Indigenous Cultural Tourism and the Discourse of Development among the Batwa of Mgahinga, South Western Uganda

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For my dear brothers and sisters

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACHPR: African Commission on Human and People's Rights

ACWGIP: African Commission's Working Group on Indigenous Populations

IGCP: International Gorilla Conservation Program

KDLG: Kisoro District Local Government

ILO: International Labour Organization

UOBDU: United Organization for Batwa Development in Uganda

UWA: Uganda Wildlife Authority

IBEA: Imperial British East African Company

RDC: Resident District Commissioner

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the Batwa peoples of Mgahinga area, located in Kisoro District, South-western Uganda. Once inhabitants of the rain forests in South-western Uganda, the Batwa's livelihood was abruptly distracted in 1991 when the Government of Uganda forcefully them from their ancestral lands for the establishment of Mgahinga Gorilla National Park. This forced eviction of the Batwa communities left them landless and without sources of basic necessities such as food, shelter and medicine posing a big threat to their livelihood and survival. As a remedy to the aforementioned situation, a number of development projects have been implemented by a number of national and international development agents to promote the livelihood of the Batwa.

In this thesis, I analyse the discourse of development and how it affects indigenous people's livelihoods. Development involves a process of change, aimed at the fulfilment of a potential (Allen and Thomas, 2000:25). Since development implies a process of change which often entails disruption of established patterns of livelihood such as cultural values, traditions and forms of knowledge, it has been widely argued that development is a threat to the survival of indigenous cultures. In this thesis, I explore the possibilities of incorporating development with indigenous livelihood without necessary compromising indigenous peoples' heritage and culture.

I focus on a special type of meeting and relationship between the 'developed-modern world' and the 'indigenous people's world'. I use the term indigenous cultural tourism to express this relationship. Through cultural tourism, indigenous peoples sell their cultures to a global market. It has been widely argued by scholars that such a re-contextualization of indigenous cultures for tourist consumption dilutes the meaning of the re-contextualized cultural products. In this study, I question the above view. I explore the possibilities of a culture being re-contextualized for touristic purposes without necessarily destroying its meaning. In addition, I explore to find the socio-cultural-economic roles of cultural tourism in developing indigenous people's livelihoods.

This study has revealed that indigenous cultural tourism is a form of revitalization of indigenous cultures. In addition, cultural tourism is a source of empowerment to indigenous communities because it offers them economic revenue, and a platform to collectively define who they are, thereby countering stereotypes that have been created about them by other dominant groups. In this thesis, I have explored the power relations involved in cultural

tourism as a development initiative and illustrated how indigenous peoples may become dis-empowered, ironically in a development project aimed at improving their own livelihood.

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.0 Background to the Study and Statement of Purpose

The Batwa are the original inhabitants of the equatorial forests of the Great Lakes region in Central Africa (Lewis: 2000). In Uganda, they occupied the Ecuya, Bwindi and Mgahinga forests located in South-western Uganda. Like many other hunter gatherer communities, the Batwa's livelihood depended on the forests for food, clothing, shelter and medicinal herbs. They mainly lived a subsistence life of production, but also had trade relations with neighbouring communities. With regard to trade, they were also involved in barter trade exchanging forest products such as bamboo, handmade crafts and meat from their hunting activities with food and other agricultural products from the neighbouring Bakiga and Bafumbira communities. Furthermore, many of the folktales and performing art forms of the Batwa depict their strong attachment to their forests. Similarly, a number of sites in the forests show this attachment. Notable among the sites is the Garama cave that functioned as a palace for their kings, source of protection to their children and women during war, and as an arsenal for their armoury.

In 1991, the government of Uganda through Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) gazetted Mgahinga and Bwindi forests with international support from Global Environment Facility (GEF)/ World Bank. The major purpose for gazetting these forests and the creation of Bwindi and Mgahinga National Parks was to protect the endangered mountain gorillas that were occupying these forests. The creation of Mgahinga and Bwindi National Parks led to the forced eviction of Batwa peoples from their forests. After the evictions, the communities were restricted from accessing the forests. Consequently, the Batwa's livelihood was altered since they were abruptly cut off from their main source of survival; their forests. It should be noted that all these government actions were carried out without prior consultation of the locals. It is this background that has shaped the livelihood of the Batwa peoples for the last two decades. As a result of their landlessness, the "Batwa today live in bonded labour arrangements with their local neighbours and exist as a despised and marginalised group, positioned on the margins of Ugandan society" (Kidd: 2008:2).

In order to improve and develop the living conditions of the Batwa peoples mentioned above, the Ugandan government and a number of development and environmental conservation agencies have come on board. Their approach to solving the Batwa people's problem is that "if the communities had alternative income-generating activities, they would not need to rely on unsustainable use of the forests. Furthermore, if the Batwa could improve

their livelihoods by showcasing their unique knowledge of the land, they could keep their rich culture intact"[1]. It is the above mentioned logic that led to the establishment of the 'Batwa trail'; a touristic activity where Batwa peoples 'perform their unique knowledge of the land' for tourists. The Batwa trail has been promoted as a source of employment to the evicted communities. It is believed that the foregoing approach would serve as a community conservation model, since it aims at developing tourism-related activities that would provide employment and revenue to the Batwa, thus reducing pressure on the parks from illegal resource extraction.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse how the above mentioned development project has been implemented and its role in transforming the livelihood of Batwa peoples. I will delve into the implications of re-contextualizing their culture for touristic consumption. It has been widely argued by scholars that re-contextualization of indigenous cultures for tourist consumption dilutes the meaning of the re-contextualized cultural products. In this study, I question the above view. I explore the possibilities of a culture being re-contextualized for touristic purposes without necessarily destroying its meaning. The same 'Batwa culture' that has been re-contextualized for tourist consumption has been a major cause for their discrimination and marginalization by other communities, and I will illustrate this view in subsequent chapters.

1.1 Definition of Terms

In this thesis, I use the term cultural tourism to refer to "visits by persons from outside the host community motivated wholly or in part by interest in the historical, artistic, and scientific or lifestyle/heritage offerings of a community, region, group or institution"[2]. Culture tourism activities often involve performances staged by the host community. I use the term performance to refer to "deliberate, self-conscious 'doing' of highly symbolic actions in public". (Bell, 1997:160) 'Cultural performance' is therefore performing "a set of activities and attempting to make them identical or thoroughly consistent with older (Batwa) cultural precedents" (*ibid*).

1.2 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study involves an analysis of historical events and conditions that have led to the current situation and livelihood of the Batwa peoples. This is intended to give a context and background to the origins, role and implications of cultural tourism as a form of

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[1] http://www.igcp.org/working-with-the-batwa-of-uganda/
[2] *Strategic Directions for Ontario's Cultural Tourism Product Main Report*, LORD Cultural Resources Planning & Management Inc (Toronto, 1993)

development model for the Batwa peoples. Geographically, this study was carried out in Mgahinga, South-western Uganda, among two Batwa communities, namely Musasa and Rukeeri. I mainly chose these two communities because they were/are the intended direct beneficiaries of the cultural tourism project. Many of the members of the two aforementioned Batwa communities work as guides and entertainers during the Batwa trail. Figure 1 below is an illustration of the map of Uganda, locating Mgahinga area, where this research was undertaken.

Figure 1: Map of Uganda locating Mgahinga National Park
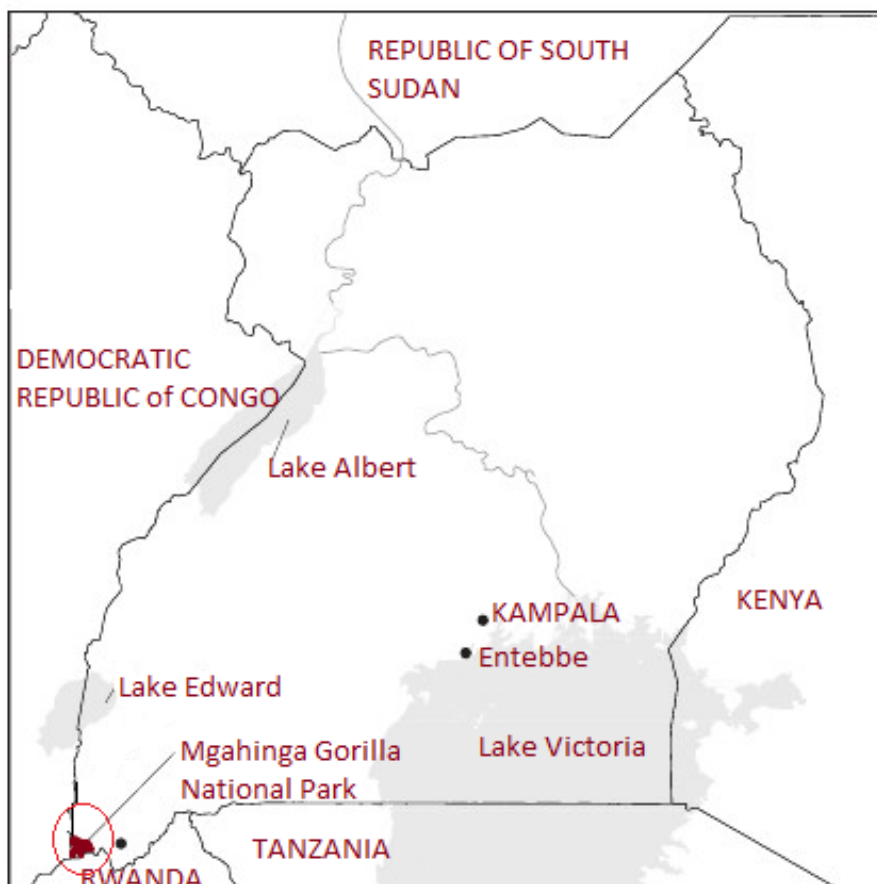
Source: Map drawn by researcher. As Illustrated on the map, the Batwa live on the boarder of three countries; Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The boundaries of present day Uganda were created by the British colonialists in 1962.

1.3 Relevance of the study

This study sought to analyse how development projects geared towards improving the livelihood of indigenous peoples are implemented, and how such development projects affect the peoples for whom they are intended. This study will hopefully contribute to existing literature and theoretical frame works concerning development projects aimed at improving indigenous people's livelihood.

This study will also hopefully serve as an evaluation of cultural tourism, particularly among the Batwa peoples in Mgahinga. I believe that the findings of this study will reveal the current livelihood and situation of the Batwa peoples, and show how their livelihood has been affected by cultural tourism. By analysing the social and cultural implications that cultural tourism has on the Batwa peoples, this study intends to explore the strengths and challenges associated with development projects targeting indigenous peoples.

1.4 Research Questions

In this study, I intended to explore the following questions:

1. How has cultural tourism been implemented among Batwa communities in Mgahinga?

2. What are the socio-cultural-economic roles of cultural tourism in developing Batwa livelihood? With this question, I intended to explore the advantages and disadvantages of cultural tourism for the Batwa.

3. Are there any social and cultural consequences of re-contextualizing Batwa 'culture' to be performed for tourists? If so, what are they?

1.5 Methods

I used qualitative methods of data collection for this study. I mainly used qualitative methodology because the nature of data required for this study was more descriptive than quantifiable. The descriptive nature of this study necessitated me to take an ethnographic approach. Ethnography is a methodology based on direct observation (Silverman, 2010:15). In ethnographic research, the aim is to produce systematic and descriptive results about people's beliefs, values, rituals and other general patterns of behavior (Cohen, 1993: 123). Since ethnography aims at producing descriptive results, researchers are expected to have a close interaction and association with their informants. As Silverman (2010) notes, it is essential for the ethnographic researcher to listen to conversations by the actors 'on stage', read documents produced by the organization under study and ask people questions. " Yet what distinguishes ethnography from other methodologies is a more active role assigned to cognitive modes of observing, watching, seeing, looking at, gazing at and scrutinizing" (Silverman, 2010:15). In line with Silverman's view above, I was involved in a two month period of fieldwork for this study.

During my field work, I conducted interviews, group discussions and was involved in a number of processes as a participant observer. These have been my primary sources of data

for this study, coupled with document and textual analysis, photography, audio and video recording as secondary sources of data for this project. These research tools made it possible for me to gather and store the data that I have analysed in this thesis.

Before setting off for my fieldwork, I read from various sources about the communities I was to carry the   fieldwork from. These included publications by some anthropologists who had carried out their research among Batwa communities, newspaper articles and official reports about Batwa peoples from the government agencies and a number of NGOs that work with Batwa communities. My main intention was to gain prior knowledge about the background of the Batwa peoples and conditions that have influenced and shaped their current livelihood. In the following sections, I discuss in detail the tools that I used in collecting data for this research.

1.5.1   Interviews

As a means of authenticating the information that I got from the written sources that I read before setting off for the field, I carried out interviews. The informants that I interviewed for this study included Batwa people who work as guides during the Batwa trail, administrators of the United Organisation for Batwa Development in Uganda (UOBDU), officials from the Uganda Wildlife Authority, and members of the Bafumbira community in Mgahinga. The above mentioned interviews were formal in nature. With formal interviews, I made appointments with my informants. To have a systematic discussion, I wrote down the themes and questions about the topic of investigation to guide me during interviews (See Appendix 1 for a sample of the research guide questions). I mainly used open-ended questions, designed to elicit   full and meaningful answers basing on the informant's own knowledge and/or feelings. This often gave me the possibility to interrogate further any new ideas brought up by the informant.

I was occasionally involved in a number of informal interviews that Nannyonga-Tamusuza (2005:48) refers to as conversational interviews.   Unlike formal interviews, conversational interviews often do not require an appointment with the informant. They may take place anywhere for example in taxis, kiosks, the market place among other settings. Some of the conversational interviews that I had were started by my informants. For example, during my initial days of fieldwork, one of the members of the Bafumbira community asked me to justify "why I was 'wasting' time and resources to carry out fieldwork among the Batwa". While his question sounded insulting both to the Batwa and me as a researcher, I got involved in a discussion with him and other Bafumbira to explain the role of my research and

my role as a researcher. From this particular discussion, I learnt about a number of prejudices that have been attached to Batwa peoples by non-Batwa peoples. While I did not have the opportunity to record these conversational interviews, they were a very important part of information I gained from the field. I often took notes about these conversational interviews.

1.5.2 Group Discussions

In order to gain information and perspectives from other Batwa that I may not have had the opportunity to interview, I conducted group discussions with two Batwa communities namely the Musasa and Rukeri respectively. The group discussions that I had with the Musasa community comprised 14 participants while that with the Rukeri community comprised of 21 participants. I specifically chose Musasa and Rukeeri communities because the Batwa who work as guides in the Batwa trail come from these two communities. In the group discussions, I noted that women and children often played a passive role, a symbolic feature of the Batwa gender roles where men play a more dominant role in public meetings. In order to involve the women and children more in the discussion, I specifically addressed a number of questions to them. These group discussions were an important way of counterchecking some of the information that I gained through interviews and sources that I had read before fieldwork. In addition, through these group discussions, I was able to categorise and identify issues that cut across individuals and communities.

1.5.3   Observation

Since this research project is about 'cultural performance', observation was a very important part of my fieldwork. Unlike Bruce Jackson who has stated that observation is when you are outside what is going on and watching other people do it, or you are watching what other people have done (1987:63), I believe that effective observation involves becoming 'internal to' the phenomenon being observed. 'Becoming internal' involves having prior knowledge of what is going to be done, how it is going to be done, why and where it is taking place. This approach has also been widely practiced by other anthropologists and has been referred to as 'participant observation'.

Participant observation is a tool that requires researchers to "immerse [themselves] in the [culture] … and experience it first hand in its diverse settings" (Meyers: 1992: 22; see also Clifford et al 2010). As such, I became involved as a participant and as an observer in a number of capacities. During my two months fieldwork, I regularly visited the Batwa communities and stayed with them in their homes in order to learn more about their daily

activities. This research method helped me to create a rapport with the community members, some of whom were guides and dancers in the Batwa trail.

Before my first attendance on the Batwa trail, I spent the first week of my fieldwork with the Batwa community of Rukeeri. This community is comprised of about 13 households. Each household has an average of 17 members, and the families are extended in nature. The land on which these households are located does not belong to the Batwa, but to members of the neighbouring Bafumbira communities. The Batwa have to exchange their labour in order to be allowed to stay on this land. The housing structures are temporary and are made of grass and wood (See Appendix III for a photo of their housing structure). Living with the communities not only gave me an insight about their current social and economic situation, but also an opportunity to ask about the events I would encounter during the Batwa trail. For the three times that I attended the trail, the purpose of my presence was primarily to observe and analyse the 'performances' that were staged by the Batwa and to participate as one of the members of the audience. I also attended music, dance and folklore rehearsals of the Rukeeri and Musasa Batwa communities. The rehearsals often took place at a site offered to Batwa peoples by Volcanoes, a tour and travels company that usually invites the Batwa to provide entertainment for their guests. Attending these rehearsals gave me an insight of the process that the 'product' (music, dance and folklore) goes through before it reaches the final consumers (the tourists). During some of the rehearsals, I was invited by some of the performers to participate by playing the drum to accompany the singers and dancers.

