



DANCING TO CHANGE

Gender in the popular music of Kampala, Uganda

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A growing body of scholars identifies a similarity between the didactic role of ancient art and modern edutainment: in their view, edutainment provides a platform for ideas to be processed, debated and disseminated. This article looks at lyrics of popular songs from the capital city of Uganda, Kampala, and investigates their contribution to the millennium development goals (MDG) on gender equity.

Modern popular entertainment is usually associated with leisure and the passing of time, but rarely with nation-building ideologies and development. A growing body of scholars, however, identifies a similarity between the didactic role of ancient art and modern edu-tainment. They advance that modern edu-tainment provides a platform where ideas are processed, debated and disseminated.

This article looks at lyrics of popular songs from the capital city of Uganda, Kampala, produced between 2003 and 2006 and investigates their contribution to one of the millennium development goals (MDG) – gender equity. The songs are sampled from the Ugandan awarding ceremony **Pearl of Africa Music (PAM) Awards**.

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BACKGROUND: GENDER EQUITY IN UGANDA

Since the earmarking of gender equity as one of the MDGs in 2000, international interest in achieving it has grown. Momsen (2004) defines it as: “the absence of discrimination, on the basis of a person’s sex, in opportunities and the allocation of resources or benefits or in access to services”. The formation of the Uganda Council of Women introduced the theoretical concept of gender equity in Uganda in 1947 (Tamale, 1999), but the idea of economic liberation from male dominance was germinal as early as economic rewards were attached to labour in the colonial era (Obbo, 1980, Tamale, 1999). Today, although the majority of Ugandan women desire economic independence in order to gain control of their

choice-making (Obbo, 1980), many do not desire to be perceived as rebellious (Tamale, 1999). Even outspoken feminists often steer away from being called feminists, because in Uganda the term quite early on earned a negative status. It was understood to represent “someone who wants to reverse sex roles, disempower the man, and place woman ‘on top’” (Tamale, 1999). Recognized Ugandan feminists like Miria Matembe and Rhoda Kalema indicate that combined with their interest in socio-economic empowerment for women, family is very important (Tamale, 1999; Matembe, 2002). For Ugandan women, emancipation does not mean absconding from wifehood and motherhood, but rather the balance of those two with a career. Emancipation implies the availability of options such as the payment of their labor, fair sharing of resources in homes, employment and education opportunities, voting rights and the right to engage in politics.

Historically, gender equity was severely trampled on by the colonial government, which relegated the females to domestic sphere and men to the public (Obbo, 1980; Tamale, 1999; Lutwama, 2007). This established the background for women’s crippled engagement in the public sphere of early post-independent Uganda.

The current government of president Y. K. Museveni (begun in 1986) has, however, moved into the foreground gender concerns (Tripp, 2002; Tamale, 1999), with the political scene being the most obvious example. A Ministry for gender was set up in 1992, and by 2000, out of the 17,000 persons that made decisions in the country’s public sector¹, women constituted 39% (The Republic of Uganda, 2000).

POPULAR MUSIC IN UGANDA

The Ugandan music industry is only beginning to grow, after suppression by early post-independence regimes. Immediately after independence, Uganda was led by the Muganda² president Kabaka Mutesa II and the Lango prime minister M.A. Obote³. Disagreement over land ownership between the president and the prime minister resulted in armed confrontation and the president’s exile (Omara-Otunnu, 1987).

Under the new president, Obote, Ugandans (especially Baganda) faced suppression of their forms of expression, i.e. language, music, dance and drama (Mbowa, 1994; Nnanyonga-Tamusuza, 2005). The regime that followed Obote’s, by President I. Amin, did not encourage local expression either. It was characterized by suspicion and the extermination of those suspected of challenging the president’s office, views or interests. Music, in this period, was censored; artists were killed, and the industry

experienced financial hardships (Mbowa, 1994, Kiguli, 2004, Nnanyonga-Tamusuza, 2005). Subsequent regimes until the current one did not improve the situation.

