> local standard of living; now we should think out more fully its economic aspect in terms of the adult community. (Trowell, 1937: 42)

The intonations are clear: craftmanship, in Trowell's opinion, has the potential to improve the quality of life of the local population. Assessing the (then) current conditions, she concludes that most parts of Africa are unlikely to become industrialized in the near future for the simple lack of sufficient power sources. And yet, she assumes that fostering craftmanship on a large scale can only endure if it will be able to meet the increased (economic) needs of the local market. While the taste of well-off Africans and particularly of Europeans are to be considered – for they, too, she assesses, fancy "things with an African flavour" (ibid: 44) – focusing on the daily needs of community members, here, are favored. Trowell attests *useful* artistic handicraft products potentially to be the most promising outlook for art objects, as they might be able to meet the changing needs and demands of the local population. In addition, however, making art products for export would mean that objects would have to be of "valuable nature with the very definite characteristics that could not be obtained elsewhere" (ibid: 44).

We do not learn whether and to what extent those *definite characteristics*, in Trowell's opinion, existed. What to me becomes clear in this quotation, though, is that the sovereignty of interpretation of what is of "valuable nature" and "could not be obtained elsewhere" (ibid: 44) remains with foreigners in general and with Trowell in particular – and hence not with the Ugandan artist-artisans. Furthermore, given the frequency with which she emphasizes the need for *well-crafted* products and the fact that Europeans are to "slowly […] introduce better technique and new forms" (ibid: 38), one can conclude that in her eyes there was indeed much room for improvement of the quality of the products. An improvement only skilled Europeans, like herself, could promote.

2.3 The Nexus of Art, Politics, and the Public Sphere

2.3.1 Artistic Articulation and Politics in Post-Independence Uganda

With the end of World War II, the colonial period and with it the British rule overseas began to crumble. In 1947 India declared its independence. A few years later, in 1952 the Mau-Mau uprisings against British rule in nowadays Kenya begun. Although they officially ended in 1959, four years prior to Kenya's independence, the uprisings – also referred to as the Mau-Mau emergency – are commonly interpreted as having paved the path for independence (Atieno Odhiambo and Lonsdale, 2003; Ogot and Ochieng, 1995). Simultaneously, on the western border of the Kenyan colony, Ugandan anticolonial movements, too, had gained popularity and wider support.

Already in 1921, activists in the kingdom of Buganda had formed the *Bataka Union* (Reid, 2017). Initially it was created to "challenge the growing Asian monopoly on the processing and marketing of cotton; and […] to fight the oligarchy which had risen to power in the 1890s and whose place in the new political order had been cemented by the 1900 [Buganda] Agreement"[6] (ibid: 304).

By the 1940s however, the members of the union had come to collectively understand themselves as grandfathers and grandsons, promoting the notion of a "Baganda of many generations […] linked synchronically and transhistorically in associations without permanent or exclusive hierarchies. They [the *bataka*] deployed understandings of power, identity, and connectedness rooted in specifically Ganda understandings of the relations between grandfathers and grandsons" (Summers, 2005: 428). Although members of the *Bataka Union* were Baganda, their political engagement and demands were not primarily concerned with loyalty with their king, the *kabaka* or with the kingdom of Buganda, but with Uganda as a whole and its relation to the ruling British administration (ibid). Richard J. Reid (2017) translates the term *bataka*[7] with "clan heads" (119) of the Ganda clans, whose authority was diminished prior to colonial rule by an increasingly centralized form of rule of the ruling *kabaka's* political networks (ibid).

In the 1940s, the *Bataka* Movement of grandfathers and grandsons mobilized (male) schoolchildren and adolescents, young men and – indeed – grandfathers who all questioned the social and political order. They gathered at private homes where they learned about politics, the management of political engagement and more:

> [The grandfathers and grandsons of the Bataka Union] mobilized tens of thousands of Baganda to read newspapers, attend mass meetings, donate money for international lobbying, and petition the kabaka with a vigor that turned into an armed insurrection. […] The activists imagined a new sort of citizenship grounded in local concerns over land, graves, and inheritance. (Summers, 2005: 427)

6 The 1900 Buganda Agreement granted some territorial rights to the kabaka of Buganda in return for his loyalty to the British Crown and the colonial administration. For a detailed discussion, please see Joshua T. Mugambwa's research on British legal authority in Uganda (1986).

