

LAGSUS – Language, Gender and Sustainability  
**Preliminary report from the 2<sup>nd</sup> field visit to Baruuli area**  
**24 June to 9 July, 2005**

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=> Audio-visual links indicated on p. 6 + 7

This report is divided into three parts:

1. The *General part* comprises an overview of research-related activities during the visit, an attempt to classify the Baruuli<sup>1</sup> community and its current situation in the light of criteria relevant from an overall LAGSUS perspective, and in turn, to highlight the possible interest of the Baruuli subproject for the LAGSUS project as a whole.
2. The Report on the *Luruuli transcription workshop* as well as on interactions with entities involved in the promotion of Baruuli society through writing.
3. *A Summary of recommendations for further research*, based on observations on the agricultural extension work of Mr. Fan Diomandé, and from discussions with him.  
[Part 3 is written in German. It is currently circulated in draft form for comments by Mr. Fan himself and his thesis supervisor, Prof. Michael Fremerey, Univ. of Kassel.]

Appendices (available on demand) :

- A. Appendices enclosed with the *Luruuli transcription workshop report*, visualizing crucial phonetic, particularly tonal properties of words and sample utterances. (Tone tracings recorded with Speech Analyzer.)
  - i. *koore3p.png*: Three past forms of *koore* ‘to do (work)’-
  - ii. *Tone spread after koore past 1-3.png*
  - iii. *monk1s-f.png* : ‘monkey’ vs.
  - iv. *waist1sf.png* ‘waist’.

(i-ii) illustrate the use of tone in grammar  
(iii-iv) tonal distinctions in the lexicon.
- B. Inventories of recordings:
  - i. *Luruuli verb tones and Foctop inventory*: grammatical tone recordings.
  - ii. *Luruuli 050705 Lex tone Nakasongola inventory, Baluli 050707*  
Lexical tone recordings (with members of the Language committee).
  - iii. *Baluuli field recordings 050706 inventory*. <BD 21-24>  
Development communication in action: Djunda, Irima  
Interview on conflict resolution strategies (Irima).
- C. CD Audio: BD 21 (8:45), BD 22 (7:04), BD 23, interview (30:16), BD 24 (21:06).
- D. Video (FD): Working session with Language Committee, Nakasongola, July 5
- E. CD-Pc: all documents A-D.
- F. Luruli (Ruruli) Orthography statement with annotations by TB.
- G. List of recordings and photos, see below.

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<sup>1</sup> With regard to nomenclature related to the Baruuli/Baruuli, their language and their area/culture, the following remarks may be helpful:

The prefix *Ba-* serves to identify the people: Baruuli

The prefix *Mu-* identifies an individual member of the Baruuli community.

The prefix *Lu-* or *Ru-* identifies the language.

The prefix *Bu-* denotes the domain of the Baruuli as well as their culture.

In addition to the derivational meaning carried by the prefix, the stem referring to the ethnic group is spelled in many different ways. Ruli and Buduuli are the names used for identifying the people and the language in the Ethnologue (Barbara E. Grimes, ed. For the most recent edition, consult the web search in [www.sil.org](http://www.sil.org)). For the people, one finds Baruli, Baruuli, Baduuli, Baruuli, Baluuli, for the language one finds Luruli, Lululi, Luruuli, Luluuli, and these latter designations are found alternatively with the prefix Ru- (Ruruli, etc.). For further discussion, see my report on the Luruuli transcription workshop, esp. note 7. In adopting the writing Baruuli, I am following Mwoegezi (2004).

## **I. General report**

### *Purpose of the visit*

In accordance with points 7 and 8 of the report from my earlier visit to Baruuli area in July 2004, the goals of the present trip were

1. to hold a seminar/workshop with native speakers for enabling them to transcribe their language, Luruuli, and for ensuring quality of transcription of recordings from Luruuli in the context of development communication;
2. to investigate institutionalized verbal patterns of introducing innovative messages and negotiating live issues in Buruuli society that, in terms of their function, might be compared to the Kono of the Tura described in Bearth/Fan (2002, 2004, 2005).