Museveni opened a new chapter in terms of freedom of expression⁴. Not only were artists provided with an atmosphere of relative freedom of expression (Kiguli, 2004), there was also unhindered expression by presenters and the public through the media (Nsaba Buturo, 2005). The combination of these freedoms, an increase in newer radio stations that competed with the government-owned radio, and the opening up of numerous private recording studios, fostered a fast growing local music industry.

CONTEMPORARY UGANDAN POPULAR MUSIC GENRES

As of 2006, the PAM Awards categorization of Ugandan music included hip hop, R&B, reggae, ragga, gospel, live band music, afro-beat, cultural music, folk pop, and Kadongo Kamu. The first four categories, sung in both English and local languages, follow the general international formats and expectations, and mainly attract the youth (10-25 years old). Gospel and live band music are simply broad categories deriving their name from their nature or the instruments used in producing them. While gospel music features mostly in churches, at weddings, funerals and on Christian radio stations, live band music which incorporates the afro-beat genre is mostly performed in open air concerts, bars, night clubs, and on secular radio stations. Live band music is enjoyed by an assorted audience in terms of age, class and gender. Cultural music, folk pop, and Kadongo Kamu carry more Ugandan cultural musical elements in terms of vocalization, language and instruments. They are mostly enjoyed by middle-aged and older generation speakers of the languages and feature on special programs on secular radio stations, in open air concerts, and at ceremonies such as weddings.

GENDER EQUITY AS A MDG AND POPULAR MUSIC AS A MEDIUM OF COMMUNICATION IN UGANDA

Academic studies

Three main studies draw attention to the relationship between Ugandan popular music and gender in a communication for development perspective. These include political gender analyst Ahikire Josephine's *Of Conformity, Criminality and Contestation: Popular Culture and Gender*

Identities in Kampala City, Uganda (2001), ethnomusicologist Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza's *Gender, Ethnicity and Politics in Kadongo Kamu Music in Uganda: Analysing the Song Kayanda* (2002) and folklorist/literature critic Helen. N. Mugambi's *Gender, Orality, Text and Female Space in Contemporary Kiganda Radio Songs* (1994). These analyses share the observation that ordinary Ugandan women have been largely marginalized and denied the opportunity for self-expression⁵, remaining voiceless and impotent in terms of acting to free themselves from their oppressed position in society. The studies, however, also trace Ugandan women's emerging attempts in subtle and sometimes overt ways to transcend this male hegemony.

Mugambi (1994) theorizes that gender disparities in Kiganda culture reflected in the Kiganda music originate from the traditional Kiganda myth of creation - Kintu⁶. In that myth, Nambi started out as a powerful individual before she married Kintu (the mythical father of Buganda), but later became the cause of destruction of the nation through her brother Walumbe (death). According to Mugambi (1994), the myth actively silences woman's contribution to socio-economic development and in some cases altogether deletes her presence in history. Nambi's contribution to the development of the Buganda kingdom is not acknowledged. Likening her to the biblical Eve, Mugambi draws the conclusion that her female offspring inherited her invisibility.

In the wake of Mugambi's interpretation of gender representation, Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2002) narrows the discussion to the song Kayanda, by Willy Mukaabya. She theorizes that besides representing president Museveni in the song, Kayanda is a depiction of power struggles between men of different backgrounds. The struggle takes place on the battle field of woman's sexuality, with wins and losses judged against men's success or failure to sleep with the women in the song. The idea of sexuality is not merely social but highly political (Tamale, 2005). In this song, economic differences between Mukaabya and his casual labourer Kayanda (who in Mukaabya's absence fathers a child with Mukaabya's wife, where Mukaabya has failed) become an opening for the woman's resistance to subordination. Mukaabya's wife asserts that if Kayanda is fired, she would go with him.