7 The associated meanings with bataka and their role in precolonial Buganda continue to remain contested and cause confusion. For Summers this is most likely due to a "fundamental difference in political and identity categories between those who thought in English and those who though in Luganda [the language of the Baganda]" (Summers, 2005: 429). Bataka, then, can refer to both clan leaders as individual political subjects and a collective label, which "suggests a degree of collective identification […] between the self and the leader" (ibid) and connects bataka with a hereditary leadership position. For a more elaborated discussion of the meanings see also Summers 2005.

Carol Summers further emphasizes how the *Bataka Union* was not a culturalist movement, but rather a "dynamic, modern mass politics" (ibid: 428). Its members heavily criticized the British administration and its local allies, demanded elections and pursued economic self-help initiatives.

The *Bataka Union* was not the sole anti-colonial movement during the later colonial period in Uganda. In Eastern Uganda, for example, where I met with six independent handicraft groups for the purposes of this research several decades later, people had organized themselves against British colonial rule *and* its Bugandan collaborators[8] (Reid, 2017). Communities and ethnic groups such as the Bugisu or Langi for example began to form an opposition. While the former organized around what Jean la Fontaine calls "tribal policy" (2006 [1969]: 268) as a means to mobilize loyalties towards the formation of a political pressure group, the latter established themselves as Lango *people;* a "unity of purpose and identity which was used as leverage against the late colonial state" (Reid, 2017: 300). While it has been argued that associations or movements based on ethnicity or religion should not be considered within the realm of civil society; reason being that belonging to an ethnic group was not a choice but something one is born into (Bob, 2011; Chazan, 1992; Eliasoph, 2011), Nelson Kasfir (2017) brings forward two arguments in favor of considering such initiatives or associations as civil society; First, he states that "ethnicity by birth is ethnic, but the choice of belonging to an ethnic organization is not" (2017: 43). Put simply, he argues that some individuals *chose* to define themselves through belonging to an ethnic group, and it is this choice that qualifies such initiatives as civil society.

Furthermore, as in the case with the *bataka* or with the self-mobilization of the Bugisu around traditional systems during the late colonial period, the objectives of the groups and the systems they supported "promote[d] the larger interests of their members" (Chandhoke 2011; 179, as cited in Kasfir, 2017: 44). This wave of opposition gave raise to criticism of alleged *Europeanization,* which was specified as *foreignization* by *kabaka* Daudi Chwa II in his article *Ideology of Buganda* from 1935 (ibid: 53). For Kakande, Chwa II's reflections of modernity linked with local traditions is similar to contemporary interpretations of modernity of artists such as Fred Mutebi and Bruno Sserunkuuma, who, according to Kakande, understand art to be closely connected to cultural, political and social development of Uganda (ibid).

8 Indirect rule, which the British colonial leaders had established after the Sepoy Mutiny in the British colony in India (Mamdani, 2012) As such, the British cooperated with and co-opted indigenous leaders such as monarchs (Newbury, 2000). In Uganda, the kabaka of the Buganda initially benefited from the British presence and was able to use their support to extend his power and influence throughout the region. Although the Buganda Agreement from 1900 diminished the executive and hegemonial power of the kabaka, colonial rulers in the Uganda Protectorate maintained a close collaboration with Ganda cultural leaders and its "chiefly oligarchy" (Reid, 2017: 158).