As Meryers states, this process of participant observation "enhances validity of the data, strengthens interpretation…[and] helps the researcher to formulate meaningful questions" (1992: 29). In my own case, living with the communities and interacting with the performers before attending the Batwa trail revealed to me a number of issues about the Batwa's livelihood that are silenced, and that the tourists who are part of the Batwa trail may never get to see. One of such aspects is the process of preparation of the performances and events to be staged for tourists during the trail and also the living conditions of the Batwa who work as guides in the trail. Generating meaning of an event does not necessarily start at the actual event its self, but in the preparatory processes that precede the event.

1.5.4 Data

As part of my fieldwork, I interviewed 12 informants. My choice of informants was determined by the focus of this study. I had to choose informants who were involved in cultural performance and cultural tourism activities. Among these were 5 Batwa men who worked as guides during the Batwa trail, 4 Batwa women who worked as dancers and singers during the Batwa trail, 2 administrators of the United Organisation for Batwa Development in Uganda (UOBDU) and the warden in charge of tourism in the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) Mgahinga branch. Having received permission from the informants that I was to interview, I recorded and transcribed these interviews. This has been an important source of data that has informed this study.

1.6 Challenges in the Data Collection Process

In order to effectively communicate with informants in the field, language is a very important factor. Having come from a different tribe and region that speaks a different language from that of the Batwa, it was necessary for me to use a translator. The interviews for this project were carried out in English and Lufumbira, a language spoken by the Bafumbira people, a neighbouring community to the Batwa. The use of Lufumbira other than Rutwa was mainly dictated by a number of circumstances. As will be further illustrated in Chapter Three, historical accounts of displacement, discrimination and marginalization of the Batwa peoples by neighbouring dominant societies have led to the Batwa abandoning their own language (Rutwa) for languages of their dominant neighbours, Bafumbira and Bakiga (Kidd, 2008:170). The discrimination and marginalization of the Batwa have also restricted them from accessing formal education. Since English in Uganda is mainly taught in schools, it was challenging to get an English translator from the Batwa owing to the fact that many adults have not attended school. Yet the few who attended school were forced to drop out for various reasons that I will discuss in Chapter Three.

An easier option was to get a translator from the neighbouring Bafumbira community, an option that raises a number of concerns. First, the community from which my translator came has often been presented as one of the communities that have marginalized Batwa peoples. Secondly, the interviews were to be carried out in a language different from that of the Batwa. Wouldn't this therefore be interpreted by the Batwa peoples as a revival of marginalization? Where people from a more dominant community come to them to show

how their language is not worth using by using a more dominant Lufumbira language. While my use of a translator from the Bafumbira raises a number of challenging questions, it was necessary given the limited time I had to carry out this fieldwork. In order to overcome the challenge above, I tried to find out from my informants how they felt by my use of a Mufumbira interpreter. Their response was that they have been interacting with members of the Bafumbira community and therefore, his presence would pose no problems for the smooth running of my research. In addition, I discussed my expectations with the interpreter before commencing with my fieldwork.

For a research project with a limited and restricted duration of fieldwork, good time management is paramount in order to achieve efficiency. This proved problematic given some abrupt changes in schedules and programs of my informants. On a number of occasions, I set appointments with informants for interviews and some turned up hours later than the scheduled time. Some never even turned up and no communication was made. At one time, I had to travel 7 hours by bus for an interview and on reaching her office, the informant had left a message for me with her secretary that she was unable to meet me on that day. Bearing in mind that she was a crucial informant for my study, I made subsequent appointments to make sure that I got to meet her before my return to Tromso. Although she kept on postponing the appointments given her busy schedule, I managed to meet her in my last week of fieldwork. In addition, the bureaucratic process of acquiring a permit for my research consumed a lot of time. From these experiences, I learnt an important virtue of patience that is essential for any ethnographic researcher. While such experiences are part of fieldwork and help us learn and perhaps plan better next time, it was a bitter pill to swallow for my research project, given the limited time I had for my fieldwork.

1.7 Ethical reflections

When one goes to the field to conduct research, one takes on a number of roles. It is important to note that when researchers go to the field, they have different identities and these identities vary depending on the contexts and nature of informants one encounters in the field. The field is often a space for negotiating ethnic, gender, social, cultural and religious identities, among others. I therefore reflect on my roles as a researcher during my fieldwork.

I went to the field as a representative of the University of Tromso and was therefore obliged to abide by the university research regulations. In addition, I was obliged to adhere to the research regulations of Uganda, a country in which I conducted my fieldwork. As a researcher, it was important to always remember that the kind of relationship I had with my

informants could influence the nature of data that I collected from the field. It is also important to remember that I am responsible for the effects of my writing on my informants; I understood that the way I presented people through my writing could have effects on my future collaborations with the same communities, and at the same time, have implications for future researchers who will carry out research among the communities I visited.

Allan Bernard (2000) gives a distinction between emic and etic models of research. An emic model/view-point is one which explains the ideology or behaviour of a culture according to indigenous definitions. An etic model/view-point is one which is based on criteria from outside a particular culture (Bernard, 2000). Barnard's emic-etic model is very relevant for this study. I carried out my fieldwork in a community with a different social structure and language from my own. My background as someone who grew up in Kampala (the capital city of Uganda), and got academic training in Europe gave me a different identity in the eyes of the people I encountered while in the field.

My position as an outsider was often emphasized when a number of people I met in the field asked where I come from and wanted me to explain to them what it looks like to live in Norway. In response, I often told them about the northern lights, the 'darkness period' in Tromso, the cold, snow and midnight sun. In so doing, I was faced with a challenge of negotiating vocabulary to describe and translate a picture and phenomena that sounded strange to the people I was talking to. As a scholar, this experience opened my eyes to the challenges ahead of me. One challenge was of presenting information that may be new to my audience and readers in a manner that would enable every reader to understand what I was talking about. It is important for me to reflect on another challenge; I was going to translate the information I got from the field to a different language; English which may sometimes have limitations in projecting the indigenous intended expression and meaning.

Given my identity as someone from a city, Kampala, and who was at the same time a student in Europe, many of the people I encountered in the field had hope that I could be someone to present their plight to the relevant authorities. As Diehl notes, informants undergoing difficulty and challenges "expect visitors to become active advocates for their cause" (2002:9). During interviews and group discussions, many of the Batwa peoples appealed to me to help them talk to government authorities and European donors on their behalf. I observed that the same appeals were made to tourists and other visitors who often visited the Batwa communities. I often had to explain my role that I was only a student carrying out a fieldwork study and that possibly I would not be able to meet their requests.

In line with the challenge mentioned above, Georg Henriksen challenges the role of anthropologists and indigenous scholars as advocates. He emphasizes that "the scholar should not make the people that she studies into clients" (Henriksen, 1990:124). Henriksen emphasizes that when they take on a role as advocates, anthropologists and indigenous scholars[3] dominate the decision-making process and thereby leave the indigenous peoples themselves aside as the audience rather than participating actively. While I agree with Henriksen, that indigenous peoples should not be left out of the process as mere observers and clients, I support anthropologists and indigenous scholars working as advocates. Rather, an anthropologist's role as an advocate would be more meaningful if he/she was able to aim at empowering and involving the indigenous peoples in the process. Empowering indigenous peoples in this case involves working with indigenous peoples on the issues that concern them and building capacity for them to take an upper hand in the process. After all, the fact that Henriksen appeals to anthropologists and indigenous scholars to deliver sound, scientific arguments that can be used to support the people they study, is at least indirectly an advocacy role. My response to the Batwa peoples' expectations from me was that perhaps my research findings could be termed as documentation about their plight that would be beneficial to them in the future.

In a bitter timbre, Kofi Agawu presents a moral dilemma for anthropologists carrying out their fieldwork among communities disturbed by calamities.

> …that they [anthropologists] sometimes send copies of their video tapes [research findings] to the natives…Talk about sending video tapes (research findings) while our people [the natives] face war, disease, famine and death (Agawu 2003:154)

The above dilemma projected by Agawu is one experience I encountered in the course of this study. On my first visit to the Batwa community of Rukeeri, I was invited to attend their music and dance practice session that was to take place the following day. Having received permission to record and film the practice session, I carried my recording gadgets with me to the field. As I started setting up my equipment to record the session, I was approached by the chairperson of the community. He told me that he "doesn't know how this (filming and recording) would be interpreted by the performers because they spent the whole day working in the fields, and barely had any food". Besides emphasizing my position as someone from the outside, this scenario was an indicator that I was supposed to think about how my presence and actions affected the people I encountered while in the field. There have been cases of exploitation among the Batwa, whereby individuals who do not belong to the Batwa communities bring in tourists to watch the Batwa perform with no pay. Perhaps since I had an

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[3] I use the term indigenous scholars to refer to scholars and researchers studying indigenous people's issues.

audio recorder and video camera, I was seen as an individual who had come to spy on what was happening in order to bring tourists, or to even make records for sale. In order to address this dilemma, it was very important to create a good rapport with my informants during my fieldwork. As a researcher, I often had to reiterate the intentions of my presence among them.

1.8 Chapter Overview

In Chapter One, I have given an introduction to this study, describing the data collection process, locating myself and my role as a researcher in this study. In Chapter Two, I present the contextualization of indigineity in the African and Ugandan context. I also give a brief historical background of the nation state of Uganda. This will give an overview and context of how the Ugandan Government has come up with its definition of indigeneity, and how this definition of indigeneity has shaped the current livelihood and predicament of the Batwa Peoples. Chapter Three establishes a theoretical framework for this study. I discuss theories related to power, in order to lay foundation for the marginalized position of Batwa communities. I also discuss how development has been conceptualized in relation to indigenous communities and cultures. I further give a discussion about the conceptualization of authenticity, and how it relates with indigenous cultures that are often perceived as obstacles and sometimes victims of development. In Chapter Four, I present the findings of this research. With the help of the theories that I introduce in Chapter Three, I discuss the process of establishing the Batwa Trail as a tourist project aimed at developing Batwa Communities. I also analyze the advantages and challenges of the cultural tourism project. Chapter Five summarizes and concludes the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER TWO: Who is 'indigenous' in Uganda? ...And who is not?

2.0 Introduction

The title of this chapter portrays the controversy surrounding the term *'indigenous people'* in Africa at large, and Uganda in particular. The extent to which the term is applicable and relevant for the African context is a subject of heated debate not only among scholars and researchers on indigenous issues, but also by African governments. In this chapter, I discuss the perception and conceptualization of indigenousness in Uganda's legal framework. My underlying argument is that identifying the various actors, institutions and structures with the power to define *'indigeneity'*, and analysing how *'indigeneity'* has been defined by the different actors, structures and institutions over time, will give us an insight into the historical and social contexts in South-western Uganda that have shaped the current predicament and entangled situation of the Batwa peoples.

In the first section of this chapter, I give a summarized discussion of the history and formation of what is currently known as the Nation State of Uganda. Although it will not be the focal point of this study, analysing Uganda's history and contemporary socio-political situation is of utmost importance because it offers a backdrop and an explanatory context for the Batwa people's current situation and livelihood. The foregoing puts into perspective how the relationship between the Batwa peoples, cultural tourism and development should be perceived and understood.

2.1 Uganda, a Brief History

Uganda was colonized by Britain. Colonial intervention in Uganda began with the arrival of John Speke in 1862[4]. Colonial explorers such as Speke were instructed by their British government "to take possession in the name of the Queen of Great Britain, of convenient situations in such countries as they may discover that have not already been discovered" (Reynolds, 1999:130). Driven by the colonialist doctrine of *discovery*, Speke was interested in finding the source of the Nile. Having accomplished his mission, Speke published his *Journal of the Discovery of Source of the Nile* through the London Geographical Society in 1863.

The doctrine of *discovery* is an exemplification of hegemony, in the form of ideological predominance and orthodoxy. To discover is "to be the first to find or learn of something" (Cambridge Dictionary Online). It is therefore questionable, how Speke was the

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[4] The journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile
http://www.wollamshram.ca/1001/Speke/nile.htm

man who *discovered* the source of the Nile, yet there were natives who lived in the place before his discovery occurred. While his publication of the *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* asserts his position as the man who discovered the source of the Nile, he undermines the fact that there were people who lived in this place before his discovery. In fact, the name that the locals have for the source of the Nile[5] is not published in his journal. In line with the above view, Linda Tuhiwai (2012) and Henry Reynolds (1999) note that many of the colonial historical publications have eliminated and under-communicated the presence of indigenous peoples in the discovered territories. If they are presented at all, it is often in terms which they cannot recognize and in a way that what they think is not valid (Tuhiwai, 2012:36). Tuhiwai further argues that history, writing and theory are "ways in which indigenous languages, knowledge and cultures have been silenced or misrepresented, ridiculed or condemned in academic and popular discourses" (2012:21).

Nevertheless, it was Speke's great discovery of the source of the Nile that generated a great deal of British interest in colonizing Uganda. The strategic location of Uganda at the source of the Nile, would assure the British colonial, power and security over Egypt, which was a priceless crown in the colonial economic and military master plan for the continent (Kefa, 2006:14). In addition, Uganda was rich in ivory and its land was very productive in the cultivation of coffee, cotton, rubber and wheat (Kefa, 2006:14). It is because of these economic interests that for the next century, the British Empire exerted its supreme economic and civilizing mission in Uganda and effectively abrogated traditional systems of social and political organization in the country by subordinating them to the British system under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of the United Kingdom[6]. Based on the provisions of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, Captain Frederick Lugard was sent to Uganda in 1890, by the Imperial British East African Company (IBEA), a newly formed company that was assigned to protect British interests in Uganda. Lugard's arrival "not only helped the British gain control over the Nile, but also set the stage for the country's subsequent colonization in 1894" (Kefa, 2006:14).

The initial days of British colonial rule in Uganda were characterised by opposition and rebellion from the strong native kingdoms that occupied Ugandan territory, such as Buganda and Bunyoro. The British had to subdue such uprisings and gain control over

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[5]The local name for the source of the Nile is *Kiyira.*
[6] The British Foreign Jurisdiction act, a set of British rules designed to extend jurisdiction over territories discovered, conquered or possessed on behalf of the British government.

Ugandan territory through colonial military rule. During this period of military rule, the British hired the Sudanese army to help them hold their grip on power. The era of colonial military rule ended in 1899 after British suppression of resistance among the Baganda, forcing their King Mwanga into exile (Kefa, 2006:15). A civilian administrative government was then formed led by Sir Harry Johnston. This government consolidated British rule in Uganda through the signing of treaties. The most notable of these treaties is the 1900 Buganda agreement, which privileged the Baganda people and put them in a more dominant position over the other tribes in the country. A more detailed discussion about the content of the agreement has been discussed elsewhere (Kefa, 2006 and Mugambwa, 1987). What I want to emphasize here is that the British aimed at consolidating their grip on power through creating differences among the various groups that existed in Uganda. This famously came to be termed as the 'divide and rule' policy[7].

Under the divide and rule policy, the British colonial masters[8] aimed at exploiting linguistic, ethnic and cultural differences between the various tribes and peoples that existed in Uganda. The British masters aimed at creating tension among the natives so that they would hold their grip on power, since there would be no common ground for unity among the natives to stand against their oppressors. Consequently, the colonial masters mainly recruited peoples from northern Uganda for military and police positions while the southern Bantu peoples were given economic, educational and political advantage (Kefa, 2006).

Given their small numerical numbers and their isolated livelihood as forest dwellers and hunter gatherers, the Batwa were not seen as a threat to the British control of Ugandan territory. In addition, their livelihood as hunter gatherers and their isolation from other tribal communities as forest dwellers, often kept them out of sync with colonialist development programs. Perhaps this best explains why there is limited infrastructure in the form of schools, roads, hospitals in Mgahinga area that has been an ancestral land for the Batwa. This also gives us an insight into the high illiteracy levels especially among Batwa elders, and little or no representation of the Batwa peoples in the Ugandan political domain.

In 1962, Uganda acquired independence from Britain. The nation state; Uganda, was formed as a result of merging different tribal territories. As earlier illustrated, the British

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[7] Divide and rule, a policy of maintaining control over one's subordinates or opponents by encouraging dissent between them, thereby prevent them from uniting in opposition (Oxford Dictionary online).
[8] I use the term colonial masters here to illustrate the powerful position that the British representatives had over the natives who lived in Uganda.

divide and rule policy ensured that there was no feeling or sense of a common destiny amongst the different peoples of Uganda that is in form of nationhood and common identity. For example, through the divide and rule policy, the British gave more privileges to the Baganda in the form of education and administrative posts to manage other parts of Uganda on behalf of the British colonial masters (Kefa, 2006:16). This catalyzed strong anti-Baganda sentiments. While the divide and rule system worked in favour of the British colonialists to help them keep their subjects weaker, it created tensions among the various tribes in Uganda. Such tribal tensions were still existent at the time of independence. Like many other new African nation states, the challenge of the Government of Uganda at the dawn of independence was to construct an image of a unified, cultural and homogeneous state, while under-communicating the tribal or ethnic diversity found in the country (Anderson 1991).

As I discuss in the following section, it is because of its drive to forge an image of a homogeneous nation state that the Government of Uganda does not recognize the term 'indigenous people' as it is invoked by international law. This is because recognizing some groups as indigenous would symbolize preferential treatment by the government to such groups. This would be characterised as an antithesis to the government's goal to construct an image of a unified, cultural and homogeneous state.