The song also provides a glimpse of the common Ugandan's socio-economic situation in the mid-80s. It shows a struggle for economic survival that made life burdensome for men who carried the obligation of providing for families while their wives were restricted to the performance of household chores and farming⁷ (Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2002, Obbo, 1980). In this song, Mukaabya supplements the yields from Kayanda's subsistence farming with what he earns from his long-distance employment to run his home. The song also presents another case:

Kijjambu's wife engaging in an extra-marital relationship with his driver because of her husband's long absences from home, presumably at work as well. The song's scenario is one of female promiscuity and sluggish socio-economic development. While women are underutilized, their 'working class' husbands are overworked and face repercussions such as ill-health and compromised productivity. The 'poor men' category (Kayanda and the driver), for their part, are underpaid by their economically constrained employers. Yet, socially the 'working class' men's working patterns also fail to nurture proper marital relationships and perpetuate women's adultery. These adulterous acts manifest the women's rebellion against being marginalized in the socio-economic struggles.

Similarly, Mugambi's (1994) analysis of the song Nakakawa (by a male artist) provides another marriage-centered discussion of gender relations. Nakakawa, who is persuaded to marry an elderly already married Seperia, initially pledges subservience but in practice refuses to be submissive. Justifying her actions, she explains that her husband was not worthy of her beauty and youth, hence her decision to leave him (Mugambi, 1994). Although Mugambi does not look into this dimension of Nakakawa's decision, it is worth noting that her standing up for her right to freedom is undermined by her choice to attain it in another man's home. Nakakawa's short-lived liberation is made clearer by her failure to cope outside marriage and eventually returning submissively to Seperia. Like the voices of women muffled by masculine battles in Nannyonga-Tamusuza's (2002) analysis, Nakakawa's voice comes out only to be suppressed by Seperia's distresses. Ironically, the only woman in the song with the ability to voice issues is as alcoholic as her husband. This provokes Mugambi's (1994) observation that the "attribute of male/female equality has been vested in an irresponsible alcoholic couple. This is, in fact, the ultimate statement on the process of gender politics in which discourses on equality are outside the realm of sanity".

Ahikire (2001) in turn discusses the song Omwenkanonkano⁸ by male musician Dan Mugula. Mugula curses the very thought of women being equal to men. He discredits equality arguing that it jeopardizes men's happiness in homes. Mugula's song is an outright attempt at suppressing women's needs.

In Ahikire's other selection, Nfisisaawo Akadde (sung by both a female and a male artist), Ssebata's wife is also domesticated and facing a similar problem: lack of sexual attention from her husband. However, the improvement is that while in the previous songs the husbands could not return home for days, Ssebata returns late in the night exhausted and hardly able to realize his wife's sexual needs. Ssebata's return home every night, as opposed to Mukaabya and Kijjambu's extended absences,

suggests some change in the working pattern for men. Unlike the latter, Ssebata seems to have a job close to his home. The question then is: given the increased availability of paid work, why was the woman in Nfisizaawo Akadde still domesticated, and her productive capacities underutilized, especially since she had house help to conduct the household chores? Why was the image of “working class” women kept at bay?

A possible explanation is that in the 1980s, male perception of the working and public-related woman was still negative; therefore musicians were more concerned with having an image of a faithful domestic wife rather than leveraging the gender imbalance in paid employment. That notwithstanding, the facts that the woman in Nfisizaawo Akadde strongly and clearly points out her grievances over sexual starvation, and that Ssebata, unlike Mukaabya in Kayanda or Mugula in Omwenkanonkano, listens, understands and promises to address her grievances, are indicative of some sort of social development for the Ugandan woman.

