

# ***The State and Cultural Institutions in Uganda: Buganda and Bunyoro Kingdoms Perspective***



**JOHN PAUL II JUSTICE AND PEACE CENTRE**



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in Uganda: Buganda and Bunyoro  
Kingdoms Perspective***



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# THE STATE AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN UGANDA

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*Tel.: 0414-267372*

*Email: [jp2justice.director@gmail.com](mailto:jp2justice.director@gmail.com)*

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## Five major Old Kingdoms in Uganda



Source; <http://cominganarchy.com/2009/03/13/the-constituent-kingdoms-of-uganda>

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## **Acronyms**

<b>CAO</b>	Chief Administrative Officer
<b>CBOs</b>	Community Based Organizations
<b>CIs</b>	Cultural Institutions
<b>CLs</b>	Cultural Leaders
<b>CSOs</b>	Civil Society Organizations
<b>FGDs</b>	Focus Group Discussions
<b>FHRI</b>	Foundation for Human Rights Initiative
<b>KIs</b>	Key Informants
<b>KIU</b>	Kampala International University
<b>IRs</b>	Individual Respondents
<b>JPIIJC</b>	John Paul II Justice and Peace Centre
<b>MoGLSD</b>	Ministry of Gender Labor and Social Development
<b>NAADS</b>	National Agricultural Advisory Services
<b>NRA</b>	National Resistance Army
<b>HURINET</b>	Human Rights Network
<b>SPSS</b>	Statistical Package for Social Scientists

## Preface

This study entitled “The State and Cultural Institutions (CIs) in Uganda: Buganda and Bunyoro Kingdoms Perspective” covers a wide scope of issues on the relationship between the two institutions. Specifically, the study focuses on: the perception of the current relationship, areas of conflict, areas of collaboration, efforts undertaken to promote peace, factors affecting the effectiveness of the efforts, and finally, strategies to foster collaboration. John Paul II Justice and Peace Centre (JPJIPC) decided to carry out the study following some incidences of confrontation between the Central Government and CIs (Buganda and Bunyoro Kingdoms). Some of the issues include, but are not limited to: property demand, federal demand, territorial seceding, operational space, oil and other natural resources.

In some cases like the Kayunga riots, lives and properties were lost. Further, scores of youth who participated in the riots were arrested and put in prison for a period of over two years without trial. Despite the fact that Government sometimes uses force to quell some of the riots and demonstrations, the Kingdoms continue to sow the words of not backing down unless their demands are met. Consequently, JPJIPC took the initiative to critically analyze the current State – CI relationship, in an effort to establish appropriate measures and strategies to address the above mentioned issues.

Many recent studies and publications on the relationship between the State and the CIs done by scholars like Nsibambi (1995), Mutibwa (2008), Mayega (2009), Steinhart (1977) and other scholars adequately tackled the relationship between Buganda and the State, Bunyoro and Buganda, and others focused on the resilience, and historical role of CIs. Bainomugisha (2006) focused on the oil issue in Bunyoro. HURINET (2010) comprehensively reported the effects of the 2009 riot in Buganda in particular. All these studies have provided background for this study. Secondly, the study follows the recommendations from the Economic Commission for Africa in 2007, which recommended measures to integrate traditional leaders and democratic political values into the modern governance structure in a dynamic manner that enhances development and promotes democratization.





## **Section One**

### **Introduction and Background to the Study**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

Uganda being a heterogeneous country is endowed with various tribes and some are organized under Cultural Institutions (CIs). However, this diversity has not yet fully been appreciated as there is continuous conflict in various spheres of its political, social, economic and cultural aspects. In the pre-colonial era, this society was led by influential traditional or Cultural Leaders (Kings, Chiefs and Clan Heads) and had well developed governments. Bound by language, culture and historical practices, the Cultural Leaders possessed central positions, symbols of unity and appointed chiefs. They controlled the distribution of land and exercised almost total control. There was a strong relationship between the Cultural Leaders, their subjects and other regional Kingdoms. In Kingdoms like Buganda, the administration consisted of the King, the Ministers, a Council of County and departments and there were several levels of Chiefs (Ray 1991). The current Kingdom's structure is organized as follows: The King (Kabaka) possessing the most central and highest position, the Katikkiro (who is the Prime Minister), the Queen (Naabagereka), a Cabinet of Ministers (Abakulu b'Ebitongole), a Council (Lukiiko) as the Parliament of the Kingdom and the Chiefs at different levels (The Mutongole, Muluka, Gombolola and Saza Chiefs) at the village, parish, sub county and county levels respectively. Bunyoro Kingdom has a similar structure except for the naming of some structures like the King (Omukama), the Council that is called (Orukurato), the Queen (Omuggo), among others.

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

When the first explorers visited this part of Africa, now called Uganda, between 1865 and 1872, they found the CI set up was so remarkable, well structured and organized. Buganda invited the British, who to expand their influence to other regions. CIs and Chiefdoms constituted the major political organs and actively contributed to economic development and governance. Buganda was the most influential, greatly supported by the British and was declared a British Protectorate in the 1894 Agreement. Buganda turned into a State within Uganda's State (Mutibwa 1992:3). It maintained a high degree of autonomy. The 1900 Agreement gave Buganda a special place in what later became Uganda. Western governance, po-

litical and administrative structures distorted the Cultural Leaders' (CLs) roles, reduced their power, severely weakened the accountability mechanisms and reduced their tax base; e.g. in 1929, tribute which was paid to the CLs was legalized into poll tax paid to the Government.

Buganda, Toro, Ankole, Bunyoro and the territory of Busoga constituted the major political organs. There were also other areas with Chiefdoms in the Northern and Eastern Regions and West Nile. These institutions were instrumental not only in promoting law and order but also in leading Uganda to independence. They were actively involved and contributed to economic development. Buganda Kingdom was the most influential at the time due to colonial influence. Administrative and institutional reforms were adapted in 1952 to prepare for independence (Mutibwa 2008), Independence was achieved in 1962. New political elites undermined the position of CIs (Mugaju 2000:17). Western forms of governance started dominating at the national and regional levels. The King of Buganda, Mutesa II, concurrently became the first President as well as King of Buganda while Milton Obote became the First Prime Minister. However, the political power of the Kingdoms was rendered passive when they were abolished in 1966 by Milton Obote. The presidents who succeeded him did not restore the Kingdoms. Nevertheless, the Kingdoms continued demanding for restoration. After ascending to power, the current Government on the basis of Rights to Culture, according to the Odoki 1993 report, decided to restore CLs. Buganda was the first to be restored in 1993 and Bunyoro, Toro, Busoga followed later. However, since the restoration of the CIs, the relationship of some of them with the Central Government has been drifting. Buganda and Bunyoro Kingdoms relationship with the Central Government has not been all that smooth stemming from the unmet demands of the two CIs from State. Additionally, new issues came up arising from resources and the laws governing the CIs. Some of these issues resulted into violent conflicts such as the September 2009 riots which claimed lives and loss of properties. In 2010, the Government decided to enact a law to regulate the operation of the CLs, commonly known as the "The Traditional or Cultural Leader's Bill."

The objective of this Bill is to operationalize article 246 of the Constitution on the institution of Traditional or Cultural Leaders. The Bill seeks to provide for the existence of Traditional and Cultural Leaders in any area of Uganda in accordance with the Constitution. It provides for the recognition of Traditional and Cultural Leaders by the Government, and their privileges and benefits; to provide for the resolution of issues relating to

Traditional or Cultural Leaders which have not been resolved in any community; and for related matters. However, there have been some clauses in the Bill which have been controversial such as Government power to withdraw recognition of a Traditional Leader who engages in politics, penalties when someone compels another to pay allegiance to a Traditional Leader, punishment of a Traditional Leader who provides a platform for a member of a political party who discusses politics, and the rotational power sharing in a Regional Government, among others.

## **1.2 Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of this study is to ascertain ways through which the State and Cultural Institutions can attain sustainable peace and work together for the development of the people.

### **Specific objectives**

- To examine the nature of the relationship between the State and CIs
- To identify the efforts undertaken by the State and CIs in the promotion of peace
- To examine the effectiveness and short falls in the efforts undertaken
- To establish appropriate and effective strategies for sustainable peace.

## **1.3 Methodology**

The data collection was carried out through personal interviews with different categories of people. Interviews were held with people who work and pay allegiance to the CIs and Government Officials. Information was also solicited from opinion leaders, religious leaders, civil society organizations workers, academia and other people who do not belong to any of the CIs in Uganda.

### **1.3.1 Scope of the Study**

The study was conducted in the two Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro. Information was sought from: Government Officials (CAOs and LCVs); religious leaders; CSOs, and academia. From the CIs themselves, information was sought from the clans within those Kingdoms. The study looked into the nature of the relationship between CIs and the State, efforts undertaken to foster peace, impact of the relationship on the local people, areas of collaboration and the way forward to foster sustainable peace.

### **1.3.2 Sampling Method**

Key Informants (KIs) knowledgeable about the State and CI matters were purposively sampled. Selection of the sample districts in Buganda and Bunyoro were in two stages. First, four out of 24 districts namely Mukono, Luweero, Mpigi and Wakiso were selected through a simple random sampling technique. It's from these districts that the four CAOs and LCVs were identified and in Bunyoro four out five districts namely Buliisa, Kibaale, Masindi and Hoima were selected. Secondly, four FGDs in these four districts in Buganda were also systematically sampled .i.e. four out of 52 clans. Systematic sampling was not feasible in Bunyoro as anticipated since the majority of clans are small with scattered settlements. Therefore, four prominent clans were instead opted for. Each FGD comprised of members of the same clan above 18 years, of mixed gender and selected through an on spot mobilization. For Individual Respondents (IRs), purposive sampling of two government universities, two private universities and two tertiary institutions was employed. There were 38 KIs, 80 FGD participants and 140 Individual respondents, totaling to 258 respondents.

### **1.3.3 Procedure**

Skilled research assistants were identified and trained on the data collection tools besides involving them in pre-testing for familiarity of the tools. Pre-testing also helped in improving the tools to ascertain their level of precision and accuracy in obtaining the desired data. During data collection, only selected respondents were interviewed to avoid selection bias. In-depth interviews were carried out to probe the State and CI officials, to give an elaborate and exact situation. The respondents were also informed of the purpose of the study and their voluntary participation besides the confidentiality and anonymity.

The questions were open ended, issues talked about were the only ones probed further about, so as to know those most pressing.