2.2 Indigeneity in an African Perspective: New Challenges to Defining the Term

The concept of indigenous people as applied to the African setting is a complicated and much debated one. But this is mostly so from the perspective of the decision-makers and those dealing with international human rights issues and less so when seen by those who themselves claim to be indigenous (Verber et al. 1993:10)

As suggested in the statement above, the use of the term *indigenous people* is a subject of contention and heated debate among African governments. If we analyze the historical roots of the concept of *indigenous peoples*, the term was used to refer to "descendants of those who occupied a given territory that was invaded, conquered or colonized by white colonial powers" (Saugestad, 2000). This interpretation bases *indigeneity* on the context of a blue-water type of colonialism, which refers to a situation where white settlers came from outside and settled on the *indigenous people's* land. In such a context, the dominant position of the white colonial masters left all Africans in a subordinate position, replicating conditions similar to those of indigenous peoples elsewhere in the world. In relation to the colonial powers, all native Africans were (a) first comers (b) non-dominant and (c) different in culture from the white intruders (Saugestad, 2000).

A major point of departure from this 'classical' definition of indigenousness in the African context is that the white colonial powers withdrew from Africa. At the time of their withdrawal from Africa, the colonial powers had constructed artificial boundaries, which were to act as official borders and markers of post-colonial new African states. Accordingly, African states were left with a challenge of forging a unified national form of identity for their inhabitants. It should be noted that colonial domination in Africa took the form of economic domination and subjugation, and racial discrimination through implementation of policies that favoured the white colonialists. In addition, as earlier illustrated, the colonialist divide and rule policies were discriminative in nature and favoured particular tribal groups at the expense of others. The newly independent African states were therefore reluctant to implement policies of affirmative action for marginalized communities because the implementation of such policies would be interpreted as a reincarnation of discriminative policies. Implementing such a policy would seemingly present a "violation of the liberal principles of equal treatment of all citizens and 'colour blindness' towards their racial and cultural differences (Kymlicka 1989, 1995, Weigard, 2008). Perhaps, this explains why indigenous activism in Africa begun later than in all other continents (Veber et al.1994, Hodgson 2002, Hitchock and Vinding 2004, ACHPR 2005, Saugestad 2008).

In the previous section, I mentioned how the livelihood of the Batwa as hunter gatherers kept them out of contact with British colonial masters. At the departure of the colonial powers from African states, geographically isolated groups such as the Batwa, Benet and Karamojongs became politically, socially and economically "subordinate to an African political elite drawn from the more powerful communities within the new state boundaries" (Verber, 1993:10). The policies of the new African nation-states favoured settled agriculture over hunting, gathering and nomadic herding. In addition, the creation of national parks led to the forced relocation of groups such as the Batwa (Verber 1993:10). Policies such as these precipitated marginalization and stigmatization of groups such as the Batwa. In addition, the British divide and rule policies which privileged some groups at the expense of others led to cultural domination where some groups served to marginalize others in the newly created nation-states. The end result was that some groups became what Verber (1993) describes as "leftovers". Such groups were hardly represented in the economic, social and political domains of the newly created nation states. As such, they "did not enjoy the advantages which resulted from independence, nor did they benefit from the development aid that has been flowing into Africa since the 1960s" (Verber, 1993:11). It is such groups that have come

to identify themselves as indigenous in accordance to how the term is invoked in international law. It is this background that lays foundation for the origins of the indigenous movement in Africa.

When they got involved in the global indigenous movement, the Africans were joining a process that had spent over two decades of initiation. "Those who took the first steps and initiated the movement (with exception of the Sami) were all victims of 'blue-water colonialism' (Saugestad, 2008:159). In such a situation, the dichotomy is clear-cut between the dominant-colonialist-intruders and the marginalized-colonized-natives. Yet in the African context, such forms of domination and marginalization no longer existed. The whole process of inclusion of Africans in the global indigenous movement has been discussed elsewhere (See Saugestad, 2000, 2008, Ahren 2007). What I want to emphasize for this study is that the inclusion of Africans in the global indigenous movement has posed a new challenge of defining and determining indigeneity. This is because in other parts of the world with strong indigenous movements such as Australia and America, the division is clear between the dominant-colonialist-settlers and the dominated-colonized-natives. Yet in the case of Africa, such a situation is no longer existent (except in South Africa) given the fact that the white colonialists withdrew and never settled in African territories. Against this background, many African national politicians have argued that all Africans are indigenous, or alternatively, that this distinction does not apply to the African continent (Saugestad, 2000). The Ugandan constitutional and legal framework is no exception to this interpretation of indigenousness as I illustrate in the following section.

2.3   Conceptualization of Indigeneity in Uganda's Legal Framework

Schedule 3 of the Ugandan Constitution (2006) refers to 56 indigenous communities in Uganda. The date for determining indigenousness is placed at 1926. In 1926, significant border adjustments were made in Uganda, including the transfer of the eastern Rudolf province from Uganda to Kenya by the British, hence demarcating the frontiers of the present day Uganda[9]. As seen from above, the Ugandan government relies on a colonial construct of creation of state borders to determine indigeneity. Since the Ugandan Nation-State was formed a result of merging of different tribal territories, there was not much sense of a common Ugandan nationhood and identity. Like many other new African nations, the challenge of Uganda was to construct an image of a unified, cultural, homogeneous nation-

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[9] International Boundary Study no 139, August 27 1973
http://www.law.fsu.edu/library/collection/limitsinseas/ibs139.pdf

state. It was therefore important to under-communicate the tribal or ethnic diversity found in the country (Anderson 1991).

The position of the Ugandan Government, being constrained in adopting the international standards and perception of the term 'indigenous' can be explained by a number of reasons. These include the multi-ethnicity of the country and its nationhood project, pressure over land and increased population, Government policy that everybody is free to own property in any part of the country which diminishes the place of ancestral land and the fact that some cultures pursued by traditional communities were untenable in the pursuit of modernity (ACWGIP, 2009). The above mentioned reasons are not unique to Uganda. They are representative of the African indigenous movement and have been highlighted by a number of scholars dealing with the African indigenous discourse (See also Saugestad 2000, 2001, Anderson 1991). They represent the complexity surrounding the definition of indegineity in an African context in relation to how the term is perceived in international law.

The meaning and manner in which indigeneity is understood in Uganda's legal framework differs from that invoked by international law and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' rights. The latter identify indigenous peoples based on the following criteria.

> …that their cultures and ways of life differ considerably from the dominant society and that their cultures are under threat, in some cases to the point of extinction. …that the survival of their particular way of life depends on access and rights to their traditional lands and the natural resources thereon. They suffer from discrimination as they are regarded as less developed and less advanced than other dominant sectors of society. They often live in inaccessible regions, often geographically isolated and suffer from various forms of marginalization both politically and socially. They are subjected to domination and exploitation within national political and economic structures that are commonly designed to reflect the interests and activities of the national majority. This discrimination, domination and marginalization violates their human rights as peoples/communities, threatens continuation of their cultures and ways of life and prevents them from being able to genuinely participate in decisions regarding their own future and forms of development (ACWGIP 2009:41)

As illustrated in the description above, it is evident that the term 'indigenous', particularly in the African context has got a wider connotation and meaning than the question of 'who came first'. It is evident that the African Commission's description of indigenous peoples above is an attempt to make the concept less foreign to the African context. In line with the modern understanding[10] of the term indigenous peoples, the Commission illustrates

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[10] I use the phrase 'modern understanding' of indigenous peoples to refer to the working definition of indigenous Peoples initiated by Martinez Cobo that has been adopted as a standard reference for discussion of the subject of indigenous peoples within the U.N system. The study describes Indigenous peoples as peoples and

that the term indigenous in the African context should be understood to mean groups who suffer particular human rights problems and, in an effort to address and alleviate those problems, refer to themselves as indigenous (Verber 1993:11). In international law, the term has become a "global movement fighting for rights and justice for those particular groups who have been left on the margins of development and who are perceived negatively by dominating mainstream development paradigm…" (ACWGIP 2009:44). When we compare the characteristics of indigenous peoples mentioned above to the situation of the Batwa peoples mentioned in Chapter One of this thesis, it is evident that the Batwa peoples belong to this category of indigenous peoples as recognised by international law.

The government of Uganda similarly recognizes the landlessness, marginalized, and culturally endangered situation of the Batwa among other peoples in Uganda. However, they are characterised as *ethnic minorities* (Article 36 Ugandan constitution). The term seems to be generally accepted as constituting communities that have been excluded or discriminated against on the basis of sex, disability or any other basis created by history, custom or tradition. The use of the term *ethnic minorities* instead of *indigenous peoples* (as evoked by international law) has a number of legal implications. First, the nature and kind of rights ascribed to indigenous peoples and minorities in international law differs considerably (ACHPR 2006:13). While minority rights are often formulated as individual rights, indigenous rights are collective rights according to international law (ACHPR 2006:13). Characterising the Batwa as an ethnic minority group therefore poses challenges for their collective right to ownership of their ancestral land. Secondly, while indigenous peoples have a right to land, territories and natural resources (ACHPR 2006:14), this law does not apply to ethnic minorities. The government of Uganda may therefore have preferred the term ethnic minorities to insulate its self from the demands associated with the term indigenous peoples as evoked by international law. In fact, this could perhaps suggest why the Ugandan government has not yet ratified the ILO 169 Convention

The use of such a generalized term (*ethnic minorities*) to characterise the Batwa peoples under-represents their case. And to state it in another way, does not present the

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nations which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies have developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity as the basis of their continual existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system (Martínez Cobo (1986/7) quoted in UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for Social Policy and Development, Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues: The State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, 2009, 5)

Batwa's situation with the priority that it deserves. If it is of any help, it only presents the case of the Batwa peoples just as one of the many other cases of ethnic minorities that need to be solved by the government. Experiences of the Batwa over the last two decades have shown that their appeals and claims to the Government of Uganda have had a low preference (if any) in the long list of claims by people characterised as ethnic minorities. This is exemplified by the urgency with which the Government of Uganda has treated other cases of people characterised as minorities. For example, in 1995, the Government of Uganda initiated a system of affirmative action where women and people with disabilities elect their representatives to the parliament of Uganda. The above initiative was based on Article 32 of the Ugandan Constitution which enjoins the state to "take affirmative action in favour of groups marginalized on the basis of gender, age, disability or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom…" Despite having such a strong legislative provision for the protection of minorities, it is ironical that the Batwa do not have any representative to the central government and parliament of Uganda. This is perhaps a major reason for their continued marginalized position in the Ugandan society, with Batwa women and children even at the margins of the marginalized. It is against this background that the African Commission's Working Group on Indigenous Populations (ACWGIP) came up with recommendations to the Government of Uganda, based on their visit and study among Ugandan indigenous communities in 2006. Among these, the Government of Uganda was to:

1. Recognize the Batwa and the pastoralists in Uganda as indigenous peoples in the sense in which the term is understood in international law, and make appropriate legislative provision in this respect.
2. Ratify ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries. (AWGIP 2006)

Six years after the above recommendations were submitted to the Government of Uganda, neither of them has been fulfilled. It should be noted that decisions taken by ACWGIP are not legally binding. The commission only plays an advisory role and their advice has always been neglected by African governments as was the case in Uganda cited above.

2.4   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have illustrated the challenges associated with the definition of indigeneity, particularly in the context of Africa. We have seen that the use of the term *'indigenous peoples'* in the African context is very much a subject of heated debate. This is because the use of the term as evoked by international law has got underlying legal implications and obligations on the side of the state, particularly related to granting groups

recognised as indigenous their collective right to land and property. This is indeed a bitter pill to swallow for African governments. Perhaps this is the reason why many have argued that the concept of indigenous is not applicable to Africa, since all Africans are indigenous to Africa.

I have exemplified and contextualized the background of the indigenous movement in Africa, by discussing the colonial history of Uganda. It should be noted that conditions experienced in Uganda are to a large extent similar to those experienced by other African countries. This justifies the view that the challenge of defining *'indigeneity'* is not unique to Uganda, but it is equally experienced by other African States. My underlying objective in this chapter has been to identify the various actors, institutions and structures with the power to define *'indigeneity'*, and to analyse how *'indigeneity'* has been defined by the different actors, structures and institutions over time. This gives us an insight into the historical and social contexts in South-western Uganda that have shaped the Batwa peoples' current predicament; marginalization and entangled situation. And the Batwa's situation can somehow generally reflect the predicament of other indigenous peoples elsewhere in Africa. It is because of the marginalized and impoverished condition of the Batwa peoples that a number of actors have come on board with development initiatives. An example of such development initiatives is the Batwa Trail, a cultural tourism project that I will present in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER THREE: Theoretical and Analytical Perspectives

3.0   Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the concept of hegemony, which will be a useful tool to theorize the dominated and marginalized position of the Batwa peoples, ironically, in a 'development' initiative meant for their own good. I have used Ardner's 'muted group' category and Bourdieu's categories of doxa, orthodoxy and heterodoxy to illustrate the concept of hegemony. These categories operate in a set of given power relations. I therefore discuss the concept of *power* in this chapter. In the second section of this chapter, I discuss *development* and how it serves as an indicator and manifestation of hegemony. My underlying argument is that identifying the various actors, institutions and structures with the power to define 'reality' (i.e. development, authenticity, who is indigenous and who is not), and analyzing how 'reality' has been defined by the different actors, structures and institutions over time, will give us an insight into the historical and social contexts in South-western Uganda, that have shaped the current predicament and entangled situation of the Batwa peoples.

3.1   Hegemony

When analysing relations of dominance and marginalization among Batwa peoples (and many other indigenous peoples) within a theoretical framework, I use the concept of hegemony as an analytical lens. The concept of hegemony is perhaps most closely associated with Italian Communist thinker, activist, and political leader Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). As Anderson (1976) notes that Gramsci uses 'hegemony' to theorize not only the necessary condition for a successful overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and its allies (e.g. the peasantry), but also the structures of bourgeois power in the late 19th and early 20th century Western European states. Gramsci's 'hegemony' refers to a process of moral and intellectual leadership through which dominated or subordinate classes of post-1870 industrial Western European nations consent to their own domination by ruling classes, as opposed to being simply forced or coerced into accepting inferior positions (ibid). While Gramsci's interpretation was based on class dominance, particularly political and economic dominance of the ruling class, hegemony also involves ideological (pre)dominance of the ruling class (Seymour-Smith 1986).

Ideological predominance as a form of hegemony is manifested in terms of imposition of world-view, norms, values, attitudes, and categories of the dominant group upon society as a whole (Seymour-Smith 1986). Ideological (predominance) may be effected through

structures such as the education system, religion, and legal institutions. An outstanding example of ideological (pre)dominance of indigenous peoples is the colonialist doctrine of *terra nullius*[11] because it exemplifies how standards set by the dominant colonial masters were used to subordinate and dissolve indigenous people's ownership and rights to their ancestral land. The former considered indigenous people's land to be free land awaiting occupation. This was mainly because the land was not intensively cultivated and developed according to European standards, as witnessed in Captain Cook's report to the British crown that they "met nothing remarkable" on Australian land (Nugent 2005:10).

The doctrine of *terra nullius* suffocates the fact that Indigenous peoples had a different system of ownership and management of their land. The fact that indigenous peoples' land was communally owned and that their activities such as hunting and gathering were mainly for subsistence was muted by the *terra nullius* doctrine introduced by the dominant colonial masters. The *terra nullius* doctrine didn't imply that indigenous peoples would not own land. However, if they were to claim rights over land, ownership had to be justified and symbolized in terms of intensive cultivation and development of the land according to the standards determined and set by the European colonialists (dominant group).

Ardener (1975) illustrates the concept of hegemony, and in particular ideological predominance, with his coined term 'muted groups'. With his 'muted group' theory, Ardner attempts to explain why certain groups in society are silent or un-heard. In his description of muted groups, Ardener argued that the dominant groups in society generate and control the dominant mode of expression, while muted groups are silenced by these structures of dominance (Qtd in Saugestad 2001). The dominant groups formulate the rules and systems of accepted discourse, leaving minority groups without equal representation (Meares, 2003). A group is said to be 'muted' when, "lived experiences are not represented in dominant structures" (Orbe, 1998:4). It should be noted that Ardener's use of the term 'muted' does not imply that the 'muted group' is silent and passive. Rather, if the 'muted groups' are to express themselves, they must do so in the dominant code of expression (ibid), thereby reiterating the hegemonic ideology discussed above. While Ardener's description takes a gendered perspective, with Bakweri women of Cameroon exemplifying the muted category,

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[11] Terra nullius: Land belonging to no one. The concept was used by European colonialist masters to suffocate indigenous peoples' ownership of land in discovered territories. While the examples that I cite to illustrate the concept of terra nullius are from Australia, they represent shared experiences by indigenous peoples in other parts of the world. I will use the concept in Chapter Four, when analysing the process of eviction of Batwa peoples from their ancestral lands.

his concept of muted groups also applies to indigenous peoples and other types of ethnic minorities.

