circle. The semi-circular arc faces the east, where rain usually comes from. She is found practising her witchcraft in the evening with her face on the ground and her buttocks up, exposed, facing the east from where rain usually comes. This exposure of her private parts makes the god of the rain shut his eyes, thus not see people suffering; or he could be overwhelmed by her behinds to the extent that he is forced to look away from the earth (Aloka, 2000: 91).

Aloka, the one time Roman Catholic seminarian who should have defended the Christian view of God, portrays God as a superstitious being and provocatively in mockery (Bhabha, 1995:86) portrays him as a lustful divinity who enjoys seeing the bottoms of

women. The author of this story must have suffered a serious conflict in his religious views and values for him to come up with this story.

5.5 Christians Question African Value of Virginity

Bakaluba in *Honey moon for Three* presents a conflict in beliefs between African and Western religious values in marriage context. The wedding between Nuwa and Naiga takes place in church, presided over by the local clergyman in Mweya and assisted by the Rev. Kasule, Nuwa's father. Mrs Horne is the maid of honour and Nuwa's two young sisters are the brides-maids (Bakaluba, 1975: 123). But the honeymoon is for three as the traditions require that Naiga's aunt be present at the wedding night as the couple consummates their marriage (Bakaluba, 1975: 118). This is a case of conflict in beliefs as Naiga's maid of honour, Mrs Horne, a Christian, is shocked that Naiga's aunt follows the couple to their bedroom to verify whether Naiga is a virgin on her wedding night (Bakaluba, 1975: 115). If the bride is a virgin her father will get a fat he-goat for bringing her up well.

The Christians in this society are having a cultural clash in that they are closer to their traditions than the Christian culture they have newly acquired. Nuwa is not a Christian by conversion or conviction but by birth. Nuwa's Christian marriage is shrouded with a lot of traditional cultural elements, including the presence of an aunt to witness the virginity of the bride on their wedding night. This conflicts a lot with the Western view of a wedding night.

5.6 Christians Clash with African Tradition over Baptism

Nyabongo in *Africa Answers Back* depicts the conflict between Chief Ati and the Reverend Hubert over the baptism of Mujungu. Chief Ati desires to have his son (Mujungu) baptized in the Christian faith. He approaches the missionary, the Reverend Hubert, and requests him to baptize his son. The priest refuses and tells him that he cannot baptize a child of a sinner, a man with so many wives. Hubert advises him to send away all the women and remain with one before he baptizes the son. Chief Ati is shocked and asks the missionary whether sending away 374 women back to their fathers is a good idea and yet he loves all of them (Nyabongo, 1936: 65-68).

Nyabongo presents the case that refusing to baptize a child of a sinner is no solution. The person being punished is the child, who is innocent. Being the child of a man of many wives is not the hand of the child. She or he only finds him or herself in such a family, where she or he has no choice but to be part of that family. Are the children not independent personalities with their own destinies?

Wangusa in *Upon This Mountain* portrays Christianity as a threat to the traditional setup. Among the Bagisu, the ascent to manhood is a cherished dream. Like other African communities that are patriarchal, the idea of being a man, acting like a man, and being treated like a man, is thrilling. Manhood is the self-actualization stage of development - the apex of the development process. To come to this stage one must be circumcised, which is an initiation into manhood. Before circumcision, one remains a boy, no matter how old one is.

The baptism of the converts, in which they are initiated into Christianity, is parallel to the traditional circumcision. Mwambu recognizes this and says that “In Christ I’m now a man” (Wangusa 2005:38-41).

Though baptism is delightful and painless, requiring no physical courage but only spiritual will, circumcision requires physical strength and is very painful. At baptism, Mwambu becomes a man in Christ. But he fails to become a man by the knife as tradition requires. Although Christianity has taken root in society, tradition still reigns. Christian converts still follow the ways of their ancestors. According to Wangusa’s Bamasaba, baptism is not enough to turn a boy into a man, but circumcision is. This is the reason why Mwambu goes for circumcision in the hospital, but unfortunately it is not recognized by his society. When he gets baptized he says that he is a real man through baptism instead of circumcision. However, his enemies way-lay him, undress him and expose his illegal hospital circumcision.

Mwambu’s culture at this stage is hybridized (Bhabha 1995) because he does not belong fully to his mother culture nor does he fit entirely into the Western system. He has created a new culture of no man’s land. He has picked a bit of the Western culture and a bit of African culture to create his own. This makes Mwambu to have no sense of belonging. He is on an island of himself. His state of hybridity forces him to take the softer option of hospital circumcision, rather than face the knife traditionally like a man. It is for this reason that Wopata brands him ‘half a man’.

Okurut (2003) in *The Official Wife* depicts Western Christian baptism as an agent of cross-cultural conflict as it conflicts with the African way of naming a child. According

to Okurut when the reverend tells the mother of the child to name the child and she says *Kansiime* - a *kinyamkore* name meaning “let me praise him” - the reverend refuses the name because it is not in English. Even when the mother of the child tries to explain to the reverend the meaning of the name, he insists that as long as it is not in English, then it is not a Christian name (Okurut 2003:68-9).

After a long time of thinking and looking for an English name, the mother of the child finds the name, Heather, Monroe, Bill Clinton, Schwartznegger, Larry King (Okurut 2003:68-9).

The reverend is very happy but as he is trying hard to mention the name of the child’s English name, he fails to pronounce it, and he confesses that “O God! I cannot even pronounce the name! What does it mean anyway? But in any case, that is not the business of the church” (Okurut, 2003:72). When the mother of the child realizes that the reverend has no knowledge on what he is doing, she tells the reverend to unbaptise the child. She says that, “I will not allow her to take on those meaningless names”.

The reverend refuses, as he says that, “there is no such a thing as unbaptising a child. Once baptized, that’s it... (Okurut, 2003: 70-72). The mother grabs her child from the reverend and runs away. To Bhabha (1995:34) the reverend is a mimic of the religion he is representing. He is trying to defend what he does not understand.

Okurut points out that a big change has come to Africa, because African children have names with different meanings. The child can be named according to seasons or a landmark. If that season of the year had a lot of drought, rain, famine, hardships, joy, celebrations, plenty of harvest and many others of that nature, the child born will be

named according to what is going on in the country or society at that particular time. This kind of naming works as a reminder of what happened at that particular time.

To the reverend the Christian names ought to be in English, and he confesses that he does not know the meaning of the English names, and it is not the work of the church to find out either. Okurut portrays the reverend as a priest who cannot defend the faith he believes in, just as Nuwa in Bakaluba is depicted. Even if he has been employed to represent the whites, he has no proper understanding of what he is talking about (Okurut 2003: 72).

According to Bakaluba baptism is done to Nuwa at the age of three months because the parents want him to flourish on the good care and love showered on him - clean clothes and security (Bakaluba, 1975:60). I do not think that this is the purpose of baptism. But since the parents of Nuwa get it wrong, there is no doubt that when Nuwa is asked by Naiga to explain what Christianity is all about he fails to defend his faith.

5.7 Christians and African Traditions Conflict over Polygamy

Nyabongo in *Africa Answers Back* depicts Chief Ati in confrontation with the Reverend Hubert over polygamy. Chief Ati does not believe a man can marry only one wife, unless he is very poor. The priest reminds Chief Ati that the Christian principle and doctrine is to have only one wife (Nyabongo 1936: 63-66). Chief Ati informs the missionary that in Africa when men die in war, the women are given to other men and the children are taken care of. The Rev Hubert insists that God's plan is monogamy until a man's wife dies (Nyabongo 1936: 66).

Mujungu reads to his father and the family the story of King Solomon having had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, making a total of one thousand women (Bhabha 1995). He wonders whether the Rev. Hubert was not making a fool of him when he was not any close to the 1000 women of King Solomon (1Kings 11:3). The chief is disturbed at being called a sinner by the Reverend Hubert, when the Bible records about a man who had one thousand women. He and his wives confirm their suspicion that the white man is a liar (Nyabongo 1936: 204-207).

Nyabongo depicts Chief Ati's perceived contradictions in the Bible as far as polygamy is concerned. Chief Ati needed to know that the narration of King Solomon's 1000 women has nothing to do with a model to be followed. Actually King Solomon is an example of a fallen man, an example to be avoided. His story was being told to show what happens to a man who leaves the way of the Lord and follows his own ways. The Jewish forefather Abraham was lured by his wife Sarah to take on Hagar as second wife to bear her a son as she was barren but the Lord told him to send her away.

Wangusa writes about women who are under pressure to bear male children; failure to do so would attract a co-wife. The failure of Murumbi's wife to bear him sons leads him to marry Khalayi, Mwambu's sister, in the hope of begetting sons. Polygamy is therefore portrayed as an ideal form of marriage which can solve such problems without creating divorce. Failure to give birth to male children in African traditional marriage is problematic. The woman is held responsible for this because it is believed that she determines the sex of the child. In Africa the woman tolerates the attack for childlessness in marriage and the man is encouraged to take on the second wife. It is

believed that the man is rarely the cause of infertility or to blame for producing a single sex (Etuk 2002: 91).

Kyomuhendo (1996) in *First Daughter* portrays polygamy as the cause of instability in Kyamanywa's marriage. He left to live with a woman who has older children than Kasemiire, his first daughter. This second wife has been married twice but Kyamanywa is attracted by her property. Kyamanywa dumps his first wife with a pregnancy of a baby girl without any care. Kyamanywa leaves his first wife and children in a house in a sorry state but he is not bothered (119-122).

The white man might condemn polygamy as African and evil but many white men also practised polygamy in the past, as narrated by Ezra Pound. In 1914 Pound got married to Dorothy Shakespeare, she gave birth to a son Omar Pound. And 1921 in Paris, Pound married his second wife, the French woman, Olga Rudge, with whom he had a daughter, Mary (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ezra_Pound, accessed on November 6, 2017). Today white men have mistresses in secret. The Reverend Graves is one such white man. Is the African not more transparent?

5.8 Bible Dilemma

Nyabongo presents a series of conflicts between Mujungu and the Reverend Hubert, arising from Bible interpretation. When Mujungu reads the Bible story of King Solomon and his many wives to his father, the latter gets excited and wonders why Reverend Hubert condemns him as polygamous when the Bible portrays polygamy. The chief is disturbed by being called a sinner by Reverend Hubert when the Bible reports of a man

who had one thousand wives. He and his wives confirm their suspicion that the white man is a liar (Nyabongo 1936:204-207).

The wives together with other people agree that the chief should go and talk with Reverend Hubert and get the truth. They also suggest that Chief Ati goes to school and tells Reverend Hubert that they do not want to see him because he does not talk the truth. Reverend Hubert thinks it wise to stop his students from reading the Bible because they may not interpret it well and so cause misunderstanding (Nyabongo 1936: 218-219).

During the assembly Reverend Hubert warns the boys to stop reading the Bible, newspapers and magazines to their parents. He says that he is going to punish Mujungu for doing so and causing confusion between him and his parents. Mujungu disagrees with this punishment saying that by the time he read the Bible to his parents he had not been forbidden, and in addition, he reads the Bible as it is written.

Secondly, one Sunday the teachers find Mujungu riding a bicycle against the school Sabbath rule. He is reported to Reverend Hubert and on the school assembly, Mujungu is asked whether he knows the school rules concerning the Sabbath. Mujungu quotes the Bible where Jesus says *the Sabbath is made for man and not man for the Sabbath* (Mark 2:27). The Reverend Hubert feels offended and promises to subject Mujungu to manual labour for the entire holidays (Nyabongo 1936: 220).

Thirdly, Mujungu finds the Reverend Hubert's teaching about the Biblical story of Jonah unbelievable. He asks him how a whale with a small throat can swallow a man and the

man comes out unharmed. Mujungu also questions why the enzymes didn't digest Jonah.

Fourthly, Mujungu puts Reverend Hubert to task to explain whose daughters the sons of Adam married, if Adam and Eve had only two sons. The Rev. Hubert was perturbed by that question and tells Mujungu that this is the Word of God; we only need to take it as it is (Nyabongo 1936: 223-224).