### *Overview of activities*

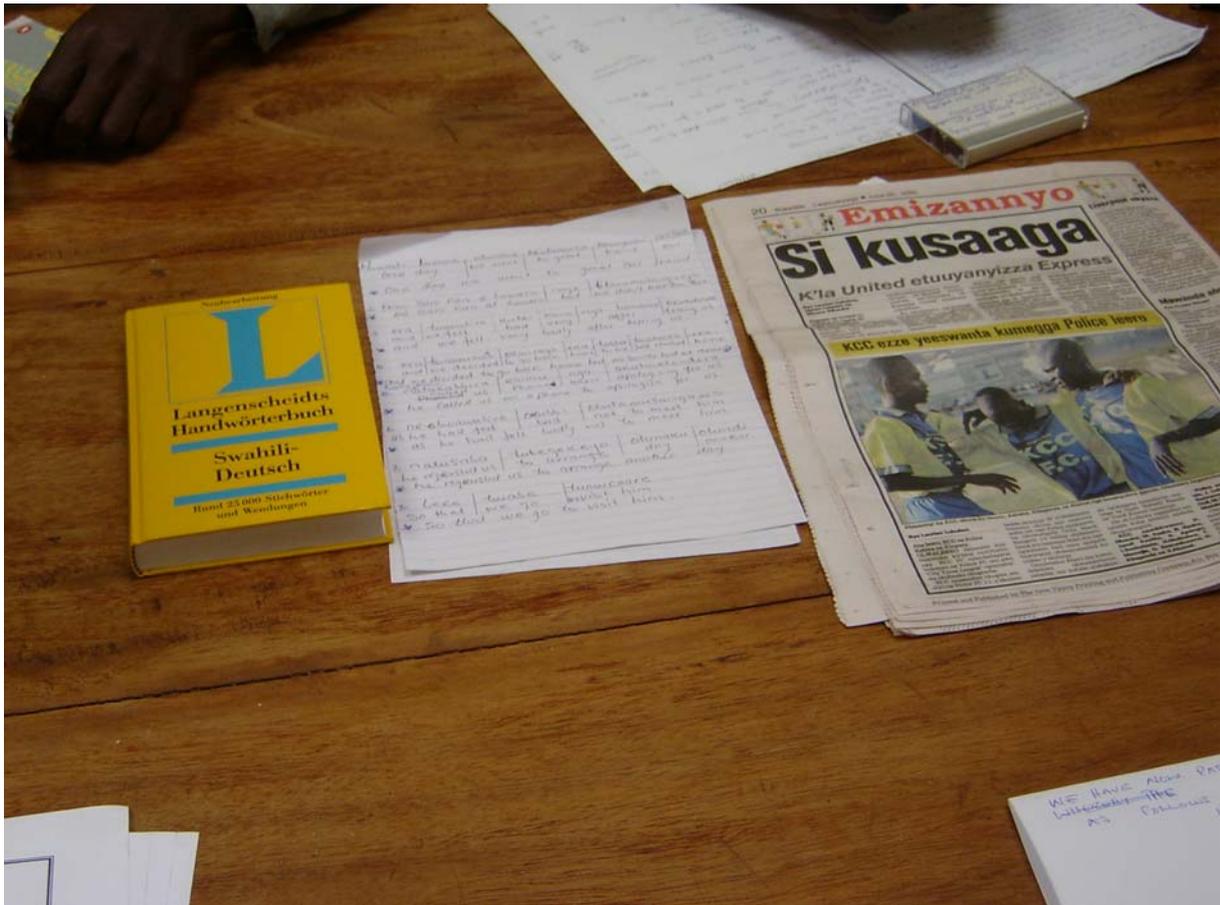
June 24, 2005, late evening : Arrival at Entebbe airport.

June 25-26 : Luweero. Planning. Study of the “Ruruli Orthography” printout produced by the Ruruli Language Committee in Nakasongola. Comparison with Luganda.

June 27-29 : Workshop on transcription attended by two senior men from Kalungi area. See Workshop report. See also Appendix A and B(i).



Luruuli transcription workshop. June 27-29, 2005, Luweero (Uganda)



A first fully interlinearized transcript with English glosses, produced by the workshop participants from a recorded development communication sequence in Luruuli.  
*Left:* Swahili-German dictionary. *Right:* Luganda newspaper. *Middle:* Luruuli transcript.