A related concept to Ardner's 'muted group' in illustrating the concept of hegemony is Bourdieu's *doxa.* It refers to the unsaid in the field of cultural possibilities, making it seem as if there are not multiple, but only a single possibility" (Bourdieu, 1977: 164). He emphasizes that *doxa* survives as "a quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the subjective principles of organization... (in which) the natural and social world appears as self-evident (ibid). As seen from the above statement, *doxa* is a constructed version of reality, naturalized in order to appear as the only possible version of reality. As Dougherty[12] notes, the power of *doxa* is in its hidden nature which claims that what it claims to be reality is the truth about the nature of existence, what Bourdieu refers to as "reified abstractions." (Bourdieu 1989:37)

Bourdieu differentiates *doxa* from orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The last two concepts make up what he calls a *field of opinion* (Open for arguments, discussion and reflection).

> …this experience we shall call *doxa,* so as to distinguish it from an orthodox or heterodox belief implying awareness and recognition of the possibility of different or antagonistic beliefs… (Bourdieu 1977:164).

Heterodoxy refers to the possibility to have opinions that are "different and in opposition to generally accepted beliefs or standards", while orthodoxy refers to "generally accepted beliefs of society at a particular time" (Cambridge Dictionary Online). Dougherty describes orthodoxy as the state of "challenged dispositions". To explain what she means, I consider the doctrine of terra nullius mentioned above. The (orthodoxic) doctrine of terra nullius asserted that ownership of land in the 'discovered' territories was determined and based on the understanding and standards of European colonialists. This view contrasted with indigenous peoples' systems of land use, and was consequently challenged and resisted by the latter (See Reynolds 1999, Nugent, 2005). The fact that indigenous peoples challenged the terra nullius doctrine was an indicator and signal to the colonialists that other systems of management and land use existed (implying *Heterodoxy*). While the colonialists were made aware of the existence of these alternative systems of management, they reiterated that such systems were wrong and illegitimate. Orthodoxy aims to reiterate and reinforce existing systems and structures by justifying how "ridiculous the claim for multiplicity might be" (Dougherty).

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[12] Elizabeth Dougherty, The balance of practice: http://elizd.com/website-LeftBrain/essays/practice.html

The dominated classes have an interest in pushing back the limits of *doxa* and exposing the arbitrariness of the taken-for-granted. While on the other hand, the dominant classes have an interest in defending integrity of doxa or short of this, of establishing in its place the necessary imperfect substitute, *orthodoxy* (Bourdieu 1977:169). Bourdieu attempts to explain counter-hegemonic processes such as ethnopolitical struggles, by illustrating the possibility of revealing the truth of doxa- "bring the un-discussed into discussion, the unformulated into formulation" (ibid: 168). As Taylor (2000) notes, the dominant definition of the 'reality' directs, but does not determine consciousness and social action (M. Taylor 2000:120). However, it is only when the minority has material and symbolic means of rejecting the definition of the real that is imposed on them, and to lift the (institutionalised or internalised) censorship which it implies, that the hegemonic structures can be revealed as just one order among other possible realities, and thus challenged. This must operate within logical structures (set by the dominant group), there by reproducing the social structures (i.e. the state of power relations) (Bourdieu 1977:169). In other words, for such counter-hegemonic efforts to be successful, they must take place within, or based on the premises defined by the hegemonic world structures and mode of expression such as the majority language, culture, and socio-political institutions among others.

As seen from the above discussion so far, the various categories that characterise hegemony operate within a given set of power relations. The concepts of development and authenticity that I discuss in the next sections of this chapter should be approached, analysed and understood as contexts where various power relations come into play. Power may be manifested in different and diverse forms, as illustrated by Bertram H. Raven and John R. P. French, Jr:

> *Reward power*, based on the perception by the individual, P, that the agent, O, can mediate rewards for him; *coercive power*, based on P's perception that O has the ability to mediate punishments for him; *legitimate power*, based on the perception by P that O has a legitimate right to prescribe behaviour for him and *expert power*, based on P's perception that O has some special knowledge or expertness (Bertram H and P.French 1958: 83)

While I will refer to these various forms of power in my analysis in Chapter 4, at this point, I want to expound on the category of legitimate power, because it has got close links to the concept of hegemony earlier discussed.

One major characteristic feature of legitimate power is that it is an invisible form of power, very naturalized, to the extent that it is not perceived as power but accepted as reality. Bourdieu categorizes this form as 'symbolic power'. He describes 'symbolic power' as a process where 'structuring structures' (symbolic systems such as language, religion and

science), structure or construct the objective world (structured structures or symbolic forms) (Bourdieu 1979: 77-79). To state it in another way, symbolic power is the ability to instil one's sense and definition of meaning and 'reality', (for example authentic/un-authentic, civilized/primitive, developed/under-developed, and indigenous/non-indigenous) upon others. For symbolic power to effectively take place, it must operate within a framework where there is unconscious consent and participation of the dominated group, as illustrated by Bourdieu:

Meaning = consensus i.e doxa (Bourdieu 1979: 78)

Sense = consensus i.e doxa (Bourdieu 1996:36)

3.2.1 Conceptualizing Development

Why should they who chronologically are the first, be the last to receive the healthful results of Christian philanthropy? While the Pigmy has his Forest, his food and his fun, yet he is poor in opportunities to know his destiny…Let Christian scholars humanise, civilise and Christianise the jolly miniature Nimrods of the vast equatorial woodlands! (Geil 1905: 250-1)

The above statement was written by an author who was involved in an expedition in the tropical rain forests of central Africa. In his statement above, Geil indicates that the pigmy was living a sub-human (animal like), uncivilised, and childlike life. Such a view has been shared by many anthropologists, missionaries and colonialists who have presented stereotyped images of indigenous peoples through their writings. For example, Reed (1943) notes that "The political autonomy, economic habits, religious practices and sexual customs of organized native groups, in so far as they threaten European control or offend Western notions of morality, must be abandoned" (Qtd in Bodley, 1990:95). In a related line of argument, Merivale (1861) notes that:

It will be necessary, in short, that the colonial authorities should act upon the assumption that they have the right in virtue of the relative position of civilized and Christian men to savages, to enforce abstinence from immoral and degrading practices, to compel outward conformity to the law of what we regard as better instructed reason. (Qtd in Bodley, 1990: 96)

As illustrated in the above quotation, indigenous cultures are re-presented as primitive, static, uncivilized and immoral. It was therefore the burden of the Christian scholars and missionaries to help and transform what Geil refers to as the 'innocent jolly miniature Nimrods of the vast equatorial woodlands', that they may receive healthful results of Christian (and western) philanthropy'; in other words, a more positive change in livelihood as exemplified by the livelihood of missionaries and colonial masters. This transformation of indigenous peoples has been characterised as *progress*.

Progress implies continual improvement, reaching higher and higher levels perhaps without limit (Allen and Thomas 2000:25). Progress is therefore a process that involves

change, evolution and growth. As illustrated in the above author's statements, 'Primitive cultures' (indigenous cultures) have often been seen to stand in the way of progress and assumed to represent dead ends in social evolution" (Kidd 2007). In this context, the 'primitives' are left with no option, but to be uprooted from their static livelihood and immerse themselves in what is perceived and understood as the progressive livelihood of their dominant masters. In fact, it was widely regarded by anthropologists, political leaders, development experts, and missionaries that 'primitive cultures' would inevitably die out as a result of the march of progress (see Bodley, 1990: 35, Brantlinger 2003, Escobar 1991, Ferguson 2005). Such a view is clearly illustrated in W.H Hutt's statement, in relation to South Africa; "fortunately, there is now almost universal agreement that the 'cattle cult', animal sacrifices, the doctoring of land (magic), and many other obviously effete primitive customs and taboos must go"(Qtd in Bodley, 1990:97) since 'primitive' cultures never achieved what France's president Sarkozy describes as "launching themselves towards the future" (African Resource, 2007).

While some may argue that attitudes and values like those reflected in the above statements by Geil, Reed and Merivale are colonially and historically situated; similar sentiments have been reiterated and replicated more recently in connection to indigenous peoples in Uganda. For example, one of such utterances was made by Mr. Joseph Okwakau, the Resident District Commissioner of Kween district (president's representative) during the Benet Cultural Heritage Festival that took place on 22nd December 2012. In relation to the Benet's cultural performance, the RDC remarked that:

> cultural remembrance for the Benet is crucial to **help redirect them on the journey** to development **now that they are out of the park**…For me, this was worth it and I am asking the artistes to take the Benet to Netherlands and Kampala **because they have never been outside Kween and maybe this will help them change with the times** (The New Vision Newspaper, December 31 2012, my emphasis)

To put his words into perspective, the RDC implied that the Benet have been 'stuck and lost' while on the journey to development. By stating that 'cultural remembrance is crucial to help redirect them back on this development journey', he emphasizes that through cultural remembrance, the Benet can look back to their 'primitive past' (which primitive past held them back in the development journey), in order to gain motivation and work towards what he thinks is development. In this sense, the RDC's opinions reflect an orthodox view that was earlier discussed in this section. He considers the fact that since the Benet people are out of the park, it implies positive change and progress. Ironically, he doesn't mention where

and how they lived after their eviction from the park. His remarks understate the fact that violent measures were used to remove the Benet from their ancestral forest resources. In the same vein, the RDC's remarks do not show the extreme suffering the Benet experienced as a result of their eviction and resettlement. While this thesis is focused on the Batwa peoples, the Benet example above is representative of the challenges faced by indigenous peoples in Uganda. The Benet example above serves to illustrate that the Batwa are not an isolated case.

Similar sentiments were reflected at the Batwa festival in 2005. The festival whose initial goal was to showcase and celebrate Batwa culture, ended up into what the organisers (Diocese of Kinkiizi, Anglican Church of Uganda) called "Batwa celebrations to mark their movements from the forest" (Kidd, 2007: 164). The festival was used as an avenue to serve as "an example of the gospel in action, bringing peoples together (the primitive Batwa and their progressive neighbours) through Christian Love and Service" (McWilliams, 2006). In his speech, the chairperson of the organizing committee for the Batwa festival made the following remarks:

> I would like to thank God who gave our Bishop and Diocesan staff a vision to set aside a special day for the pygmies indicating that that God does not discriminate…we chose to have this pygmy rally to be held at this particular place because it is adjacent to Bwindi forest where it is said most of the Batwa originate…They lived in the forest where they mainly fed on honey, fruits and meat…They had no clothing, no shelter, no beddings and even they never minded about their personal hygiene like bathing… When they tried to come out to live among the local people, they were highly discriminated against as will be shown in their play… The naming of their children was according to the prevailing situation: such names as Kakogosyo[13], Mahano[14] , etc (Mc William, 2006)

Like in all previous accounts cited earlier in this section, the chairperson's speech above is based on a series of binaries. The biggest emphasis is focused towards re-presenting Batwa livelihood as primitive, and a shift from that livelihood as progress. The choice of location for the festival has also got strategic and indirect implications. By staging the festival adjacent to Bwindi forest, the chairperson implies that the Batwa would look at the forest and remember their evil, primitive and wild past (what the RDC referred to as cultural remembrance among the Benet). Looking at their primitive past would therefore help keep them motivated and focused on the journey towards progress and civilization. According to the chairperson's speech, the Batwa peoples' exit from the forests is a sign of progress,

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[13] Kakogosyo: Literally translated as bad looks of an individual as a result of severe hardships in life such as malnourishment and disease.
[14] Mahano: Literally translated as catastrophic and beyond human imagination. Such names were given to children whose mothers committed or witnessed abominations in society. For example, in case the mother witnessed a catastrophic event for example a murder or suicide act during pregnancy, the name Mahano would be given to the child.

understating the suffering that the Batwa faced after their forceful eviction. In addition, Christianizing the Batwa and dropping 'pagan' names such as Mahano for Christian names is symbolic of progress. Such a perception of progress is not far from that of colonialists and missionaries such as Hutt, Merivale and Geil mentioned earlier in this section.

In 1949, the term *development* became the emblem for the next 50 years of progress (Cowen and Shenton, 1995: 29). It should however be noted that this is not the first time that the term is used, as it already had an origin in 18th Century theories (ibid). Perhaps the simplest definition of development is that given by Chambers (1997), for whom development means 'good change' (Qtd in Allen and Thomas, 2000:22). The 'new era of development' was symbolically initiated in 1949, by the President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, when he declared in his inaugural address that:

> we must embark on a bold new program for making the **benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed** areas…the old imperialism-exploitation for foreign profit has no place in our plans…what we envisage is a program of **development** based on the concept of democratic fair dealing (Allan and Thomas, 2000:5 my emphasis)

As seen from Truman's speech, the modern idea of development was characterised by growth of industrial capitalism (see also Allan and Thomas, 2000:25, Cowen and Shenon 1996). Development was conceived as an immanent economic process governed by the logic of capitalism and the self-regulating market (Haug, 2007:27). 'Development' as a term is in everyday parlance virtually synonymous with 'progress', (Allen and Thomas, 2000:22). It is however important to distinguish the two concepts. As earlier noted, progress implies continual improvement, reaching higher and higher levels perhaps without limit while development as an analogy from the development of living organisms implies moving towards the fulfilment of a potential (Allen and Thomas, 2000:25). Cowen and Shenon illustrate this distinction between development and progress.

> …in the preceding centuries, progress had been thought of as an imminent process, in that human society was conceived as moving inexorably to a higher and higher stage of civilization. There had always been casualties of this progress…only when did this 'progress', moved to the stage of industrial capitalism did the poverty, unemployment and human misery caused threaten to bring about social disorder on a scale which necessitated intentional constructive activity. That is when intentional development was invented (Cowen and Shenon, 1996 as quoted in Allan and Thomas, 2000:25)

While it is important to recognise this distinction between development and progress, my study emphasises that both progress and development are represented as part of a positive process. Yet both entail a disruption of established patterns of livelihood such as cultural values, traditions and forms of knowledge. In this sense, they exemplify the concept of

hegemony. The 'primitives' must be uprooted from their own, to what is regarded by the dominant group, as civilized and progressive culture. In this case, the 'primitive' cultures represent what Ardener (1975) categorizes as the 'muted group'. The two concepts of 'development' and 'progress' are examples and illustrations of the larger concept of 'Symbolic power'.

As discussed so far, when presenting progress and development as positive processes of change and growth, emphasis has mainly been given to economic aspects of growth (economic development)[15], ignoring or leaving social aspects (social development) in a secondary position. Such social aspects range from disruption of established patterns of livelihood, traditions and forms of knowledge, social exclusion from decision making, daily stressors, among others. In the next section, I elaborate on social development and sustainable development as alternative forms of development that must be put into consideration, especially when dealing with issues related to development for, of and with indigenous peoples.

3.2.2   Alternative senses of 'reality' (development)

Despite the fact that social aspects of development have been incorporated in the contemporary development discourse, (see for example the UN Human Development Index HDI) such an approach is "explicitly outcome-based and focuses on a set of chosen indicators" (UN Report on World Social Situation: 2010). This system is hegemonic because it inevitably leads to the use of methods of cross-sectional and comparative statistics in evaluating alternative situations, without any emphasis on the societal structures, dynamics, processes and policies that generate these outcomes (ibid). To state it in another way, such a structure is a top-down model that lacks an understanding of the dynamic and complex causes of poverty and deprivation, embedded in political policies, social values and ideologies of social change (Sørensen, 2003).

A number of scholars have come up with alternative definitions of development. Such scholars have aimed at developing social and people-oriented definitions that do not solely put emphasis on economic development. For example, Armatya Sen views poverty and under-development as the failure to be able to participate fully in society. In this sense,

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[15] Economic Development: Raising the *productive capacities of societies,* in terms of their technologies (more efficient tools and machines), technical cultures (knowledge, nature, research and capacity to develop improved technologies), and the physical, technical and organizational capacities and skills of those engaged in production (Bernstein, 1983:59 Qtd in Allan and Thomas, 2000:31).

development is not a matter determined by material living standards, but lack of choice and capability (Allen and Thomas, 2000:14).

A related idea to Sen's argument above is that of social exclusion which is described as a process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live (European Foundation, 1995:4, as quoted in Allen and Thomas 14). As a remedy for social exclusion, scholars such as Robert Chambers (1997) have argued for a participatory approach to development. Such an approach is aimed at empowering people to participate in, and control, their own development process by building confidence in their own capacity. The participatory approach to development should be a process which grows from *within* societies, founded on what is intimately known to the people themselves, and only secondly expounded by acquiring knowledge from 'outsiders' (Magole & Magole, 2005).

The concept of participatory development is related to ideas of collective and group identification and self-definition that I discuss in detail in Chapter Four. In the same chapter, I illustrate how the process of participatory development empowers indigenous communities and how social exclusion of indigenous peoples from the process of development initiatives engenders disempowerment. The underlying question in this discussion concerns the extent to which Batwa peoples have a choice and are involved in decision making processes aimed at their own development as part of the culture tourism project.

3.3   Re-thinking Authenticity

Much of the literature on the nature of tourism and its impact on host societies has mainly focused on notions of 'commoditization of cultures' of host communities and dilution of authenticity of the commoditized touristic product. It has widely been assumed that 'commoditization' of indigenous cultures eventually changes the meaning of the commoditized cultural products (if not) making them meaningless.