Without relying solely on men’s humanitarian realization of women’s right to freedom, women also began to force their way into forbidden domains (Obbo, 1980; Synder, 2002). Ahikire (2001) provides examples of women’s invasion of the public workplace, even in economic activities similar to their traditional roles, such as food preparation. This perceived intrusion unsurprisingly raised opposition from the majority of men (Ahikire, 2001; Moore, 1997; Lutwama, 2004). Those initially associated most with this intrusion were the “single women” or “single mothers owning their own accommodation”, often labelled Nakyeombokedde. Ahikire (2001) shares Christine Obbo’s (1980) view that women branded in that way are “criminalized” as they fall outside the “ordinary status of acceptability”, i.e. being wives. Men’s challenging of women’s intrusion is exemplified in Haman Basudde’s song Tetukyalina Bakazzi, meaning “gone are the days when we had women” (wives). He sings about working women who leave home early in the morning and come back late in the evening. He says that it is through working that women get to engage in adultery (Ahikire, 2001). It is interesting to note, however, that although Basudde attributes women’s adultery to their employment, Mukaabya’s song portrays two different women, both domesticated yet adulterous. Hence Basudde’s theory linking adultery to employment appears baseless, and the wrong interpretation of the causal factor for women’s adultery.

Women’s agency in the music industry

In terms of women’s own agency in attaining their right to paid employment, it can be argued that by the very fact that female musicians joined commercial singing, they rebelled against the severe masculine warnings in earlier songs examined above.

The interesting side of Ahikire's selected female musicians is that although they are rebellious, by being commercial performers, some, like Nakiito, try to appease men by appearing to take their side. In her song Tebigattibwa, Nakiito claims that money and men cannot be mixed. She narrates her success as a business woman and the subsequent failure and unhappiness her success brought her in terms of marriage and as a social being. She reinforces the negativity initially associated with being a nakyeombekedde.

Some other female artists have, however, insistently encouraged women's participation in the economic sphere, although the need for stability in the home (mainly to be maintained by men) is still emphasized. Ahikire's (2001) discussion reveals a shift in Ugandan popular music's portrayal of women's status from domestication to determined entrance into the economic/commercial world. Alongside these newer images, however, lies the still persistent reflection of women as dependent and adorable beauties (see also Ntangaare, 2002). In the sample songs discussed below, greater diversity in gender positioning is evident mainly in three forms. There are the marginalized, partially empowered and liberated women.

The songs sampled

In contrast to Ahikire's (2001) analysis, two contemporary songs, Jamilla (2004) and Bada (2006), surprisingly take us back to the dilemma of women's domestication and helplessness.

Chameleone's (Joseph Mayanja) Jamilla is a young woman's story of a broken marriage. Following continuous disagreement with her husband, Jamilla is finally thrown out of the marital home. Bobi Wine's (Robert Kyagulanyi) Bada is equally a portrayal of a failing relationship. In Bada, a woman is given no respect by her lover, which causes her constant misery and the shedding of tears. The woman eventually tires of this and finds another lover (Bobi).

Both songs depict a woman sacrificing her happiness to see a relationship work, but eventually becoming frustrated in love. In these songs, women start off as typically marginalized. Significantly different, however, is the remedy each one finds for her dilemma. Jamilla runs to her long-time male friend, while the woman in Bada leaves the abusive relationship and begins one with a caring man. By relying on her male friend to intervene in her family problems, Jamilla remains vulnerable and dependent on her friend's intervention to earn her liberty. On the other hand, the Bada woman proactively frees herself by ending the abusive relationship. Her new partner's attitude ("I was impressed and for that matter, I view her as

a breakable item” song excerpt) gives her an opportunity to be appreciated and increases her chances for negotiation in the new relationship. This opportunity situates this woman in the partially empowered category.

It is noteworthy that while these songs are also sung by male musicians and women are depicted as domesticated as their predecessors, the millennium musicians, unlike their earlier counter-parts, sympathize with the harassed women. While Chameleone is puzzled about how to liberate Jamilla (“Jamilla what can I tell her to do... Now she is crying, Chameleone what can I do?”), Bobi’s liberation act is the repossession of the victimized woman (“You dropped her, Eh, I picked”). It can be assumed that the change in male musicians’ attitude to women vis-à-vis that discussed in the previous section is indicative of growing prospects for better treatment of women by some men. From this perspective, the millennium artistic images of women supplement the advocacy for women’s freedom weakly initiated by female musicians viewed in the previous analyses.