Fifthly, Mujungu questions the double paternity (polyandry) of Jesus and why John the Baptist accepts to baptize a child of such a family and yet the Rev. Hubert refuses to baptize him because his father was polygamous. Mujungu says your "Bible reads that Joseph was the husband of Mary and they had other children, this means that Jesus had two fathers and Mary had two husbands; therefore her son ought not to be baptized" (Nyabongo 1936: 225-228).

Although Reverend Hubert thinks at first that he will keep Mujungu at school to read the Bible and other magazines so that he is transformed to the white man's way, after this encounter he feels that Mujungu has read a lot and he does not know how to stop him from reading more.

Devers (2009:26-34) citing Freire (1970) observes that throughout a Freireian revolutionary process both the oppressed and the oppressors continually evaluate their stances and modify progress as need be. Each party experiences a change, and many, through this process, develop a new identity and a profoundly different worldview. Sometimes in the beginning, the oppressed group is so desperate to be free from oppression. In the process they will try to identify with the oppressor. But this act will

bring division within the oppressed and the oppressor and as a result it promotes resentment.

Freire (1970) proposes that this phenomenon is most prominent in the middle class, as they strive to become upper-class. This makes the oppressed middle class to mimic the lifestyle and actions of the upper-class. As a result many of the oppressed appear to have low self-worth, as the oppressors constantly degrade them. This kind of reasoning leads the oppressed to believe that they are unable to think for themselves or understand complex issues but the oppressors. This is the state which Reverend Hubert and Mujungu are in (Nyabongo, 1936).

Mujungu rebels against the subaltern philosophy by questioning Reverend Hubert on almost everything he disagrees with. According to the subaltern philosophy, Mujungu is supposed to keep quiet and consume whatever he is told without questioning (Gayatri Spivak 1988). However, Reverend Hubert gets very annoyed and reminds Mujungu that he is the Headmaster of the school, and that what he says should be obeyed (Nyabongo 1936:218-219). This is typical of oppressor-oppressed relationships, and especially when it involves a dialogue between an African and a white man.

5.9 Literary Devices

Irony and Coincidence

Wangusa in *Upon This Mountain*, deploys irony and coincidence as the intriguing events in the story which surround his characters. Mayuba's sexual escapade with Mwambu is perhaps the most ironical. Kuloba's sudden return coincides with the act and so he naturally assumes fatherhood of the pregnancy caused by his brother. Kuloba's

conversations with Mwambu about Buwayirira's baptism are all the more ironical. His statement: "I want that little Buwayirira of 'ours' to be baptized..." (Wangusa 2005: 95) is quite ironic. He is oblivious of the fact that they indeed share the fatherhood of the boy. Kuloba's inadvertent choice of the name 'Ishmael,' who was Abraham's son by a concubine, leaves Mwambu stunned. Equally ironic is Kuloba's choice of Mwambu as godfather, not knowing that Mwambu is the biological father. The eventual godfather turns out to be Mwambu's childhood enemy, Wayero. This is a multiple set of ironies presented by Wangusa.

The conflict in this family is introduced by the white man's selfish war which recruited the innocent Africans to go and fight for them. The women are denied their conjugal rights and Mayuba is tempted to use her brother-in-law to satisfy her needs and ends up getting pregnant in the process. This leads to division and wrangles within the family. The white man's schemes for Africa have never been in the best interest of Africans.

Wangusa in *Upon This Mountain*, also represents a multiple case of ironies among Reverend Graves, Nambozo and Mwambu. It is ironic that the chaplain who is the custodian of morality is the one having affairs with his convert, Nambozo, who is a girl friend of another of his convert, Mwambu. Secondly, to choose the chapel as a place to have an affair is also ironic. To use the holy table meant for sacrifices as a bed for sexual encounters is a further irony. To do this in the period of Lent, which is meant for fasting, reflection and repentance is yet another irony. The day he forgets to lock the chapel door where he is having an affair with Nambozo, is the day Mwambu walks in and catches them.

Wangusa depicts Reverend Graves as a true image of a white man who comes to Africa with a hidden agenda but his real intention is to exploit Africans and cause all kinds of conflicts. The two Africans, Nambozo and Mwambu, no longer trust the white man and what he preaches. Reverend Graves has made his religion questionable to the Africans.

Symbolism

Wangusa presents Mwambu's baptism to symbolize a transition from spiritual immaturity to Christian maturity. In baptism, he becomes a man in Christ. It is the Christian version of circumcision. However, by Bamasaaba standards it is not enough to make Mwambu a real man. Circumcision is portrayed as the true symbol of manhood. It symbolises a transition from the immaturity of boyhood to the maturity of manhood. Kangala's successful circumcision shows his resilience, bravery, and courage, while Wabwire's forceful circumcision and Mwambu's hospital circumcision, symbolize cowardice. Wabwire's change of name to Nabwire is symbolic of his feminine character. The confusion between Circumcision and baptism as rights of passage symbolizes the conflict between African tradition and Western Christianity.

Coincidence

Ocwinyo, in *Fate of the Banished* depicts the day Apire returns from war to coincide with the day his wife, Flo, is in bed with Reverend Father Dilla (Ocwinyo 2008:139-140). Apire has been away in the war of liberation in Northern Uganda for some years, leaving his wife at home. However long he may have been away, he expects to find his wife at home. Unfortunately when Apire comes back he finds her away from home. He is told by his grandmother that his wife has been seen with Reverend Father Dilla. He rushes

to the mission house and catches them redhanded. Apire gets so disappointed that he picks his pistol and finishes both of them. What a coincidence that the very night Apire returns is the night the wife is away! Ironically, it is the priest, meant to be celibate, who breaks his celibate laws with a woman, and a married woman, of all people. Celibacy is not African. No wonder Reverend Father Dilla falls victim because he is not married. This Western idea of celibacy conflicts with the centrality of marriage in African religious life.

Reverend Father Dilla is depicted in the novel as an image of the Western mentality that is out to destabilize the African family. He goes out for a married woman instead of a single one. Secondly, he is a priest, the custodian of religious morality, but he commits adultery with Flo, Apire's wife. He therefore preaches a religion he does not practice. This results into untold conflicts between Western and African religious values.

Mujungu is an image of a traditional African man who after wedding the first wife goes on to get the second and even the third wife and marries them traditionally; he is a state of hybridity, the same with the father of Stella in *Silent Patience*. Mukasa the father to Naiga and Chief Ati in *Africa answers Back* are a representation of the African traditional man who believes in polygamy and he is not ashamed of it.

5.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the several literary devices to analyse the various themes as portrayed in the eight novels and how they bring out the clashes between the Western and African religious values. The analysis is based on the post-colonial theory. The study

found that Ugandan novelists portray Western religious values as characterized in the following aspects of behavior: sexual immorality, religious syncretism, religious clashes, hypocrisy, superstitious beliefs, virginity, baptism, polygamy, and Bible interpretation, which are the basis of various religious conflicts. Chapter six will now discuss the depiction of cross-cultural conflicts between the Western and African socio-cultural values.

CHAPTER SIX: CONFLICTS BETWEEN WESTERN AND AFRICAN SOCIOCULTURAL VALUES

6.0 Introduction

In pre-colonial Africa, sanctity of the family, community spirit and fidelity were very much valued. Colonialism introduced a Western socio-cultural value system into African societies, which diluted African sociocultural values and generated conflicts since Africans already had their own value system. African resistance to Western sociocultural values has been salient, although significant mimicking of Western culture by Africans has produced all kinds of unpleasant experiences. This study examines how Ugandan fiction writers depict these conflicts in their works. The most pronounced conflicts are those related to sexual violence, marriage, and blind imitation; these are discussed below.

6.1 Rape in Western and African Cultural Contexts

Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* portrays a case of Ugandan state security agents, an image of the Western colonial state, causing havoc on the innocent civilians in northern Uganda, including attempted rape of Maria, Bruno's wife, in front of their children, Betty, Apire, Acaye and Matto. The rape aborts as Bruno springs from his hiding with an axe and attacks the soldiers. Bruno punches *Afande* unconscious and hits a fatal blow upon Ali. A state security agent pumps him full with bullets. Bruno dies protecting the family's reputation, honour and the innocence of the young ones. Maria, Betty and Apire flee unharmed. Matto is shot dead, Acaye receives a bullet in the lungs and is later treated (Ocwinyo 2008: 19-20).

After the attack, the surviving soldiers and other security agents do the looting. They take all the household items. These soldiers are the representatives of the postcolonial state who have attacked the defenceless people, the defenceless African family unit. They mutilate Bruno's body, pluck out his eyes and put them in his palms and cut out the tongue from his mouth! (Ocwinyo 2008: 21).

Frantz Fanon, one of the pioneer post-colonial theorists, in his *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963:37), argues that the colonizers are agents of force and oppression. This is here clearly portrayed by the Ugandan post-colonial state security agents who attack Bruno's family. To Fanon, the violence of the colonizers affirmed the supremacy of white values and the aggressiveness which has brought about the victory of these values over the African ways of life (1963:37-42).

Aimé Césaire, another pioneer theorist, also argues that colonization destroyed the great African civilizations as well as the civilizations of the Aztecs and the Incas, and ruined the cultures and institutions, religions and national economies of societies that were once democratic, cooperative and fraternal (1972:2-7). The violent treatment by the colonizers in turn generated violence among the natives, which is portrayed in Apire's brutal murder of a cow thief and, later, of Father Dila in cold blood.

Kyomuhendo in *Secrets no More* (2003) agrees with Fanon as she portrays Matayo raping Marina. Father Marcel picks Marina from the refuge camp and takes her to the church to be helped. In the church Marina finds Matayo, one of the men who are supposed to be ordained into priesthood. He becomes very friendly to Marina, but after few days he takes advantage of her and rapes her.

No, no! Marina began screaming and tried to put up a fight. But she was too feeble to ward him off her. Images of her mother, spread-eagled on the floor

and the colonel on top of her, flashed through her mind. She also remembered the agony-filled sounds her mother had made (Kyomuhendo, 2003: 56).

This rape causes psychological torture on Marina. It reminds her of the day when her mother was raped by a group of army officers in front of all her children and her husband. Then they shot her dead after the rape. Marina's father is also killed in the process of trying to save his wife from this kind of shame (Kyomuhendo, 2003:18). This priest and the security are supposed to protect and defend the people but Kyomuhendo portrays them as the group of people who enjoy mistreating the voiceless, such as the women and the children.

Apire ponders over an important question: What turns a man in his twenties into a cruel murderer? Apire later tells us, by way of reflection and in retrospect, that the day he had a glimpse on the bones of his dead father, who had been denied burial for long, was the day he died 'inwardly' (Ocwinyo 2008:15). He lost the sense of feeling, such as respect for most government institutions, or love for humanity. When asked why he is fighting the government, Apire says he is fighting to take the poison out of his system. The force and violence meted out on the otherwise peaceful and harmonious African community by the western-type state security agents destroy the African values of peace and respect for human life and hence generates conflicts.

One of the cherished African cultural values which are lost here is respect for the dead. Apire narrates that the soldiers guarded his father's body which was locked up in the house to decompose (Ocwinyo 2008:21). He wonders how the people in this society have lost their head; what on earth causes a normal man to keep a dead body as if it will get up and run? What has gone wrong with the African society? Later, the neighbours take

the bones to his home village for burial. Apire says he took a glimpse at his father's bones before they were buried and that that was the moment 'he died' (Ocwinyo 2008:22). Apire's death is spiritual and an image of the death of the African community spirit. It is created by foreign intruders into the cultural tranquillity of the African society.

Ocwinyo depicts many of the treasured African values as dead: giving a person a decent burial, respect for the elders, community spirit, collective education and other values are dead as Apire confesses. They have been replaced by a heart of revenge and a spirit of individualism. Apire says: "I mean inwardly. A number of emotions became lost to me. Such as respect for most government institutions. Or love for much of the humanity" (Ocwinyo 2008:22).

According to Malebogo Kgalemang and Sinzokuhle Setume (2016) in *Rape: A South African Nightmare*, rape is a serious manifestation of violence in Africa. She traces rape back to its violent colonial roots where it was used as a tool of subjugation in the slave-ordered Cape Colony (Kgalemang, et al 2016:40). She argues also that the history of rape "is the history of slavery, colonialism and race science" (Kgalemang, et al 2016:40). This dynamic continued to be institutionalised under apartheid, a time in which "no white men were hanged for rape and the only black men who were hanged for rape were convicted of raping white women". This formed a patriarchal structure that supported "violent masculinity" as a means of control, rendering women compliant and silent.