> We already know from world-wide experience that local culture…is altered and often destroyed by the treatment of it as a touristic attraction. It is made meaningless to the people who once believed in it (Greenwood, 1977:137)

As illustrated in Greenwood's statement above, commoditization destroys authenticity of the cultural products since they lose their meaning that was/is understood by the locals. In addition, commoditization of cultural products involves the need to "present tourists with more spectacular, exotic and titillating attractions" (Boorstin, 1964:103). This need to present exciting attractions to tourists inevitably leads to a continuous process of choreography,

invention and innovation of cultural products for touristic consumption. McCannell (1973) refers to these altered forms of cultural performance as 'Staged authenticity'.

A number of scholars have argued that "touristic consciousness is motivated by the desire for authentic experiences" (McCannell 1973:597, Errington and Gewertz 1989:43, Torogovnich 1990). McCannel therefore argues that 'staged authenticity' destroys this tourist's genuine desire and quest for authentic experiences. Since what the tourist experiences are not what Goffman (1971) refers to as the real 'back stage', but a 'staged back region' to appear authentic. McCannell therefore concludes that the modern tourist-pilgrim and quest for authenticity is an endless and futile one, damned to inauthenticity. As discussed so far "commoditization of tourism not only destroys the meaning of cultural products for the locals, but paradoxically, also for the tourists" (Cohen 1984:373).

The authors cited above (McCannell, Errington and Gewertz and Torogovnich) objectify authenticity as something fixed, real and that can be experienced. Any slight change in cultural behaviour is therefore deemed to be not purely authentic, and is therefore characterised as 'staged authentic'. In other words, in order to fit the category of 'authentic', indigenous peoples' cultures are expected to remain fixed and unchanged. In such a situation, the 'authentic' is fixed and the performers have to 'play the authentic' as recognised and fixed upon them by those with power to define 'reality'. Ironically, such a situation would be a 'staged authentic', since the performers don't associate with what they stage as 'their authentic'. This is a reiteration of Bourdieu's hegemonic category of *'doxa'*, since the 'authentic' (real) is already fixed for them to perform and the performers (indigenous peoples) representing Ardners 'muted group'.

In this thesis, I question the above interpretation of authenticity. In line with Sissons (2005), I argue that a change in cultural practice should not be necessarily looked at as cultural loss and loss of meaning for the cultural practices, but rather a cultural change and a change in meaning. Authenticity should therefore be understood as a socially *constructed* concept, a symbolic concept, contextually and ideologically defined (Garland & Gordon 1999; Silver 1993), open for negotiation and discourse, and thus not something fixed (Bruner 1994; Cohen 1988).

Looking at authenticity as a social construct and something that is not fixed characterises Bourdieu's *field of opinion*, which is open for arguments, discussion and reflection. It symbolizes the existence of alternative forms of 'reality'. The performers

(indigenous peoples) in this case, have the possibility of collective self-representation and collective definition, unlike in a situation within which the authentic is fixed for them to play. This collective process of self-identification, characterised by replication of the past through performance, is what Ronald Niezen (2009) refers to as *therapeutic history*. The process of *therapeutic history* involves the "appropriation or sponsorship of narratives about the past as a way to define the moral essence of a people to recover from a lingering collective experience of rejection, dispossession, and assimilation…at the hands of a dominant society" (Niezen, 2009:150). Perhaps the most important aspect of the process of therapeutic history is that it emphasizes "group affirmation and the way people feel about themselves as the main criterion for determining the truth" (Niezen, 2009:150). *Therapeutic history* thus puts an emphasis on *re-emplacing*[16] those aspects of the past that are emotionally positive. In the case of the Batwa trail, the narratives and performances that were showcased mainly portrayed themes of social peace and harmony with nature. I will further illustrate this concept of therapeutic history in Chapter Four when analyzing cultural tourism as an empowering process for marginalized groups.

By mentioning the possibility of collective definition and collective identification of what they associate with as 'their authentic', I don't imply that what the Batwa present and re-present as part of the Batwa Trail is solely and mainly determined by them. In fact, this is a major question that I will analyse in Chapter Four. Using the theories of power as earlier on discussed in this chapter, I will analyse how 'authenticity' has been defined, presented and represented as part of the Batwa Trail by attempting to answer the questions: What is produced and presented in the trail and how is it produced? And who has the artistic control and power to define 'reality'?

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed some of the theories that I use as analytical lenses for this study. These theories help us to understand the conditions behind the marginalized position of the Batwa. I have used Ardner's *muted group* category and Bourdieu's categories of *doxa, orthodoxy* and *heterodoxy* to illustrate the concept of hegemony. Since these categories operate within a given context and set of power relations, I elaborated on the concept of *power*. I further gave a detailed discussion about the historical unfolding of the discourse of *progress* and *development* because the field of development is a context in which the power relations mentioned above operate. A discussion about the conceptualization of authenticity

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[16] The concept of re-emplacing is used here to demonstrate how the Batwa re-domesticate the forest through performance, and how they evoke and perform those aspects of their past that are emotionally positive.

gives us an insight into the power relations involved in the definition and characterisation of what is 'authentic indigenous culture' and what is not 'authentic'.

My underlying argument for this chapter has been that identifying the various actors, institutions and structures with the power to define 'reality' (i.e. development, authenticity, who is indigenous and who is not), and analyzing how 'reality' has been defined by the different actors, structures and institutions over time, gives us an insight into the historical and social contexts in South-western Uganda, that have shaped the current predicament and entangled situation of the Batwa peoples. To state it in another way, the manner in which 'reality' has been defined by different actors and institutions in Uganda are largely responsible for the current predicament of the Batwa peoples. For example, in Chapter Two, I illustrated how the Uganda Government's generalized definition and use of the term *indigenous* suffocates the Batwa people's claims and rights to their collective ownership of land and property.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Batwa Trail: A Case Study of a Community-Conservation, Touristic and Developmental Project

4.0   Background of the Batwa Trail

The Batwa Trail is a tourist attraction in Mgahinga Gorilla National Park. The trail was officially launched on the 7th of June 2011. It was initiated by three partner institutions namely; The Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), Kisoro District Local Government (KDLG) and the United Organization for Batwa Development in Uganda (UOBDU). These three partners got support from a number of development partners including; International Gorilla Conservation Program (IGCP), the Greater Virunga Trans-boundary Core Secretariat, USAID-STAR and the Royal Netherlands Embassy.

Since this study focuses on development discourse and indigenous peoples, I was interested in knowing how the whole idea of initiating the Batwa Trail as a developmental program for the Batwa peoples came about. In particular, I was interested in knowing who came up with the idea and why? Who were involved in the process and how they were involved. This will helps us to analyze how the Batwa Trail as a development project has affected the people for whom it was/is intended. More importantly, it will give us an insight into the extent to which the Batwa participate and contribute in the developmental projects intended for their wellbeing.

According to Stephen Asuma, the programme officer for the IGCP and chairman for the Batwa Trail Tourism Management Committee, the whole idea of the Batwa Trail started in 2006[17]. The idea of the Batwa Trail came up as a result of a research that was carried out on Ugandan National Parks in 2002. The study reported that the Batwa were one of the biggest encroachers on national park land and resources. Given their marginalized position in society, landlessness and high unemployment rates as discussed in Chapter One, the Batwa did not have any sources of livelihood for their survival, thereby resorting to illegal extraction of national park resources. The Batwa Trail was therefore initiated, and has been promoted as a source of employment for the Batwa. The rationale for the project is that it would serve as a community conservation model since it aims at developing tourism-related activities that would provide employment and revenue to the Batwa, thus reducing the pressure on the parks

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[17] Batwa Trail: Tourism product of the decade launched
http://www.ugandawildlife.org/news-a-updates-2/uwa-news/item/3-batwa-trail-tourism-product-of-the-decade-launched

exerted by illegal resource extractors. In addition, the initiators of the project believed that it would play a role in preserving the Batwa's culture and heritage.

It was against this background that the IGCP and UOBDU with support from USAID Prime West embarked on developing a product that would offer an alternative source of livelihood to the Batwa. A private consultant was hired to develop the touristic plan. Accordingly, in 2006, the consultant that was hired carried out a study[18] about the Batwa's livelihood in the forest highlighting a number of their ancestral places such as the Garama cave. Such places were deemed to be an important resource to the touristic product. The report also highlighted the expected economic and social impact of the planned product. In 2007, the process of initiating the product began with the training of Batwa guides and putting in place the necessary infrastructure. The Batwa Trail as a touristic product has been in operation since 2008, although the product was not much marketed before its launch in 2011.

The Batwa Trail is an activity that involves a five hour hike in the forest of Mgahinga National Gorilla Park. As part of the hike, the Batwa perform particular aspects of their past forest livelihood. Some of these include traditional worship ceremonies, hunting activities, food gathering, singing and dancing and visiting a number of their ancestral grounds in the forest such as the Garama Cave. During their performances, the Batwa also recite a number of narratives and stories that have been passed down from generation to generation through oral tradition.

In the next section, I present the Batwa Trail as a platform and process through which marginalized Batwa peoples have appropriated tourism as an instrument in the construction of their identity. In this section, I examine circumstances in which cultural tourism provides marginalized peoples with a platform to define their identity which leads to empowerment. I use empowerment in line with Scheyvens (2002), to refer to the capacity of individuals or groups to determine their own affairs, and a process to help them exert control over factors that affect their lives.

4.1 Culture Tourism as a Tool for Empowerment

As earlier noted in Chapter Three, the survival of indigenous people's ways of life depends on access to their traditional lands and natural resources. Eviction of the Batwa peoples from their ancestral land therefore posed a serious challenge to the survival of their

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[18] During my fieldwork, Peninah Zaninkah the coordinator of UOBDU availed to me the detailed report that was compiled by the consultant. However, I was not allowed to make a copy or publish the contents in the report due to copyright reasons.

livelihood. During a group discussion at Musasa, I asked the members if they wanted to be granted permission to go back and live in their ancestral forest land. In response, many of them agreed that it was impossible to go back and live in the forests because the government would not allow them to do so[19]. First, letting them go back to the forest is characterised as a threat to the mountain gorilla tourism industry that is a major income earner[20] for the government of Uganda. Secondly, letting them go back to live in the forest is also characterised as an antithesis to development as envisioned by the government. The members also said that it is because of their former forest livelihood that they are marginalized by their neighbouring communities. Going back to live in the forest would therefore increase the level of marginalization that they face. They also pointed out the fact that many of the Batwa children were born outside the forests and it therefore becomes difficult for them to adapt to a forest lifestyle in case they are to go back.

I then asked what it meant for them to perform in the Batwa Trail since much of the livelihood that they perform as part of the Batwa Trail is no longer what they live and experience, and that is what Handler and Saxon characterise as 'experiential authenticity'[21]. To them, the Batwa Trail is an important activity because it maintains their connection and ties to their forest. Stephen, one of the members of the group discussion told me that through the trail, they practice some important skills that otherwise would have been lost if they did not have any links to the forest. For example, as part of the trail, the guides showcase some important herbs and medicinal plants. Stephen emphasized that even if they are not allowed to freely harvest such plants and herbs, it is important to pass on such information to their children. Given the fact that the informants had earlier on informed me that it's their forest livelihood and 'culture' that was a major source of their marginalization by their neighbouring communities, I was compelled to ask them why it was important to preserve and pass on such information that was no longer used in their newly adapted livelihood.

In response, Joshua one of the elders responded that "you must know who you are and where you come from if you want others to listen to you". As illustrated in the informant's statement above, the past becomes part of what gives the Batwa an identity as a people.

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[19] Musasa and Rukeeri community group discussions

[20] The annual revenue earned directly from gorilla tourism is estimated at US$3 million. When combined with the additional income received by, for example hotels and restaurants, the total figure may exceed US$20 million shared between Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). (http://www.igcp.org/gorillas/tourism/).

[21] Experiential authenticity: Involves 'perfect simulation' and replication of a past. Often involves performers who re-enact events on original historical sites.

Claiming an identity in this case is a form of empowerment, since lacking a history in this view prevents people from identifying themselves to others (See also Friedman 1994:132). A replication of the past through performances staged as part of the Batwa Trail therefore offers a platform for collective self-identification and self-definition of the Batwa peoples. As Friedman (1994:117) argues, "self-definition does not occur in a vacuum, but in a world already defined. In this sense, self-definition is an empowering process since it operates within a given '*doxa*', therefore countering hegemonic definitions that have been created about the Batwa peoples. To gain control of their past, and of its physical remains, becomes a strategy to extricate themselves from the dominating culture and establish a self centered autonomy (Friedman 1994:132).

This collective process of self-identification, characterised by replication of the past through performance, is what Ronald Niezen (2009) refers to as *therapeutic history*. The process of *therapeutic history* is counter hegemonic since it involves the "appropriation or sponsorship of narratives about the past as a way to define the moral essence of a people to recover from a lingering collective experience of rejection, dispossession, and assimilation…at the hands of a dominant society" (Niezen, 2009:150). Perhaps the most important aspect of the process of therapeutic history is that it emphasizes "group affirmation and the way people feel about themselves as the main criterion for determining the truth" (Niezen 2009: 150). This emphasis on group affirmation is a collective attempt by marginalized communities such as the Batwa to challenge the already existing *doxa* that exists in the form of stereotyped and negative images that have been created about them by dominant groups. *Therapeutic history* thus puts an emphasis on *re-emplacing* those aspects of the past that are emotionally positive. The concept of *re-emplacing* is used here to demonstrate how the Batwa re-domesticate the forest through performance, and how they evoke and perform those aspects of their past that are emotionally positive. In the case of the Batwa Trail, the narratives and performances that were showcased mainly portrayed themes of social peace and harmony with nature. These themes are well captured in the Batwa creation myth that is narrated by the Batwa guides at the beginning of the trail. I transcribe the narrative below.

> What our grandfathers could tell us was that we are all descendants of Gahinga and Niragihanga. Gahinga and Niragihanga had three sons, Gatwa, Gahutu and Gatutsi. The three sons were given a task to hold pots that were full of milk. It came to night. Gatwa got hungry and drank all the milk. Gahutu fell asleep and some milk split off in the process, while Gatutsi kept his pot full.
>
> When the parents returned, they assigned duties to their children according to how the task was fulfilled. The fact that Gatwa drunk the milk that was given to him showed that he was creative. He was assigned to use his creativity to look after the forests, which in turn would offer him food (through hunting

and gathering) and shelter. Since Gatutsi kept all the milk in his pot, he was assigned to look after cattle which would in turn give him more milk and food. Since Gahutu poured off some milk to the ground, he was assigned a duty of cultivating and watering his plants that they may provide him with food.

This is the reason why the Batwa (descendants of Gatwa) have always lived and looked after the forest, the Bahutu (descendants of Gahutu) are cultivators and the Batutsi (Descendants of Gatutsi) are pastoralists.
(Narrative cited by one of the Batwa guides at the beginning of the Batwa Trail)

The narrative above has been evoked and interpreted differently by the Batwa and non Batwa people that I talked to. The non Batwa informants interpreted the story in a manner that created hierarchies. The hierarchy places the Batutsi at the top because Gatutsi emerged successful in the task given by their father. Owing to the success of Gatutsi, his descendants were given authority to rule over the others and take on an honour as pastoralists. The Batwa come at the bottom of the hierarchy because Gatwa failed the task. As such, the descendants of Gatwa inherited a curse of labouring hard in order to get what to eat. This interpretation of the creation story is often used by non Batwa to justify the marginalized position of the Batwa peoples. In fact, this interpretation is not different from the stereotypes that have been attached to Batwa by their dominant neighbours[22]. Such stereotypes present the Batwa as ignorant, gluttonous and un-able to see beyond their immediate future, thus only fit to remain beggars. In this interpretation we see that the hierarchy is created based on the values and sentiments of the dominant group.

In the account given by the Batwa guides during the trail, interpretation of the narrative above takes an approach of countering the on-going marginalization and dominance of the Batwa by members of the other dominant ethnic groups. In essence, the narrative above highlights a point that there is a common ancestry for the three ethnic groups that occupy Kisoro district. In addition, the Batwa interpret the creation narrative above in that it emphasizes their position as the assigned custodians of the forest thereby portraying them as people who have always lived in harmony with nature. It is not my purpose to justify the validity of the interpretations given by the different groups. Rather, what I want to emphasize is that in the case of the Batwa, a people who are struggling to define themselves in the context of on-going dispossession and marginalization, narratives such as the one above hold significant meaning and implications in countering the image created about them by others. This justifies Nezien's view that "stories from the past comprise an essence of one's collective being that can be nurtured and drawn from in times of need" (2009:150).

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[22] I came to learn of these stereotypes in the conversational interviews that I had with members from non-Batwa communities.

During the trail, the guides demonstrate a number of conservation mechanisms that were used as part of their forest livelihood. One of these is the importance of community and kinship in conservation of resources. In their performance, they demonstrate how hunting and gathering of food was a communal and collective responsibility. "The collected food is equally shared among all members of the community. This prevents excess exploitation of resources since all community members have food to eat"[23]. My purpose is not to verify whether or not such accounts are true and authentic. Rather, I emphasize that such representations of what Niezen (2009) calls "accomplishments of one's ancestors" are significant. In line with Niezen, I argue that the qualities and feasts of one's forebears can be artistically and educationally cultivated in a process of a common remembrance and self-definition. This collective process of common remembrance and self-definition "can improve one's potential to act and to develop a sense of personal ability and worth". (Nezien 2009:150).