With independence in 1962 and the paradigm shift at Makerere College, the tone and focus of art education, too, changed significantly (Kyeyune, 2003). After the end of the colonial era, *kabaka* Sir Frederick Edward Muteesa II became president of the newly founded Republic of Uganda, and Apollo Milton Obote the first elected Prime Minister (Nakazibwe, 2005). It created a new constitutional system, which, Amanda Tumusiime argues, "trapped traditional leaders and the modern state into a marriage of convenience" (Tumusiime, 2012: 66). This 'marriage of convenience' only lasted for about four years. In February 1966, Milton Obote – allegedly fearing that *kabaka* Muteesa II would seek to regain political power over his kingdom Buganda and, eventually, over Uganda as a whole – declared that he was assuming all political powers in the country. He pushed forward a new constitution that was passed in April 1966. The new constitution made him president of Uganda and chief of the military simultaneously. In the course of the events that followed this declaration, many people in charge of royal duties were killed, and the *kabaka's* palace as well as many artefacts were destroyed (Nakazibwe, 2005). Muteesa II was able to flee to Britain. Succeeding his flight, the Baganda kingdom first, and by 1967 all other kingdoms of independent Uganda, were abolished by the Obote regime. They would remain abolished until their re-establishment – albeit as depoliticized institutions – by president Yoweri Museveni in 1994 (Kasfir, 2017; Reid, 2017).

Art in Uganda Around Independence

Towards the independence and early post-independence era, local, formalized art education and, consequently, artistic practice, too, saw many changes. Already prior to Trowell's departure from the Makerere Art School and Uganda in 1958, the art education curriculum had seen many adaptations. While in the 1930s and 1940s, local art techniques in form of artistic handicrafts had been taught at least at a rudimentary level at Makerere College, the newly established affiliations with the London University after the end of World War II demanded a change in how art was being taught (Nakazibwe, 2005). Venny Nakazibwe reconstructs how Margaret Trowell had turned towards the institution of her artistic training – the Slade School in London – in order to receive support for the transformation of her classes into the establishment of a Diploma in Fine Arts. It was during this transition period, Nakazibwe writes, in which the desire to equalize the standards of the Diploma with that offered in colleges in Great Britain consequently grew. "[I]nstructional methodology was shifted from experimental approaches to more professional training with emphasis on development of technique. It was during this period that the pedestrian indigenous craft courses were finally discarded" (Nakazibwe, 2005: 270). Local artistic handicraft techniques were now seen as improper at the art school. The new Head of the Fine Arts Department radically westernized the art techniques taught, while artistic handicraft received recognition by the political regime of Milton Obote in the *Uganda Crafts Emporium*, which positioned artistic handicrafts outside the realm

of academic teaching and western-style education systems (Kyeyune, 2003; Miller, 1975).

At the time of independence, Uganda's most important art exhibition space was the Uganda Museum (which had been established by Margaret Trowell) and later, when space became sparse, extended to the three-room art building on the campus of Makerere College (Daler, 1970). In 1964 the newly independent Ugandan government opened the Nommo Gallery – a National Art Gallery, which was supposed to increase the visibility of art from East Africa, which had faced difficulties "to achieve their deserved reputation amongst art buyers and critics, as there have been few opportunities for them to display their works to the discriminating collector" (Daler, 1970: 50). Private art galleries at the time frequently favored the interests of the "souvenir-minded tourist looking for folk art" (ibid: 50) rather than providing a space where artists could realize their visions and display their know-how and creativity.

Women Empowerment and Artistic Handicraft Work

Milton Obote's decision to abolish all local monarchies significantly impacted cultural artistic production outside the Art Department at Makerere College. After having abolished the Buganda kingdom, other social and ethnic groups became aware that they might face a similar fate, and hence began to mobilize. According to Nakazibwe (2005), Obote feared a unitary uprising against his actions, and thus sought to diminish all sorts of political and cultural mobilization that could threaten his power. Therefore, in 1967, he abolished *all* cultural institutions in Uganda, and banned political activities to the furthest extent possible (Nakazibwe, 2005). While Obote invested many resources in the depoliticization of any form of cultural engagement, his regime simultaneously began to systematically promote the marketing of cultural products. In 1966, the Ministry of Culture and Community Development initiated a 'National Handicrafts Scheme', which sought to benefit particularly women's groups and "women's clubs" (Nakazibwe, 2005: 283). It aimed towards the diversification of income generating activities, which at the time rested heavily on agricultural production. Now, the *Uganda Crafts Emporium* was established as well as crafts centers across the country. With the *Crafts Emporium* being the central marketing center for craft products, its members systematically collected handicraft products throughout the entire country (ibid). A catalogue with illustrations and a price list was put together and distributed to increase sales (Miller, 1975). Economic gains played a significant role here. Especially women, Nakazibwe writes, made "use of the limited handicraft skills they acquired through their family lineage, and through the Women Clubs" (Nakazibwe, 2005: 284) and generated a source of additional income by making (functional) art objects.