It is further argued that sexual violence is rooted in patriarchy. Patriarchy is a social system in which men have power over women. Men are the main authority in the home,

men have more leadership power in public, men have more moral power, and men are the main owners of property. Udenweze, Maureen Uche (2009:11) argues that Igbo society upholds the notion of manliness as a very important social norm which leads to violence against women. Males are valued and seen as the stronger and greater achievers in contrast to the females, who are looked at as weak and non-achievers who should be assigned minor roles. This is an image of the relationship between the West and Africa. The West has from time immemorial culturally raped Africa by imposing its cultural values on the continent. The result has been deep-seated cultural conflict in many situations. In the language of Spivak (1988) the women are the oppressed subaltern group whom the patriarchal society denies a voice.

A case of violent masculinity is presented by Okurut in *The Invisible Weevil* (1998) between the individualistic, western-oriented and selfish Rex and his victim Nkwazi, whom he rapes on the morning of her wedding day. Nkwazi has kept her virginity all through university and beyond, even when she is employed and independent. Rex has been pursuing Kwanzi unsuccessfully over the years, even when he knows that she is engaged to his friend Genesis. The rape occurs when *Ssenga*, who is preparing Nkwazi for the wedding, goes out to get more herbs to smoothen the bride's skin. Rex pretends to have come to wish her a good wedding but he bounces on her and closes her mouth and rapes her in a split second.

Rex is the image of a selfish-minded modern man bent on destroying the tradition-oriented Nkwazi who represents traditional African values. The type of pursuit displayed by Rex is an image of what the West has done to Africa over the years. They

have pursued her virgin cultures until they have destroyed them. It is no wonder that African society today faces serious cultural conflicts of rape.

When Rex rapes Nkwazi, Senga suggests that this unspeakable thing should be stomached and never be mentioned (Okurut 1998: 205). She fears for the consequences. She knows it has the potential to damage the marriage. The virginity that was to be broken by Genesis has now been broken by a rapist, but it is still better to keep it secret. Secrecy is one of the treasured African values because it eliminates gossip and brings greater good to society.

Senga is lamenting about rape, emphasizing that it is a taboo in traditional African society, saying it was unheard of, "...these are bad days. Men are doing what used to be taboo" (Okurut 1998: 58). The girls are encouraged by the elderly women to keep their virginity because this is the glory of the entire family. Both African men and women respected it. To lose one's virginity is a big loss. Rape is a foreign thing coming from the Western influence in Africa. To Ngugi, raping a woman is an image of raping the nation. Africa has suffered rape by the West for ages.

Another incident of violent rape is depicted by Aloka who in *Iteo Alive* (2000) narrates the suffering of women brought about by the neo-colonial state agents in Karamoja region. The soldiers who were sent by the state to protect the local community from insecurity and external cattle raids end up being a problem. Through a flashback we are able to see the destruction wrought by the soldiers in Karamoja. Besides looting, and destruction of property, they gang - rape a woman who had run away to a secure

place but had forgotten to carry her mattress and had gone back to pick it. They use her own mattress to abuse her:

The soldiers grinned at her lecherously. At gun point she was led back into the house, forced to put the mattress down and the act was done. Some other soldiers found out and lined up for her. She could not remember the exact number of men she serviced but before she became unconscious, she could remember meeting the tenth man (Aloka 2000: 79).

To the Karimojong, rape is one of the most terrible things to be done to a woman or a child. If there was a fight, the women and children were protected. But with Western infiltration in Africa, women have become victims of war.

Kaberuka in *Silent Patience* (1999) depicts Jimmy as a western-influenced individual who gets into a love relationship with Agnes for selfish reasons. The West emphasizes individual freedom of choice but without collective responsibility of the type common in traditional African societies. Jimmy relates with Agnes but is all the time looking for an opportunity to rape her. He eventually succeeds in intoxicating her with chloroform, rapes her and makes her pregnant. Out of frustration, Agnes marries Jimmy so that her child may find belonging. This marriage is short-lived. When their house catches fire, Agnes rushes in to save their son. She is burnt very badly. Jimmy abandons Agnes and finds another wife after the fire accident has left Agnes looking like a monster. Jimmy is presented as an image of the West which has selfish interests in Africa because of her resources but is not really interested in her welfare.

6.2 Marriage in Western and African Cultural Contexts

Marriage is one of the cultural values which Africans respect so much as an institution of honour, and it is a concern of the community. It is celebrated and accompanied by rituals, like any other African rites of passage (Bahemuka 1983:88-100). To Mbiti (1969:133) and Bahemuka (1992:119-120) Marriage is a major ceremony in African Traditional Religions. It is a community activity that involves everyone; including the dead, the currently physically living in the community, and those to be born. This is why it is honoured and it should not be wrecked because of many witnesses.

Through marriage one grows into an adult (van Gennep 1960:144; Oduyoye 1992:13). It is characterized by transition from one social category to another and it involves a change of family, clan, village, or tribe especially on the side of the woman (van Gennep 1960:116; Oduyoye 1992:13). It is through marriage that individuals are granted permission to exercise their procreative rights (Magesa 1997:115; Oduyoye 1992:13; Bahemuka 1992:119-120).

In African traditional society parents can choose marriage partners suitable for their children (Mbiti, 1969:107). This is to make sure that their children do not land in a wrong family or the girl in particular is not snatched by somebody else for marriage. At the same time the choice can be made for the young people by their relatives, while in another custom the young people themselves can discover the person they would love to marry and then inform their parents or other relatives (Kyalo, quoting Mbiti 1969:107). The opportunities for them to do this are given by societal gatherings. This helps them to know other people in the community.

In Africa, marriage ought to be fruitful; the wife is expected to produce children (Doumbia & Doumbia 2004:139-140). That is why marriage is not a one-day thing, but it involves other processes that occur after the actual day of the wedding, that is, the bearing and rearing of children. Arnaldo (2001:146) writes: “Marriage can be taken as one of the hard concepts in African societies because it is a process which should stretch over years”.

Gyekye, Hastings and Magesa argue that, although marriage seems to be between individuals, the marriage covenant is in effect between two families. It is taken to be a continuation of the lineage, an ideology that touches basic ideas of the African family. The two married individuals have responsibility to accept and treat the members of each other’s family as their own family (Magesa 1997:110, 128; Gyekye 1996:79 and Hastings 1973:29). Looking at the above, it is therefore the joy of the family to see their children getting married rather than be caught up in the practice of celibacy as portrayed in Ocwinyo’s (2008:62) *Fate of the Banished* which is not African.

Ocwinyo portrays a Roman Catholic priest, Reverend Father Dila, who is adulterous, yet he should be celibate. Apire goes to war and leaves his wife Flo behind, who later finds companionship in Reverend Father Dila. The love relationship starts as an attraction to Reverend Father Dila, who heads the choir in which Flo sings, together with other church members. Flo gets Father Dila’s attention by intentionally singing off-key (Ocwinyo 2008:3). She then declares her love for the priest in a confession box.

The priest becomes unstable and eventually responds to her love. Attraction to the opposite sex seems to be a natural thing but the Roman Catholic Church denies her

priests and nuns this opportunity. No African religious institution denies anybody marriage, except the Western Roman Catholic church. A priest who responds to this natural instinct will be ex-communicated from the Church. This is in conflict with the African cultural milieu!

After Father Dila realizing that he needs help, he runs to Ozoo, the traditional man, who gives him the wise counsel not to go in for a married woman for love. If he wants he should go in for the unmarried women who are free because society expects them to marry. Ozoo is able to reason rationally, unlike the priest who has been blinded by Western influence. Father Dila thinks that he can resist nature's demands. He seeks advice from the traditional system from which he has run away into priesthood. Ozoo advises him that he needs time for fun, sleeping and eating instead of "books and prayers all the time like those old Italian priests dragging out their last moments in arid retirement" (Ocwinyo, 2008:25).

These priests are normal human beings who were created by God to enjoy conjugal rights, but due to influence of the White Fathers and Roman Catholic doctrine, the priests are not supposed to marry, so they end up going in for the 'sheep' in the Church (Ocwinyo 2008:26). This is what Bhabha would call mimicry because Father Dila's pattern of behaviour is opportunistic. Father Dila intentionally suppresses his own cultural identity and is left confused by his encounter with the dominant foreign religion.

In *Upon This Mountain*, Wangusa portrays marriage and the family as strong traditional institutions. There is a strong element of patriarchy where the man, as head of the

home, has absolute authority. The wife is subordinate and at the mercy of the husband. This arrangement is portrayed as fairly agreeable to both parties, especially in the traditional African setting. Masaaba's relationship with his wife Nabusulwa attests to this. Their relationship, however, sharply contrasts with that between the Reverend Graves and his wife. While Masaaba bullies his wife, Graves is bullied by his wife. None of the two models is ideal, but African society would not entertain a woman having absolute authority over a man. This is what Western radical feminism would tend towards and has been the reason for many failed marriages. African marriages would not survive if Western radical feminism was mimicked.

In a monogamous marriage, both husband and wife face the challenge of being faithful to each other (Wangusa 2005: 53, 101-102,). However, Kuloba's long absence from home in military service in the World War leaves his wife Mayuba sexually starved. She fails to wait for her husband's return and seduces her brother-in-law, Mwambu. Her adulterous act and subsequent pregnancy is a betrayal of her husband.

African society frowns at all instances of female infidelity. It is, however, tolerable if one's wife gets pregnant with a brother-in-law because the distinction between husband and brother-in-law is rather thin. Indeed the real label for brother-in-law in some languages is 'husband'. When a husband dies, the women are expected to be taken over by the brothers-in-law. However, Reverend Graves' affairs with the school girls under his wife's nose are inexcusable. His is not a case of sexual starvation, but he commits adultery with the students by selecting special girls each year.

This is a case of mockery (Bhabah 1994: 86) of the religion Reverend Graves is preaching and of betrayal of the society that sent him to represent them both as the school Chaplain and Deputy Head Teacher (Wangusa, 1989:101-102).

This comparison shows African marriages as more stable than the Western ones. An attempt to imitate Western marriage culture would bring serious conflicts into Africa.

In African marriage, virginity is one of the values which are cherished because it brings harmony into the marriage (Moler 1982:4). Africans believe that if a girl remains faithful before her wedding she will do the same even after it. Premarital sex is nasty because it steals the woman's virginity and destroys the foundation of future marriage (Moler 1982:4 as quoted by Kyalo 2012).

Okurut in *The Invisible Weevil* portrays the conflict between the Western and African traditional perception of sex before marriage. Genesis represents Western thinking while Nkwanzu represents African traditional perception on the matter. Genesis is tired of waiting for sex from his girlfriend Nkwanzu, and has this to say: "Yes. I'm fed up with your holy attitude. Simply because some old-fashioned aunt of yours told you about some damned sheet, you then torment me" (Okurut 1998:160). Nkwanzu responds that it is not just the sheet and continues: "I believe we should keep our bodies intact until marriage.

"Virginity should be treasured, not despised" (Okurut 1998:161). Nkwanzu is such a typical African girl who cannot be moved just by a man's emotions. She is an image of African societal values because of the training that she has received from her aunt, the custodian of her culture.

Bakaluba in *Honeymoon for Three* presents Mrs Horne and Aunt Sulu in dialogue on how Naiga's virginity will be proved on the wedding night. Aunt Sulu believes that the bride, Naiga, is a virgin, but it must be proved for everybody to know. She is expected to be present to prove whether the white sheet is stained with blood on the wedding night. The aunt will carry this bed sheet outside and show it to the people as proof that she guarded her culture. In return, the groom will have to present the father of the bride (Mukasa) with a live goat as a token of appreciation (Bakaluba 1975: 114). Mrs Horne is extremely surprised at the strange custom (Bakaluba 1975:120). Her surprise is in line with Said's *Orientalism* (1978: 86), which argues that the imperialist West constructed the colonies as culturally abnormal and needing the civilizing efforts of the master races. Africans should desist from falling prey to the Western deception that their culture is primitive and needs to be westernized.