The Batwa Trail brings to the limelight and celebrates a culture that ironically has been a major source of marginalization for the Batwa. In this sense, culture tourism can provide marginalized communities with a positive sense of perception of their culture and their future. In the group discussion[24] with members of the Musasa community, some of whom worked as guides in the Batwa Trail, some of the members told me that it gave them pride when they got tourists to visit them. The latter showed them that their "culture is valuable"[25]. To state it in another way, by experiencing the fact that the tourists valued their culture by paying money to be part of the trail, and by walking for long hours, the Batwa gain pride in a culture that has in the past been a source of their marginalization. In this sense, what may be perceived as commoditization of culture through tourism on the one hand, becomes a way of promoting and popularising a marginalized culture through tourism. Culture tourism in this case serves to "increase visibility and the expression and reformulation of [Batwa] history and identity in a public arena" (M.Taylor 2000:281).

I have so far illustrated how cultural tourism has served as a positive empowering process that fosters collective negotiation and definition of the Batwa's identity. This process of collective definition is in line with Article 33 of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which states that: "Indigenous peoples have the right to

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[23] As stated by one of the guides during the Batwa Trail.
[24] The context of a group discussion was important because it enabled me to identify issues that cut across individuals and Batwa communities.
[25] Rukeeri group discussion.

determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions"[26]. The right to collective group identification is empowering in a way that marginalized groups such as the Batwa are able to present their form of 'reality', that may not necessarily be the same as that of the dominant population. In this sense, the process of collective definition and identification, engendered by tourism is a counter-hegemonic process. In the next section, I illustrate how culture tourism may engender disempowerment of indigenous peoples and in the process, expound their marginalized situation.

4.2.1 The Batwa Trail: A Platform for Dis-empowerment?

In this section, I analyze the dynamics of presentation and representation of the Batwa peoples, and explore the dynamics of Batwa and tourists interaction during the Batwa Trail presentation. In order to be part of the Batwa Trail, foreign tourists (non East African Nationals[27]) pay an amount of 70 US dollars, while East African nationals pay an amount of 18 US dollars. A discount is given to East African nationals as a means of encouraging them to take part in tourism activities. For the three times that I was part of the trail as an observer, averagely, 12 tourists were hosted per session. And out of the three sessions, only one East African resident participated. He was a Kenyan citizen, and belonged to the Masai community[28]; one of the indigenous communities in Kenya that lives a nomadic livelihood. When I asked him about how he got to know about the Batwa Trail and his purpose of attending the trail, he informed me that he was a tour guide in Kenya and on that particular day, he had led a group of seven Australian tourists to Mgahinga for gorilla tracking. They then learned about the Batwa Trail and signed up for the activity. What I want to emphasize is that the number of East African residents attending the activity is very low. Even for the one East African participant that attended the trial during the time I was carrying out fieldwork, his primary objective was not to attend the Batwa Trail but to track gorillas.

I was therefore compelled to question why East African nationals rarely attended the Batwa Trail activity despite the discount accorded to them on the admission fee. In my opinion, perhaps one of the reasons to explain this is the advertisement strategy for the trail. I observed that the advertisement of the Batwa Trail has not much received emphasis in local Ugandan media such as newspapers, television and radio. Yet, it is these media that are most widely used in East Africa. Efforts to advertise the activity have taken the form of internet

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[26] http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf UNDRIP, Article 33.

[27] East African Nationals; this category includes Permanent residents of Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Congo and Burundi.

[28] I learned about his background and purpose of visit through a conversational interview.

advertisement through websites of tour companies that mainly target international tourists[29]. Perhaps the major reason for the emphasis on targeting an international audience is because it is more likely to bring in more revenue in the form of admission fees to the trail.

On one occasion, I received information from one of the UWA officials in charge of registering tourists for the trail that a group of around 4 Ugandans were interested in being part of the trail. I signed up to be part of this particular activity because I was interested in observing and understanding how Ugandans would perceive a 'culture' that has been marginalized in the Ugandan society, but celebrated through tourism. A few hours to the start of the trail, I received a call from the UWA official that the activity had been called off. On asking why it was cancelled, he responded that it would not be cost effective to host only 5 [East African] participants since the total of what they pay would be an equivalent of just what one foreign national pays. He said he would inform me and the other Ugandans who were interested when they get a bigger group of participants; most probably foreign nationals so that we would be added to that group.

As illustrated above, the most important emphasis in promoting the Batwa Trail has been its economic value, and especially revenue collected from the process. Yet, one of the main objectives of the trail is to preserve and promote Batwa culture fostered by the collective process of group identification illustrated in the preceding section. This process of collective group identification and definition would perhaps be even more meaningful if the Batwa performed for a Ugandan audience than an audience that is comprised of foreign tourists. That is because marginalization of the Batwa takes place within the Ugandan communities, yet the foreign tourists who are the main target audience return to their countries soon after. A Ugandan audience may not yield as much revenue as that of foreign tourists, but it would perhaps have a greater social significance. In this sense, the Batwa Trail would be a channel through which Batwa peoples collectively define themselves to members from other Ugandan communities thereby countering the stereotyped image that has been created of them by different Ugandan communities.

The performances that were showcased as part of the Batwa Trail were characterised by a number of power relations among the participants. I use the term participants in this

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[29] Internet advertisement is only accessible to a small population of the Ugandan population and would therefore not be the best advertisement option to target a Ugandan audience. Here are some selected links to websites of tour companies that advertise the Batwa trail.
http://kabiza.com/Batwa-Trail-Mgahinga-Gorilla-Park.htm
http://pearlsofuganda.org/plan-your-trip/find-a-cultural-tourism-experience/by-destination/queen-elizabeth/item/128-batwa-forest-trail.html

sense to refer to the Batwa who worked as guides and performers during the trail, the UWA official who worked as the translator, and the tourists. As I earlier noted, the performances are characterised by a number of narratives, folk tales and songs. Communication among the participants takes place in such a way that the Batwa guides use a language that is not their native *Lutwa*, but *Lufumbira,* a language spoken by their dominant Bafumbira neighbours. The UWA guide then translates what the Batwa guides say into English for the tourists. As earlier noted in Chapter 1 and 2, the Batwa did not willingly choose, but adapted to *Lufumbira* language in their struggle to assimilate into the more dominant Bafumbira community, having lost their land and sources of livelihood for their survival. Using the same dominant language as part of the Batwa Trail indirectly symbolizes a reincarnation of Batwa marginalization. In this case, language is a symbol of oppression since the Batwa cannot use their native *Lutwa,* but a language that the UWA translator understands in order for him to be able to translate for the tourists.

I also observed that the UWA guide and translator had a more powerful position in relation to the Batwa guides. And to a large extent, he was in control of what was translated for the tourists. This is evident in the manner in which he mutes particular aspects of the narratives given by the Batwa guides. In these narratives, the Batwa guides highlight a number of issues concerning their current livelihood and predicament; all as a result of their eviction from their ancestral forest land. However, the meaning of such narratives was overly simplified in the translations given by the UWA representative. In the example below, I translate a statement[30] given by a Mutwa guide. In the statement, the guide demonstrates to the tourists a medicinal herb and the hardships they go through since they no longer have access to such drugs. I also include the translation given by the UWA guide.

Mutwa Guide's statement	My Translation	UWA Guide
Umwana w'umutwa yarafite ubuzima bwiza...twaridufite ibyokurya nidigara bihagije, abana bacu ntibichwaga nuburwayi bushekeje...arik'ubu usanga abana bacu badaze kandi bichwa nuburwayi bushekeje...ibyo biterwa nuko batwirukanye ku taka ryacu, kandi ntitukibona ibyokurya byacu. (Text in Lufumbira Language)	We used this plant for medicine. The son of Gatwa was healthy. We had plenty of food and medicine, our children never died of strange diseases. But now, you find that our children are malnourished and they die of strange diseases. All because we were sent out of our forest and can't access our food. (My translation with the help of my research assistant)	He is saying that life was good in the forest because they had access to these plants and you can't find these plants outside the forest

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[30] Having received permission from the Batwa guides and the UWA translator, I recorded the discussions and statements that happened during the performance.

As seen in the above account, a number of issues raised in the Mutwa guide's statement are muted in the translation given by the UWA translator. The emphasis in the Mutwa guide's statement is on the suffering that they undergo as a consequence of being restricted to harvest their forest medicinal herbs. While the emphasis in the UWA guide's translation of the same statement under-communicates the suffering, and puts emphasis on the fact that the Batwa cannot access some plants outside the forest. The account cited above illustrates how the Batwa sometimes lose control of the kind of image they want to portray about themselves in an activity that would be important for their collective affirmation of their identification. The UWA translator, who works as the only medium of interaction between the Batwa and the tourists, has the power to eliminate some emphasised issues in his translation.

The power relations that characterise the Batwa Trail are extended and evident in the way the different participants dress during the activity. While the tourists may dress as they choose, the Batwa guides wear costumes made of buffalo skin, and the UWA guide wears the green official game ranger's uniform. The photograph below illustrates the difference in dressing among the tourists, Batwa guides and UWA official.

Figure 2: Photo illustrating difference in dressing among Batwa guides, tourists and UWA guides

Source: Photo by researcher. In the front, a male tourist is dressed in a hat, grey t-shirt and khaki trousers with a backpack. In the centre, the UWA guide is dressed in the official green Game ranger's uniform with a Ugandan flag. At the Back is a Mutwa guide dressed in Buffalo skin costume.

The presence of the UWA guide in a game ranger's uniform with a Ugandan flag symbolizes his authority as a representative of UWA and the Ugandan state, institutions that have the power to control Batwa livelihood through controlling their access to their ancestral forests. The dressing of the Batwa guides in buffalo skin costumes portrays a number of power dynamics. When I asked the Batwa guides why they used buffalo skin costumes and a number of props during the trail, yet they no longer use this kind of clothing in their current livelihood, they told me that in the past, they used to dress in their casual attire. But they sometimes received comments from tourists that they were missing the true image of the Batwa. Perhaps this was because the Batwa guides were dressed in clothes that the tourists attributed to modernity. The Batwa guides therefore had to adapt to the buffalo skin costumes because of the comments raised by tourists. Yet the tourists who raise such comments to the Batwa freely decide on what they themselves wear during the trail.

As seen in the case above, the Batwa guides dress in buffalo skins in order to conform to the tourist's expectations of the 'authentic' image of the Batwa. Authenticity in this case is not based on the Batwa perceptions of themselves, but on the tourist's expectations about the Batwa. This particular example is one good illustration of how the dynamics of the idea of 'authenticity' that I discussed in Chapter Two operate. Despite the Batwa Trail being a platform intended to give a degree of agency to the Batwa in defining and representing themselves, largely, it is not them who are in control of the kind of image portrayed about them. In this case, it is the tourists who mostly influence the kind of image that the Batwa represent. And as earlier on illustrated, the UWA guide also has a big influence through his translations. The Batwa are therefore in an entangled situation of negotiating how they present themselves because in their midst are the tourists' expectations of their presentation, and the presence of the UWA guide who is a symbol of authority.

One major expectation of Batwa guides is that of presenting themselves to the tourists in a way that the UWA guide referred to as a 'professional'. He told me that training the Batwa guides before initiating the activity was very important to equip them with the professional skills required for the job. He further told me that the Batwa were used to asking for money from tourists which is an embarrassing experience. In addition, many of the men who would be guides spent much of their time drinking alcohol in bars. It would therefore be an embarrassing experience if tourists came and paid their money, and the Batwa guides are

nowhere to be seen[31]. In this sense, professional conduct of the Batwa guides means not to embarrass tourists by asking for money and not turning up late for duty.

In the example above, we see that the approach that was taken to transform the Batwa guides into 'professionals' did not take into account the conditions that forced the Batwa to ask for money from tourists, and the conditions behind the high rates of alcoholism among Batwa peoples. It is therefore evident that 'professionalism' in this sense is synonymous to the Batwa covering up specific features of their life in order to appear un-embarrassing to the guests. In this process, a number of power relations are embedded. The Batwa in this sense represent Ardner's *muted group* (see Chapter Three), since they must comply and adhere to the standard of 'professionalism' as defined for them by those with power. Perhaps failure to comply with the standards set for them would mean loss of their jobs as guides. In fact, the situation here has similar characteristics with the wider development discourse surrounding indigenous peoples. As illustrated in Chapter Three, indigenous peoples have often been forced to abandon or cover up particular aspects of their livelihood in the name of progress and development. Failure to comply would reinforce the idea that their culture is an antithesis to progress and development.

Given the circumstances discussed above, during a group discussion, I asked the members of the Musasa community if they were comfortable working as guides in the trail. One of them informed me that he is sometimes uncomfortable being part of the activity because they see so many fruits and berries rotting in the forest, and they are not allowed to touch any of them without permission. Yet, many of their children and colleagues are starving and looking for food outside the forests. While this issue was raised by one member, about seven others responded in agreement with what he was saying. Methodologically, this example supports my use of group discussions because through these discussions, I was able to identify issues that cut across individuals. Empirically, this account presents a fact that a number of issues are under-communicated or not communicated at all to the guests who visit the Batwa as part of the trail. For example, even though the Musasa community members in the above account were uncomfortable with seeing wasted resources as part of the trail, they were not supposed to reveal their feelings to the tourists who are their clients. In other words, revealing their discontent and feelings in the midst of their clients would characterise un-

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[31] I have paraphrased the information in this paragraph from a conversational discussion with the UWA guide. I took notes of the discussion soon after the conversation ended having got his permission for using some of the information in our discussion.

professional conduct contrary to the training they received before the initiation of the trail project.

4.2.2 Economic Empowerment or Economic Dis-emopowerment?

One of the major factors behind the establishment of the Batwa Trail was to provide the communities with a source of employment and revenue, thus reducing pressure on natural resources through illegal extraction. In addition to providing direct employment to the Batwa, part of the revenue collected from the trail is devoted to developing community infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and roads. Although the intention may have been to empower the members of the community economically, ironically, I observed that it was a disempowering process in some instances.

For every session, each of the Batwa guides in the trail receives a payment of 6000 Ugandan Shillings, approximately 2.3 US Dollars, while each of the dancers and other performers receives 5000 Ugandan Shillings which is equal to 1.8 US Dollars. Like other touristic activities, the Batwa Trail depends on availability of tourists. Unlike other tourist activities such as mountain gorilla tracking which receives a large influx of clients on a regular basis, the Batwa Trail has so far received a small number of tourists. For the two months that I spent doing fieldwork, the trail activity was only performed around 5 times. This means that within a period of 2 months, each of the guides received an amount of about 30,000 Uganda Shillings (Approximately 23 US Dollars). On average, this income is far below the established poverty line of 1.25 dollars a day for an individual. Yet, many of the guides have families and are supposed to use this revenue to look after their families. We see that the income that the Batwa generate from the trail is insufficient to cater for their basic needs.

In addition, many of the guides are also not comfortable with the bureaucratic process of payment. During the group discussion with the members of the Musasa community, the guides informed me that it sometimes took a very long period for them to receive their payment. One of the guides described to me how difficult it was for them to get money from the trail administrators for the burial of one of their colleagues who committed suicide[32] a week before I arrived for my fieldwork. In interviews with Charlotte Ninshaba the UOBDU education officer and Alice Nyamihanda the UOBDU field officer in charge of tourism, I was

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[32] I was told that the guide committed suicide because he had realized that he was HIV positive. He didn't know how he would survive with the disease, given the poor conditions under which they were living.

informed that the lengthy process is because of the need for proper accountability. While I admit that accountability should be an important part of development projects such as the Batwa Trail, measures should always be undertaken to reduce the bureaucracy involved in such development projects. For example, in this case, we see that the process perhaps extends the disempowered position of the Batwa since it takes a long period to get even the little revenue that they expect from the activity.

While the Batwa Trail was introduced as an initiative to provide revenue for the Batwa, the examples cited so far indicate that it has not fulfilled this goal. As seen above, the income earned by the Batwa participants is very low and cannot sustain their families. A solution to this problem would necessitate involving the Batwa peoples in other full time employment activities. However, this is quite difficult given the high levels of illiteracy among the Batwa coupled with the fact that many of the Batwa communities are landless. Besides, being part of the Batwa Trail restricts many of the participants from finding full-time employment since they are always required to be on standby, ready to perform for visitors who might sign up for the tour.

4.2.3   The Oppression of Representation: Development for, of, or with?

> The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption…Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in the false interests of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, its self maintains and embodies oppression. It is an instrument of dehumanization. (Freire, 1972: 30)

The passage above from Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) offers an explanatory context to what I will illustrate in this section. While his study was carried out in the early 1970s, it is just as relevant today. Freire's approach offers a theoretical foundation for more recent studies (Green 2000, Darder et al 2002). In detail, I analyse the institutional frameworks in which the Batwa are disempowered or oppressed. I illustrate how such institutionalized frameworks limit the Batwa's capacity to control and participate in activities that influence their own future. In particular, I illustrate with accounts in which the Batwa's voice has been silenced or simply not been heard in a development project aimed at their own livelihood.