June 30: Visit to Nakasongola District Headquarters. The Archdeacon (who represents the bishop of Luweero in the district) introduces us to the Isaabaruuli (Chairman of the Buruuli-Bunyala Cultural Trust, with a role comparable to that of paramount chief) and other leading district officers (District Chairman, Mr. Christopher Bagonza; Hon. Muruuli Mukasa, Member of Parliament; Mr. James Wandera, Chairman of Language Committee). Guided tour through the hospital.

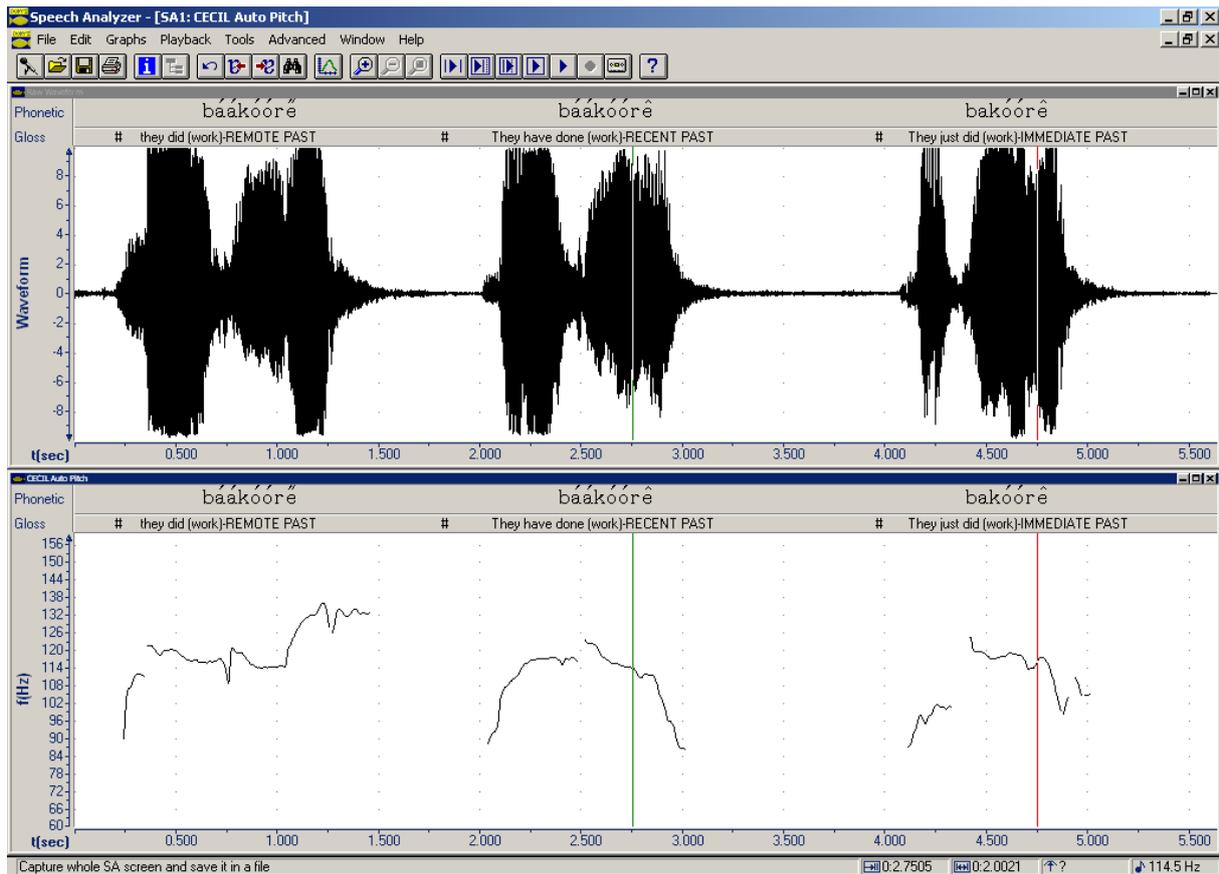


*The Isabaluuli* (photo FD)

Next to his left elbow : the text of the Baluuli National Anthem

Back to Luweero.

July 1<sup>st</sup>: Instrumental analysis of Luruuli tone. Demonstration of its relevance for distinguishing grammatical categories of the verb. Later, similar evidence was found for tonal distinctions in the lexicon.