Kyalo (2012) argues that the traditional marriage system of going into marriage when one is a virgin gives the proper ingredient for a healthy marriage. Africans understood marriage in its right, and had a way of upholding its richness and value. If the girl is found not to be virgin, the parents are blamed for bringing up their daughter badly and the parents will miss out on an honourable gift. The parents, especially the mother and the aunts, are ashamed of having such a girl as their daughter. Therefore a virgin bride is an honour to her parents and a prize to her husband.

In *Africa Answers Back* Nyabongo (1936) depicts the theme of virginity in Chief Ati's marriage to his 375th wife. He portrays an elaborate marriage process with several rituals which ends with the bride's party handing the bride to the bridegroom. The elder mother of the bride stays behind with her for four days in seclusion. The bark cloth

where the marriage has been consummated is taken home by the elder mother to show it to her people as a proof that their daughter was a virgin. The bridegroom then gives the elder mother some gifts to take home. Virginity is the pride of the bride's family (Nyabongo 1936:82). Even if modernity shuns virginity as backward and a violation of human rights, it keeps African marriages stable and free from promiscuity. It is an African value to be cherished.

Kaberuka portrays a case of conflict between the Western-influenced individual choice of a suitor and the African collective choice of an arranged marriage. David Agaba is the man Stella loved but the parents do not approve of him because he is of another tribe. Her parents arrange for her to marry an older man (eight years older, Kaberuka 1999: 8) of her tribe, whom she has never met (Kaberuka 1999: 4). Experience in African society has shown that arranged marriages are more stable than those resulting from the Western-influenced individual choice of a partner. In African societies divorce is very rare, if not absent.

The choice of a husband by the family is made after several factors have been considered. And indeed the whole family gets involved in ensuring that the marriage blossoms right from the start. The aunt of the bride gets involved in the important pre-marriage counselling. The public then gets invited to witness the dowry payment and that acts as a confirmation that the marriage has been approved by all. A bride will fear to divorce because of the collective witness and community reprimand. Western-type individualism in marriage is responsible for the rampant divorce cases we see today in Africa.

On the other hand, Kaberuka portrays Steven Dronyi as a typical case of African *true love waits*. In African traditional society, a man identifies a girl as young as five years old from a particular home, where the behaviour of members of the family is known to be good. After identifying the girl, he has to wait until she matures, without suggesting to her anything, nor meeting her in dark corners. When the right time comes the marriage arrangement is communicated to her officially by her aunt. Steven Dronyi waits for Agnes from age 14 until she completes medical school at age 25, without demanding anything from her. Dronyi represents the African cultural way of marriage where true love waits.

In some African societies, a newly-wedded bride is kept indoors for three months, before she can return to the public. This practice is portrayed by Kaberuka in *Silent Patience* as one of the cherished African societal values. Stella, the protagonist with Western-influenced societal values, condemns African bridal seclusion as house imprisonment and advocates for its abolition. Stella thinks this is a waste of time and a denial of individual freedom. Individualism gives opportunity to the Western-influenced couples to meet often and talk before their wedding.

This is not possible in collective-based African societies where the bride and the groom may not meet until the wedding night. Bridal seclusion is therefore necessary for familiarization, bonding and planning. When children come, they will hardly get any time to catch up with one another (Kaberuka 1999:17).

Kaberuka portrays the situation of another character, Fiona, having been influenced by the Western philosophy of individualism and getting involved in sex when still at school.

She gets pregnant and attempts abortion, which ends up killing her (Kaberuka 1999: 40). This is what irresponsible individual freedom of the Western type brings about. On the contrary, in African traditional societies, boy-girl relationships are forbidden. Sex before marriage and pregnancy out of wedlock is unheard of. For a boy to approach a girl and ask for her hand in marriage, the boy was supposed to go through the parents of the girl, who in turn would have a meeting to discuss whether as a family they were ready to take the young man as their son-in-law. If they found that they accepted the boy's family, then the girl's aunt would meet with her to break this news. The marriage arrangement begins at family level and the girl is informed of her wedding day (Kaberuka 1999: 5).

Okurut in *The Invisible Weevil* also introduces the issue of **bridal wealth**. Genesis, with his Western-influenced mentality, thinks that bride price is buying the bride, like buying a sex worker. Genesis also thinks that bride price transforms women into slaves. On the contrary, Nkwanzu argues that bride price is just a token of appreciation from the groom to the parents of the bride. Nkwanzu drums the fact that: ...“actually in our culture, part of the cows you pay are sold and the money used to buy gifts for our home. The bride's people too buy a lot of things for the young couple. So it's not as if it's one way traffic” (Okurut 1998:198).

Bakaluba in *Honeymoon for Three* has hints on the bride price. Mrs Horne wonders about the purpose of bride price. In response Mrs Kasule says bride price is to stabilize the marriage and that if a man pays the bride price it means he values and loves the woman. In case the bride wants to run away from this marriage she first questions herself as to whether her parents can afford to pay back the bride price. Secondly, the husband

would regard his wife as precious because he paid a high bride price for her. This is how Mrs Kasule puts it:

Do you know that even women wouldn't like to be given away for nothing - as good for nothing? My father used to say that bride price helps to stabilize the marriage,... Because in the first place, the wife would think twice before leaving her husband as her father would be liable to pay back all the bride-price... and secondly, the husband would regard his wife as something precious if he had paid a high bride price for her. The fact that he toiled to meet this challenge would show that he genuinely wanted to marry the girl and would endeavour to keep her (Bakaluba 1975: 126-127).

To underline the African marriage as a collective matter, Okurut in *Silent Patience* presents conflicts between the Western and African understanding of a wedding. In traditional African society, marriage ceremonies are celebrated by the entire community. Genesis, influenced by Western philosophy, thinks that a wedding ceremony is a matter of husband and wife and that involving the clan is being backward. Nkwanzu reminds Genesis that she belongs to the entire community. Genesis does not understand why Nkwanzu, who attended the same school with him, reasons like an uneducated person. Nkwanzu reminds Genesis that a wedding is a clan affair. "I'm not a daughter of just my father and mother but a clan. Call me backward if you wish, but I want a big wedding" (Okurut 1998: 197).

Okurut (1998) shows that if marriage is to last, the wife should recognize that a husband should speak first. This has been portrayed in Okurut's *Invisible Weevil* in a dialogue between Nkwanzu and her mother. To Nkwanzu's mother: "A woman speaks once, a man twice. A man is the head, a woman the shoulder and the two can never be at the same level" (Okurut 1998:43). The husband and the wife have different roles at home. According to Okurut this philosophy helps train girls to be obedient to their husbands

and enables the African marriages to last. Any opposition to this basic African premise would generate conflicts. Any attempts to mimic the West on these premises have led to conflicts and marriage breakdown.

Bakaluba in *Honeymoon for Three* portrays Nuwa's initial dialogue with Naiga over traditional values as a serious conflict. Naiga complains that Nuwa looks down upon his people and traditions when he calls traditional marriage a heathen tribal custom. She even says he has become a misfit in his society. Naiga complains that the idea Nuwa has picked from the white people has confused him and that he cannot even explain the new religion he has adapted to her. Nuwa's new identity is seriously questioned by Naiga:

You are conceited ... You look down upon your people and your traditional inheritance. You are a misfit in your society, because you have picked up new ideas from the white people... What's heathen about a traditional marriage? What is heathen about tribal custom? (Bakaluba 1975: 34, 82).

Later on we find Naiga's stance closing in with Nuwa's. They eventually get married in a church, being wedded by a white man, which Naiga has despised earlier. This is the power of cultural adjustment. This is what Bhabha would call positive hybridity (1994) where the two characters come together even though they are from totally different background or belief. Nuwa is a Christian and Naiga believes in African tradition. But the two agree to marriage and live together each picking a leaf from the other for the purposes of harmony.

Nyabongo (1936) depicts a conflict between Chief Ati and Rev. Hubert over polygamy. Chief Ati and his wives represent tradition while Rev. Hubert represents Western influence. Chief Ati gets much respect from the community because he cares about the

needs of his people. For instance the needy, the widows, the sick and the weak, all get their supplies from the chief. To Rev. Hubert, these acts of charity do not count because polygamy is a sin which he needs to repent of. Yet for chief Ati, charity through the many wives is a major service to the community. Kahyana, in line with the views of Chief Ati's wives, stresses that polygamy is a design to ensure relief for the families whose heads are either too old to work, or dead, or too poor (Kahyana 2014: 57). The excuse of promoting polygamy as a channel for charity is questionable. The motivations for promoting polygamy by Chief Ati's wives are questionable because it is difficult to understand (Nyabongo 1936:60-61). It should be possible to provide charity without polygamy.

African tradition has valued polygamy for ages. Polygamy is one of the values that will die hard (Magesa 1997:128). Africans claim it is a source of labour and a sign of wealth and respect. However, polygamy has been the major cause of family wrangles and child abuse.

6.3 African Blind Imitation of Western Life Style

Bakaluba in *Honeymoon for Three* (1975) portrays the dress-code in Nuwa and Naiga's introduction ceremony as mimicry (Bhabha1994:88). Bakaluba (1975: 56, 82) expects Nuwa to dress up in African traditional attire at his introduction ceremony but he appears in a European suit. Naiga too is putting on a dress instead of *busuti*. The rest of his people are dressed up in the African traditional attire. Nuwa looks somewhat out of place in a smart suit amongst the others who are wearing *Kanzus*. Mukasa complains to Nuwa's uncle that Nuwa looks out of place. Mukasa also says that the new generation

will copy anything and call it development. Naiga too is wearing a dress instead of *busuti*. Both parents conclude that not all changes are developmental:

“I am glad my son is marrying into your house. I was afraid that he might follow his father and become a clergyman,” said the other. “He is a wise man,” beamed Mukasa, “but look at his clothes, he looks out of place ... He is a new type of a man.... They will copy anything new ... all in the name of development. But not all changes are development. My daughter Naiga wears dresses and thinks that she looks all right. I know she would look more dignified in a *busuti* like her mother” (Bakaluba 1975: 56).

In the same vein Jack Mapanje portrays the same theme of Western-African dress code in his poem *On His Royal Blindness Paramount Chief Kwangala*. The imagery in the poem refers to Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, former President of Malawi. Banda loves to dance with his people. For example, in the photograph in the poem, Banda is in a three-piece suit with a shield in his left hand and a spear in his right. He is shown dancing the *Ingoma* with people of the Mzimba district.

In this strange dance Mapanje depicts Banda being a leader who has not improved his people's lives in any way. It is not by mistake that Banda's trademark dress for his public engagements was a three-piece English-style suit, a coat, and a Homburg hat. When he joined his *Ingoma* dancers, for example, he was the only dancer in Western attire surrounded by people wearing animal skins, with bare stomachs and bare feet.

When he was dancing, it is his attire which is more important than anything else that made him look like a stranger among his fellow people. Looking at this poem from another angle, dance in the poem represents culture and politics in Malawi, where Banda, having obtained high academic degrees from abroad, returned and made

cultural traditions into instruments of political oppression. This poem portrays Banda's achievement of education as useless because he is not useful to his people. Instead Banda has become a stranger in Malawi, his homeland.

According to Mapanje this poem presents the influence of the Western sociocultural system on Africans in the area of dress code which has taken over the Africans. The leaders seem to be more affected than the others. Why would leaders like Banda and Nuwa appear in a traditional function in a European suit (three-piece) when everybody else is in traditional attire?

Nyabongo depicts Mujungu as dressed in European fashion, a tweed suit and long boots to identify with them. The Western education system which Mujungu has gone through makes him imitate the European life style and also have a bit of his culture; he is in a state of hybridity (Bhabha, 1994:34). The Western socio-cultural system has changed Mujungu's way of life. He is going to an African function but he is dressed in Western style (Nyabongo 1936:275). His way of life conflicts with his culture because of the Western socio-cultural values he has acquired. Mujungu is a leader of his people like Banda. Why should they dress in a tweed suit of the Europeans at African traditional functions?

Mujungu went on a long tour of inspection over his villages and plans for the beginning of a school system. On his travel he went dressed in European fashion, in a tweed suit and long boots. Whenever he came to a village, the elders came out and bowed before him, but he told them to dispense with old-fashioned ceremonies. He wanted them to shake hands in the European way (Nyabongo, 1936:275).