Since this study focused on indigenous peoples and development, I was interested in answering questions about who defines development for the communities, what is defined as development, how development is defined and how development is implemented. I was especially interested in analysing the role, contribution and input of the communities who are

the major target for such development projects. Understanding the power dynamics involved in the definition of development and implementation of development will give us an insight into whether the development initiatives have fulfilled their desired goals.

To characterise the development discourse and indigenous people, I use three terms; *development for*, *development of* and *development with*. On one hand, I use the terms *development for* and *development of* to refer to a situation where agents of development come into indigenous communities and establish development projects with limited input from the communities for whom the development is initiated. This approach is in fact not different from the one illustrated by Freire above, and it turns indigenous communities into 'objects awaiting humanitarianism'. Since in this case, they do not have the power to influence how development projects aimed for their own good should operate. As Saugestad notes, "What is wrong with the so-called free gift is the rejection of mutuality between the one who gives and the one who receives. The gift that cannot be returned becomes a humiliation" (Saugestad 2000: 231).

On the other hand, I use the term *development with* to refer to a process where the communities take full participation in the development project. In such a case, the development agents carry out meaningful consultations with the communities on how the projects will be run. This approach is an empowering one since it gives the communities a degree of agency and the possibility of participating in the decision making process in activities that concern them. By allowing for the possibility of indigenous peoples participation in the decision making process, the *development with* approach is a counter hegemonic process since the communities have the possibility to voice their own form of 'reality' different from that of the administrators of the development project.

4.2.4   The problem of consultation and group representation

As earlier illustrated in this chapter, the process of initiating the Batwa Trail took the *development for/of* approach because it was mainly done by a hired private consultant and did not involve full participation of the Batwa in its initial stages. Much as the Batwa were involved in the process, their role was limited to demonstrating to the consultant some of their knowledge that would be showcased as part of the trail. They also helped the consultant in locating and mapping the sites that would be visited by tourists in the forest. This limited role is a good example of one of the ways in which the Batwa remain as Green puts it,

"passive agents awaiting the emancipatory intervention of development organizations" (Green, 2000: 68). By using the ironic term *passive agents*, Green is critical of the discourse of development and how it dis-empowers the peoples for whom it is intended in the process. However, I am not suggesting that it was wrong to hire a consultant from outside to design the project. Perhaps, the process would have been more meaningful for the Batwa if they were fully involved in the process of designing the project together with the consultant and the relevant authorities.

In the sections below, I illustrate how the top-down approach taken at the initiation of the Batwa Trail could hopefully account for the gap in communication between the Batwa participants and the administrators of the activity. This communication gap has largely contributed to the *muting* of the Batwa voices in a development project aimed at improving their livelihood.

Earlier in this Chapter, I illustrated a number of challenges facing the Batwa who are participants in the trail. These included, but were not limited to the meagre income generated by the Batwa from the trail, but also involved the long bureaucratic process of acquiring their payments. It should be noted that the rates paid to the Batwa participants in the trail were fixed in the report submitted by the consultant who was hired to design the trail project in 2007. Since then, the rate of inflation has been rising but with no increment to the participants' wages. In one of the group discussions that I held with the Batwa, a number of them raised their concern particularly regarding revenue allocation for the project. Many of them raised concern that they were promised that they would acquire land from the revenue generated from the Batwa Trail, but all of them are landless. In addition, despite the fact that part of the revenue collected from the Batwa Trail goes towards educating Batwa children, I was informed that many children drop out of school. The children drop out of schools because "they travel long distances to school, don't get food at school and spend much of their time in schools…when they come back home and there is no food, such a child will not go back to school"[33] . The above concerns raised by the Batwa indicate the communication gap that exists between them and the administrators of the Batwa Trail project.

When I asked them why they did not raise their concerns to the administrators of the project (UOBDU and UWA), the guides informed me that they have complained to the

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[33] Mutwa informant Rukeeri group Discussion: in addition to not getting food at school, a number of Batwa children have dropped out of school because they face discrimination and marginalization from fellow students from other dominant groups.

administrators in writing on a number of occasions, but the guides feel that the administrators "don't listen to their complaints"[34] since the administrators rarely respond to their concerns. They further informed me that the administrators rarely visit the communities in which the Batwa live, making it difficult to communicate their grievances. Like I noted in Chapter One, many of the Batwa informants raised these concerns to me with the hope that I could be someone to help them vocalize their issues to the relevant authorities.

I was interested in knowing if the officials knew about the above concerns raised by the Batwa communities. In a discussion with Peninah Zanhinka the UOBDU coordinator, she attributed the bureaucracy in payments to the need for accountability and informed me that they are looking into increasing the wages paid to the Batwa participants. She also informed me that the revenue that they have accumulated from the trail so far is not yet enough to purchase land for the Batwa. But acquiring land for the Batwa is one of the important issues they are looking into[35]. Given this explanation from one of the administrators of the Batwa Trail, it is evident that the concerns raised by the Batwa are in fact 'heard' by the concerned authorities. The fact that the Batwa rarely receive feedback from the administrators represents a communication gap that characterises the relationship between the Batwa and administrators of the trail.

In such a case whereby I presented some of the concerns of the communities to the administrators, I sometimes felt as though I was exceeding my boundaries as a researcher and venturing to being an advocate as Henriksen (1990) describes it. In the same line of argument, Meyer cautions researchers against 'over participation'[36]. She emphasizes that researchers should keep it in mind that they have "[gone there] to study … [and] do not belong [there] … (1992: 30). Bearing it in mind that I had gone purposely to study, I was entangled between my identity as a researcher and my informant's expectations from me as someone to communicate their concerns to the relevant authorities. While I agree with Henriksen that researchers should not turn into advocates, leaving the people that they have gone to study as their clients, my experience from the field justified that researchers can sometimes contribute to the people they study without necessarily turning them into clients.

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[34] Statement by one of the members of the group discussion with Rukeeri Community.
[35] During the discussion, she gave me access to several documents to justify that the reasons she was talking about were of concern in their meetings and planned schedule. However, I was not allowed to make a copy of these documents because several of them.
[36] I use the term over participation in this context to refer to a situation where a researcher may get much involved in an activity to the extent that he becomes entirely part of the activity, sometimes forgetting his role as a scholar.

For the time I stayed in the field, my presence as someone from the outside who had access to both the Batwa communities and the administrators contributed (although marginally) to bridging the communication gap between the two parties.

This communication gap between the administrators and the Batwa is symbolic of the unequal power relations embedded in the process. This is an example of the *development for* approach that was earlier on mentioned; since the Batwa are not part of the decision making process of a development project that was initiated for their own good. This positions them as passive agents as Green (2000) puts it. In the process, this renders the Batwa powerless and incapable of communicating and contributing to the decisions affecting their own livelihood. This communication gap is in fact representative of a wider challenge faced by the Batwa peoples that I mentioned in Chapter 2, where Batwa claims for their ancestral land rights have not received any response from the Ugandan government.

I was informed by the UOBDU coordinator that a number of meetings were arranged with the Batwa guides to discuss such issues concerning them. Such meetings would be a good platform to foster dialogue and communication between the parties involved. I was therefore interested in learning about the Batwa members' experiences in such meetings. One of the members in a group discussion at Rukeeri explained to me how they are intimidated to voice their concerns for fear that they may even jeopardize the small source of revenue that they have at hand. That is because voicing their concerns may be a cause for retaliation from those with power. In response, a number of members agreed to what he had said. As Mauss notes, "to give is to show one's superiority, to show that one is something more and higher…To accept without returning or repaying more is to face subordination, to become a client and subservient" (1970: 72).

4.3.1 Beyond Authenticity and Commoditisation

In the preceding section, I explained why and how the Batwa guides adapted to changing from their casual attire to buffalo skins because they received comments from tourists that they were missing the 'true image of the Batwa'. With this attitude in mind, I was compelled to ask a number of tourists about their experience being part of the Batwa Trail and what they thought about the Batwa performance in the trail. Of the 13 tourists that I asked, the majority told me that it was an exciting experience to see what the Batwa's forest livelihood looked like. Some of the tourists commented on how the Batwa Trail was an activity for foreign touristic consumption. Since the livelihood that is showcased as part of the trail is no longer lived by the Batwa. Some of them told me that they would like to visit Batwa homes and also see what their current livelihood is like. In the responses above, it is evident that the tourists acknowledge that the kind of livelihood showcased as part of the Batwa Trail is in fact a 'staged kind of authenticity'. In this case, cultural tourism is a form of presentation of cultural change.

The situation above is what Handler and Saxon (1988) characterise as *experiential authenticity*. It involves a process of simulation and replication of the past. Often, performers re-enact events on original historical sites. In the case of the Batwa Trail, the performers re-enact the events in Mgahinga forest which is their historical ancestral land. Despite their acknowledgement that the past can never be fully known, Handler and Saxon argue that the process of *experiential authenticity* combines what happened at a particular site with the thoughts and feelings of actors during events in the performance of living history projects. On both sides of the actor and tourists, re-creations of the past sometimes lead to 'magic moments'- "those times when the sensation of experiencing the past becomes present reality…in other words, in actively demonstrating the past, the past becomes *'really real'*" (Handler and Saxon 1988, 245-247). For example, one of the tourists commented that the Batwa Trail is "one of the most authentic activities she ever attended, and definitely the highlight of her trip"[37]. In this case, authenticity is not based on the fact that the tourists find the toured objects as authentic in a way that they are pure and unchanged, but simply because they are "engaging in non-ordinary activities, free from the constraints of the daily life" (Wang 1999), what Wang refers to as *existential authenticity*.

The process described above where indigenous peoples re-enact and re-contextualize their cultures for touristic purposes has been a major source of contention among a number of

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[37] I interacted with tourists during and after the activity and often asked about their experiences being part of the trail. I took notes of these discussions.

scholars (Greenwood 1977, Boorstin 1964, Mc Cannell 1973, Cohen 1984). This re-contextualization of indigenous cultures for touristic performances has in fact been characterised as 'commoditization of culture'. The prevailing assumption is that re-contextualization of indigenous cultures, engendered by tourism, is a disempowering activity for indigenous peoples since it turns their culture into commodity to be consumed by tourists. It is assumed therefore that such cultural products that are 'commoditized' lose their meaning and value among the indigenous peoples. I argue that this perception about commoditization of indigenous cultures tends to objectify indigenous cultures as static and incapable of enduring change. Yet as earlier noted in Chapter Three, the discourse of development involves continuous change and transformation of livelihoods. Objectifying indigenous cultures as static and not compatible to change in the form of tourism is indirectly a re-incarnation of the view that indigenous cultures are an antithesis to development and modernity.

In line with the cultural perception procession led by Barth (1969), I argue that the meaning of cultural symbols and practices are changing although they may seem unchanged from the outside. In the case of the Batwa Trail, modernization through cultural tourism is about revitalization, reproduction, transformation and adjustment of cultural traditions than about cultural loss and erosion. Sissons (2005) makes a similar argument when she argues that a change in cultural practice should not be looked at as cultural loss and loss of meaning for the cultural product, but rather cultural change and a change in meaning. A situation where tourists pay money to watch Batwa peoples 'perform their culture' should therefore not be interpreted as a loss of meaning of the cultural symbols, but a change in meaning.

The Batwa Trail is an activity that offers a platform for the Batwa to revitalize, define, shape and transform their culture within a modern context. The fact that the Batwa have re-contextualized their culture for economic purposes should be looked as a cultural change, and not a loss of meaning of their culture. I have illustrated earlier in this chapter how commoditization of the Batwa's culture is a form of empowerment since it demonstrates that the same culture that was once a source of their marginalization has an economic value and is celebrated and treasured in tourism. This compels the Batwa to preserve their culture. In addition, a collective replication of their past through performance is a process that counters the stereotyped kind of image that has been created about them by other dominant groups. In addition, performances staged by the Batwa are a form of communication about how their current livelihood can be improved. In the next section, I illustrate how the Batwa use music,

dance and drama, that is performances staged as part of the Batwa Trail to communicate, and counter the hegemonic processes that have led to their marginalization.

4.3.2 Performing the past in the present: a case of re-contextualization of culture

Martin Stokes (1994) argues that music and dance help displaced communities to perform their sense of place and evoke memories and experiences of both the past and present places. Stokes emphasizes that through these artistic forms, displaced populations create boundaries to create their own identities and make distinctions between them and the surrounding communities. Stokes's argument above implies a counter hegemonic process, that when people find themselves in foreign lands, they struggle to show that they are different from groups of people that they encounter there (Baily 2005). Having been displaced into a land foreign to their own, displaced persons imagine their own economic, social, cultural and physical worlds.

The Batwa use performance[38] to evoke memories of their pre-displacement livelihood and to articulate the suffering that they undergo as a consequence of their displacement from their ancestral forest land. I argue that performance offers the Batwa a platform to live positive aspects of their pre-displacement life. This process of living their positive pre-displacement life is what I earlier referred to as therapeutic history. I also noted in the previous chapter that Batwa guides informed me that they are sometimes intimidated to voice their concerns to relevant authorities for fear of retaliatory termination of even the meagre opportunities they have at hand. However, through performance, they are able to dramatize[39] and communicate the situation of their current livelihood. Through performance, they talk about the kind of livelihood that they lived, the challenges they face as a result of their displacement, the people who have helped them in their marginalized position and the kind of life they would love to live. This is well captured in the lyrical content of some of the songs and stories that they perform. Below, I transcribe one of the songs that were performed by the Batwa.

Text in Lufumbira language	My Translation
I parake yacu ya Gagahinga,	Our National Park called Gahinga, It comprised of
Ryaririmo imbogo zacu barazitwatse, twabonaga inyama.	buffalo and bushbuck, Our bushbuck was taken away, we used to get meat

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[38] I use the term performance here to refer to a number of various art forms such as music, dance, acting and folklore.

[39] I use the term dramatize in a literal sense to refer to how the Batwa use performances such as music, dance, acting and storytelling to present their views in a way that may seem less offending to authorities such as Uganda government and Uganda Wildlife authority.

Twabonaga nubukyi, dushaka ubuyambyi bwa UOBDU yacu, abagiraneza mwese muze mutuyambe, Urugo rwacu bararutwatse, ubu ntaho dufite ahokuba no guhinga ayi, urugo rwacu bararutwatse, babyeyi bacu,	We also used to get honey… Our UOBDU, we need help, all well-wishers come to our rescue
	Our home was taken away, we now have nowhere to live
	our forest was taken away now we have nowhere to cultivate
Benemama na bashiki bacu, reka mbahane..mutigera kuruha nubwo urugo rwacu barutwatse mukomeze kwizera	Oh, our home was taken away
	Our dear parents, my brothers and sisters, let me give you advice
Bene mama na bashiki banje, twakori kyi? turigusaba ubuyambyi!	Don't be tired although our home is now taken away, don't lose hope
Ntaho dufite ahokuba nibyokurya1 turikwica ni nzara Ubu twe turarila, amago gacu garikurila. Ninde wa tuyamba? Kuki gavumenti itaza ikadukiza?	My brothers and sisters, what can we do? Now we are seeking help!
	We have nowhere to live we have nothing to eat! We are dying of hunger
	Now we pygmies are crying, our families are crying
	Who can give us help? Why can't the government come to our rescue?

The lyrics of song above summarize the predicament of the Batwa that I have been talking about in various sections of this thesis. The language used is a blend of Rutwa and Lufumbira languages. The song above was composed by the members of the Batwa community of Musasa. It is performed in the Batwa's traditional musical style, characterised by a 5 note scale (pentatonic), repetitive melodies and in a call and response form[40]. The fact that Batwa use their traditional musical style to sing about contemporary issues that concern their livelihood is one example of how re-contextualization of indigenous cultures does not necessarily destroy the cultural meaning. Baily (2005) describes a similar case in his study about Afghanistan exiles living in Pakistan and California. He notes that [performance] can be used "to create new forms [of cultural identity] which are indicative of the issues facing the immigrant, and which help in dealing with a new life in the place of settlement" (2005:217). In this case, authenticity of the song is not based on the fact that it is original and unchanged for generations, but on the fact that the process of composing the song was a collective experience and that many of the performers associate with the content of the song.

For the three times that I attended the trail activity, the above song was performed by the Batwa for visitors. The members told me that they perform the same songs whenever they get other visitors in their communities outside touristic settings, because they want others to learn about the reasons behind their suffering.[41] The same song among other songs was recorded by Singing-wells, a Kenyan based project in partnership with Abubilla Music Foundation; a UK non-profit organization whose goal is to preserve and archive traditional

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[40] These songs were recorded during my fieldwork. In order to listen to some of the musical characteristics mentioned above, refer to the CD attached at the end of this thesis.

[41] Rukeeri group discussion.

music. Although the recording was not yet on sale by the time I completed my fieldwork, I was informed by the co-ordinator of UOBDU that the revenue generated from the sale of this music will be given to the Batwa communities to improve their livelihood. This attempt to record their music is in fact one example of how what I earlier referred to as commoditization of cultural products may empower marginalized communities. First, we see that the communities will benefit economically from the project. Secondly, the act of recording their music using modern technology serves to symbolize that the Batwa's culture is not static and has the ability to transform within changing modern contexts. Besides, having their music recorded makes it possible for it to be disseminated to a wider audience thereby extending their message to a wider range of listeners.