Three tone contours of **bakoore** ‘they did’ : Remote Past, Recent Past and Immediate Past

July 2, 4: Transcription and preliminary analysis (using categories of action theory), of video recordings made during the visit to the Tura in February this year. Transcripts include:

- a complete Kono sequence;
- a metadiscourse summarizing the Kono sequence; a documentary on the palm leaves broom « industry » (war economy and its ecological consequences).

July 5, from 11 a.m. to 5. p.m. Working session with the Language Committee at Nakasongola District Headquarters. Objective: discussion and clarification of open issues pertaining to the orthography.

July 5-6: Visit to Baluuli area (Kalungi county). The following places were visited:

- Kisenyi (overnight stay)
- Kigazi (transit)
- Kinamwanga (Mr. Fred Bugalalio and his family)
- Djunda, recordings of short trilateral DC interactions involving FD, a translator, and an individual or group of “clients”:
  - o lady growing mtungulú ‘ognons’ => BD-onion trilogue
  - o “Prof.” Kafero on development (mini-interview on the roadside) => BD-Kafero



- « Professor » Kafero commenting on the general state of development in Buluuli. Woman on her knees talking to the men in the car.  
Irima: => BD-Irima interview
- Proskovia (Mrs.), leader of a local women’s crop growing entity;
- Kizito (Mr.), leader of a men’s group;
- Jessica (his wife).  
Interview: unsuccessful attempt at tracking the “Baluuli Kono”.



Interview : Yes, in case of an unresolvable conflict we may call on a « mediator ».  
But who is he?

Visit to the site cultivated by Mrs. Proskovia and her group. => BD-Irima visit



Back from the visit. Foreground: Mrs. Proskovia

Return to Luweero.

7 July: Discussion of results and implications for further inquiry. Communication in the context of development is not only a means to an end, but may itself be part of the goal. The Baluuli seem to lack traditional institutional security such as a council of elders, perhaps as a result of cultural loss and alienation. Estimation of how much transcriptional activities are necessary for adequate monitoring of development communication in this situation.

8 July, morning: Visit to the Bishop of Luweero. A Muganda himself, he shares his long-standing conviction that the Baluuli are entitled to develop their own literature.

8 July, afternoon: At their office in Entebbe, visit with the S.I.L. survey team for Tanzania and Uganda (Ms. Susi Krüger et al.). Exchange of documents and observations. The survey report will be forwarded to me.

8 July, evening: departure to Switzerland via Nairobi.

### **Summary of impressions and insights**

#### *Nakasongola District Headquarters*

At the two encounters with officials at Nakasongola District Head Office (June 30; July 5), Mr. Fan and I were both impressed with the prevalent sense of commitment to building up

Buruuli “nationhood”<sup>2</sup> and with the momentum which this movement gained through two key events of recent local history:

- the instauration by government decree of Nakasongolo District on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1997, physically co-extensive with the Buruuli habitat, thus reversing the historical trauma of the annexation of Baruuli country to the Luganda kingdom by the British in 1900 in the wake of colonial conquest;<sup>3</sup>
- the appointment of Mr. Isaabarongo Mwogezi as Isaabaruuli, which took place, as I understand, some time in late 2004 (Mwogezi 2004, p. 13). Dubbed by some as the “Kabaka” of the Baruuli by analogy to the Kabaka, king of the Luganda, his official title is Chairman of Baruuli/Banyala Cultural Trust.

All this contributes to the overwhelming impression of a “nation” just in the process of awakening from a century long trauma of alienation.

In order to sense the uplifting atmosphere which still somehow pervades administrative routine in Nakasongola, one may evoke the historical parallel of polities being lifted to the status of “Reichsunmittelbarkeit” in the medieval German empire, a privilege conceded to cities and regions which thereby were exempted from any kind of accountancy except to the Emperor himself. The analogy does not seem too far-fetched, considering the feudal nature of traditional rule of the dominant Baganda as embodied in the Kabaka, still - or again in the post-Amin era - influential in many ways, allegiance to whom was now being replaced, for the Baruuli, by a new immediacy of allegiance to the President himself and to Parliament, the emblems of modern statehood and democratic government. The power of symbolism in bringing historical turns to general awareness was vividly impressed upon me while visiting the District Headquarters (1) when on our visit to the Isaabaruuli, he gave me a copy of the Buruuli National Anthem in the Luruuli language (responding thus to the printout of the Luruuli sentence contours, see above, which I had brought him), and (2) by a full-page article in the Ugandan daily *New Vision* portraying President Museveni and the Isaabaruuli side by side, which I saw posted on the wall of one of the headquarter offices.<sup>4</sup>

I was struck by the terminology used in this context. It is rather unusual in Africa to hear reference being made so explicitly to “minority” politics. On the other hand, as noted also by Döbel, people do not seem to shrink back from referring to their ethnic group as a “tribe” which they note with satisfaction has finally been recognized as such and has gotten “a number” in the registry of “tribes” populating Uganda. This usage contrasts with the ostracism placed on the notion of “tribe” and “tribalism” in most parts of Africa.