Oftentimes women became the major breadwinner in the families and were encouraged to migrate to the cities (Tumusiime, 2012). This undoubtedly altered family dynamics and questioned the status-quo of the civic, economic, social and political

role of women in post-independence Uganda. Women were now challenging a "reasonably clear relationship between gender, power and art or craftmanship" (Reid, 2017: 42) that had existed, as "the production of things of beauty as well as power were in the realm of masculinity". Richard Reid, too, reconstructs that this status-quo "only began to change in the middle decades of the twentieth century, when women beg[a]n to emerge as craftsfolk and artists" (ibid: 42).

Besides creating visibility of women and their agency in public and seeking to establish a material culture aligned with nationhood, the previously discussed *Uganda Crafts Emporium* heavily commercialized artistic handicraft products and the use of traditional production techniques, which were promoted and sold at previously mentioned craft centers and through the catalogue. The latter

> picture[d] and classifie[d] several hundred items of weaving, household ornaments and utensils (adopted for European style homes), furniture (for Ugandan homes). Bark-cloth, musical instruments, arms and weapons, personal ornaments and skin goods … [m]ost of these items [were] of traditional designs [which were] used by Ugandan tribal [sic] groups (Miller, 1975: 65).

In *Art in East Africa*, Judith von D. Miller provides the reader with a comprehensive guide to art from East Africa in the early 1970s, and the cover text informs us that with it she seeks to "serve[] a unique needed function in weaving together the many varied and dispersed elements of the art in East Africa" (Miller, 1975, cover text). Albeit lacking any critical reflections on the impact of the colonial era on art in East Africa and a rather patronizing interpretation of contemporary developments, she is among the very few authors who did write about the *Uganda Crafts Emporium*. Miller emphasizes how the Ugandan government at the time supported the promotion of authentic crafts for sale. Authenticity, for Miller, means that "few foreign-run crafts enterprises or redesigning operations exist[ed] and the government [was] involved only to provide a service, not to influence"[9] (ibid: 55). However, this perspective entirely discards the impact of Margaret Trowell, the paradigm changes at the Fine Art Department at Makerere College (and later Makerere University), and assumes Ugandan artefacts to have remained untouched by foreign influences until well into the 1960s. It further ignores 30 years of art education, and curatorial decisions of Trowell and others at the Uganda Museum and Nommo Gallery. And yet it remains an important perspective, as it possibly represents a rather common interpretation of art production during the early post-colonial era.

9 Unlike today, where many crafts markets are run by private businesses or associations such as the NACCAU, one of the case studies in my research project, in the early 1970s all commercial crafts markets were run by the national Ministry of Culture and Development.

In addition to the *Uganda Crafts Emporium*, the Ministry established so-called vocational rehabilitation centers, which began to operate in 1965 (Miller, 1975). Their training programs sought to specifically support disabled citizens socially and economically. The funds were provided by Oxfam, the Danish and Japanese governments, and the operation of the project was organized by the International Labor Organization of the UN. Handicrafts produced in said projects included, among others, leather goods, silk-screen prints and desert wood carvings (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2000). Again, it appears that the notion of funding artistic activities for (socio-economic) development was not a singular consequence of the *Cultural Turn* as Polly Stupples (2011) argues, but an approach that received donors' attention as early as the mid-1960s.