Besti Mani (2005) by Abdu Muraasi (Abdul Ssemakula) is another story about a foiled wedding. At his wedding, Sula Saaku was ambushed by the police. It is then that his wife-to-be and the musician (his best man and long-term friend) discovered that he was an armed robber. The woman hardly knew her would-be husband’s earlier life because her paternal aunt (senga) had persuaded her to marry the stranger. The commotion caused by the arrest led to the dispersing of all guests. This gave the best man the opportunity to hide Sula’s would-be bride in his home. From then on, a relationship developed between the two.

Two female images stand out, the senga who connives with a man to trap a girl in marriage, and the bride-to-be. Senga is a representation of the liberated ‘nasty’ women who trick others into objectification. It is, however, difficult to look at her as liberated in isolation of the context of sengahood created by Buganda tradition. Traditionally, senga[s] shared power over their nieces; together with the girls’ brothers and fathers, senga[s] chose the girls’ husbands (Magoba, undated; Tamale, 2005). It is therefore difficult to perceive senga as one of the millennium-era liberated women, because her empowerment is bestowed by tradition. Besides, the power she wields is mainly over a fellow woman.

The bride-to-be starts off as marginalized, her destiny in the hands of the senga and her husband-to-be, but her fate is changed by the best man. To traditionalists, her elopement with the best man marks her promiscuity. Yet, given the background of her proposed union to Sula, it is clear that she does not wish him as a husband. Although she complies with senga’s wish to get married, her final comment that “even when he gets out [of prison], she will never taste” confirms her wish for freedom⁹. Unlike

Nakakawa, who breaks free of such a marriage only to return to it, the bride in this song follows the Bada woman's example and remains with her new-found love. The new relationship could be viewed as liberating, were it not a self-glorification of the best man. It ends on a note of satisfaction as he boasts of the happiness he now enjoys. Hence the woman in this song is depicted as partially empowered.

In *Makanika Wange* (2003), by female musician Titi Tabel (Tendo), the woman also starts off as domesticated. Her major complaint is that despite her tolerance of an economically constrained marriage and her contribution to the welfare of the family, when circumstances improve, her husband does not share the happiness. This song has a lot in common with *Nfisizaawo Akadde*. In both, women have strong voices. Whereas Ssebata's wife wants sexual attention, Titi wants to spend more leisure time with her husband. In other words, she wants a cut on the time during which she is domesticated. She "has decided on the weekends", to stick "like resin on a tube fiddle" (excerpt from song). On top of that, she wants to be rewarded for her performance of household chores. Like Ssebata's wife, Titi makes the major step of voicing her dissatisfaction but surpasses Ssebata's wife's goal, i.e. sexual attention, and demands freedom in public. This makes Titi a partially empowered character. For although she accepts the status of the domestic wife, she also liberates herself by decisively forcing her way into the public and apportioning herself some of her husband's time.

In economic terms, the song shows an improvement in regards to employment. Whereas Ssebata worked long hours, Titi's husband relaxes over weekends. The improvement, however, does not change women's lives. The woman is still in the background as an income earner. Nonetheless, it can be argued that Titi's voicing of the need to reward those women engaged in domestic work and of a fairer sharing of benefits between spouses adds to other literary and activists' voices on the issue (see Goldschmidt-Clermont, 1982; Boserup, 1970; Obbo, 1980).

In *Swimmingi Puulu* (2004), also by Abdu Muraasi, women's struggle to enjoy public entertainment with their husbands is realized. The couple goes to what the musician inter-changeably refers to as a swimming pool and beach. The protagonist, Muraasi, is relatively liberal because he 'decides' and not suggests to take his wife out. To counter-act this domination over decision-making, he does not interfere with her choice of wearing a gomesi¹⁰. However, as soon as he discovers that she has made the wrong choice, his liberality is put to the test again. He offers a limp request for her to join him in the pool, not for her enjoyment but to protect him from the seductive girls in the pool. The wife replies "no, way, I'm watching football, I have no heat". This response reveals her ability to make some decisions in the relationship. The woman's answer also allows

us to witness how much self-control some married men exercise when faced with sexual temptation. The musician's silent "thank you" to her reply indicates his actual desire, namely: to join the girls in the pool. Muraasi proves this assumption by his lack of interest in stopping the sexual event that follows in the pool. This presupposes that some men prefer to keep their wives away from public entertainment in order to prevent their seeing the adulterous indulgences of their husbands or to avoid having them behave the same way as men in similar circumstances.