Mujungu, Banda and Nuwa are in a state of mimicry and hybridity because they are imitating the dress code of their colonizers but attending the function of their

traditional Africans. They are dressing up differently because they want to identify with the colonizers but also be part of the African traditional functions (Bhabha, 1994:32-36).

Wangusa in *Upon this Mountain* (1989) depicts Mwambu as a character who has been influenced by Western socio-cultural values and is conflicting with his traditional values. In his pursuit of Western education Mwambu loses touch with reality; he no longer thinks beyond the books of the white man. Mwambu has developed into a bookworm. As he grazes his father's cows, he carries a book with him instead of a knife or a spear to fight animals in case they attack him or the animals. All his thinking is books and he has lost touch with his people and the culture of Bugisu (Wangusa 1989:50). In such a state Mwambu is mimicking the Western culture by carrying a Western book while he goes to look after the animals. In any case one cannot read while looking after the animals in the bush. This is Bhabha's mimicry (1995).

6.4 Circumcision in African and Western Socio-Cultural Context

Wangusa (1989) presents a case of conflict in the mode of circumcision between the Western-influenced anaesthetic hospital circumcision and the traditional 'live'-knife circumcision in the Gisu community. Like other African communities that are patriarchal, the idea of becoming a man is thrilling and one must be circumcised to become a man. Before circumcision, one remains a boy, no matter how old one is. Circumcision in the Gisu community means withstanding the pain of the 'live' knife and losing the foreskin. Kangala and Wayero are presented as real men because they braved the 'live' knife with all their kinsmen as witnesses and were properly circumcised.

Mwambu is portrayed as 'half a man' because he takes the softer option of hospital circumcision which is less painful (Wangusa, 1989: 65).

Although Wangusa does not directly criticize or support Western influence on Mwambu, he clearly portrays the cultural dilemma Mwambu finds himself in. He wants to adopt Western norms and still hold on to some African societal values by going for circumcision but in the hospital, avoiding the 'live' knife. One would place Mwambu in Bhabha's (1994) cultural conceptualization as a hybridity of being in the middle between Western cultural values and Africa.

6.5 Community Spirit in African and Western Contexts

Okurut in *The Invisible Weevil* (1998) narrates how the interactions between different political parties based on the Western model of democracy have caused cultural conflicts. Each member of a political party feels that his/her party is the best and would want nothing to do with the other.

The way I've been seeing these things, our parties are not good. Just think, we never talk to our neighbours who are in different parties, different religions. They never talk to us either. What sort of life's that (Okurut 1998:169).?

The parties have brought division among the neighbours who used to relate very well. Through Maama we are able to see a community which is divided. The power of community spirit has been broken because of different parties and religions. The Peace of the people is long gone and it is replaced by bitterness and hate.

Okurut (1998:169-176) asserts that before the advent of the Western-influenced political parties, African societies were known to love community life. Individualism was not welcome. Good neighbourliness and community spirit were cherished. Nobody

could pass by the roadside without greeting the others. No political party, not even religion is allowed to break up the community spirit. Whatever breaks the collective spirit is foreign and is not entertained.

Parties based on religious lines have caused division among the Africans and interfered with the community spirit which was the strength of the African society before the advent of the white man. Culturally, the Africans are now divided and weakened. More and more believe anything Western is good and increasingly mimic the white man to their disadvantage (1994:87).

According to Bakaluba in *Honeymoon for Three* Aunt Sulu and Namusisi depict Christians as a 'lost' group of people who go to the hospital for any small thing, instead of consulting African herbal medicine. African herbal medicine is, to Aunt Sulu as good as, if not better than, the white man's medicine. A major cultural conflict is that when Africans turn to Christianity, they abandon African medicine in favour of the white man's and begin to look at the African herbal medicine as evil.

African herbs are available and can be got cheaply. African Christians are wasting a lot of time in visiting far-away hospitals whereas the green herbs are just around them and they are more effective than the white man's medicine (Bakaluba 1975: 130).

The problem with Africans is that they want to believe anything Western. Even when Western medicine is actually got from African herbs, they will still believe Western medicine is superior. We Africans have been alienated, have abandoned our initiatives, have stopped believing in anything African and become mimics of the Western cultural values (Bhabha 1994:88).

6.6 African-Western Socio-Cultural Synergy

Nyabongo in *African Answers Back* (1935) portrays a scenario of a largely successful African son, Mujungu, who at two years is sent by the father to the grandmother to learn his culture (1935:105-106). In many instances Mujungu is found to remember African riddles and stories that he learned before the white man's school (1936:149-167). The white man's school does not derail him from greeting her grandmother in African traditional ways (Nyabongo 1936: 156). When his play-mates ask him whether he remembers how to make a bird's trap he demonstrates it and they are very happy (1936:170).

Mujungu's traditional teachers test Mujungu to find out whether he still remembers the proverbs, riddles, stories, history, games and the customs of his people. The teachers are satisfied that he still remembers what he was taught (1936:171-173). The grandmother is also very happy but asks whether he remembers any of the stars by name. He names more than five and everybody is satisfied.

Nyabongo again narrates a successful story where African and Western medicine is depicted to complement each other. At the end of the small pox epidemic, one of the doctor's men slides and breaks his arm. Mujungu suggests that this man be treated in the African way. The doctor explains to Mujungu that using a bandage with a patient's hand held in a horizontal position by a sling around the neck is a modern way of treating a fracture.

Mujungu doubts the modern way because at school one of his friends once broke his leg, was treated that way, but not successfully. He tells of another case of a man who

broke his arm and was treated the African way and was very successful. No one can tell whether he ever broke his arm. Mujungu tells the white man that the Africans treat broken bones better than the Europeans (Nyabongo 1936:256). Mujungu's voice of confidence in the African ways causes the Western doctor to have a listening ear:

And the German doctor said, *Ach* I read about it, that Egyptians treat broken bones without using bandages; but I never understood how they could. And one of the other doctors says: 'Mujungu, we are here to learn and co-operate with you. If some of your traditional methods are better than ours, then we would like to see them. We must exchange our ideas' (Nyabongo1936:257).

Mujungu calls the *Mufumu* (the native doctor) and tells him the Western doctors are willing to listen and do not think that what Africans have is inferior. Mujungu asks the *Mufumu* to explain to the doctors the African way of treating broken bones.

If all Africans, like Mujungu, could have faith in their ways, we would not suffer the usual alienation and humiliation before the West. We need Africans who can stop mimicking the West (Bhabha1994:88). Causing the white man to consider the African way of doing things is a major landmark in the struggle for African cultural liberation. The ideal situation is cross-cultural co-operation as opposed to the current Western cultural domination (Nyabongo 1936).

6.7 Literary Techniques

Symbolism

While Wangusa portrays the traditional African ritual of circumcision as a symbol of transition to maturity, there is no such a thing as transition anymore after the onset of Western interests in Africa. There is nothing to look forward to. Every day African

material conditions are getting worse because of the relations with the Western World. Africans' hope in transition to maturity is a dream that might never come to reality in the current relationship with the Western world.

Wangusa in *Upon This Mountain* deploys a number of symbols to bring out various themes. The towering Mt. Elgon is symbolic of the people's destiny as well as being the embodiment of life. The mountain is an inspiration to the people. It is a source of food (providing bamboo shoots). Most importantly, it symbolises the ultimate goal of Mwambu, the hero of the novel. Reaching the top of the mountain is an enviable task. To Mwambu, it is the peak of the world. His father says he has never been to the peak because there is nothing to get there to. This symbolizes Masaaba's illiteracy. But Mwambu's wish is to reach the peak of the mountain, and that peak is education.

Wangusa portrays Africa as having a vision of reaching the top of the mountain - socially, economically, technologically and politically, but the interference of Western colonialism has reduced or even blurred its vision. In many African states progress towards the peak of the mountain has been severely reduced by our relationship with the Western World. No wonder, the Western and African cross-cultural relations have been full of conflicts.

Okurut presents virginity of the main character, Nkwazi as a symbol of Africa's need to be conservative with her resources, waiting to exploit them at the right time, but Rex, symbolizing the West, has forcefully invaded her and the consequences have been detrimental to us. The few who seem to benefit from the relationship become traitors who do not have the interests of Africans at heart. Their interest is to keep the

relationship strained in order to benefit from it. Even if the West deceives Africans with donations and sponsorships, they are just using them as opportunities to penetrate deeper into our economies and exploit them the more.

Dreams

Dreams help to predict events in a nightmare. Symbolism in nightmares is to disguise what is going to happen later on. The Dream is one of the techniques which Kaberuka in *Silent Patience* deploys to describe what death is. In the dream, the author portrays Micheal suddenly escaping from his wife and runs from the bedroom naked, saying “Don’t leave me, I am coming”. The wife (Stella) asks why he is running out naked and attempts to pursue him and call him back but in vain. He is too swift for her (Kaberuka 1999: 54). A few days after the dream Michael dies, together with Pauline (their second born), in a road accident as they are crossing the road to Pauline’s school. This dream is an image of death coming to Micheal within few days from the time of the dream. When an African gets such a dream he/she has to find out the meaning from the diviners because they consider everything religious.

Wangusa in *Upon this Mountain* presents two of Mwambu’s dreams - one of which has to do with Reverend Graves’ adultery with Nambozo and the second to do with his public disgrace when he is undressed on the way home by fellow clansmen to circumcise him by force:

That very night he had a horrible nightmare in which he encountered a blood-sucking ogre... he tried to run away but for some reason he just kept on running on the same spot (Wangusa 2005:17-19).

Then in his half-sleep he dreamt that the next circumcision had come and men went round circumcising foreigners who had mountain wives or mistresses. The first victim was Graves, who was forcibly circumcised on the altar of Elgosec chapel ... (Wangusa, 1989:103).

Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* portrays Father Dila dreaming of having a retreat with Flo in Italy and they are at the pool playing with water. Splashing water on each other, he holds Flo and begins to caress her, and kissing her and holding her breast at the nipple. He dreams of the very act with Flo only to wake up and find out that his pants and the bed sheets are wet. He fails to sleep after this dream, he tries to read a magazine but he does not understand anything, so he throws it away in confusion (Ocwinyo 2008:29-30). Ocwinyo uses this dream to portray the kind of environment which Father Dila and Flo will die in; he dies during the very act with Flo.

Ocwinyo also depicts Erabu dreaming lying on his stomach while thousands of cattle are taken right through their homestead, raiders are frantic and desperate, lashing out at the animals with sticks that land with a sharp crack (Ocwinyo 2008:94). This dream can be taken to represent the giants in Africa sleeping while their riches are being taken by foreigners.

Okurut in *The Invisible Weevil* presents Genesis' dream about the dry season. He walks with his father as he drives the cattle looking for water. The sun is extremely hot and there is no cloud cover. Genesis worries that the earth will catch fire. The heat from the earth scorches his naked feet. To step on the earth is like walking on hot charcoal. The skeleton of the cattle besieges the heated earth and they march on and the more skeleton he sees, the more he gets scared. The meatless jaws of these cattle scares Genesis but his eyes remain fixed to them. The huge black vulture would descend and

pick on these jaws and cackle away. Genesis would try to avert his eyes from it but in vain. This scary dream is a revelation of the incurable disease which Genesis has acquired (HIV AIDS). Okurut uses this dream to portray the kind of death which Genesis would die (Okurut 1998: 94).

Aloka portrays Iteo going to bed and he is fast asleep. But within a few minutes his wife realizes that he is not comfortable in the bed. He is groaning and turning from side to side. In his dream Iteo is moving very fast and the journey is long. Dead tired but moving on and moving into the darkness. He sees people in confusion; their hearts are thumping but are not in them. He sees no flicker of hope. His wife wakes him up, and he is bleeding from his nose. "You have been screaming in your sleep, kicking, struggling and gasping. What is wrong?" the wife asks. He answers that he does not know but he had a terrible dream. Aloka used dream to predict Iteo's death that represents the death of African traditional values. (Aloka 2000: 14-15).

Almost all the authors discussed in this work have used dreams to predict the future. These dreams arise from conflict situations most of which lead to death. These deaths symbolize the death of African socio-cultural values brought about by Western influence in Africa.

Wangusa presents reaching the top of the mountain as the dream of every African, but there are many challenges along the way, mostly resulting from the Western interference with the African socio-cultural values. It is doubtful whether Africa will ever reach the top of its socio-cultural destiny.