### **1.3.4 Instruments and Data Collection**

Semi-structured questionnaires and open ended questions were used to establish KIs and FGD respondents views and experiences. FGDs, involving in-depth interviews were used to obtain greater insight on the issues. The grounded theory was employed where shifts were made from more specific to more general on local people's demands and expectations. Other information was obtained through review of related literature.

### **1.3.5 Limitations**

It is not easy to carry out research dealing with historical facts, yet people need to express their feelings upon the events that took place. One cannot avoid the challenge of respondents giving their views depending on the camps they belong to and how they have been socialized or indoctrinated on the historical issues. However, some people argue that through personal reading, one can make informed and objective judgement about issues. Notwithstanding this argument, the society we live in has a lot of influence over our thinking and behaviour. Therefore, this study by and large reflects the general belief among the different categories of respondents on the relationship between the State and Cultural Institutions in Uganda. The Individual respondents who were mainly university students and some few from other institutions had limited information about the subjects that were discussed.

## Section Two

### Buganda and Bunyoro Relationship with the State

The relationship between the State and Cultural Institutions matters a lot in the development of the specific Cultural Institutions and the State at large. If not managed well, the relationship can lead into setbacks to National Unity and Development. Cultural Institutions can be instrumental in ensuring that Government programmes succeed. Indeed where the local people respect their Cultural Leaders, a healthy relationship with such a Leader guarantees that Government programmes will achieve their objectives. Therefore, efforts should be made to ensure that Government and functional Cultural Institutions are in agreement. Where there is disagreement, the cost is great on development and people's life.

#### 2.0 Perception of the Relationship

The relationship between the two Cultural Institutions has been perceived as oscillating by the respondents from these Kingdoms. The majority of the respondents from the FGD, KIs and IRs referred to the relationship as a fair one. Another significant number of respondents referred to the relationship as being good. The third group referred to the relationship as being very poor. Those who referred to the relationship as being fair which is indeed the perception of many of the respondents both in Buganda and Bunyoro based their opinion on several factors. These factors were both positive and negative. From the positive perspective; the respondents from Bunyoro Kindom felt that the Government has been supportive to the Omukama<sup>1</sup> in terms of incentives, security and support for the Mpan-go<sup>2</sup>. On the negative side they rated the relationship fair due to several factors, namely; very poor roads, lack of public university in the Kingdom, Pseudo-autonomous restoration of Kingdoms<sup>3</sup>, Bafuruki<sup>4</sup> settlement in Bunyoro, less representation of the Banyoro in Ministerial positions, demand for a Minister for Bunyoro affairs in the Central Government, and limited responsiveness to the Kingdom's interest.

1 "Omukama" is the King of Bunyoro Kingdom

2 The annual coronation anniversary celebration held in Bunyoro Kingdom, usually at Karuzika palac

3 Pseudo-autonomous restoration of kingdoms means that the Kingdoms were restored without self governance

4 Bafuruki are immigrants into Bunyoro Kingdom. A Mufuruki is one who belong to another community other than a Munyoro, mostly the Bakiiga and Balaalo.

Regarding the Buganda Kingdom, on the positive aspect of rating the relationship between the Cultural Institutions and the State to be fair, the respondents asserted that the Government has re-instituted the Cultural Institutions and has permitted them to operate. However, on the negative side of the rating, they alluded to issues such as; restriction of Kabaka's movements (Kayunga in Sept 2009), some property is still demanded to be returned, Government defaulting to pay Buganda's outstanding rent debts, federal and power sharing and the controversial Traditional Cultural Leaders' Bill.

On the other hand, the respondents who rated the relationship to be good explicitly connected it to the virtue of the Government reinstating the CIs and very few incidents of direct violent outbreaks. Although rating relationship is good, the respondents from Bunyoro Kingdom reiterated similar issues which affect this relationship like those who rated it as fair, but added some new issues. The new issues include: Bunyoro Cultural Leaders' views addressed, land grabbing by some big Government Officials, lost counties<sup>5</sup>, and absentees land lords<sup>6</sup>. The respondents in Buganda Kingdom rated the relationship to be good on similar basis like those of Bunyoro but added other positive factors, namely; sometimes the Government listens to Buganda's demands, favours Buganda more than other CIs, provides security to the King and Buganda, and employs Baganda in Government. Despite these positive elements, some of the respondents perceived elements of discontent such as little support from Government, land conflicts, failure of federal or power sharing, property demand, tribalism, and the Kayunga<sup>7</sup> incidence. The last category of respondents who rated the relationship as being very poor were very few and based their position on only negative incidents which transpired between the Government and the Cultural Institutions as already cited above.

By and large, the respondents from the FGDs in Buganda expressed the fear that, although extreme violence rarely took place so far, if the wavering relationship continues it might in future culminate into disaster. They stated that when conflicts are not being addressed they might result in outbreaks of violence such as the Kayunga incident. Some of them referred to the inter-religious and tribal clashes in Nigeria and Rwanda respectively that started as minor differences and later on ended up in unthinkable violence.

5 Lost counties are Bunyoro counties which were given to Buganda by the British government.

6 Absentees land lords are Buganda land lords in Bunyoro kingdom

7 Kayunga incidence refers to Kabaka loyalist who roited against government for stopping Kabaka visit to the area.



*“We now days talk while frightened; we are no longer at peace. Whatever happens should be a lesson to learn and also provide an answer to the current challenges, for example we should learn from the Rwanda genocide”,* one of the FGD respondents of the Lugave clan in Mpigi commented. They, however, hoped that through dialogue and consultation with different stakeholders, the situation could be brought to order and no violence would occur between Buganda and the State.

## **2.1 Areas of Discontent in the Relationship**

The restoration of Cultural Institutions by the current Government was the first basic step in bringing a healthy relationship between them. The respondents appreciated the great role played by the current Government in restoring CIs that were abolished by Milton Obote in 1966. The successive Governments did not restore them though some people remained with strong love for their Cultural Leaders and togetherness within cultural sentiment. After the National Resistance Army (NRA) ascending to power, the ten point program was made and No. 7 reads: “We shall redress all the errors committed by the past regimes.” These errors included the abolition of CIs, confiscation of property, ceasement of all the cultural functions from being performed. On 31st July 1993, the Kabaka was crowned. According to the traditional ruler’s restitution of Assets and Properties Act of 1993, any assets or property previously confiscated by the State in relation to any Traditional Ruler under the Constitution of 1967 was to be returned. Though with other Traditional Rulers, this was to be done upon negotiation with the State. The 1995 Constitution, chapter six, article 2468 also stated that all Monarchies that were abolished were to be reinstated. Therefore, considering the long journey they went through, one of the KIs declared it a good relationship. The operation of Cultural Leaders is now constitutional and legalized, some of their territories are recognized, they are realizing and promoting culture, there’s strong solidarity and cooperation among clans.

However 44.1% of the respondents claimed that after the restoration, Government has virtually not done much to revive the Kingdoms, especially Bunyoro, which was left without any support and is not fully equipped with most of its property and power to run the Institution. They highly doubted Central Government’s recognition of the Institutional framework within which the Kings work, they added. Indeed article 2468 only recognizes the re-institution of the Cultural Leaders but not the CI. They were re-instated without power and not equipped with the basics necessary for

their functioning. Some of the FGD participants regretted the lack of recognition of CIs stating that a CL is just one element within the CI system. *“Recently the President wanted to talk to Bunyoro, and so many other times but he only talks to the King, even when our Rukurato requests for dialogue with him. ...the other day, the President said it openly that he does not recognize us, he only recognizes the King. So we are not sure of being there tomorrow as a Kingdom”*, a KI in Buliisa, Bunyoro Kingdom confirmed.

In addition, interviews with local Government Officials revealed that they have not fully appreciated the importance of CIs. Some of the Officials despised its structures specifically the Ministries within the CIs claiming that they are already catered for by Government. This unfortunate situation is also known to some of the CL, for example those in Bunyoro Kingdom. Some respondents from the Babito Clan in Buliisa Municipality, asserted that the Government is fighting for CIs’ down fall, the reasons being the Kingdom’s property that has never been returned and Government’s failure to economically empower and support CIs’ Institutional Development resulting from their fear that this would make them stronger to demand greater power, bearing in mind Kabalega’s resistance to the British. There is a general perception that most CIs like Bunyoro are not yet fully functional and vibrant due to lack of funds, which prohibits them from doing anything viable for their people or support their workers. *“We have become beggars; sometimes we don’t even deserve being called a Kingdom. We have been having our oil for long. In the past, King Kabalega successfully fought for his territory, kingship and resources. All these buildings, health centers, schools were built by the CIs. We don’t know why Government is not fully recognizing the CIs and even returning our property”*, KI in Buliisa, Bunyoro Kingdom lamented and demanded.

Indeed the Constitution spells out how CIs should relate with the State<sup>8</sup>. However, local Government KIs confirmed that the extent of collaboration of CLs with local councils was not clear. Meanwhile, some basics like the succession law - how a King ascends on the throne, documents inclusive of all subjects, structures, roles of (County, Sub County, Parish Chiefs, the Council of Rukurato, the King and the Cabinet in the Kingdom) and how they relate within and with the Government are not known to most Banyoro. The KIs further asserted that the role and meaning of the CI itself is not clear to many of its own subjects since most were born when Kingdoms had been abolished.

<sup>8</sup> Article 246 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995

As the time lag between abolition of the CIs and their restoration was very big, this has resulted in ignorance about Cultural Values and affected people's attitude about CIs. Local Government Officials argued that Government cannot give resources to an Institution which cannot be monitored or supervised<sup>9</sup>, as demanding accountability and sanctioning failure to pay may be very hard. Thus Bunyoro's oil resource dividends may go through the local Government. Bunyoro must prove sustainable, beneficial and relevant to the people today and to a legacy for the future.

On the other hand, some of the respondents (in FGDs and KIs) in Buganda Kingdom further stressed that they were not happy about the way Government was constantly re-echoing the restoration, yet the relationship is not good. *"Words that keep irritating Buganda should be rubbed off the vocabulary e.g. it is this Government that brought CIs back. I hate those words! Everybody had a contribution in the war, so bragging that we re-instated you back is not good"*, one of the Local Government Officials interviewed complained. The good relationship during restoration of Kingship was eroded shortly after, due to tensions as noted by some KIs. According to them, the President was not interested in CIs restoration; but he knew that the country would not stabilize without restoration of the CIs. Some KIs, therefore, believe that the true reason for the restoration was manipulation and a political gimmick in order to use the Baganda as a powerful tool for the fighting. The President knew it was a question of time and after stabilizing the country, he would forget about Buganda and other CIs.