#### *History of the Buruuli: a book and a programme*

The historical significance of these events, and the Baruuli nationalistic ideology which derives from it are plainly expounded in length and depth in the Isaabaruuli’s *History of Buruuli-Bunyala*, published in 2004 (Mwogezi 2004).<sup>5</sup> Its eloquent subtitle: ‘An account of the seven lost counties Britain donated to Buganda in 1900’ epitomizes its anti-Baganda bias.

<sup>2</sup> Fan’s comments : « C’est comme une nation qui fête son indépendance après avoir été colonie » (‘It is like a colony which acceded to independence’); and : « On a l’impression d’une nation qui se découvre. » (The impression one gets is that of a nation which discovers its own existence.)

<sup>3</sup> It seems remarkable to me that the Uganda Constitution contains a stipulation providing for “redressing wrongs committed in history” (article 32), quoted from Mwogezi (2004, back cover). Probably in this context, the establishment of a Land Fund for restoring property rights alienated by “historical errors” (colonization, I suppose) in the 1995 constitution must be seen (Mwogezi 2004).

<sup>4</sup> A copy of the newspaper article has been requested.

<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, though, nobody had mentioned it to me during our visit to Nakasongola headquarters. I discovered it in a library in Kampala, shortly before leaving the country.

This, and a somewhat indiscriminate recourse to mythical ascendancy, may somehow limit its value as a handbook of Baruuli history. On the other hand, the book draws on local sources of traditional knowledge including local history which cannot be ignored if only to the extent that there is nothing which could replace them. For instance, if one wants to understand what happened to Baruuli customs - including to the speculative Baruuli counterpart of the Tura Kono if it was ever there - an explanation can be found in the suppression or denial of anything which would distinguish Baruuli culture from the dominant Ganda way of life (see e.g. p. 46 for details). “Buganda sub-colonialism” (a term gleaned from a speech by President Musoveri, quote p. 93) and a policy of assimilation during the whole of 20<sup>th</sup> century has left its mainly negative traces on the Baruuli community. While the ban on cultural autonomy has now been lifted its demoralizing consequences are still there.

Put in terms of subregional politics, the stance taken by the Isabaruuli in his programmatic book is clearly secessionist in regard to Buganda traditional rule, with loyalty to the central government providing the leverage to get out of feudal bondage. Yet given the weight Baganda still have in Uganda – for one thing, the country is named after them – it will have to be seen what comes out of this. There is a feeling among the Baruuli leaders that the present favorable constellation may not last for ever. The Baruuli, according to their more vocal leaders some of whom we met in Nakasongola, count themselves as a minority whose survival, in spite of the present recognition of their distinct identity, is still potentially endangered. The best guarantee for the future independent development of the district and its population lies in the continued implementation of decentralization politics, and of national policies taking into account the rights of minorities. No wonder that the constitutional amendment voted by Parliament during my stay, allowing President Muzorevi to present himself for a third term in office, met with approval among those of my Baruuli interlocutors whom I happened to hear express themselves on the subject. On the other hand, a strong desire was expressed particularly by the District Chairman, Mr. Bagonza, and more indirectly by the Isabaruuli himself, to establish links with other cultural minorities across the world.