In a group discussion, the guides told me that performing music, dance and folklore is a very important part of their livelihood. Besides being a channel through which younger Batwa generations learn about their heritage, performance is one of the activities that unites the Batwa as one of the members mentioned:

> Our colleagues spend the whole day looking for food. We get a chance to get together when we come to perform…singing and dancing sometimes helps us to forget our problems and not to lose hope because it reminds us about how strong our ancestors were ...Also, when we perform, we show people like you who has come to see us that we are also human[42] .

As seen in the above statement, when conditions become overwhelming, the Batwa 'wish for their past' through performance. As Le Menestrel and Jacques (2010) observe in relation to displacement after hurricane Katrina in New Orleans (USA), "…performing [music, dance and folklore is one of the] strategy[ies] for coping with the dismantling of [displaced peoples'] lives and providing a sense of normalcy" (2010: 183). Perhaps this is because the activities performed have got a relationship with the pre-displacement life of the performers. For example, although the songs performed by the Batwa have recently been composed by them, the musical idioms that they use are those from their ancestral musical style. During the Batwa Trail, the guides perform a 'hunting game' for the tourists. In this game, one of them acts as the animal while the other guides act as the hunters. During the game, the 'animal' runs away from the hunters but is eventually surrounded and killed. The photograph below illustrates the Batwa guides performing their hunting game described above for tourists.

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[42] Statement by a Mutwa guide during a group discussion at Rukeeri Community.

Figure 3: A Photograph Showing Batwa Guides Performing a Hunting Game for Tourists

Source: Photograph by researcher. Batwa guides perform a mock hunting ceremony in the midst of tourists.

When giving an explanation about the hunting game to the tourist audience, one of the guides said; "I love to play this game. It reminds me of my childhood. Our parents taught us to play this game as they were teaching us how to hunt". In this account and the one about musical performance aforementioned, we see that even though the performances have been re-contextualized for different purposes, they still have a strong connection with the performers' past. In this sense, authenticity should be analyzed basing on the meaning that the performer and audience generate from the performed product, and not the originality of the performed product. Ironically, tour and travel agents have often marketed Batwa and African culture as something original and unchanged for generations. For example, in the photograph above, the tour agent is wearing a T-Shirt with the words *'Raw Africa'*, implying that the 'culture' that he looks out for to show to his clients (tourists) is unchanged for generations.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, my underlying aim has been to illustrate the relationship between culture tourism, marginalized indigenous peoples and development. I have discussed in detail the background of the Batwa Trail as a development initiative. Drawing from the theories discussed in Chapter Four, I have also illustrated how culture tourism empowers indigenous peoples, not only economically, but also socially and culturally. Besides providing them with employment opportunities, we have seen that it is a means through which the communities

preserve and pass on their traditional knowledge across generations. Even more importantly, cultural tourism fosters collective and group identification that helps marginalized communities such as the Batwa to counter stereotyped images that have been created about them by other dominant groups.

I have also illustrated how culture tourism may be a disempowering experience for the communities, especially if the revenue generated from the activities is not sufficient to cater for their needs. In addition, I have explored the bureaucracy and power relations that characterise development initiatives targeting indigenous communities. One example that I have discussed in this chapter is the communication gap between the communities and the administrators of the development project. Such bureaucratic tendencies and communication gaps make the development process a disempowering experience for indigenous communities since the people who are the main target of the development initiative have less power in contributing to the processes aimed at improving their livelihood. This relates to the notion of social exclusion that I discussed in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER FIVE: Summary and Conclusions

5.0   Summary

The underlying theme of this thesis has been the relationship between culture tourism and socio-cultural and economic development of indigenous peoples. In particular, I was interested in investigating whether and how culture tourism brings about development in indigenous communities without necessarily destroying their cultural values and heritage. The Batwa peoples of South-western Uganda provided the empirical context for this study.

This study was based on the data I gathered through a qualitative research design whose details I discussed in Chapter One. Further, this study took an ethnographic approach that necessitated me to carry out fieldwork, observe and interact with my informants in Kisoro District in South Western Uganda. The informants that I interviewed included selected members of Batwa communities of Rukeeri and Musasa, selected officials of the Uganda Wildlife Authority, selected officials of the United Association of Batwa Development in Uganda and some members of the Bafumbira community of Mgahinga in Kisoro district. The other research tools I used in this study included participant observation, audio and visual recording and library research.

In Chapter One, I also gave historical and background information about the Batwa peoples and their eviction from their ancestral land. This was intended to give a context for the marginalization and current predicament of the Batwa peoples that I discuss in the preceding chapters. This historical discussion also gave a context for why the Batwa trail and other development initiatives have been implemented for the Batwa, and how we should understand the relationship between marginalized indigenous communities and developmental projects.

In Chapter Two, I discussed the understanding of the concept of *indigenous* in the African and Ugandan legal framework. The underlying goal in the second chapter was to identify the various actors, institutions and structures with the power to define *'indigeneity'*, and to analyse how *'indigeneity'* has been defined by the different actors, structures and institutions over time. Understanding these elements gives us an insight into the historical and social contexts in South-western Uganda that have shaped the current predicament and entangled situation of the Batwa peoples. In Chapter Two, I also gave a brief history of

colonialism in Uganda. This is important because it shows how the Ugandan government came up with their definition of *indigeneity*, and why groups such as the Batwa did not much benefit from colonialist development projects such as schools, hospitals and roads. In this chapter, I illustrated how and why the Ugandan Government uses a generalized term *indigenous* to refer to all 56 ethnic groups in Uganda. I argued that the use of the term *ethnic minorities* to characterise groups such as the Batwa under-represents their challenges and presents them as just one of the many minority groups that need emancipatory intervention of the Ugandan government. I pointed out that perhaps the Ugandan government has strategically chosen not to consider the Batwa as an indigenous group as defined by international law. This is because having a status as *indigenous peoples* as defined by international law enjoins the Ugandan Government to grant special rights to the Batwa, particularly the right to their ancestral land and natural resources. To state it another way, accepting the definition of *indegeneity* as enjoined by international law is a source of leverage and empowerment to communities such as the Batwa.

In Chapter Three, I discussed the theoretical framework I used to analyze my data. My selection of theories was primarily guided by my interest in discussing and giving an explanatory context to the marginalized and disempowered position of the Batwa, and how such marginalization and disempowerment can be overcome by indigenous peoples. I used Gramsci's concept of *hegemony* and Bourdieu's *doxa, orthodoxy and heterodoxy* to illustrate the relationship between the Batwa as a marginalized group and other dominant ethnic groups in Uganda. On a wider scale, I used the above theories to illustrate the relationship between indigenous peoples and development partners, with the Batwa as a representative group for indigenous peoples. For example, in Chapter Four, I discussed how initiation of the Batwa trail took a top-down approach where an expert was hired from the outside to design the project without much input from the communities. This approach is hegemonic in nature, and I have elsewhere characterised it in the terms *development of/for*, since it leaves the communities on the side as 'passive agents awaiting developmental emancipation'.

In Chapter Three, I further conceptualized *development* and *progress* and gave a historical discussion of how the terms have been used. I illustrated the different approaches that have been taken by scholars to define development and progress. I also gave a detailed discussion about the concept of authenticity. Since progress and development is often associated with innovation and rapid transformation, for example through industrialization, it has widely been argued that development leads to loss of authenticity. For example, since

tourism is associated with modernity, it has widely been argued by scholars that readopting indigenous cultures for tourism leads to loss of meaning of the re-contextualized cultures. In line with Barth (1969) and Sissons (2005), I argued that such cases should be analysed as a change in cultural meaning and context, and not necessarily a loss of cultural meaning. My underlying argument in the third chapter is that identifying the various actors, institutions and structures with the power to define 'reality' [*development*, *progress and authenticity*], and analysing how 'reality' [*development progress and authenticity*] has been defined by the different actors, structures and institutions over time, gives an insight into the historical and social contexts in South-western Uganda, that have shaped the current predicament and entangled situation of the Batwa peoples. It also explains why development projects such as the Batwa trail have not yet realized their intended objectives of economically empowering the communities. The theories discussed in Chapter Three help us understand the empirical findings that I discuss in Chapter Four.

5.1 Conclusions

In this thesis, I demonstrated how culture tourism is a form of revitalization of indigenous cultures, and how it empowers indigenous communities. Using the Batwa as a representative group for indigenous communities elsewhere, I have illustrated how their livelihood and culture as hunter gatherers has been a major cause of their marginalization among other dominant groups in Uganda. However, the same culture, engendered through tourism, has served to empower them. First, performing their culture maintains their connection to Mgahinga forest which is their ancestral land. It should be noted that since their eviction in 1991, the communities were not allowed to access the forest.

Although they are not allowed to harvest forest resources during the touristic activities, I have illustrated that culture tourism is a platform through which important knowledge is passed on across generations. Such knowledge would easily be lost since it is no longer practiced by the Batwa owing to their change in livelihood. Although such knowledge may longer be practiced, it is important to pass it on across generations because such knowledge may be used for their benefit in the future particularly as evidence in their struggle to gain rights to their ancestral land.

In addition, the Batwa Trail activity is characterised by a replication of the past through performance. The process of selecting aspects of the past which are performed as part of the trail is done collectively. This process of collective definition is in line with

63

Article 33 of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which states that: "Indigenous peoples have the right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions". This collective process of group identification is an empowering experience for indigenous peoples because it gives them space to define their own reality therefore countering the *hegemonic* and *doxic* 'realities' that have been created of them and for them by other dominant populations. I have given an illustration of how positive narratives and aspects of their past have been recalled to counter the current marginalization of the Batwa by their dominant neighbours. Notable among such narratives is the Batwa creation myth that I presented in Chapter Four.

Cultural tourism among the Batwa has been emphasized as a development initiative, particularly as a form of employment to provide them with an income to improve their livelihood. One of the major objectives of this study was to analyze how development projects aimed at promoting indigenous peoples livelihoods are implemented and how they affected their target audience. In this study, I have revealed that although the Batwa Trail was established to economically empower the communities, it has not achieved this goal. To justify this view, I illustrated with statistics to show that the income generated from the activity is inadequate to meet their basic requirements. Yet the nature of employment provided by the activity does not give them space to find other employment elsewhere.

Also, even if part of the revenue generated from the activity is reciprocated to the communities in form of schools and roads, the Batwa have not much benefited from these services. This is because of the high rates of Batwa children dropping out of schools as reported in Chapter Four. In addition, the fact they are landless and they have nowhere to cultivate, they do not have goods to sell and therefore, attributing part of the revenue generated from cultural tourism to constructing roads would not be of much significance to them. I do not mean that it is useless to contribute to their education or construct roads for the Batwa communities, but rather, such initiatives would be more meaningful if a number of issues are put into consideration. For example, dealing with the issue of discrimination of Batwa Children in Schools, and availing land to the communities such that they can grow food for their own consumption and for sale. Such issues can be amicably solved if the communication gap between the development agents and the communities as I illustrated in Chapter Four is bridged. If not bridged, this communication gap expounds the marginalized and powerless position of the communities, in a process intended for their own empowerment.

While a number of scholars have argued against the re-contextualization of indigenous cultures for touristic purposes, I have questioned their views and have argued in line with Barth and Sissons that such cases should be interpreted as a shift and change in cultural meaning, and not necessarily loss of meaning of the re-contextualized cultural product. In that sense, tourism has served as an activity that offers a platform for the Batwa to revitalize, define, shape and transform their culture within a continuously changing modern context. Re-contextualizing indigenous cultures for tourism is in fact a counter hegemonic process that challenges the *doxic* idea that indigenous cultures are static and an antithesis to development. Since re-contextualizing the Batwa's culture is an example of celebrating indigenous culture in a touristic modern context.

This thesis is a contribution to the discourse of development and indigenous peoples in Africa, with the Batwa from Uganda as a representative group of other indigenous groups. The discourse of indigenous peoples in Africa is mainly characterised by advocacy for indigenous people's communal rights to land and natural resources, and development of indigenous peoples, who are often marginalized by other dominant communities and live on the margins of poverty. Over the last decades, there has been an increased level of research and scholarship on issues related to indigenous peoples. In the case of the Batwa peoples, the trend has been scholars coming from the outside to study the Batwa and publish their findings. Such scholars have come from other dominant communities within Uganda and some from the western world. This thesis is in fact an example and product of the situation mentioned above given the fact that I the researcher came from the outside to study the Batwa peoples. They did not invite me to their communities. I have illustrated this in detail in Chapter One, where I give a discussion about researchers from the inside and those from the outside, what Barnard (2009) refers to as *emic* and *etic*.

These categories of *emic* and *etic* also relate to the wider discourse of development and indigenous peoples. Like academia has seen an influx of outsiders into indigenous communities, the field of development has seen increased involvement of development agents and partners from the outside into indigenous communities. The Batwa Trail as a development initiative is one of such examples, since the project was started up by a consultant hired from the outside. An understanding of *emic* and *etic* relations was particularly important in this study because it helped us understand why and how 'reality' has been defined by the different stakeholders in the discourse of development. In this thesis, I illustrated how 'reality' has been defined by different parties, depending on their positions as

insiders or outsiders. For example, in Chapter Four, I illustrated how the meaning and emphasis given in statements by the Batwa guides is altered and simplified by the translator who is an outsider. I also illustrated how the Batwa are forced to hide specific aspects of their livelihood in the name of development as envisioned by those outsiders with the power to define 'reality'.

The manner and circumstances in which 'reality' has been defined is responsible for the current livelihood and conditions of the Batwa peoples, particularly their situation of predicament. For example, in Chapter Three, I illustrated how the Uganda Government's generalized definition of indigeneity suffocates the Batwa's communal rights to their ancestral land.

I earlier stated that this research study is not different from other studies where researchers travel from their own to other communities and represent their experiences through academic publications. It is therefore important to question why it matters for scholars to carry out such research in communities outside their own and who this research benefits. In line with Henriksen (1990:124), I believe that researchers on issues related to indigenous peoples "must deliver sound, scientific arguments that can be used to support the people they study". In my opinion, the view above is especially relevant when it comes to research about the Batwa and indigenous peoples in Uganda. As I illustrated in Chapter Two, the historical process of isolation of these communities from the mainstream Ugandan society fostered high illiteracy levels since these communities did not much benefit from the colonialist's educational privileges. Although these communities are now undergoing transformation and some of their members have access to educational services, it will still take a while before members of these communities come out to write their own accounts. Before this is achieved, I believe that research done by outsiders in this context is relevant. I therefore believe that this study is a contribution to the discourse of development of indigenous peoples in Uganda, and the Batwa in particular and I hope the findings of this study can be used to the benefit of the Batwa communities in relation to development projects in South Western Uganda.

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Appendix I: Extract from an interview with one of the Batwa informants who is a guide for the Batwa Trail

We lived in the national park. The importance of this song is to present to other people our past life. It shows our past, current and future livelihood. So we appeal to people who can help us to come to our rescue.

The importance of the second song is to show the people how we lived. We had kings and sung for them. The kings appreciated us in terms of food, clothing e.t.c. So we appeal to any other people who can help us. Our life is very difficult. Many Batwa have HIV but they can't go to hospital. They also have a challenge of living in small huts with the whole family. So we tell people about such life in out songs.

Me: Yesterday, men were not part of the music and dance session. Is it the women who dance?

Most men dislike this work. But yesterday, two men were present

Me: Why do the men dislike the work?

They get very little money. Also, it takes so long to get the money. But also, most women are widows. The men are few because they used to go long distances looking for food. They die there. Some used to go to Congo and never came back. That is why you hear that women find it difficult because there are no men around.

Me: Apart from getting money from the music and dance, how else is it helpful to them?

It's important in our social life. We get friends from other people who can help them. It also helps connect us to our past

Me: Who composed the songs that they sung?

It's us who composed them

Me: Do you often perform your folk songs?

Yeah.

Me: When do you use the folk songs?

When we get visitors within this place, that's when we sing them

Me: How do you benefit from tourists who come to visit you in your communities?

Sometimes we receive visitors who come with food, clothes, books and they give these to these children

Me:Do the visitors come by themselves? Or do they come as part of UWA and other organizations?

Such visitors come with private organizations

Appendix II: List of Informants

Informant's Name	Status or Background of Informant	Date of Interview
Steven Barahirwa	Mutwa Guide	10th/07/2012
Maria Nyasafari	Mutwa Guide	10th/07/2012
Vanis Nyirandikuruzi	Mutwa Dancer	12th/07/2012
Kiryabihingi Hagumana	Mutwa Guide	12th/07/2012
Balam Nduwamungu	Mutwa Guide	14th/07/2012
Allen Muhawe	Mutwa Dancer	14th/07/2012
Vadaste Nzaboinimana	Mutwa Dancer	17th/07/2012
Jesica Keserina	Mutwa Dancer	19th/07/2012
StevenMboya	Mutwa Guide	19th/07/2012
Alice Nyamihanda	UOBDU officer in charge of Tourism	19/08/2012
Charlotte Nishaba	UOBDU officer in charge of Education	24/08/2012

Appendix III: Photos illustrating housing structures of some of the families in Musasa and Rukeeri Communities