### **2.1.1 Property Demand**

Both Buganda and Bunyoro Kingdoms are still demanding for their properties that were confiscated after abolition of CIs. In Bunyoro, 75% of the FGDs complained of Bunyoro's administrative buildings being occupied by the Local Governments. The Government has been struggling to forcefully occupy even the Karuzika Palace buildings, but failed. Although they appreciated the return of the palaces in Masindi and Hoima after the re-institution of Kingship, they continued to complain about all the county buildings which are still being occupied by Local Government. According to the Banyoro the Kingdom requested that these buildings should at least be rented; it shortly worked in only one Sub County and collapsed as the Government even stopped paying rent for that sub county.

<sup>9</sup> According to the traditional system, traditional leaders were not accountable to anybody outside the Kingdom.

Since then, nothing much has been achieved, no rent or compensation. The respondents from Bunyoro claimed not to have violently demanded for their properties though some asserted that the youth were ready to make some noise, they are ripe for change. *"We are so good that we are very patient; the lamb's humility does not stop it from fighting one day. We have never got that chance"*, a key informant in Buliisa district warned.

Similarly, in Buganda, a good number of the respondents claimed that most of Buganda's properties, namely; county buildings where the Bataka<sup>10</sup> used to meet and the 9000 square miles which include wetlands, swamps, forests, and lakes had also not been returned to the Kingdom. Some of the FGD participants were sure that part of the land they demand is not yet occupied. The respondents lamented that the Kingdom's buildings are currently being occupied by Government Institutions and Government has not paid outstanding rent dues in billions of Uganda shillings for long. This is one of Buganda's serious contentious issues that anger Mengo<sup>11</sup> because normally the response from Central Government is that it does not have enough funds, yet Baganda are convinced that it is a deliberate refusal. This has left Buganda with limited funds for development, they complained. *"We are very aware that the Central Government is deliberately refusing to pay the rent because it has billions of money; it's capable of building its own buildings and leaving Buganda's"*, an FGD respondent of Mpologoma clan in Luweero Stated. Refusal by the Government to return the buildings, land or pay rent was attributed to Buganda being despised and lack of interest in Buganda's decision by the Government. They further said, Government is also jealous about Buganda's properties and wants it to remain bankrupt, since it goes ahead to even discourage subjects from paying tribute to their King. The existence of CI structures with different leaders is not recognized and they are not given the authority they need to do what they ought.

They further asserted, with examples that the police and prison buildings, as well as the Luweero headquarters, land from Nakayizi – to Kibumba Kalabusana, Nakasongola Katikamu headquarters, the court, the buildings; and others are in Buganda's land and have not been returned and that their ancestral homes/lands are disappearing. Part of the 9000 square miles, especially in Goma Gombolora, was being fenced and fragmented into many farms, not benefiting Buganda.

10 It is a hereditary chiefly council that the Kabaka initially ruled with; the council was however later replaced with members loyal to Kabaka called the Lukiko.

11 "Mengo" means the administrative headquarter of Buganda Kingdom

Regarding the Mailo land in Namasuba, there is no proper understanding on the land ownership between the inhabitants and the Government and they all perceive it differently. They also claimed that talking about Mengo or Kabaka, at the Local Government premises triggers enmity. It was also noted by the FGD participants in Mpigi Buwama that the sub county is on the King's land but he does not benefit anything from it and more of the King's land is being taken by some Government Officials. In Mukono it was also noted that Buganda's administrative structures in Kyaggwe have not been returned, referring to the 1900 Agreement, which states that the property indeed belonged to them. The respondents expressed disappointment that the 9000 Square miles are no longer indicated on the map and also realization that Government is destroying and selling lakes, rivers, forests like Mabira

that are part of 9000square miles instead of protecting them. Those who buy Mailo land do not understand the meaning of this land tenure system and, they say they have bought ettakka<sup>12</sup> while others grab the land which also hurts the Baganda. *"How did some people get the land? How do some people who have not been natives come and claim our land yet we have had it since long ago? ...It is not good to grab our land and send away natives"* an FGD participant from Mpologoma clan in Luweero questioned and wondered.

### **2.1.2 Federal Status Demand**

All respondents from FGD and KIs, and nearly half IRs regarded Buganda's demand for federal status as one of the main causes of friction between Buganda and the State. According to them, Government's refusal to grant Buganda Federo has affected the King's powers and economically handicapped Buganda. They preferred the Federal System of Governance which according to them means Mengo Government receiving more power and responsibility and a share on the tax revenue resources collected from Buganda. Some of them went as far as asserting that the health and education sectors should be managed by Buganda, while the Government should monitor and evaluate, and also help with referral cases e.g. in the health sector, only where Buganda fails. All the roads, hospitals, schools, and all administration are currently managed by the district Local Governments. Buganda is currently not doing much, it has no power, this making it merely ceremonial.

<sup>12</sup> Ettakka means once a person has bought land, there's no obligation to pay any due, yet according to the Baganda any land bought from the kingdom, a fee is to be paid to the kingdom.

All the schools, colleges, PTCs, technical schools have been transferred to the Regional Government, including all the private universities. It was also suggested that the Regional Tier should possess fully fledged 14 Ministers and have a Parliament of 100 elected members, 15 of which are His Highness Appointees, one of the KIs claimed. However, the Regional Tier was rejected. A Regional Tier System was proposed by Government for those who desired it where by districts would come together and Government would give some powers to the Regional Tier and the districts. This was in response to Buganda's demand for Federo. The respondents from FGD, KI and IRs claimed that Buganda is continuously demanding a Federal System because it was promised to them by the State during the NRA liberation war, but not fulfilled. *"It's like our Kabaka is serving us while in prison! some of us did not go to school because during that time NRA called upon us to go and fight for the restoration of the Buganda Kingdom, I was among the 62 who went to the bush to fight for Federo, all have now died, except four of us, but up to now, we have never achieved the promise that was made. They keep playing hide and seek during election time. We no longer have the strong support; it has been reducing from 1999 to now"*, an FGD participant in "Luweero, Mpologoma clan lamented."

Some of the respondents claimed that Buganda's demand for a federal system has been further fuelled by the gaps in service delivery that Government has failed to bridge. Most State Officials are too corrupt to adequately provide service delivery; which they think would be rectified if their demands for a federal system would be fulfilled. Other reasons include: Buganda's desire to be autonomous due to poor governance; oppression of Baganda in many aspects such as in land; constitutional provisions not favourable for the operation of Cultural Leaders; colonial history where Buganda once enjoyed federal status as a prominent Kingdom and collected taxes- Busuru; desire for the Kabaka to be above the President, and property in Buganda belonging to the Kingdom.

### **2.1.3 Territories seceding from Buganda Kingdom**

There has been mistrust from the kingdom about the Government endorsing territories seceding from Buganda. Some of the KI respondents asserted that the current Government after using Buganda Kingdom for its ascendancy to power, no longer cares about the relationship. They claimed that the Government is disempowering the Buganda Administrative structures with the divide and rule method, by supporting territories that are

seceding from Buganda. That is why it is now trying to cultivate a new relationship with those hitherto territories which were part of Buganda such that it gets new allies, of “Mengo within Mengo”, which it has successfully reinstituted with the Baruli, and the Banyala, contrary to Mengo’s wishes. There are also some forces which disengaged Kooki, a very important territory of Buganda. Buganda says it is what it is due to its accommodative and assimilative attitude of other tribes and peaceful co-existence within them. Although the new immigrants Ssabaruri and Ssabanyala<sup>13</sup> in Kayunga may need independence, the Baganda have lived with the Banyala harmoniously for quite long. These divisions are being created by the Government to manage them. These tensions between the Banyala, Baluli, and the Baganda may turn into serious danger, if not resolved. “Why is it that the State is protecting a few who are in for division yet these tribes have

happily existed together for long? It has never happened. This is a problem that needs further interrogations to know the State’s interests”, a civil society KI interviewed suspected. “*Why not appoint a Mululi or Banyala as a Katikiro of Buganda or give them central positions in Buganda that would water down the tension*”, an academia from Makerere University interviewed proposed.

#### **2.1.4 The Land Bill**

According to the position paper of the Civil Society Working Group, the Land Bill aims at punishing those who take part in illegal eviction of lawful tenants. It also gives the tenants the first option of buying in case the land lord wants to sell his land. Therefore, the Bill aimed at promoting equity among all Ugandans irrespective of their social and economic status. However, the Bill strongly favors and protects the rights of the tenants at the expense of the landlords. For instance section 35, the penalties for a person assigning his or her interests in land varies between the tenants and the land lords and the Bill has a heavy hand against the landlords, yet a good law must be equitable and fair. That’s why the Bill has been rejected by many stakeholders including Buganda.

Though the Land Bill was appreciated by some, it was criticized by a majority of the Baganda, arguing that it was supposed to have been consented on before it is adopted and enforced, adding that it brought more confu-

<sup>13</sup> The Ssabaruli and Ssabanyala are the kings of Buruli and Bunyala respectively that were re – instituted against Mengo’s wish.



sion after amendment. They were in particular not happy with tenants paying only 1000/= for the whole year on Mailo land<sup>14</sup> belonging to the Kingdom. *“How can a person pay you only one thousand shillings for using your land? We prefer paying “busulu”<sup>15</sup> to the owners of the land”*, an FGD respondent in Mpigi-Lugave clan questioned and declared. According to them, the Land Bill created hatred among the land lords since the 1,000/= they get from their tenants is too little and preferred that the land lords negotiate payments with their tenants. *“Government is the one which sowed the seed of hatred among the people and they started selling their land”*, an FGD participant in Luweero, Mpologoma clan proposed. They claimed the Land Bill was specifically targeting Buganda because the system of “Mataka” and “Bibanja”<sup>16</sup> is only in Buganda. They also noticed that the State at times dictate on its use of land e.g. investors versus communal owning and expressed fear of continued land grabbing. *“Before this Government came into power, we used not to have many land problems. The President introduced this new Land Bill that is fostering his divide and rule method of ruling Uganda”*, an FGD participant in Luweero, Mpologoma clan explained. The Local Government Officials also expressed their experience on challenges they face on concurrently paying allegiance to the Kabaka and protecting their legitimacy with Central Government and the communities they serve. Experiences shared show that when a Government Official explains to the community issues of controversy, e.g. the Land Bill, they prefer mentioning what the majority who serve the King would like to hear.