#### *The quest for autochthony in Baruuli and elsewhere in Africa*

Undoubtedly, one has to see the phenomenon of Baruuli cultural revival in the continent-wide context of what has been described as “autochthony” movements by Geschiere and others (Geschiere s.a., Ceuppens & Geschiere, in press<sup>6</sup>). They account for this widely attested trend “as an unexpected product of democratization and the new style of development policies (‘bypassing the state’ and decentralization)” (Ceuppens & Geschiere, p.1), while also strongly emphasizing the political dimension of the phenomenon which can be observed all over the continent.<sup>7</sup> The reservation I am having about Ceuppens & Geschiere’s analysis is that while I agree with their general observation about the importance of the autochthony movement in contemporary Africa, I am not convinced that extreme chauvinism is one of its invariable attributes, as the second sentence of their paper suggests: “The main agenda of the new autochthony movements is the exclusion of supposed “strangers” and the unmasking of “fake” autochthons - often citizens of the same nation-state.” I do not see this movement as being necessarily intolerant towards non-autochthons and I do not find any unequivocal trace of this in the cases known to me, including the Baruuli, if one abstracts from ostentative action of mainly symbolic value, such as the ban on singing the Luganda national anthem on Baruuli territory..

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<sup>6</sup> Thanks to Rose Marie Beck for pointing me to this forthcoming paper.

<sup>7</sup> A parallel case, also mentioned by Geschiere (Geschiere s.a.) is the urban minority of the Duala in Southwestern Cameroon. One has to be careful, however, that the local conditions and motivations which underly superficially similar pretenses may differ widely and as much as the framework of national politics in Uganda is not the same as in Cameroon.

Somewhat surprisingly, Ceuppens & Geschiere consider “autochthony” to be a by-product of a “new style of development policies” (p.1). What is meant by this is “decentralization” on the one hand and “by-passing the state” on the other hand, the latter presumably referring to a shift from state-initiated development to Ngo’s and, in particular, to local initiatives. Both trends seem to apply specifically to local development, not so much, however, I suppose, to judicial or educational matters. The interesting thing is that the authors interpret autochthony in the context of development and even as a phenomenon ultimately conditioned by trends in development policy.

From the perspective of LAGSUS, I am inclined to give precedence to the reverse question, namely: how does “autochthony” affect development? Some of the rhetorics of autochthony, framed in a context of African cultural and religious “renaissance” (see for instance E. Wei 1999 on Duala), may cast doubt on the rightfulness of the latter’s claim to contribute to development. Some of it may even seem to be reminiscent of Axelle Kabou’s indictment of African irrationalism as a main cause of Africa’s “refusal to develop” (Kabou 1995). But it seems quite typical for this new version of “authenticity” that the recovery of one’s assumed past is not tantamount to turning one’s back to the future. The search for forgotten local deities goes hand in hand with a discourse on human rights in general, on minority rights in particular, and on achieving corresponding objectives of educational and economic advancement.

As Mwongezi points out in his book, being recognized for what one is may indeed by itself count as a major factor of development. As part of the Baruuli awakening in response to continued Buganda domination and the eviction of Baruuli from the Lango area where they had fled to escape Buganda rule, the Baruuli Development Association was founded in the early 1980-ies. Ever since, it “has acted as a rallying ground for Baruuli in the diaspora and in Nakasongola District” (p. 86).<sup>8</sup>

Decentralization, the administrative correlate of the autochthony ideology, is an obvious link between the ideology of autochthony and practical aspects of development. As the Isabaruuli aptly puts it (Mwongezi 2004:75): “Decentralization has enhanced participatory planning and grassroot decision-making, creating a sense of ownership of development programmes, a condition necessary for sustainability. Direct political and administrative control over services at the point of delivery has been possible, improving transparency and accountability.”

This perception of the link between autochthony and development appears not to be limited to some hard core ideologists in Nakasongola but comes up quite naturally and spontaneously in local discourse by common people. Thus, the same idea referring to the change of allegiance as a major turn in the destiny of the Baruuli was spontaneously exposed in some detail by a local farmer and close collaborator of Mr. Fan, Mr. Fred Bagalalio, just before we left Baruuli country on July 6, with reference to the election of the Deputy to Parliament, coming up in 2006.

If this can be taken to be representative in any sense as a valid projection of local views in the present context of disruption of Baruuli society, it would be an impressive testimony of the – possible rather than necessary – link between symbolic acts redefining collective identity (such as the two events mentioned at the beginning) on the one hand, and a new impetus for development on the other.

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<sup>8</sup> This is clearly different from merely exogenous development which had already occurred under Idi Amin. Already then, some recognition was given to the Nakasongola area (p. 84) which, as a consequence, benefitted marginally from national schemes of development such as electricity and health services.