Suspense

Kaberuka in *Silent Patience* portrays suspense to sustain the reader's interest up to the end of the novel. She holds the reader spellbound by the many unexpected twists in the novel. After Michael's death, it is unpredictable what will become of the wife and children. Peter's pursuit to marry his brother's widow is so persistent and keeps the reader guessing where it will end. Another very unpredictable event is the destiny of Dr. Steve Dronyi in the narrative. It is very unpredictable whether he will marry from the protagonist's family or not. At the end Stella manages to educate all the three children as a single mother. Her brother-in-law Peter attempts to marry her but does not succeed. Her first born, Agnes, marries Dr. Steven Dronyi, the millionaire, who does not show off. She eventually becomes a Minister of Health. Stella also eventually marries a man of her first choice, David Agaba, thirty years later. Despite a bad beginning for both Stella and Agnes in marriage, the end has been good.

Kaberuka portrays Africa's relationship with the West as being camouflaged as a good thing but it has a lot of inherent cross-cultural conflicts that will never lead us to any good end, unless we divorce. Another possible interpretation is that the future of the relationship between the West and Africa is unknown, and therefore it calls for patience.

Wangusa in *Upon This Mountain* takes us through the life of Mwambu from the day he is weaned, through his primary and secondary school. From the time he started school, his aim was to reach the top of the mountain. One wonders what would be the top of the mountain for him. The book ends with his completion of secondary school but the reader is kept in suspense as to when Mwambu is going to reach the top of the mountain. The reader is also left in suspense as to where all these cultural changes that Mwambu

is going through after the adoption of the Western religion and education will end, because they clash a lot with his socio-cultural values.

Okurut's use of suspense in *The Invisible Weevil* keeps the reader in the dark. It is very hard to know what will happen to the relationship between the two main characters; Genesis and Nkwazi. Okurut keeps twisting the story, which leaves the reader to keep on reading in the hope of getting the climax but this comes only at the end of the novel. Okurut depicts Genesis and Nkwazi as getting into a relationship when they are still in secondary school and it continues through university until they begin to work. The marriage comes a few years later when both are professionally established. The virginity which Nkwazi has treasured and kept to be broken on the wedding night is unfortunately broken by a rapist, Rex, the morning before the wedding. The wedding goes on as planned but the relationship with Genesis gets severed just because the relationship between the West and Africa has been strained.

Flashback

Flashback helps us know what happened in the past. It is employed to bridge time, place, and action and to reveal a past emotional event or physical conflict that affects the present. It also gives insight and understanding into a character's behaviour or solves a past mystery. Although it causes interruption in the events within their story by using events that have already occurred, it gives the readers added information about a character's past, including secrets, inner, external conflicts, or significant events that affected the character's life (<https://study.com> accessed on the 9/ 5/2018).

Kaberuka in *Silent Patience* portrays Stella using flashback to take us to her first husband Michael, the father of Agnes, who has seen the talent in Agnes as a great future leader. As Agnes is swearing in as a government minister, the mother narrates the story through flashback to help the reader understand who Agnes is. Right from when Agnes is five or six years old, the father knows she is to be great but he is cut short by an untimely death:

I remembered his words with surprising vividness, as if they had been uttered only yesterday. "Leave Agnes to me, Stella. That girl will rise above the clouds. She'll honour me!" He had said those words when Agnes was five or six years. Now she was thirty-six (Kaberuka 1999: 1).

To rise above the clouds is an expression of attaining great achievement, in which if Africans work hard and be focused like Agnes, it will fly higher above the clouds.

Kyomuhendo in *The First Daughter* uses flaskback to enable us know how Kyamanywa met his wife Ngonzi (Abwooli), Kasemiire's mother. As Ngonzi is worried about Kasemiire's continuation with education, fearing that she might end up marrying at

fifteen, she flashes back to how she meets her husband. Kyamanywa had gone to the forest to hunt and he found the abandoned young girl crying in the forest as she is tying her firewood. He helps her to carry the firewood. He gives her shelter in his hut and when the rain stops he sends her home. Later on he follows her but unfortunately finds her badly beaten by her parents. He comes back after two weeks, pays the dowry and he takes her away as his wife (Kyomuhendo 1996:11-16).

Kyomuhendo presents the story through the flashback to bring out the reason why the Mother of Kasiimire desires to have her daughter educated. We are also able to understand that Kyamanywa loves Kasemiire because she looks like her mother who had dark hair and huge eyes. He does all the odd jobs to take her to school and spends all he has for the sake of love (Kyomuhendo 1996:9-18).

Iteo, having gone to Makerere University and Oxford, has forgotten the culture of respect for the elders. This is the way Aloka presents him in *Iteo Alive*, he comes, sits and greets the elders without waiting to be invited to greet. Mr. Sagal looks at Iteo for some time from toe to head and flashes back to tell him how in the past this behavior would not be tolerated (Aloka 2000: 21-24). Secondly the whole funeral service of Iteo is reported in a flashback mode (Aloka 2000: 68).

The Ugandan authors present the stories in flashback because it is necessary for Africans who need to replay their past in order to discover how much they have lost to the Western cultural imperialists. This will help them know how much they need to fight to regain their past glory.

Exaggeration

Exaggeration is derived from a Latin word *exaggeration*, which means “elevation” or “exaltation.” The original literal root of the word meant to “heap up.” In many cases when we exaggerate in one way or the other, it could be intentionally to spice up some stories just for fun; to make people laugh or to make the story more interesting or simply to highlight major points. Exaggeration makes something worse or better than it really is. In literature and oral communication, writers and speakers use exaggeration to communicate the importance of something and create a lasting impression, or to evoke stronger feelings than otherwise (<https://literarydevices.net>).

Kaberuka presents her story using exaggeration to make us feel with Stella what she went through on the first day of her marriage and how it feels to get married to a man you never met or loved. In other words, meeting a stranger who is going to become your husband: “My heart literally broke when my eldest brother came to say goodbye to me, and advised me to be good”. (Kaberuka 1999: 14), “My heart missed a beat”... (Kaberuka 1999: 20), “I froze”... (Kaberuka 1999: 15), “At last I found my tongue” (Kaberuka 1999: 16), “My heart missed a beat as our eyes met” (Kaberuka 1999: 168). As Kaberuka exaggerates Stella’s feelings, we can visualize what is happening in Stella’s life.

The death of Iteo gave the police more work: “People swarmed into the town from all the corners of Karamoja” (Aloka 2000:20). Aloka uses exaggeration of ‘swarm’ to make us understand that very many people attended the burial of Iteo because he was a man of the people. Because of the community spirit of the original African tradition cultures the mourners come like a “swarm” of bees but with the advent of modernity the “swarm” of mourners has reduced.

Okurut uses Ssenga to exaggerate African women's role as she educates Nkwanzu on the issues of marriage. She tells Nkwanzu, never to turn her back on her husband and not to argue with him but to keep quiet like a sheep (Okurut 1999: 199-200). Nkwanzu goes through intensive training before her wedding day. Ssenga believes that such marriage will last and it will be the pride of the larger family:

I want you to be as proud as a leopard, you know, the leopard's so proud of its beauty it cannot allow anybody to spoil it. So when it is wounded, rather than bleeding outside and spoiling its beauty, it bleeds from inside. Child, like a good woman, you should bleed from inside when problems come (Okurut 1999: 200).

Okurut in *The Invisible Weevil* takes a lot of time on Ssenga's training of Nkwanzu to avoid conflicts in the home and to keep the family united. To keep "quiet as sheep" is an exaggeration of the kind of humility expected of a wife.

Kyomuhendo in *The First Daughter* deploys exaggeration as she narrates Kyamanywa's excitement with the birth of his daughter, Kasemiire. Kyamanywa says that the baby 'has a generous smile ... just like her mother's' (Kyomuhendo 1996: 9). A child of one day cannot smile, but Kyamanywa insists that this one does. His comparison of the baby's smile with that of the mother is an exaggeration of his love for the baby and the mother. This is an image of love for mother Africa for which Africans are willing to do everything to keep its socio-cultural values.

Wangusa in *Upon This Mountain* exaggerates the act of Mayuba seducing Mwambu.

Mayuba, Kuloba's wife, is portrayed as a sly but jovial woman:

Tell me, she demanded, putting on a serious face, and Mwambu could not tell if she was merely play-acting. Tell me, is this not your house?...she pushed her bedroom door, and opened. Holding him by the hand, she led him through the door...tell me how warm this bed has been for countless moons, since your

brother left...she turned sharply and faced him and threw her arms round him... pressed him hard to herself... and suddenly Mwambu took a fright. *Lord God, what's this ...please Lord...* Going to wrestle like herdsboy and herds girl. That will show you what you are and what I am...she smartly threw him on the bed upon his back and fell upon him... I'm going to tear your clothes...I'm going to tear the skin from your back.... I'm going to claw you like a cat... I'm going to break your legs and your thighs... she lifted herself upon the elbow and sat upon him. And so Mwambu gave up. Gave up and gave in... (Wangusa 2005: 52-53).

Like her husband Kuloba, Mayuba is a victim of the Second World War, which takes away her husband for nearly five years. The physical separation from her husband becomes too much to bear. She is left to look after the home alone. It is evident that as a young woman, she misses her husband's sexual affection. This leads her to seduce Mwambu, her brother-in-law. In this, she betrays her husband. It is a double betrayal as she also conceives in the process. The Second World War is a creation of the Whiteman. Being away from home for war for many years violates the sanctity of marriage which is a core socio-cultural value in Africa.

Through exaggeration, Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* presents to us a tired, desperate, bitter society. A society that has to bear the brunt of reckless government soldiers, of cattle rustling, of raping and of poverty. It is a society that has lost sense of judgment:

Thief: spare my life, just this once and I won't come to these parts again, please. Shut up! A thunderous snapping command from the multitude as the thief now blubbers meaninglessly, wetting his trousers in the process. We hang the fool over a fire, insists the voice, a very slow fire remember, until he dies (p. 12-13). ... Apire, beside himself with excitement, picks up a club and smashes the moribund head into a soggy mass (Ocwinyo1997: 13). And do not make any attempt to escape through the window because it is covered. You'll only end up getting a bullet kissing your beautiful belly button ((Ocwinyo1997:16-17).

Apire is a product of anger, the anger that is embedded deep in the heart of the society of northern Uganda which has gone through a lot of suffering during the twenty years of rebel insurgency. As this community is "shouting a Shut up... we hang the fool over a fire", this is a sign of a dead society; they have lost love for a human being. Apire is a

product of the dead society and as a result he smashes the head of a thief, kills both the wife and Father Dila. The socio-cultural values of Ocwinyo's community have been killed by a senseless war created by some selfish Western interests.

Personification

Personification is one of the forms of figurative language that writers use as a literary technique to catch the audience's attention. It is to enrich the language used and to create more interesting and convincing descriptions. It attributes human characteristics to something that is not human (Naula 2012:10).

For example, Kaberuka personified the heart as racing, as if the heart is a human being who can run. 'My heart was racing within my chest; I felt afraid' (Kaberuka 1999: 14). This makes the description more vivid, so that one is able to picture what Stella is going through as she sees her husband for the first time in a room and he is trying to make love to her; someone she has never talked to or seen. This is what happens when the familiar socio-cultural values are confronted by foreign influence.

Bakaluba deploys personification to ask a rhetorical question to Naiga who runs away from the man chosen for her by her father in preference to Nuwa, a man of her choice:

Is anything wrong, child? He asked again when Naiga failed to answer him. She was actually fighting the tears in her eyes which made the room swim in the pools which filled them (Bakaluba 1975: 91).

Bakaluba personifies tears; she portrays Naiga fighting with the tears in her eyes and then she exaggerates by saying that the tears made the room swim in the pools of tears. Freedom of choice is important to keep harmony. One's socio-cultural values should not be forced on the others.

Comparison

Kaberuka makes very good use of “like” for comparison purposes. After the fatal accident of Michael and Pauline, Pauline passes on but Michael is in such great pain. When his wife Stella asks him how he is feeling, he cannot explain the kind of pain he is in but to make the wife understand better, he uses “like”. He compares the pain he is in with hell. “Yeah! My chest hurts *like* hell, and my head feels “like” it’s going to pop off any minute” (Kaberuka 1999: 50-51) (emphasis mine).