Further, Muraasi distances himself from his wife by referring to her as the "gomesi madam" as opposed to his youthfulness ("boy"). This image suggests that she is elderly and old-fashioned. Her new status is both positive and negative. It is positive because it gives her the power to assert her wish¹¹; indeed, her jumping into the water to get her husband out of the playful orgy brings it to an abrupt stop¹². Yet, it is negative in the sense that even today Ugandan society frowns on older women who desire younger men. Muraasi's new image of his wife casts her in the stigmatized group of older women who manipulate younger men.

Two forms of liberation are demonstrated by women in this song: the girls whose sexuality enables them to get what they want, and the wife who starts off as partially empowered but then becomes assertive and reclaims her own. Both images draw women further away from that of the entrapped marginalized woman.

In contrast to Muraasi's ridiculing of woman's looks and sexuality, Geoffrey Lutaaya glorifies them in Oli Miisi (2005). Unlike the Bada woman's ex-partner, Lutaaya is appreciative and respectful of the beautiful girl he admires. Beauty as the reason for good treatment is debatably positive, because it situates the women back in the setting of being possessed and provided for, rather than active participants in socio-economic development.

However, the contrast between the Bada woman and Lutaaya's miss highlights an interesting conflict in the perception of beauty by Ugandan men. Where it is viewed by one man in Bada as worthless after the acquisition of the woman, in the same Bada, another man refutes this view, his objection being backed by Lutaaya's perception. By giving respect to the beautiful, the woman's position is elevated. The chances are that Lutaaya, like the Bada man, will listen to and negotiate with the woman so that she remains happy with him. Again, through patriarchal lenses, such freedom and availability of choices for the women are a gateway to promiscuity, an argument well made by the pre-90 and 90s songs. However, through liberal ones, the increase of choices gives women more bargaining power (Elson 1997; Kabeer 1994): either to stay in the

relationship if it is well rewarding or leave it if it is oppressive. The woman in Oli Miisi is therefore liberated by her beauty.

The woman in Ssi ggwe Onsimira (2005) in turn is the “gone wild liberated” type, according to Meseach Ssemakula. Having broken loose of the chains of inaudibility, she encroaches further into the masculine territory of “making an advance”. It is possible that the woman’s failure to persuade Ssemakula into a relationship comes from this bias. However, since the rest of the song’s lyrics do not prove this assumption, her image is analyzed as that of an overly self-seeking person who attempts to break up a couple through foul-mouthing her rival.

This kind of woman is the epitome of the fears that pre-90 and 90s songs associated with liberated women. The prediction was that women’s freedom would breed evil calculating females. Unlike the speculation that built this image in the ‘90s, women of this nature are becoming increasingly visible today. Their presence in real life is a hindrance to the struggle of gender equity, as they jeopardize the freedom of other well-meaning women. Selfish, calculating women are likely to become the oppressive types replacing the patriarchal oppressor (man)¹³.

In fact, Mama Mia (2003) by Chameleone reflects that unreasonably selfish woman in Njoki. The musician’s plight is that he had done the best he could for Njoki, buying oil and providing money for the daily meals. Unfortunately, this was unsatisfactory to his partner, who decided to leave him for someone with better economic standing. As noted earlier, it is not wrong for one to leave a relationship that does not give him/her satisfaction. However, the bond between Chameleone and Njoki involved a responsibility as heavy as raising eight children. In Uganda, where raising children is the full responsibility of the marital family, with minimal government intervention, leaving her children in such a helpless state confirms Njoki’s selfishness. This is an example of turning choice-making into absconding from one’s responsibility, rather than a route to development.