Even in Bunyoro, the respondents said that land is one of the most serious issues. The majority of the FGDs said Banyoro were still bitterly grieving about the land titles of their lost counties that were taken by Buganda. *“We plead that the land titles be taken back to their respective places in the District Land Boards in Kibaale or Hoima. Because instead of giving us our land titles and free hold, we are likely to get lease, especially in Kibaale,”* an FGD participant of Bayaga clan, Kibaale expressed his fears. This perception was reechoed by the eight County Chiefs, and some KIs who also said that some native Banyoro e.g. in Kibaale were landless, still living on borrowed land; squatters in their own homes.

14 Mailo land; under this system, land was divided between the Buganda, other notables (e.g. Appollo Kagwa with other 600 acres) and the British protectorate government. Under this system, absent landlords encourage squatters on mailo land and the squatters pay a fee called Burulu.

15 Busulu is the money paid by the land tenants to the landlords in Buganda Kingdom

16 Mataka means a land bearing a land title and bibanja means land owned by someone without a land title.



Their land titles are with the Baganda and were stolen by the Government through Buganda. They said their land is under use and the Baganda have refused to demarcate it to the Banyoro. The FGD in Kibaale also expressed their dissatisfaction with evidence on how the inhabitants of Kakubiro Town Council, requested for their land but were instead given a lease of 49 years instead of being given their land forever on free hold basis. This gave them an impression that it seems they are not the land owners but squatters. The Chiefs added that basing on historical injustices of lost counties and how Buganda treated Bunyoro from 1918 to 1964, they believed that the Banyoro have been neglected since then and they assume that the British also left an unhealed scar, thus advised that Bunyoro region should be considered differently since it suffered colonial rule setbacks.

They also claimed that the Bafuruki<sup>17</sup> had greatly invaded and occupied part of Bunyoro land. The IRs asserted that the Banyoro are troubled by Government's dictation on resettling Bakiiga into Banyoro's land, yet some over produce and others become leaders. It was also noted that in Kibaale – the Bafuruki were still a threat, land was continuously being given out. Also reported was the land crisis between the Banyoro and the Banyarwanda in Buliisa, yet with increasing population. Notwithstanding what has been mentioned above, they stressed that land grabbing was a serious issue. It is being grabbed by top officials and other people, some of whom have acquired land titles. Also, buying big chunks of land at unsatisfactory prices was reported by KIs. They said some big tycoons "Rich men from Kampala" though not grabbing were manipulating the ignorant poor locals by influencing them to sell their land for low prices especially where oil wells are anticipated to be. They also said that these rich people were threatening the local communities of evictions, this has created disputes and displacement of many poor indigenous people, who are bought off and some without anywhere to settle. When the oil wells are constructed in that land, rich men benefit immensely. Also, other big officials were already putting up structures in Hoima, buying off locals with the amount they need. It was also revealed that the Kingdom Courts were not functional at all. They provide no proper management of the land conflicts yet Local Government was also not doing much to solve them. *"When we report this to the authorities, they don't come to our rescue until our land is finally lost. These Local Government Officials are not effectively helping us. If for example you have a case, it will not be solved by these local council members if you don't have money."*

17 Bafuruki are anyone who belongs to another tribe, other than a Munyoro, Bafuruki who had invaded Bunyoro are mostly the Bakiiga and Balaalo.

*We pray that our Kingdom should put local courts to help us so that we first refer to them before our problems are taken to the Government Courts of Law. We take all our cases to the Chairman Local Council, yet they demand money. “I have never heard of any case being taken to the Mutongole<sup>18</sup> of our King”, an FGD participant in Masindi explained and proposed.*

### **2.1.5 Operational Space**

In Buganda, majority of the respondents were aware that the State bears overall responsibility over the whole Country. CIs are operating within a legal framework stipulated in the Constitution, though each has some specific obligations to fulfill. The majority of the respondents were not happy that the King has ceremonial roles and his Chiefs also have no power and that the mandate stipulated in the Constitution is not favouring the King. They also stated that the new Traditional or Cultural Leader’s Bill – restricts the operational space of CLs, oppressing Buganda in all aspects.

However, some of the respondents from the FGD regrettably noted that the Kingdom to some extent also loses focus by involving in politics yet Article 246 subsection 3(e) States that a person shall not, while remaining a Cultural Leader join or participate in partisan politics. Although this provision does not stop people who work under him to participate in active politics and comment on certain issues which are political in nature.

Similarly, the respondents in Bunyoro also claimed that Cultural Leaders and their Chiefs have not been given a chance to execute their roles. They claimed that since Kingship was restored, the Government seems not to care about what they represent because people’s views are no longer considered, instead the Government listens mainly to MPs who do not consider people’s views and whose main mandate is to make laws. They expressed the desire for Cultural leaders’ full participation in culture promotion and development projects. Some respondents from FGD and the Chiefs interviewed further asserted they should be fully involved in making decisions and giving views regarding any developmental activity, identifying all the gaps in service delivery, advocating for the improvement and also supplement. The Kingdom can build hospitals, schools and provide bursaries for the poor and orphans in collaboration with the Government since they are on the ground. Moreover their King is nonpartisan and would best present people’s needs.

<sup>18</sup> A mutongole is a chief representing a king at a village level.

They expect their Cultural Leaders to be consulted first as focal people when dealing with natural resources, land or any other issue pertinent to Bunyoro. This was not the case because the Kingdom was not granted enough power and authority to fulfill their Cultural mandate. There are no structures through which they can operate due to the Government laws and Policies (Constitution of Uganda provisions make the CIs purely cultural) and they lack funds since Cultural Leaders do not have power to collect revenues for basic developmental activities like “Bulungi bwansi”<sup>19</sup>.

*“We thought that since we have a Cultural Institution, it would help us to bridge the gap by letting our political leaders know the problems we are facing but that’s not happening! ... The Cultural Institutions should do about 79% of the activities since they are closer to the people than the Government”, a Bahinda clan FGD respondent in Hoima district expressed. “Where did the oil drillers pass to put their pipes in our land? Our Cultural Leaders MUST have a say about it! They should consult our Cultural Leaders first since they are focal people. They may destroy our Cultural sites and destroy our culture. They have already drilled all our wells, two are already dry, here in Buliisa, one of them is called Bukweigwe, located in the park. ...State Leaders and drillers “MUST” ask our King how cultural issues are handled before doing anything. Government should always first let the King speak here in Bunyoro and they just supplement”, FGD Babiito clan respondent in Buliisa district asked and demanded.*

However, in one FGD the respondents admitted that although Government is not fully providing a favorable environment for CIs involvement, some Cultural Leaders also do not care about their roles and the issues affecting the institutions. But noteworthy is realization of some KIs that the Cultural Leader’s Bill clearly sets boundaries for the operation of Cultural Leaders. Therefore if the State is functioning properly in providing services then that is acceptable. *“Sometimes, the Kingdom feels idle; when ideas are developed on how it can develop and be sustainable, we are interrupted by Government and accused to be doing it out of law. “Kingdoms are not supposed to do this. You are interfering.” For example, if we feel we can defend our Cultural interests through involvement, we are interrupted.*

<sup>19</sup> “Bulungi Bwa nsi” commonly used to mean; one of the major ways the community combines efforts to maintain roads & general public sanitation.

*How do you promote Culture when you are not allowed to talk? If you talk, then it's politics",* One of the Ministries in Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom wondered. They claimed that there are conflicts regarding roles between the Government and CIs. For example the Kingdom has various Ministers like Minister of Education, Agriculture, Health etc. but some Government Officials claim that Government is already catering for all the Ministries. The Cultural Leaders claimed that their interests, e.g. in education, is incorporating the Cultural norms and the local language to teach children when they are still young. They feel this limits their right to fully exercise their Culture.

### **2.1.6 Oil and other Natural Resources**

Peculiar to Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom, the respondents from FGD talked about oil and other natural resources as one of the major areas of conflict with the State. They identified Bunyoro region as having the biggest number of forest reserves in Uganda especially in Kibaale. They however stated that the Bakiga are destroying wetlands, trees, and kill some animals e.g. in Kabaake Reserve. According to them, the Bakiiga have been and are still building houses in forests and wetlands, yet the Banyoro had protected it and prohibited construction for several years. They also claimed that Bunyoro no longer benefits from other natural resources like lakes and national parks.

*"Our timber is being taken, animals being killed, wetlands drying. We are not benefiting at all! What about the oil? It's also likely to go. The Government is likely to take oil, the way it has taken the natural resources",* a FGD respondent of the Bayaga clan in Kibaale district complained. *"We used to get 5% of the National Park revenue but we no longer get anything. The Kingdom is just keeping quiet. We no longer benefit from the lake. We used to get fish for sale. We no longer do, because the Kingdom is no longer supporting us",* another FGD respondent in Hoima, Bahiinda clan lamented.

The respondents clearly stated that the oil discovery had raised people's expectations and therefore they hope to benefit from it. According to them the Government through the Ministry of Energy has not been transparent since Bunyoro have remained ignorant about the oil shares for long despite the documents and petitions Bunyoro sent. They are curious about what is happening with the oil and the extent to which they will benefit from it but claimed that information has been kept confidential. Although the oil discovery had not yet yielded violent conflicts, they anticipated potential loss

of lives while fighting for oil dividends or loss of control over the natural resources, confusion and chaos if oil sharing is not wisely handled. It was also noted that the relationship between the locals and drilling companies was not very good in Buliisa and Kibaale as it is believed that the companies do not want ordinary people to benefit. The locals expected to find jobs at the oil drilling sites but they claimed not to have been considered. There are no jobs provided by Tullow because the people are unskilled.

The oil sharing discussions were centered at two levels: the first focused on drilling companies and Government, the second on how regions will benefit. Current information was that the oil income was to be part of a consolidated fund and be used to develop infrastructure like power and roads as said by Local Government Officials from His Excellency, the President. KIs asserted that Bunyoro's share was anticipated to go through the Local Government, because Government cannot give resources to an Institution which cannot easily be monitored and supervised and from which accountability cannot be demanded or sanctioned in case of failure to pay. Indeed, The Public Finance Bill 2012 states that the Central Government will receive 93% of oil revenues while the remaining 7% will go to the districts in the exploration and production belt, and that a district is given liberty to give part of its share to a Cultural Institution. However, the Kingdom wants its own 12.5% share and the Banyoro believed that the oil dividends would reach them through their CI for developing the various sectors of the Kingdom. The discrepancies on how the oil dividends would be accessed and how they will be used are a challenge that needs analysis. Banyoro anticipated suffering the greatest negative effects of oil discovery in Bunyoro: oil spills, pollution, and accidents.