When Dr. Dronyi comes to Stella to announce the death of Michael, she cannot believe that she has lost both her husband and her daughter. She first feels like her chest will burst any minute and the tears roll hot on her cheeks. She is lost, her tongue clings to the palate, and she is unable to speak. We can only imagine her feelings as she says to Dr. Dronyi, “My chest felt *like* it would burst, my eyes stung with unshed tears.” (Kaberuka 1999: 55) (emphasis mine).

When baby Michael is born, he is the crying type who causes the mother to keep hushing him. As time passes, he turns into a very quiet baby. But for Stella to have a crying baby is joy, because he keeps her very busy and this works for her like a consoling environment. She says that if she is busy with the baby, she cannot remember that Michael and Pauline have just died. This makes her complain as to why the baby is no longer the crying type, because this is what has made her forget the past and move on in life. So she laments: “He came into the world roaring *like* a lion, but now he is as quiet as a mouse” (Kaberuka 1999: 76) (emphasis mine).

Furthermore, Abwooli (Ngozi) is beaten by her parents for coming late home because she has taken refuge at the hunter's house as it was raining. She is glad to later get married to the hunter because her parents "treated her *like* some heap of cowdung" (Kyomuhendo 1996:16, emphasis mine), thinking that she is lost and will never find anyone to marry her. But when the hunter comes and assures her that he is ready to pay the dowry for Abwooli, the father now changes and becomes friendly again.

Aloka in *Iteo Alive* compares the reception of the news of the death of Iteo to an electric shock. He recounts: "In the north, the news stunned everyone *like* an electric shock" (Aloka 2000:19, emphasis mine). One of the mourners describes Iteo while still a student as "very hardworking, *like* an industrious ant" (Aloka 2000: 67, emphasis mine).

The love between Nuwa and Naiga is so strong that to Bakaluba the hilltop where they met seems "*like* an oasis of peace in an otherwise drab and uninteresting world" (Bakaluba 1975: 31, emphasis mine).

Oral Tradition

This includes songs, proverbs, sayings, and riddles. Songs serve several functions. They serve both for entertainment and education. Bakaluba in *Honeymoon for Three* does not give a direct song in the book, although we see the people sing and dance in the background. We see evidence of songs and dances in the background in the following texts:

Mukasa's people unloaded the presents from the bearers and put everything in front of Mukasa. Looking pleased and satisfied, he beckoned the drummers to play a song of welcome to the visitors: we are very pleased to welcome you here today... (Bakaluba 1975:55-56). ... They drank, danced and made merry. The leading vocalist sang effectively ... (Bakaluba 1975:59).

Bakaluba shows us the importance of songs in Ugandan functions. She uses the song as welcome remarks. The song is used as entertainment to bring joy to both the visitors and the people who have been visited.

Kyomuhendo uses Mukaaka the mother of Kyamanywa to tell us what happens to her during her wedding through a song. Mukaaka narrates to Kasemiire what happened during her wedding day. She says that her sisters sang her a send-off song and up to her old age she has never forgotten it. In the midst of telling her story to Kasemire she remembers the song and begins to sing it:

Kibuzu kyaitu
(Our beloved goat)
Kiryabugana
(Which grazes freely in the wilderness has gone)
Abairetaiba, yagenda kwiba
(She never used to steal, she will start stealing)
Kiryabugana kyayenda
(Which grazes freely in the wilderness has gone)
Abaire taroga, yagenda kuroga
(She never used to bewitch, she will start bewitching)
Kiryabugana kyayenda
(Which grazes freely in the wilderness has gone)
(Kyomuhendo, 1996:77)

Mukaaka goes ahead to give meaning to the song. She implies that:

...if you are not yet married, you are free as a goat that grazes in the wilderness without tying it to the pole on the spot.... But once you get married, you develop new habits like stealing, bewitching and backbiting. Therefore man has to tie you to one spot!

Mukaaka's point is that "once you get married, you can be accused of anything!"

This warns us that the relationship between the West and the South is prone to misunderstandings and conflicts. Indeed the interface between the West and Africa has been riddled with many conflicts and accusations.

As a poet, Wangusa makes effective use of songs and dance to lighten the mood in the story. This is coupled with the use of the Lugisu language in some expressions. Below is a circumcision song which brings courage to the candidate so that he does not fear the knife:

Wo papa Mwantsa
Wo yaya Mwambu
Kuloso kwamakana kwandye
[Oh father Mwantsa
Oh brother Mwambu
I am eaten by the terrible Monster] (Wangusa, 1989:9).

Such songs give the novel a musical touch as well as providing a vivid narrative packed with imagery. These songs, given in Lugisu, sometimes with an English translation, make the story more real and traditional. The songs and dance portray the pride that the people have in their culture and traditions. They portray a rich tradition laced with strong cultural values and language. Such people detest interference with their culture by the West, hence the potential for cross-cultural conflicts.

Aloka in *Iteo Alive* also uses songs to remember heroes who fell to the sword during the Karamojong cattle raids. The old man, encouraged by alcohol and caught up by the memories of his youth, sings one of the songs:

My heart is grieved for the man.
My heart is vindictive for the enemies' kraal
Aa iyo!
Where is he?
Aa iyo!
Where is Lokopyang
Aa iyo
Where is Lomer?
Aa iyo
(Aloka 2000: 40-41)

The song highlights how important it is to remember the dead and what they did in the society. The men who have died in that raid are enumerated in the song.

Sayings are short, pithy expressions that generally contain advice or wisdom. Their purpose is to express and make clear an idea with representative words which relate to facts or characters of everyday life.

Kyomuhendo uses sayings to show the envious heart of Kasemiire's Aunt towards Abwooli whose daughter is joining secondary school. Kasemiire's Aunt tells Abwooli that she is lucky since her daughter is joining secondary school and that she will never lack salt. Abwooli answers her wisely: "It's not always wise to count your chicks before they are hatched" (Kyomuhendo 1996:28). Kasemiire's aunt is not happy that Kasemiire is going to secondary school while her own children are not because her husband has refused to pay their fees. She continues to tell Abwooli that Kasemiire always does wonders and since she is a special girl, she will do the same in the secondary school. And she adds "even those crowing were once eggs" (Kyomuhendo 1996:28). At this Abwooli is quiet.

Bakaluba uses sayings to bring out what is expected of Christians. He brings in Rev Kasule in the picture who says: "You must always remember that actions speak louder than words" (Bakaluba 1975: 71). Bakaluba uses sayings here to emphasize that what one does is more important and it shows the intentions and feelings more clearly than what one says. Sayings play a very important role in African communities but have been watered down and even forgotten with the advent of foreign influence and language.

Proverbs can be described as gems of wisdom because they are coined to impart practical knowledge to a particular society. A proverb is a pithy well-known expression that gives advice or condenses something that is really true (Naula 2012: 9). African proverbs can convey wisdom, truth, a variety of ideas, and life lessons. African proverbs are the practical wisdom that African people have learnt along the walks of life. However, with the coming of the West, most of the young people are losing them, because of lack of practice and thinking they are for the older generation.

Wangusa uses the proverb of a “hoe without a handle” to mean the man who is looking for a suitor. “Old one”, replied he, “I have a hoe without handle and I have come looking for one in your courtyard” (Wangusa 2005:8). Wangusa is using the proverb as a wise saying based upon people's experience, and this is a reflection of the social values and sensibility of the people.

“I was as a lone sheep in a great pasture, with every sort of grass to eat” (Nyabongo 1936:222). Mujungu uses this proverb to tell his people that while he was at school he learnt many things and he has gained from them.

When Reverend Hubert expels Mujungu from school, he announces it to all the students (Nyabongo 1936:236-238). As Mujungu approaches home fear grips him, as to what he will tell his father. He narrates the whole story. Surprisingly Mujungu's father does not get annoyed but thinks of a solution namely to take his son to a private school. That particular night Mujungu fails to sleep, he wakes up very early in the morning, to his father's surprise. The father asks him why he is out of bed so early, and Mujungu replies with a proverb, ‘Where your heart sleeps in the night, there your feet direct you in the

morning' (Nyabongo 1936:238). Nyabongo wants us to understand the kind of zeal which Mujungu has in regard to studies.

A month later, Reverend Hubert brings his students to compete in swimming in the new school where Mujungu is taken. When he realizes that Mujungu is among those going to compete with his school, Reverend Hubert comes up and says with a pleasant voice: 'I think we are going to beat you today, Stanley'. But Mujungu answers sarcastically with a proverb: 'Do not open your mouth before you know what you are eating'. In the competition Reverend Hubert's school loses the game and Mujungu mocks him in the above proverb. Mujungu is very happy with his new school and especially delighted that he has beaten his enemy in the swimming game (Nyabongo 1936: 239). This is also an indication that Africans are better than foreignors in many respects.

The selected Ugandan writers use literary devices in their works to convey messages in a simple manner to the readers. It is found that the eight authors utilize different literary devices like irony and coincidence, symbolism, suspense, flashbacks, exaggeration, personification, songs, sayings, chants, storytelling, folktales, riddles, and proverbs in their novels to help us appreciate, interpret and analyze the works.

6.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has shown how African socio-cultural values have been portrayed and analysed using different literary devices in the eight Ugandan novels under the themes related to rape, marriage, blind imitation, virginity, community spirit as well as cultural mimics, ambivalents and hybrids. I have also been able to discuss the depiction of some

ideal cases of harmonious cultural relationships where there is mutual learning, appreciation and adaptation. The next chapter is discussion of findings.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

7.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine how cross-cultural conflicts are portrayed in Ugandan novels, with particular reference to educational, religious and socio-cultural values. The study was based on eight Ugandan authors, four female and four male, from different geographical, social, political, and cultural backgrounds. People from culturally diverse backgrounds have different cultural values which are bound to conflict whenever they come together. The discussion below starts with conflicts in educational, then religious and ends with socio-cultural values.

7.1 Cross-Cultural Conflicts in Educational Values

It can be asserted that Ugandan novelists portray various aspects of the society and how the influence of the West has brought about conflicts in educational, religious and socio-cultural values.

Cross-cultural conflicts as a discourse have engaged many writers in Uganda and Africa for many years now (Nyabongo, 1935; Ngugi, 1965; Okot, 1966; Mwangi, 1973; Sembene, 1976; Wangusa, 1989; Ocwinyo 1997). African writers have employed both fiction and poetry to engage with various topical issues in their societies, especially the cross-cultural conflicts caused by colonialism (Andersson, 2004).

In the area of education, a paradigmatic case of cultural conflicts brought by Western influence in post-colonial education in Uganda is where pupils were punished for speaking their mother tongues at school. In the religious arena, pre-colonial Africans

were explicitly religious in all spheres of life until Christianity was introduced where life was compartmentalized into family, religion, politics and education. Cross-cultural conflicts escalated when the Western world began to undermine the religiosity of the Africans, calling it heathenism. On the socio-cultural values scene, Africans were family and community oriented and valued fidelity but these began to weaken with the advent of Western influence. These spheres have since been the battlefield of cross-cultural conflicts.

This study has revealed that in their novels, the selected Ugandan writers depict the educational system as characterized by bullying, cram work or rote learning, use of a foreign language and authoritarianism, accompanied with corporal punishment. The education is portrayed to be irrelevant, full of immorality, corruption and bullying, gender-biased, and riddled with mimicry (Okurut, 1998; Ocwinyo, 2008; Kaberuka, 1999; Aloka, 2000; Nyabongo, 1936; Kyomuhendo, 1996; Wangusa, 1989; Bakaluba 1975).

Bullying in schools is particularly graphically depicted in three novels, namely Goretta Kyomuhendo's *The First Daughter* (1996), Karooro Okurut's *The invisible Weevil* (1998) and Timothy Wangusa's *Upon This Mountain* (1989). The bullied characters are Kasemiire, Nkwazi/Goora and Mwambu, respectively. Kasemiire, for example, is called "animal from the zoo" by her fellow student; is kissed by a male student (Ojuka), in public without her consent; is ordered to remove all her clothes and walk naked. These are both examples of physical and verbal bullying as portrayed by three authors and they leave permanent scars in the lives of bullied students. Mary Karooro Okurut portrays newcomers as being forced to line up to receive the "holy communion" which

is actually leftover food and urine from the older girls. Wangusa depicts Mwambu being bullied verbally by older students calling him “Green leaf,... where did you steal those giant trousers, ...stupid green leaf?...”