During the colonial era, art education, the interpretation of aesthetic value and its roles in Ugandan societies had been strongly influenced by Margaret Trowell, a British artist, art educator and curator. In the early years of post-independence Uganda, artistic handicraft production and products continued to be commercialized as traditional cultural objects by the first Obote regime through the *Uganda Crafts Emporium* and crafts markets, whose efforts sought to stimulate the economic development particularly of rural Uganda outside Buganda (Nakazibwe, 2005). Through the establishment of previously described rehabilitation centers, international actors such as UN-bodies and foreign governments, too, pushed forward their agendas on development, democratization and social cohesion, and instrumentalized artistic handicrafts to fit into those very agendas.

Paradigm Shift at the Makerere Art School

As previously stated, Trowell's return to Great Britain marked the beginning of a radical paradigm shift at the art school. Her successor, Cecil Todd, introduced subjects such as (Europe-centered) world art history, color theory and western-style techniques (Littlefield Kasfir, 1999; Sanyal and Kasule, 2006). Kyeyune (2003) argues that under Todd art education in Uganda finally favored westernized techniques and aesthetics over local art histories, material culture and locally grounded art. Littlefield Kasfir (1999) on the other hand attests Todd to have been "fully committed to an African modernism based on a knowledge of twentieth-century developments in Europe as well as canonical African art" (146). Rather than being a neocolonialist, she further argues, his positions were more "a form of enlightened 'internationalism'" (ibid: 146). This, she claims, was only understood much later in the 1990s.

Shortly after Todd arrived in Uganda, Sam Ntiro, one of Margaret Trowell's protégés, left the art school, returned to Tanzania and became one of the co-founders of the Department of Music, Arts and Theatre at the University of Dar es Salaam and the Commissioner of Culture for the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. Much like Ntiro, other former Trowell students, especially Elimo Njau from Tanzania and Eli Kyeyune from Uganda, were dissatisfied with Todd's paradigm shift

regarding art education at Makerere college and left the school shortly after Todd's arrival or even prior to it. They, alongside many other artists and East African intellectuals found their space for articulation, exchange and critique in the newly established *Transition* magazine, which was founded by Rajat Neogy to provide a space for articulation of those more critical perspectives as well as for post-colonial imaginations and utopias (Sanyal and Kasule, 2006). In the 1960s, the Ugandan art scene, albeit clustering around its intellectual capital Kampala, was a space where "every artist, poet, playwright, novelist, gallery director, newspaper journalist and public intellectual [knew] one another, creating a high level of cross-fertilization in the arts" (Littlefield Kasfir, 1999: 151).

However, the Ugandan discourse on art came to an abrupt end with the coup d'état of 1971, during which Idi Amin Dada Oumee rose to power. Sidney Littlefield Kasfir finds powerful words that capture the consequences of Amin's rise to power for some artists, and it is worthwhile to quote them in full length. "Within a short time", she writes

> all public criticism was stifled, and artists and intellectuals who survived – some did not – either went into exile or tried, like other Ugandans, to live by their wits. One effect of the Amin regime was to force the departure of expatriates, as well as politically outspoken Ugandans, from the University. As more and more Ugandans including the University's own vice-chancellor 'disappeared' into Makindye or Luzira prison never to be seen again, Makerere struggled to stay open by employing its own recent BA graduates as teachers. So ironically this reign of terror became a time of opportunity for young artists, particularly if they were able to turn out commissions for the regime. (Littlefield Kasfir, 1999: 151)

In spite of the brutality Amin used as one of his governing strategies, which led to political instability, insecurity and unpredictability as well as to devastating economic conditions, George Kyeyune (2003) also reminds how