An aerial view of an oil exploration site in Bulisa district. Extracted from the New Vision Published on Sep 05, 2012.

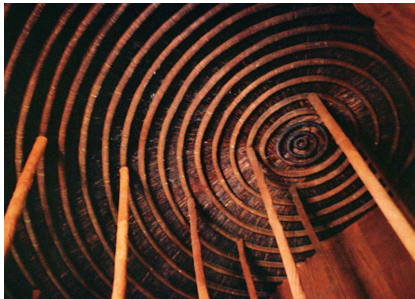
### **2.1.7. The burning of the Kasubi Tombs in 2010**

The burning of Buganda's famous Kasubi Tombs (UNESCO - certified them as a World Heritage site), was also mentioned as a contentious issue. The Tombs had been constructed in 1882, evident for their exceptional architecture. It was also a burial ground for Buganda's four Kings namely: Mutesa I, Mwanga II, Daudi Chwa II and Sir Edward Mutesa II the father of the reigning King, Ronald Muwenda Mutebi II. Records show that there have been similar fires in Buganda's history, and the most current one is the fire that broke out at Bulange and left four people dead; the Kabaka's Chief guard, Capt. Steven Kisitu Mivule inclusive.

There was a commission which was instituted by the Government about the burning of the Tombs. However, till now, the report of the inquiry has not been made public and Buganda still demands for it. Apart from demanding the release of the report on the Kasubi Tombs fire, and blaming Government for the unnecessary delay in making public the findings of the investigation more than three years since the incident, they also demand for the release of other reports on Buganda properties such as the Naggalabi sites and other royal properties that were burnt mysteriously. The majority of respondents believe that though the report on the cause of the Kasubi



Tombs fire was not released by UNESCO's inquiry, they perceived the Kingdom's enemies to have destruction it. They also blamed Government for having failed to provide effective mechanisms in stopping the fire. As a result, there's Government mistrust, bitter memories among the Buganda Officials and other Baganda and fear for the Kingdom. What also hurts them is that some of the regalia that were burnt cannot be replaced.



The intricate ceiling of the royal tomb



Ceremonial weapons and pictures inside the tombs

## 2.2 Effects of the conflicting Interests

According to the respondents in Bunyoro, there was oppression of people during the Kabalega and Colonial Rule; Bunyoro's land's size was reduced, people became frustrated, others feared to be identified as Banyoro. Although the Colonial time is gone, Banyoro still feel the effects of the historical injustices. There has been no serious effort geared to cultural revival initiatives to change the Banyoro's attitude and mind set not to be inferior and to actively get involved in development. For this reason, the Banyoro have not stopped lamenting about their oppression. Generally, little support, land issues, property demands, and the discovery of oil have generated a degree of negative sentiment among the Kingdoms loyalists towards the Government.

Due to the conflicting interests, according to respondents in Buganda, Baganda seems to have developed an attitude of not appreciating whatever the State does which sometimes antagonizes the progress of Government's programmes. Hidden divisions and discrimination between Baganda and other tribes emerge when Buganda is advocating for support on federal and property demand. Again there is some glimpse of resentment, though not clearly manifested by other tribes that Buganda would like to have more favour at the expense of other tribes. In the cause of mitigating some of the contentious issues between the CIs, the respondents claimed that a

lot of state resources which could have been used for provision of social services have been wasted in mitigating some of these conflicts. Some of the respondents believe that the conflicting interests between the State and the CIs, has led to poor social services and poverty.

As Buganda has limited sources of revenue since it no longer gets Busuru (land tax), the respondents in the Kingdom claim this has limited its development. They also alluded to tensions as people live in fear, intolerance and rivalry among citizens, limited association and poor collaboration between Buganda caucus and MPs. During the Kayunga riots, businesses were at a standstill, property destroyed and lives lost. There was a feeling of suspicion among other tribes and negative perception on Baganda during the Kayunga riots as they were subjected to comply with some action against their will and others got injured. This scenario is said to affect investors as they fear a troubled state, consequently affecting national development. As a result of the Burning of the Kasubi Tombs, riots broke out and was lead to loss of lives (2 protestors were shot dead), disrupted business, discrimination between Baganda and other tribes. The burning of the Tombs did not only affect Buganda historically but economically as went to reduced number of tourists. At most, not all historical things can be replaced. The Cultural sites are being destroyed and the Cultural regalia are disappearing. *“The burning of our Tombs greatly paralysed our economy because we used to get tourists. Even if Governments give us money to rehabilitate our Tombs, we have already lost many Cultural things.”* An FGD participant in Balangira clan said.

Further, due to conflict of interest between the State and CIs, people have lost lives, properties and have been displaced from their land (Bakiga are being chased away e.g. in Bugonga). This has limited development and contributed to poverty among the people affected and nationwide as Government has to allocate resources in settling these matters. The people being evicted claim that not owning land has hindered them from accessing big loans to help them in business and educate their children. Land grabbing was re-echoed and partially attributed to oil discovery, specifically pointing out Government Officials and investors who are invading the area. Although an environmental impact assessment was carried out, the respondents were not sure about the impact of the oil drilling and refining to people.

Indeed, 10 FGD participants in Buliisa confirmed that when the drilling is taking place and the fuel is being burned, the light emitted at the sites is very strong and disturbing. People in places closer to the sites were vacated



but those in more distant places were still suffering this consequence. They also said that the taste of their collected rain drinking water had changed resulting from pollution. They were also already being affected by very stinky fumes produced, and claimed that sometimes they do not sleep because of this smell. Due to lack of reliable information regarding the oil drilling there is also a number of suspicions and beliefs regarding the consequences for the environment and health. These include; the rampant malaria prevalence as never before and the change of the taste of rain water as reported by the 8 FGD participants in Buliisa. They wished to always be informed and trained about environmental issues affecting them. Further, it was reported that forceful displacement of the natives by the Government for oil extraction with very little or no actual payment and with lack of resettlement alternatives at the lake sides has led to insurmountable suffering to the local people. The displacement of thousands of people where the refinery is going to be placed in the 13 villages, an area of about 29 square kilometers, nearly a whole sub county, has become a treat to the livelihood of the members of the villages. It was also anticipated that natives will be refugees in other areas. Cultural segregation was also anticipated.



One of the oil exploration sites in Bunyoro Source; Bernard Ongodia, MEMD

## **2.3 Areas of Collaboration between Cultural Institutions and the State**

Collaboration between the Cultural Institutions and the State provides a unifying factor. Consequently, the respondents were put to task to identify the key areas in which the State and Cultural Institutions have been working together or can effectively engage as partners in development. Hence drawing from Bunyoro's experience, some respondents claimed that there is collaboration between the State and their Kingdom. Government is providing some social services - in health and education (UPE) for pupils in the country and is sponsoring university students through the quarter system which benefits their Kingdom as well. They added that the Head of State honors Bunyoro's Coronation Anniversary invitation which gives the Banyoro morale to feel proud. The Government has provided the King with security, a vehicle and supports development initiatives e.g. by giving some tractors for agriculture and has promised more agricultural assistance to Bunyoro. Omukama subjects are participating in national issues such as politics, they are paying taxes and many are employed by the Government. They also claimed that over 75% of the Banyoro are politically supporting the current regime. In Bunyoro, Government has got supportive developmental projects e.g. scholarships, Hon. Kajura's projects like Multiplex that is beneficial to the Kingdom and Government investment in the oil in which Bunyoro is promised dividends. Tullow Company, contracted by the Government on oil exploration, is already employing some Banyoro as unskilled laborers.

Tullow oil is constructing a museum for Banyoro, providing some students with scholarships and giving Bunyoro opportunities to discuss their views on their oil activities. For instance, the Ministry of Energy and Tullow oil have been involving the Omukama in workshops and in launching some Tullow oil projects. The Omukama has been given a free ticket to access Tullow camps and is updated on what is being done, although some information is kept confidential and not fully shared with him. Much emphasis was put on cross cutting issues and nothing much was said about the big project like the museum. However, what most interviewees called collaboration was actually not, although the people seem to be accessing minimal benefits from the Kingdom as a result of limited collaboration between the Government and the Kingdom. Although the KIs acknowledged that Government has done some good work, they found the collaboration to be rather minimal and not satisfactory.

Some of the respondents firmly asserted that there is no collaboration at all, adding that Bunyoro is neglected yet some CIs are favored more than Bunyoro in resource sharing. The KIs attributed the lack of collaboration to several reasons namely: restriction on Cultural Leaders by the Constitution and Government Institutions rarely recognizing the CIs. They also feel that the decentralization system disadvantages the Kingdoms. The Government's structures now extend down to village level conflicting with the CIs performing similar roles. Moreover the Government servants are paid salaries, the Kingdom is not in position to provide any remuneration.

In addition, Bunyoro Kingdom is said to be doing little in fostering collaboration as it is financially poor. Bunyoro is dependent on Kingdom office holders and on the Central Government, consequently, mobilization of communities e.g. through radio announcements is also difficult due to inadequate funds. Some Cultural Ministers who reside in districts far from the Hoima chambers (e.g. Masindi) do not have transport since they do voluntary work. Bunyoro Kingdom has limited services to offer in terms of scholarships and roads. Currently, the Chiefs of the Omukama talk about Culture and less about revenue, population census, and other national issues affecting their subjects. When Local Governments invite citizens for budget conferences, CIs do not send any representatives and there is no program being directly executed that would bring their chiefs nearer to Local Government Officials.

In Buganda the respondents firmly argued that there are very few cases where the Chiefs of the King collaborate with the Local Government. They claimed that despite the Kabaka's Mutongole, Muruka, Gombolola and Saza Chiefs,<sup>20</sup> being in various sub counties of Buganda the extent of their collaboration with the Government Officials is very minimal; despite their presence being legitimate and influential. It was established that it is only in Luweero and Mpigi where the office of the Kabaka's representative is very functional. The Chiefs' office is near the LC 3's office, and they work together to get scholarships for secondary students. In Mpigi, Thursdays are known for "Bulungi Bwa Nsi" that's when the Local Government Officials schedule their executive field monitoring visits. When they go to the field, they use the "Baami ba Kabaka"<sup>21</sup> to mobilize people for Bulungi Bwa Nsi. Sometimes, the Saza chiefs appeal to Local Government Officials to repair roads, but nothing happens.