In the African indigenous education system, learning was done near the fire place or under a tree conducted by the elders. There was nothing like boarding schools where bullying is rampant as portrayed in the novels. The bullying of the new students by the older students in boarding schools is a result of a cross-cultural conflict whereby the modern school system embraced a foreign culture, quite different from the traditional African culture in which the seniors were welcoming to the juniors.

Previously African traditional education was characterized by close social, ethical and collective orientation. It was multi-faceted, and interdisciplinary, and it ensured progressive character development of the child. Some of the values transmitted in African education included community-orientation, love and respect for others.

Where these Western-education-based schools are concerned; corporal punishment is memorably portrayed in Mary Karoro Okurut’s *The Invisible Weevil* (1998), where Teacher Serpent canes Goora for speaking vernacular and, as punishment, makes her fetch water to fill a drum of a hundred litres. Akiki Nyabongo in *Africa Answers Back* (1936) portrays the classroom as a place of torture. The teacher slaps the students and the whole class is brought into confusion. Julius Ocwinyo’s *Fate of the Banished* (2008) depicts Erabu being caned and leaving school. Another of Ocwinyo’s characters, Apire, is slapped by Teacher Turkey and ends up retaliating on the teacher and abandoning

school. The conflict is between the teachers who are the images of the “superior” Western culture and the students who represent the “inferior’ Southern culture.

Formal education is presented as full of cram work by Ocwinyo in *Fate of the Banished* (2008) and Mary Karoro Okurut’s *The Invisible Weevil* (1998). The two authors portray cram work as common with the teacher-centered method of teaching where the students have almost no role in the process. The students are presented as having brains which are not challenged to think beyond cramming what has been given to them. They are not taught to think and come up with new ways of solving a problem but to cram what the teacher presents to them. Western-influenced education is depicted as full of cram work, as opposed to traditional African education which is practically oriented and where students learn by doing.

7.2 Cross-Cultural Conflicts in Religious Values

In the sphere of religious values, this study discussed that Ugandan fiction writers portray aspects of religious syncretism combined with sexual immorality, hypocrisy, superstitious beliefs, circumcision, preposterous baptismal name-giving, and polygamy within monogamy (Nyabongo, 1936; Bakaluba, 1975; Wangusa, 1989; Kyomuhendo, 1996; Okurut, 1998; Kaberuka, 1999; Aloka, 2000; Ocwinyo, 2008).

Religious syncretism, meaning elements of different beliefs practiced concurrently, is portrayed by four authors, namely Nyabongo (1936), Wangusa (1989), Kaberuka (1999) and Ocwinyo (2008). Nyabongo depicts Chief Ati as baptizing his son, Abala Stanley Mujungu, by combining both the tradition African and the Christian way of naming. Nyabongo also portrays Mujungu struggling with conflicting beliefs between monogamy

and polygamy. Mujungu, as the newly enthroned Chief of his people, immediately sends away all the 374 wives and remains with one but because of pressure from his people, he decides to add a few more wives to fit in the community.

Ocwinyo (2008) depicts the religious hypocrisy of Catholic bishops who keep secret wives (“a harem of concubines”) in the convent. Father Dila, a Catholic clergyman, is also depicted to have a relationship with a married woman against the rule of celibacy.

Okurut (1998) in *The Invisible Weevil* depicts Kaaka as a very committed Christian woman who has given birth to five girls and is worried about the trend. Before conceiving the sixth child she decides to consult the diviners. After drinking the herbs from the traditional medicine man, she becomes pregnant and she gives birth to a baby boy. And when the boy is born Kaaka takes the child to church. This is religious syncretism as practiced by African Christians. They believe in Christianity and when things get tough, they run to the diviners and later return to Christianity.

Wangusa (1989) depicts Mayuba as having Buwayirira out of wedlock and then taking him for baptism in church. After the church the family goes back to their tradition of drinking as a way of celebrating the naming of a child in the African traditional way. Wangusa also depicts Mwambu after his baptism saying, “In Christ, I’m now a man.” At this point in the novel Mwambu is mixing rituals of baptism with circumcision. For Wangusa’s community a boy becomes a man only through circumcision, but to Mwambu it is through baptism.

Kaberuka in *Silent Patience* (1999) portrays Stella’s parents as Christians who believe in arranged marriages. There is a possibility that where Stella is taken for marriage,

she could be a second or third wife because polygamy is rife in the chief's family. Stella, knowing that her family has embraced Christianity, hopes to marry a man who is a Christian. So when she tries to question the mother on the arranged marriage, her mother tells her to keep quiet because arranged marriage is their culture.

7.3 Cross-Cultural Conflicts in Socio-Cultural Values

On the socio-cultural values scene, the study argued that Ugandan fiction writers portray aspects of virginity, polygamy, sexual violence/rape, arranged marriage, community orientation and circumcision (Okurut, 1998; Ocwinyo, 2008; Kaberuka, 1999; Aloka, 2000; Nyabongo, 1936; Kyomuhendo, 1996; Wangusa, 1989; Bakaluba 1975).

Virginity is one of the prominent values portrayed by four authors - Nyabongo (1936), Bakaluba (1975), Okurut (1997) and Wangusa (2015). Nyabongo portrays a virgin girl as treasured by both her own community and that of the bridegroom. A girl who goes into marriage when she is a virgin is considered to be pure, perfect, virtuous and healthy.

Bakaluba's *Honeymoon for Three* (1975) portrays aunt Sulu bragging how Naiga is a virgin - which must be proved for everybody to confirm. Okurut (1998) depicts Nkwanzi telling Genesis that virginity should be treasured, not despised. Wangusa (2015) presents virginity as important to the extent that if both the girl and the boy are not virgins, they will fake it in order to avoid embarrassment. Both Wangusa's Nakintu and Mwambu enter into marriage pretending to be virgins, but although they tried to keep as quiet as 'the grave', the secret could not be kept forever.

Virginity is presented as one of the major values which are cherished in the African traditional community, but with the coming of modernity it is being ridiculed as a violation of human rights. This is a typical case of cross-cultural conflict, whereby the West is even currently overwhelming the South by promoting all kinds of sexual freedoms that clearly violate the African traditional culture.

On the socio-cultural values scene, the most common themes portrayed among Ugandan fiction writers are virginity, polygamy, sexual violence/rape, arranged marriage, community orientation and circumcision. The authors used narrative techniques to depict the importance of virginity in their community. A girl who goes into marriage when she is a virgin is considered to be pure, perfect, virtuous and healthy. Virginity is presented as one of the major values which are cherished in the African traditional community, but with the third space (Bhabha, 1994) it is being ridiculed as a violation of human rights with West promoting all kinds of sexual freedoms that violate African traditional culture.

In brief, Ugandan novelists portray various aspects of the society and show how the influence of the West has brought about cross-cultural conflicts, the focus of this study being the very vulnerable areas of educational, religious and socio-cultural values. The solution to cross-cultural conflicts lies in the dialogue between the concerned cultures. Having discussed the findings of the study, this work ends with the conclusion and recommendations in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

8.0 Introduction

This is a multi-disciplinary study that sought to investigate creative written works in terms of how they reflect cross-cultural conflicts in educational, religious and socio-cultural values. The study therefore contributes to knowledge advancement in Literature, Educational, Religious and Sociological Studies.

8.1 Summary of Findings

8.1 Conclusions

The study concludes that Ugandan novelists portray various aspects of the society and how the influence of the West has brought about conflicts in educational, religious and socio-cultural values.

8.1.1 Educational Values Conflicts

This study has revealed that the selected Ugandan writers depict the educational system as characterized by bullying, cram work or rote learning, use of a foreign language and authoritarianism, accompanied with corporal punishment. These are all negative phenomena. The Authors may have emphasized the negativities because of their experiences and dissatisfaction with the education system.

This study unveils that the Ugandan authors use exaggerated language like “stupid green leaf”, “stupid girl”, “rooted to the spot, speechless”, “buttocks resounding in the classroom” to demonstrate the evils in schools, particularly boarding schools. The

authors create characters that are wicked to inform the community that even if the government of Uganda has tried its best to fight corporal punishment and bullying in schools, it is still an issue. The authoritarian teachers are also created by the authors to criticize teachers who use their position to mistreat students at school. Headmasters and teachers are symbols of leadership and role models and if the Ugandan authors create these characters as cruel, this is an indication that the leadership in the nation is wicked. The study also exposes school as the place of both learning and torture. But this is not true for all leaders as there are those who are altruistic and humane.

Ocwinyo and Okurut condemn cramwork scarstically by presenting the students as having brains which are not challenged to think beyond cramming. This is vote of no confidence on the existing education system. This study reveals the challenges which come as a result of cram work, where the graduates of this educational system are not able to create jobs. They are not in position to come up with new ideas of solving problems. Western-influenced education is depicted as full of cram work, as opposed to traditional African education which is practical oriented and where students learn by doing. Further more African traditional education is characterized by close social, ethical and collective orientation, multi-faceted, and interdisciplinary, and it ensured progressive character development of the child. Western oriented education system may have challenges but it has permitted the advancement of technology and enabled the world to become a global village. The African traditional education system is not all rosy, it has limitations. An open-minded and symbiotic development of both would take us farther.

8.1.2 Religious Values Conflicts

The authors created characters that condemn the religious leaders and their followers as hypocritical, having religious syncretism combined with sexual immorality, superstitious beliefs, ridiculous baptismal name-giving, and polygamy within monogamy.

The authors use the descriptive rhetoric mode to bring out the vivid image of what is happening in Western oriented Christian community. The characters created by the authors are symbolic in name, for example, *brigadier*, *askari/afande*, *Reverend Graves*, *Father Dila* which are titles of important officers in the community. These titles are for people who are influential in the community. The leadership of the author's community is full of people who are wicked. The Ugandan authors depict brigadier as evil - giving students to drink urine instead of church wine - the school chaplain sleeping with his student, Reverend Father sleeping with someone's wife - hence the infiltration of wickedness in church leadership which goes unpunished. This stands in contrast to the traditional African religious system, where the issues of community and religion are inseparable. Religion was meant to serve the community and every activity was religious in nature. The religious leaders were known to be altruistic but in cases where evil is committed by a community member punishment is severely administered. A conflict therefore exists between the Western oriented Christianity and traditional African religious values. In Christianity evil goes unpunished until the day of judgement while in traditional African religious system punishment is on the spot.

8.1.3 Socio-Cultural Values Conflicts

The concluding paradigm in the area of sociocultural values is the African value of pre-marital virginity, which is ridiculed due to Western influence, while other sexual freedoms and perversions of Western origin are defended as “human rights.” Another striking conclusion is that Ugandan authors use flashbacks and symbols to condemn individualistic tendencies of the Western life style and commend the African community spirit.

8.2 Conclusion

The major contribution of this study is the multi-disciplinary nature of its subject matter, which expanded the frontiers of knowledge in literary discourse to embrace educational, religious and socio-cultural concerns and values. The presentations and analyses, which are exploratory in nature, taking a theme and examining its occurrence in the different novels, is one of my most important and original contribution to the fund of knowledge about Ugandan literature in particular and African anti-colonial literature in general. This is an original piece of research that investigates a previously little trodden territory.

8.3 Recommendations

Since this study is about analysis of cross-cultural conflicts, namely, conflicts between the Western and African cultural values, further studies should look at inter-ethnic cultural conflicts within Ugandan space and Africa, which was beyond the scope of this study. Further studies could also analyse conflicts within the characters in Ugandan novels.

Furthermore, Ugandan novels are very rich in orality and use of local languages and names. Further studies could be undertaken to analyse and expand on this phenomena.

The major accent of this study was to compare the Pre-colonial African values with the Colonial and Post-colonial Africa and to analyse how Ugandan authors depict cultural conflicts between them. Further studies should dwell on the current cultural dynamics in Africa without recourse to the past.

Further studies could also endeavour to combine the post-colonial theory with other theories from the social sciences to explain the phenomena of cross-cultural conflicts in the spirit of multidisciplinary to which this study contributed.

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