> in spite of the capricious violence and economic dislocation of the Amin years, there might be some long-term benefits from the higher degree of autonomy forced upon Ugandan society by the circumstances. The departure of most foreigners made Kampala, Uganda's capital, a truly African city for the first time. The resourcefulness and ingenuity required to survive during Amin years may have instilled a new self-confidence in Ugandans and reduced their 'dependency culture'. Society in general became inward looking and people turned back to their indigenous resources for survival. Crisis in the production of farming implements, hoes for example, which hit the farming sector hard, stimulated a revival of skills in blacksmithing, as well as a revival of consumer demand for aesthetic appreciation of local products. At Katwe, a well-known industrial centre

> in the post-colonial period, business in iron smithing not only increased, but also interest in indigenous knowledge was revived. (Kyeyune, 2003: 195)

One of the young artists who had narrowly escaped imprisonment was Francis Nnaggenda (Littlefield Kasfir, 1999). In the 1970s, Nnaggenda was one of the very few Ugandan artists who had not been trained at the art school at Makerere college (Littlefield Kasfir, 1969). Instead, he had left Uganda in 1963 to study art at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, which he entered in 1964. Upon his return, though, Nnaggenda's art did not find an audience in the local art scene. Albeit their rootedness in traditional African forms, especially his large sculptures, were doomed too experimental for the taste of expatriates or educated Ugandans, and too easily associated with supernatural powers and potentially sorcery by most rural villagers (ibid).

Nnaggenda lived and worked in Kenya and the United States for several years before he, in 1978, and shortly before the end of the Amin dictatorship, joined the staff of Makerere art school (Nakazibwe, 2005). By that time, Makerere University[10] in general and the art school in particular, were deprived of most of its staff members (who either had been expelled or voluntarily left the country during the Amin years), its materials and resources, which had become sparse or simply impossible to get ahold of.

And yet, in the quotation above Kyeyune describes this impasse-situation as an important turning point for the art scene in Uganda. Nakazibwe, too, associates the establishment of a new curriculum at the art school, which encouraged students to experiment with local materials, artefacts and cultural heritage in new ways, with the devastating political and economic situation at the time. "What was born out of necessity", she writes, "culminated a new genre of visual art production" (ibid: 323). In this transitional period, Nnaggenda became an important role model and facilitator who coordinated and encouraged the changes and adaptations.

In her monograph *Contemporary African Art*, Sidney Littlefield Kasfir notes in the realm of art production that "the new will arise where the old simply does not exist", that is, "where it does not have to compete with a tradition already in place" (Littlefield Kasfir, 1999: 16). Regarding arts from Africa, she refers to countries without major sites of precolonial image-making, which hence were seldomly represented in museum collections of traditional sculpture. Those places, among which she sees Uganda, she argues "are major locales for the production of new forms" (ibid: 16), for the formation of "new art" must not occur "within a milieu of existing practices"

10 Makerere University was established in 1922 as a technical school. It was granted university status by the British colonizers in 1944 and called Makerere College, University of East Africa thereafter. In 1970 it became an independent national university and is since referred to as Makerere University.

(ibid), which could only produce hybrid images that either reflect upon or comment existing content.

Summary

In Uganda, the development of "new art" began with the establishment of the Makerere art school, which, as Littlefield Kasfir noted in 1969, had been "the greatest single influence on art in Uganda" (8). This development was dominated first by Margaret Trowell's vision of establishing a new genre of *authentic Ugandan art*, which embraced the symbolic and pictorial traditions of local visual culture and favored content over technical mastery. Her successor Cecil Todd then reformed the art school and introduced western-style theorization, painting, drawing, and sculpting techniques, thereby envisioning the development of modern art from Africa. Furthermore, as art buyers – mostly educated Ugandans or expatriates – preferred to buy artworks that visualized what Littlefield Kasfir calls "the sentimental portrayal of local life" (ibid: 8) and I refer to as "the romanticized imagination of rural life in Uganda", or cheap handcrafted artefacts on the developing tourist market(s), the space for experimental art remained small. Thus, while the first wave of "new art" was marked by foreign visions and art buyers with particular ideas about authentic art from Uganda, it appears that a second, important wave that enabled the development of "new art" in Uganda was indeed in partial enabled by the economic and political consequences of the brutal Amin dictatorship, whose consequences continued to exceed his rule (Nakazibwe, 2005). Therefore, in what follows I will examine artistic handicrafts from Uganda both in their historical and current situatedness, and the arts vs. craft debate.