20 The Mutongole, Muruka, Gombolola and Saza Chiefs are king's chiefs from the village, parish, sub county and county levels respectively.

21 Baami ba Kabaka are the King's chiefs.

The Local Government Officials expressed the desire that the Chiefs be facilitated so that they can help. Several KIs asserted that some of Buganda's parallel programmes like Bulungi Bwa-nsi are sometimes promoted by the Kabaka in words but not frequently implemented practically. It was however noted that in the few districts where there is collaboration, it is also limited due to inadequate facilitation for the Chiefs. Chiefs are not facilitated by the Kingdom to do anything viable, they just possess titles but without resources. Also, whenever Baganda are celebrating Bulungi Bwa-nsi with their Kabaka, Government Representatives attend individually. Although these activities are Cultural, the State needs to be represented. *The Government is carrying out its own programs and not moving at the same pace with Kingdoms*, a Local Government KI regretted.

However, despite the above situation a good number of the respondents also asserted that there is relative collaboration since the Kingdom and the State's target is to address the population's needs. The Kingdom gets involved in Government activities. For instance, the Kabaka mobilizes the people for health and education activities. The King is said to have directly immunized children to encourage masses when the program had failed in Buganda. In service delivery, the Kabaka advocates for the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) programme and advises the subjects to embrace it, supporting sanitation and UPE programmes. Government finances some of Buganda's activities, supports or gets involved in cultural activities, and has contributed to the reconstruction of the Kasubi Tombs. Further, the Government has many programs which are parallel to those of the Kingdom, supportive and developmental e.g. scholarships for students.

On the other hand, some respondents from the FGD talked about the contradicting programmes whereby Government is advocating for pesticides like DDT (DichloroDiphenylTrichloroethane) yet Buganda is against them. Baganda have received sensitization sessions that were contradictory to those of the Government in agriculture. Buganda tried introducing various projects which helped many locals but Government has not supported them financially. They also urged that there is no understanding and coordination of Government activities with those of Buganda, for example NAADS and BUKADEF<sup>22</sup> respectively. They also claimed that instead of focusing on developing social services to serve people, Government is politicizing everything. This is because, according to some respondents,

22 Buganda's Agricultural project

Central Government sabotages Buganda Kingdoms' social service delivery yet it cannot adequately provide. They gave an example where the King was taking some mattresses and blankets to Bululi to a certain health facility but he was stopped by Government. According to them such actions affect effective service delivery.

They further talked about Government's projects, which are run independently failing to adequately provide service delivery to all citizens. In Luweero, the respondents noted that there is still a gap in health service delivery since there is no-government hospital at all in their sub county yet the private health units are very expensive. In Mpigi, the respondents also noted that the education system was not very good, claiming that Government is favouring one region at the university level through provision of scholarships. Most of the westerners attain higher education because they are richer and can afford. They claimed Buganda Kingdom activities run independently but sponsor students from all regions using the money got from their Education Fund some of which is derived from for example Buganda certificates. They suggested that Government should distribute scholarships equally among the various regions and districts.

In spite of the shortfalls in the key areas where the State and CI could have collaborated effectively, there were some events in which the respondents felt the two had excellent collaboration. These areas include: Constitutional review, support to victims of the bomb blast, reconstruction of Owino market, security provision, consultations/dialogue, Baganda employed by Government in high positions e.g. Vice President, promotion of access to social services, paying taxes, interaction of the President with Buganda Kingdom; State Officials attending Cultural functions.

## **Section Three**

### **Efforts Undertaken in Promoting Peace**

The milestone in the promotion of peace between the Cultural Institutions has been the legal provision for the operation of Cultural Leaders in the 1995 Constitution. Of course the Constitution provides the general law. Further, a number of negotiations have been held with CIs especially for Buganda Kingdom to discuss issues affecting them. Some of the negotiations even involved other stakeholders e.g. the religious leaders and civil society organizations. Noteworthy is the role played by religious leaders and other stakeholders during the 2009 Buganda riot in bringing the State and Buganda Kingdom to dialogue.

### **3.0 Initiatives undertaken to foster Peace**

There have been several attempts by the current Government to ensure cordial relationship between the State and Cultural Institutions. Right from the restoration of the Buganda Kingdom, it has been demanding for Federo. Therefore, in order to address this concern, the Government proposed Regional Tiers which would bring forth national character as the other Kingdoms do not subscribe to the Federo System of governance. This proposal has not been accepted by Buganda and the demand still continues. Federo was officially abandoned by Uganda in 1966, and the move was eloquently hailed by the educated as an escape from obscurantist backwardness into a brilliant future of Pan Africanism and Unity. Before the formation of Uganda, all major ethnic groups ruled themselves as Kingdoms or Chiefdoms<sup>23</sup>. The famous Kingdoms include Ankole, Alur, Buganda, Bunyoro, Busoga, and Toro. The famous Chiefdoms include Acholi, Japadhola, and Teso. The tribes had nothing to do with each other. They were brought under a superstructure of political administration called the Uganda Protectorate Government. This however did not stop each tribe carrying out its social development. Edward Mutesa II was the President of Uganda from 1963-1966. This was a quasi federal government because Mutesa was at the same time the King of Buganda, which enjoyed a federal status<sup>24</sup>. Many Baganda today, therefore, associate federo with this period in which Buganda received special treatment as compared to other regions. The other similar Kingdoms of Ankole, Bunyoro, and Toro had semi federal status.

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.federo.com/index.php?id=77>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid

All other Kingless districts formed a unitary form of Government of Independent Uganda. *“Government has brought regional tiers! Something close to federal was introduced and they are forcing us to love it. We can not love it, we need federal”*, participants of FGD in Wakiso, Balangira clan declared.

To address the above concern, dialogue has been initiated and mediators like the current Vice President Hon. Ssekandi were appointed to listen to the demands of Buganda. The majority of the respondents claim that these attempts have not been successful, while some sections claimed they were fairly successful. They claim that the negotiations about a federal system are failing because the advisers of the Head of State had failed Buganda and the Current Mediator (the Prime Minister of Uganda Hon Amama Mbabazi) is not well versed with Buganda’s issues. The academia and civil society KIs asserted that it appears that Central Government is not taking the negotiations and engagements seriously and the aborted federal negotiations are instead intensifying the tension. Interviews with Buganda Kingdom Officials show that in their opinion frequent meetings with Hon. Ssekandi have never yielded much because they have never discussed anything concrete and the appointment of negotiators took place just to cool down Buganda because it is key in social, economic and political development. On the other hand, through the support to the Kingdom in terms of revenue, security and some freedom of participation the Government has managed sometimes to cool the tensions. The Kabaka has been granted freedom of movement in his Kingdom, though with consultations. Through legal provisions (the Constitution), the Government refrains CI leaders from partisan politics, to ensure that the Cultural Institutions do not conflict with the State. At the same time the Traditional Leaders Bill is supposed to clearly define their roles. In extreme cases, the Government has also used the security personnel to control situations which seem to be out of hand, like the famous Buganda Riots of 2009. Further, the Government has participated in the development of the Kingdom in terms of re-construction of Kasubi Tombs, provision of social services, sensitization on the dangers of involving in riots, and appointment of Baganda in the cabinet.

On the issue of land in Bunyoro in relationship with the Bafuruki, the Government is in the process of demarcating land and developing racial anti-discrimination policies. Some KIs said the Kingdom has had several integration plans for the Bafuruki in Banyoro, though they are yet to be implemented. They commended the current Government for relocating



the Balaalo out of the Kingdom. It was estimated that more than three quarters of the Balaalo issue (influx of the Balaalo into the Kingdom) in Buliisa have been solved. However, it was also estimated that in Kiryandongo the majority of the conflicts are still prevailing. Regarding the lost counties of Bunyoro, some of the respondents said that although Bunyoro demanded for the return of Buyaga and Bugangaizi as these counties were reverted to Bunyoro after the 1964 referendum<sup>25</sup>, the Banyoro in those areas have never gained titles for their land. The Mubende Banyoro committee also advocated for these lost counties but have not achieved much. The respondents claim that many people are landless in Kiryandongo, and the current Government has not played its part in helping Bunyoro restore their lost counties. Of course the Government has always been involved in discussion with the affected people, though the people feel not enough has been done. *“In 2010, there was confusion over Buyaga and Bugangaizi territories of Bunyoro – Kibaale; The President called us to share the problems we were facing, I happened to be among those invited to Statehouse in Entebbe for one week, no implementation of the resolved. He never bothered to even come back to us for feedback”*, a KI in Buliisa complained. Notwithstanding what has been said, some KIs feel Government is doing something in Buliisa and Hoima to stop land grabbing.

Another effort has been the State and the CI negotiations. The Chiefs asserted that Bunyoro Leaders held several meetings with the President, some in State House, but nothing has been achieved and that their initial strategies had been frustrated by Government’s failure to implement any of the resolutions. They added that they had been promised land loss compensation by the British Government but it has never materialized. In addition to this, the Chiefs and some KIs alluded to five commissions which had been constituted by the Government to handle Bunyoro land issues. In fact they regarded some of the commissions to have been very powerful such as the Ruth Omukama’s and Kiyonga Commissions, but were deeply hurt by the lack of implementation of the resolutions. They claimed that the recommendations made by Prof. Ruth Omukama were very good and they were convinced that they would solve their problems. However, they were not certain whether those recommendations were taken to Parliament. Nothing much has ever been implemented, but the Kingdom still keeps these Commission Reports. They did not know what was hindering the implementation of these recommendations. *“We are tired of that business of keeping quiet in Kibaale..., spending a lot of*

25 In the 1964 referendum, Banyoro in Buyaga and Bugangaizi voted choosing to either belong to Buganda or Bunyoro, to determine which Kingdom the lost counties should belong.



*money to collect information and they are not implemented”*, One of the FGD of the Chiefs in Bunyoro retorted.