*Luruuli language, autochthony and development*

In Baruuli memoranda and policy statements, which mark the path of the Baruuli to the recovery of their socio-political identity and cultural autonomy, some of which are reproduced in Mwongezi (2004), the language issue figures prominently besides land tenure, governance and culture among the “historical distortions to be reversed” (p. 72). (Memorandum to Uganda Constitutional Review Commission, 13 March, 2003, Proposals from Baruuli/Banyala Cultural Trust).

According to Mwongezi (2004), discrimination against the Luruuli language under Buganda rule went as far as denying its existence (p. 42, 45f., 51). Against such tendencies which have left their trace in a negative attitude of “brain-washed” educated Baruuli towards their own idiom, official recognition of one’s language, quite independently of institutional language planning, is first of all a powerful symbolic act (p. 50, 56, 78). Language is still a central issue in the memorandum to the President from Oct. 19, 2004, in which forced assimilation and cultural marginalization are again listed as negative effects of colonial dependency, but at the same time cultural rebirth is traced to the influence of the NRM (National Resistance Movement, p. 110 bottom) from which the current administrative structure with its five levels of local government was inherited (Döbel 2005; Schubert 1999).

Apart from the still pending land issue and the recognition of the government’s policy favorable to local cultural institutions, the following demand is central:

“We are also requesting the Government to fund the writing of books in Lunyala and Ruruuli so as to enable the teaching of our mother tongue in schools. Books in our language have been written, but have stopped at manuscript phases pending printing.” (p. 112)

The Ruruuli Language committee, mostly composed of school teachers, with whom I had an opportunity to interact, is working towards the goal of presenting an orthography to the central authorities. Its official recognition by governmental decree is a prerequisite for Ruruuli being reintroduced as language medium in the primary schools. This recognition is due to be awarded, so I was told, before the end of this year.<sup>9</sup>

An interesting detail is the request, expressed by the Isabaruuli (Mwongezi 2004:80), that Swahili should be declared Uganda’s national language. One reason being adduced for this request is the fact that Swahili is already the common African language of the East African Community. This suggestion is somewhat surprising because of the prejudice attached to Swahili in many parts of Uganda as the language practised by Idi Amin’s thugs. It is not clear how this would affect the position of Luganda which functions currently beyond its home area as a subregional lingua franca.

The centrality of language in the Baruuli autochthony program is striking, as it is in the Duala (e.g. opening of semi-public schools for Duala children) and also in the Tura case (the launching of the Tura lexicon festival in the midst of the deepest economic and political crisis), although the socio-political context is quite different in each of these cases. While the Baruuli case is historically linked to the fact of having been subcolonized, this is not the case of the Tura nor is it the case in the same way of the Duala. Yet the program is strikingly similar in all these cases: recognition of language as a potentially powerful tool for development and, as a necessary corollary, development of language so that it can become this powerful tool.

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<sup>9</sup> If my understanding is correct, the government of Uganda recognizes the (constitutional?) right of each registered ethnic group (tribe?) to use its own language as a teaching medium in the first three years of primary school. The Ministry of education has therefore mandated the Language Committee to submit its proposal for Baruuli orthography by the end of the year.

*The role of the (Anglican) church*

The vast majority of the Baluli (84% out of a total of 128'000, if I remember the statement by the Bishop of Luweero correctly) are members of the Anglican church. The visibility of the church in Kalungi county is quite considerable, including current building activities. This is of particular interest in two respects

1. To what extent has the church supplanted traditional institutions as a functional substitute for inter-clan transaction, negotiation and conflict mediation?
2. What is the role of the church as a clearing-house of information and innovation in matters of development? See the glimpse from the Irima interview on p. 6 of the Luluuli transcription workshop report.

*Consequences for LAGSUS: enlarging the scope of inquiry?*

Does all this lead towards consideration of another “key issue in the humanities”? At least, as a consequence of what we observe in the Baruuli case, the point will have to be made in the report on the second year of LAGSUS activities that the autochthony agenda adds a further dimension to the question of the interdependence between local language and sustainability which cannot be ignored. Whatever its real and demonstrable significance for (or against) comprehensive development may turn out to be in the end, it has become clear that it constitutes a key issue in the current negotiation of development issues on the ground, if not in all, then at least in a significant proportion of typical African local settings and their diasporas.

*Development communication and the land tenure question*

While it would be inappropriate to deny the importance of the historical turn and the concomitant chances of reconstructing Baluuli society, euphoria vanishes quickly once one moves outside the compound hosting district headquarters in Nakasongola.