Choice availability remains an issue that requires serious contemplation and negotiation. The appearance of more liberated images of women in songs gives an indication of the sustained debate on the issue in Uganda. In the song Ani Akumanyi (sung by male and female musicians), the female musician’s view on money and relationships sharply contrasts with the dominant dependent/opportunistic female representations of earlier songs.

The male musician thinks that money and wealth are keys to securing female attention. Having earned a little money, he attempts to persuade

one. The woman, however, is disinterested. The strength of this woman's position is not in the fact that she tells the man off, but in the fact that she appears to know what she wants in life and will not be seduced by money. Her statement, "no, no you are not realistic, instead of love you give me cards" presupposes that it is not money she looks for in a relationship. Her decision demonstrates her liberated state. This image represents women who have attained some level of equality with men in the world of reason and decision-making. For man to strike a bargain with her, he has to use wit similar to that used with fellow men and not merely depend on his superiority or perceived superiority in economic footing.

CONCLUSION

This article has discussed the connections between Ugandan popular music, gender relations, levels of productivity for both women and men, and socio-economic development for the individual, family and wider community. By exploring the domestication of women, I have attempted to highlight the need for more choices for women in order for gender equity to be realized.

Music has illuminated and sometimes influenced Ugandan women's journey from extreme control to partial empowerment, and in some cases liberation. Ugandan songs have the potential to encourage positive gender relations. Therefore, this analysis encourages development planners to also target informal communicators, like musicians, and sensitize them on "ideal" gender relations. Gender sensitive musicians are likely to produce gender sensitive music, thus contributing to gender equity.

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1. The public sector here refers to "the executive, legislature/parliamentarians, the judiciary and the decision makers in any other bodies as prescribed by the constitution of the Republic of Uganda" (The Republic of Uganda 2000, p.2).
2. A Muganda is an individual belonging to the ethnic groups of Baganda. A Kabaka heads the kingdom of Buganda and the Baganda.

3. Kabaka Sir Edward Muteesa II was appointed by the British as Uganda's first president when the country attained its independence from British colonial rule. Apollo Milton Obote, from Lango, one of the northern Uganda decentralized states was appointed prime minister.
4. Freedom of expression and democracy were at that time new to Ugandans, and the new regime was highly commended for introducing the two. Today, however, 21 years of rule by this regime, the doctrines have greatly declined.
5. Self-expression here does not imply the restriction of women to speak at all; rather it refers to women's limited voicing and arguing for their rights.
6. Kintu is the Kiganda creation story in which Nambi, daughter of Gulu, the king, who lived in heaven fell in love with Kintu, the lone man who lived on earth and fed on the dung and urine of his cow. Kintu is, according to this myth, the father of the Baganda.
7. Although domestic chores today can be paid employment, in most cases, when a wife performs them, they remain un-paid. And although farming is a commercial activity, a wife's involvement in it in Uganda is usually seen as a duty, and therefore not paid (Obbo, 1980).
8. Omwenkanonkano is usually used to refer to the aggressive act of being equal.
9. See similar argument on compliance and resistance by women in relationships with men depending on the position they occupy in the relationship in Moore (1997), Lutwama (2004) and Obbo (1980).
10. A Gomesi is a semi-wrap long frock that covers the body, showing only the tips of the shoes. It is the Kiganda traditional dress, and the most dignifying dress in Buganda, and it is hard to envision a person throwing it off to remain in a bikini for a swim, for the very essence of a gomesi is the covering of the body.
11. Superiority in age gives one some level of authority in Uganda.
12. Though her husband is not repentant for his actions, confirming the earlier suggested acceptability of men's engagement in adultery, he complies with her wish to stop the silliness.
13. See Franz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1986) explaining how the oppressed can become the oppressor.

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