In Buganda, through consultations and dialogue, some land was returned. To that effect a committee to deal with land was instituted and land titles are being issued to people occupying the land. The land is being demarcated and boundaries are being mapped. They also called upon the Baganda Members of Parliament Caucus to advocate for Buganda. On the issues of other properties, Buganda is continuously pressing Government to pay rent, but the strategy is not successful. The demands for the property has been continuous and at least some of the King's personal belongings were returned to him, namely: Olubiri (three palaces) of; Olw'ebanda, Bamunanika and Mengo, and the 350square miles of the King Found in the 1900 agreement, 1955 and 1962 Independence Agreement were all returned to him. Some Local Governments had passed resolutions to return the Buganda property like Mpigi, Wakiso (Kasangati) but resolutions have not been fulfilled. Buganda is still demanding and dialogue is still going on though it has not been very successful.

On the oil which is a recent discovery and potential for new conflict between Bunyoro and the Government, some KIs reported that Bunyoro had been brought on board by Government although it was not availed enough information. Some efforts are in place to ensure that oil does not turn into a curse to the Banyoro and other Ugandans. An Environmental Impact Assessment has been done; compensation of the people evicted from the oil region has been given, though the amounts were unsatisfactory and the Ministry of Lands has been instructed to do general physical planning for towns, trading centres, infrastructure like roads and power in the Albertine Region (oil city). Several KIs reported that oil companies are planning to build schools and health centers. Some oil companies were already equipping schools with equipment e.g. scholastic materials. Bunyoro Kingdom was given a grant for the construction of a big museum. The Kingdom, through Tullow oil, sponsored some students to acquire petroleum/mineral extraction skills in Kigumba though the number was small and the rest of the sponsored students were from outside Bunyoro. Some conferences on oil have been held, briefing some people about oil and the effects of its extraction. A team was sent to study the oil curse in Nigeria so as to avoid it in Uganda. Bunyoro MPs caucus was advocating for fair oil benefit though Banyoro are not satisfied with the 7% oil dividends promised to be given. The media has done some publicity and several Human Rights Activists and CSOs are following up the oil issues.

Finally, there have been peace initiatives that attempt to manage the conflicts like the Uganda Kings and Cultural Leader's Forum (UKCLF) to foster sustainable peace, reconciliation and harmonious ethnic co-existence in Uganda. This forum intervenes in conflict resolution amongst members and any other Party but their impact was not yet felt by the community and the KIs. And in the spirit of partnership in development of the people, Government Officials have been participating in Cultural functions.

### **3.1 Factors affecting the Effectiveness of the Initiatives**

Having established that the strategies which have been used to ensure peace between the State and Cultural Institutions are still wanting according to the respondents, they were consequently put to task to explain the shortfall to that effect. The factors they brought up were political, social, economic, attitudinal, governance, to mention but a few. The respondents from Buganda feel there is lack of political will. In their view, the State is suspicious that if granted full autonomy, Buganda will not feel obliged to the Central Government. On the other hand, some of the respondents attributed the failure of some of the strategies to bad governance in both institutions. They cited issues such as corruption among Government Officials and some of the Cultural Leaders; Government failure to fulfill its promises; dictatorial tendency by the State; greed and tribal sentiments among Government Officials; lack of adherence to rule of law; poor leadership leading to a communication gap; and poor accountability mechanisms within the CIs "ensawo yakabaka telingizibwamu"<sup>26</sup> as many hide in this proverb to nurture corruption and embezzle funds in the CIs. They also noticed that there is influence of different political leaders. Everything has been politicized. There is a perception that collaboration by the Buganda Kingdom with opposition political leaders hinders Government from acting positively towards Mengo. Some respondents feel Buganda's collaboration with opposition parties has led to clashes and limited collaboration.

Another serious factor which has affected the effectiveness of the strategies is the ignorance of the community about some of the contentious issues of land, the Federal System and the magnitude of these issues. Consequently, the issues have been understood differently. For instance, some think that Buganda wants the same power as the State.

<sup>26</sup> No one is supposed to peep in the King's bag.

Coupled with this, is the lack of awareness of each party's intentions. Some of the Buganda Kingdom subjects failed to realize they are under the State, and there can be no State within a State. The unifying factor between the State and the CIs is the Constitution of the Country. On the other hand, some of the legal mechanisms and policies have been questioned by the Buganda Kingdom. The key legal provisions, which deal with the subject of Cultural Leaders and Institutions, have been the Land Bill and the Traditional Leaders' Bill. However, instead of providing the legal framework under which the Institutions can operate, it was aggravated dissatisfactions. The respondents also noticed that there is still nostalgia for the glory of the past powerful Buganda Kingdom among the subjects. *"Baganda are still thinking of the past Kingdom, people's minds have not yet fully changed from colonial times to today reality"* one of the KI informants stated. *"Buganda only believe that the Kabaka is their only leader, hangover and nostalgia, conservativeness of Baganda with tendency of being masters of land and tribal tendencies also exist"*, he added. Similarly, there is negative attitude towards Government interpretation of the Kingdoms interest which makes Buganda criticize anything from the Government side. Sometimes the Government restricts Buganda views in view of promoting harmonious existence with other tribes or Kingdoms. For instance, some land issues in Bunyoro are due to historical injustice and the Government cannot give them to Buganda.

On the other hand, some of the strategies have not yielded due to failure by Government to implement resolutions which have been undertaken. Consequently, Buganda loses interest and trust in continued dialogue with the Government seeing that most promises are not kept. They asserted that Buganda lost interest because it was meaningless, not sincere and the State is less resilient since it has the power. There is also an element of suspicion among the Baganda towards the people appointed to discuss Buganda issues. Some of the respondents claimed that Government was using the Baganda to sell Buganda, and that even some Baganda who are supposed to be their voice to advocate for them have turned against them especially Mr. Tamale Mirundi, a Government Official (the Spokesman of the Head of State) whom they claimed was set aside to destroy and crush the Kingdom on media. *"There are some Baganda who are betraying us, corrupted by money, when they get money from Parliament they stop fighting for us the Baganda, they keep fighting the Kingdom"*, one FGD participant in Luweero asserted.

### **3.2 Proposed Strategies for Sustainable Peace**

Since the strategies which have been employed in handling the various issues between the State and Cultural Institutions have to some extent left the parties unsatisfied, the respondents then were put to task to propose effective strategies to that effect. In this respect, the respondents opted for dialogue and continuous negotiation on property demand, natural resources, land, institutional operation, etc. There should be equal chances of either side to advance their position. This calls for effective mediation and negotiation involving Neutral Patriotic Citizens and Opinion Leaders to critically and objectively analyze and evaluate each side's interests and motives. There should be respect of each other's opinions and avoidance of defining outcomes of a dialogue before it takes place. They called upon the Cultural Institutions to adhere to decisions taken by those who represent them in the dialogues and negotiations and implement them to the letters. In addition to that, the respondents proposed that the causes of the failure of the previous dialogues and negotiations should be analyzed and remedy put in place in order to avoid a relapse into the same. Further, the respondents implored and demanded the CIs to critically analyze the feasibility of their demand in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and more so in the context of national identity and to make informed decision.

On the other hand, the respondents called upon the Government to increase support - funding to the CIs, effectively listen to people's views, encourage community participation, give them a platform to be heard and grant them what they deserve e.g. the rent for the Kingdoms property used by the Government be paid, free interaction with their subjects in different territories, legally establishing the land and property that belongs to the Kingdoms etc.. The difficulties in financing the activities of the CIs have been behind the major causes of the conflicts as they demand for properties which they can use to generate some income. On listening to the views of the CIs, the Government should foster unity, built on trust, transparency and honesty to create more room for appreciation of each other's efforts and joint programs to provide better service delivery for development. There is also a need to involve CI in Government's activities and Buganda should also appreciate and work with other CIs to adequately provide social services. This requires total respect for each Institution and ideas, and refraining from sabotaging and undermining each other's efforts. Further, all stakeholders' are called upon to engage in mass education on reconciliation, justice and peace. The media should rather foster unity instead of division among people. This also includes the

promotion of the culture of tolerance. Government should publicize and implement resolutions of the various meetings between the State and CIs to stakeholders. E.g. the resolution of the meeting between the Kabaka and his delegates with the President at State House on 30<sup>th</sup> September 2009, the resolution from Buganda Conference which was held on 13<sup>th</sup> December 2012 at Hotel Africana, the 2002 Kiyonga Committee on Land and Ethnic Tensions in Kibaale recommendations, and the recommendations from Prof. Ruth Omukama's Commission on Bunyoro issues; among others.

## **Section Four**

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

The fact that, there has been friction between the State and the CIs can no longer be swept under the carpet. However, there have been some incidences that the two Institutions have effectively collaborated for the development of the people. These include, the struggle for Independence, promotion of human rights and human dignity, provision of social services, promoting national interest, etc. In this respect, the areas that bring the two together should be emphasized, promoted, protected, guarded, defended, and enforced. On the other hand, the areas which divide should be reviewed, discussed, considered, dialogued and negotiated to arrive to some mutual agreement or consensus.

#### **4.0 Conclusion**

Right from the period of Colonial Rule, CIs in Uganda endured several bruises and were abolished in 1966 by Dr. Apollo Milton Obote after Uganda obtained Independence in 1962. The current Government must be accredited for their restoration as a sign of Cultural Identity within the State. Even if they were dormant for about 37 years, after their reinstitution, some Kingdoms like Buganda are now vibrant. As noticed in the previous chapters, CIs and the State are in conflict of interest that affects close collaboration. Although conflict is inherent in any society, the conflicting issues presented above are long overdue and they have sometimes resulted into violent conflicts, yet mutual relationship would have yielded positive results in the development of the Country. Basing on the causes of the conflict between the State and CIs, the respondents, especially Baganda often threatened violence as one of the measures to be taken seriously if their concerns are not addressed. However, violence does not bring permanent solutions to conflicts or disagreements. History holds it that violence breeds violence. Therefore, to achieve sustainable peace, or rather harmonious co-existence between the State and CIs there is need for continuous and transparent dialogue.

Property demands, federal status demand, territorial seceding controversy, Land Bill, CI operational space, oil and other natural resources have been identified as key factors in the poor relationship between the CIs and the State. However, the solution to these issues can not be obtained through violent actions. A critical analysis of the situation within the legal

framework can work honest and objective dialogue brings forth sustainable solutions to the issues. Even though it was mentioned that some attempts at resolving those issues have been undertaken, the actual implementation of the suggestions and recommendations is still missing. It is therefore, imperative for the Leaders of the two Institutions to take the interest of the subjects as a priority in the context of the common good. This is again guided by the Constitutional mandate, in this case the 1995 Ugandan Constitution and the subsequent laws enacted to that effect. Uganda has got the potential to utilize the diversity in cultural setting to bring forth development to its people.