R. Döbel, in his detailed and insightful report, proposes a ranking of resources in terms of their importance from the viewpoint of the Baluuli rural population (Döbel 2005:10f.). On this scale – which is at least in part based on word frequency in text – land ranks highest, followed by water and next by capital.

The land tenure issue stands out as the major obstacle in need of being removed for the wrong suffered by Baluuli at Anglo-Ganda hands to be redressed. From Mwogezi (2004:2; 34f. & passim), one gets the impression that the ball is in the Government's camp; if the government decided to open the Land Fund for compensating alien landlords, the Baluulis could regain ownership rights over the land of their ancestors on which they had become squatters in the wake of Anglo-Ganda conquest. The question as to how titles of ownership would be established and intra-Baluuli strife in the process of re-attributing land would be avoided or properly managed, the further question as to how institutionalized memory works in this respect and can be used as a regulating factor has not, as far as I can see, come to figure on the public agenda yet.

What can be said, however, is that, as far as the land issue goes, public discourse and concerns expressed in private by common people seem to coincide. The latter are graphically evoked in Döbel 2005 (e.g. the anecdote on p.9). Suffice it to add that in an unsolicited talk, Fred B. volunteered to explain in detail how the attitude in the land issue would be the decisive criterion when voting the member of parliament for Nakasongola district in 2006. In particular, the one called upon to represent the Baluuli in Kampala would have to resist the temptation to solve the problem for himself by buying land back by using his own position and income, thus sabotaging the interests of the people at large.

For the land question in particular and, more generally, for a synopsis of Baruuli society, agriculture and economic life and problems, the reader should be referred to Döbel 2005 which also contains statistical data on the various issues and predicaments besieging Baruuli society.

Insecurity about land rights is a fundamental and permanent problem in Baruuli country. Compounded with dwindling land reserves facing an increasing demand, it constitutes a major hindrance on the way to sustainable development. Apart from being a public and highly political issue, land access instability becomes a frequent source of interpersonal or intragroup conflict and thus interferes directly or indirectly with agricultural project group activities and goals. The connectedness of these different political, public and individual aspects of the land issue seems to me to be a major, perhaps the most important challenge to efficient development communication in the Baruuli situation. Part of the challenge consists in creating (or discovering) a communicative context in which individual and group issues concerning access to land can be mediated successfully albeit provisionally, and negotiation of makeshift solutions can be worked out dialogically even while the global regulation of the land ownership conflict in Baruuli remains in abeyance. A solution to the latter, interethnic, legal and historical problem may be difficult to reach but a deal satisfying all three major players could no doubt be a blessing in terms of on sustainable agricultural development in the whole area.

#### *Rebuilding Baruuli society*

If we accept the hypothesis of cultural alienation through historical accident: Here is an African society amputated of its traditional values. The tragic effects of the loss of identity of a society which had become a playground of foreign powers are

1. lack of social cohesion and social control beyond the nuclear family, respectively beyond the network of female households produced by the purchasing power of a male individual;
2. loss of cultural events structuring the calendar;
3. their replacement by shallow day by day hedonistic surrogates;
4. loss of value-driven behaviour in matters of old age, social solidarity, etc.,
5. disappearance of institutional self-regulation.

Just as the disruption of social texture as a consequence of loss of collective identity entails 'un-development', the recovery and restoration of identity provides the psycho-social starting point for reversing the trend and may constitute over time a decisive factor for resumption of development.

Just as the Tura Kono procedure epitomizes social cohesion at all levels of complexity of the society, the apparent lack of anything even remotely comparable in Baruuli culture points to a historical process of cultural loss rather than a primitive state of socio-cultural underdevelopment.

If this hypothesis is not just mere speculation, then what we saw already in another context is corroborated; integral development is not a linear process, it is tributary to many heterogeneous factors, among them political and cultural ones. Local knowledge, too, is subject to change, its preservation is contingent upon (institutional) transmission, its recovery after undergoing loss, on memory.

Loss or regression of traditional local knowledge, while not preventing innovation per se from filling the empty place, tends to endanger stability and sustainability.

Unlearning can only be compensated for by re-learning.

*Transcripts from Development communication in Baruuli – some preliminary observations*

See Report on the *Luruuli transcription workshop*, p. 6.

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