CI as essence of unity of a given group and of common goal are important in the development of the community. Therefore, if this identity and common goal is translated into a National Goal, then the Country can move forward in the right direction. This then calls for the understanding of the legal provisions upon which CIs should operate without compromising their values, but within the Constitutional provision protecting the national interest. In respect to common goal, that is the development of the people, CIs are as relevant as any other organized Institutions aimed at advancing the course of the people who institute it.

#### **4.1 Recommendations**

Since there have been controversies on the mandate of the CIs, there is need for massive sensitization of the people on legal provisions that govern the operation of the CIs within the State. There can be no State within a State. Therefore, where there are identified laws which objectively suppress the operation of the CIs, technical people should be involved in addressing such issues. Most of the people are not aware of the Constitutional provisions, let alone the Traditional Leaders' Bill. Therefore, for the effectiveness of the Cultural Institutions, the subjects should be aware on the legal provision.

Government should foster unity, built on trust, transparency and honesty to create more room for appreciation of each other's efforts and joint programs to provide better service delivery for development. CIs should be involved in Government activities and Buganda should also appreciate and work with other CIs to adequately provide social services. This can be done through publicizing and implementing resolutions undertaken to address some of the contentious issues, and undertaking initiatives and programs which promote unity and tolerance among stakeholders.



There is need for clarification on the roles of CIs and their boundaries and limitations. There is need for rule of law, and defined cultural roles that Cultural Leaders and their subject adhere to ensure order. Of course our Constitution spells out the boundaries of the Kings, the Monarchies and the Subjects. However, the Constitution is general and there is need for specifics governing the operation of the CIs. This should be made public and where need be translated into local languages so people can understand the jurisdiction under which Cultural Institutions operate in this Country, rather than being swayed by those who lack the spirit of national interest.

Government should compensate the Buganda Kingdom where legally they are entitled e.g. the unpaid rent on the properties of Buganda Kingdom used by the Government, the Kingdom's property not returned and land where the Kingdom deserves such compensation. In Bunyoro specifically, Chiefs suggested that counties within Bunyoro in favor of Bafuruki be created. Communal land should have trustees. While managing land conflicts, Local Government (LG) courts should always get witnesses who have lived in their villages for long. Locals should be empowered to avoid bribing leaders. Where Government Offices are hosted in the Kingdoms houses, the Government should pay the rent due to the Kingdoms.

On the issue of the territories seceding from Buganda, there is need for a thorough study to establish the dynamics of the matter, that is, whether there is a genuine demand for the separation or there are external factors influencing the demand. This will provide a strategy for harmonious ways of resolving this conflict of interest.

There is need for the establishment of a forum mandated to mitigate conflicts between the Cultural Institutions and the Government. This forum should include religious leaders, political leaders, technocrats, civil society, and development partners. This forum can as well design programs which are geared towards national reconciliation. Further, since there is already the forum for Cultural Leaders namely the Uganda King's and Cultural Leader's Forum, this should be made functional to enhance the dialogue in the mainstream forum.

The Banyoro should exploit the chance of the Oil City that will be constructed in their Kingdom, for example, by improving its income through supplying food to this city. The Kingdom should source funding for entrepreneurship sensitization and behavioural change where people feel incapacitated due to the historical injustices. The youth should be encouraged to take part in productive ventures like agriculture as the land is fertile and there will be demand for various basic needs in the oil city. The Banyoro should exploit the oil city by engaging in commercial agricultural

production and the revenue that will accrue from that shall virtually better their livelihoods. Therefore, the government should provide social services which will enable the local communities to develop.

On natural resources, justice should prevail when sharing oil resources so that Bunyoro does not feel cheated. There is a need for adequate compensation of the local people affected by the development of the oil industry. This compensation should be done in a transparent manner and with consultation of the people affected. To appreciate the existence of the industry in the Kingdom, Government should develop technical skills of the local people to enable them to benefit from the job opportunities in the oil industry. Further, there should be clear laws put in place on those affected by the oil industry to avoid illegal eviction. There should be transparency and accountability in terms of social, physical and environmental issues to Bunyoro through information sharing.

Finally, it was established that Bunyoro has suffered historical injustices and there is need to address them were feasible. Similarly, there are some historical demands by Buganda on the Central Government which have remained potential areas of conflict. Therefore, Government should address these issues basing on the State Mandate (Constitution) and never promise what it will not fulfil. This means the issues should never be politicized, namely avoiding promises for political gains which are never fulfilled at the end.

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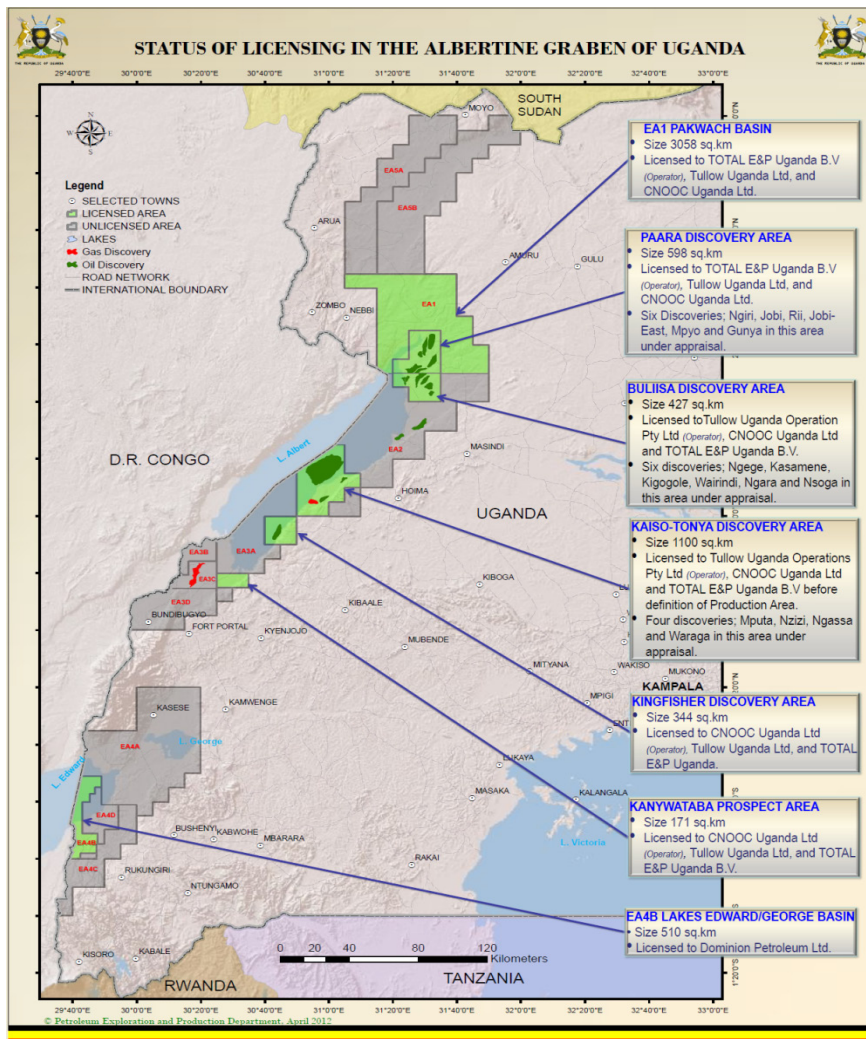
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## Appendix 1



Source: Ministry of Energy and Mineral development

## Appendix 2:

Areas in Buganda where Focus Group Discussions were conducted.

District	Place	Clan	NO. of FGD participants	Date
Wakiso	Busiro	Balangira	10	06/02/2012
Mukono	Kyaggwe	Ngo	9	07/02/2012
Mpigi	Mawokota	Lugave	11	10/02/2012
Luweero	Kyadondo	Mpologoma	10	13/02/2012

## Appendix 3:

Areas in Bunyoro where Focus Group Discussions were carried out.

District	Place	Clan	NO. of FGD participants	Date
Buliisa	Buliisa Municipality	Babiito	8	28/02/2012
Hoima	Hoima Municipality	Bahinda	10	01/03/2012
Masindi	Masindi Municipality	Basita	9	05/03/2012
Kibaale	Buyanja	Bayaga	13	06/03/2012

## Appendix 4:

Tertiary institutions where individual interviews were conducted.

Institution	Number	Date
Uganda Martyrs University Nkozi	14	16/01/2012
Kampala International University	25	17/01/2012
Kyambogo University	30	03/02/2012
Makerere University	26	16/02/2012
Kabalega Royal Institute	20	29/02/2012
Liberty Institute	20	02/03/2012

## Appendix 5: The List of Key Informants interviewed

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Title</b>
Cultural Leaders	Emmanuel L. Ssendaula-the 1 <sup>st</sup> Deputy Katikkiro of Buganda.
	Rev. Dr. Bonny Kyaligonza - the Katikiro of Bunyoro,
	Haji Buruhani -The Minister of Culture in Bunyoro
	9 County Chiefs
Religious Leaders	Rev. Rt. Archbishop Luke Orombi
	His Eminence Metropolitan Jonah Lwanga
	Rt. Rev. Bishop Nathan Kyamanywa
	Rev. Baloongo, the Secretary Inter Religious Council of Uganda – Hoima.
	The Former Chairman IRCU-Hoima
	The Pastor of the Seventh Day Adventist Church in Bunyoro.
LC5s and CAOs Of 8 Districts	Mpigi, Luweero, Mukono, Wakiso in Buganda Kingdom
	Hoima, Masindi, Kibaale, Buliisa in Bunyoro Kingdom.
Academia	Dr. Kulumba Muhammed, a lecturer from Makerere University, Department of Political Science.
Civil Society Organizations	HURINET
	FHRI
Opinion Leaders	The Director of Kabalega Royal Institute
	Sec. of Prime Minister of Bunyoro



**JOHN PAUL II JUSTICE AND PEACE CENTRE**

**Plot 1964 - Kabega Road, Nsambya**

**P.O. Box 31853 Kampala-Uganda**

**Tel: 0414-267372**

**Email: [jp2justice.director@gmail.com](mailto:jp2justice.director@gmail.com)**

**Website: [www.jp2jpc.org](http://www.jp2jpc.org)**