2.3.2 Art, Material Culture, and Relationality. Artistic Features of Culture and Socially-Engaged Art

> I am happy to be able to say that the Government and people of Uganda are anxious, and indeed determined, to see that their country's ancient arts and traditions do not fade into oblivion and every effort is being made to preserve them. (Milton Obote, n.d., as cited in: Hanna and Hanna, 1968: 42)

Art is its various forms has the potential to be highly political. The quote above from Milton Obote is a prime example for the politization of art as well as its culturalization. In it, he suggests the revival of the "country's ancient arts and traditions" to be among the priorities of his government's actions – the word choice "every effort is being made" barely allows for a different interpretation. It is a quote of a man who had decided to abolish all kingdoms of the newly founded Ugandan nation state only months earlier, and as such not only ancient local political systems (Kasfir, 2017), but also cultural institutions that promoted artistic expression associated with (politi-

cal) power (Khanakwa, 2018; Makwa, 2012), hospitality (Muwanga Senoga, 2021) and spirituality (Muwanga Senoga, 2021; Nakazibwe, 2005) among others.

As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, the establishment of visual arts were – according to the current stand of research – by and large a product of British colonial rule in Uganda. In addition, the region did not have a significant pre-colonial tradition in the plastic arts, except for pottery, either (Littlefield Kasfir, 1969). Among and within its ethnic groups and at royal courts did, however, exist strong traditions in weaving (especially in form of baskets and mats), in textile and fashion design, in pottery and in blacksmithing. As Suzanne Preston Blier (2018) and Margaret Trowell (1960) observed, many artefacts Milton Obote referred to as "ancient arts" were functional objects with a particular aesthetic language rather than art objects specifically made for pure visual pleasure only. Furthermore, many objects become symbolically important during rituals, and as such actants in performance and in facilitating social and political life (Khanakwa, 2016; Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2001; Pinther, 2022).

Wickerwork

In precolonial days, throughout the colonial era to this day, wickerwork, especially basketry and matting, are significant elements of Ugandan material culture(s). Margaret Trowell and Klaus Wachsmann regarded basketry as "probably the most highly developed art in Uganda, in it the tribes [sic] of every racial group have reached a high standard of workmanship […] and between them they practice almost every known method of basket making" (Trowell and Wachsmann, 1953: 134). In Trowell's writings and drawings of basketry she provides information about patterns and materials that were woven or coiled into baskets. The colors at the time were frequently black and white or brown and white, at times red as well. One great exception to these color patterns were the baskets made by Nubian women, whose work was and continues to be "a mass of brilliant colour" (Trowell, 1960: 40). Baskets come in all kinds of shapes and forms, with or without lids, or flat to be used as trays. The aesthetic language of the baskets varied according to their functions, which also determined the choice of materials used. Maureen Muwanga Senoga (2021) for example studied how artistic handicraft works support the heritage construction of ethnic groups using the example of the *Kasubi Royal Tombs* (KRT), a site of ancestral worship and a burial ground of several Baganda *Kabakas*.

Floor mats at the KRT for example, are woven by the wives of the current *Kabaka* only, and only woven mats of the finest quality – called *omuukeeka* – find use there. The *Kabaka's* wives learn how to weave at the palace and artistic handicraft work here is not associated with an everyday activity, but a sacred task only those of closest proximity to the *Kabaka* are allowed to execute (Muwanga Senoga, 2021). The floor mats are a symbol of respect to visitors and therefore are also used in ceremonial gatherings such as traditional weddings I will get to in a minute, as well as in private homes. Visitors or family members who have been away for a long time are

welcomed on a patterned raffia mat, indicating their status and relationship to the hosts.

At the RKT plain baskets made from *obukeedo* – banana leaf stalks – and *enjulu* – cane fiber – continue to be preferred over colored and patterned baskets as to not distract (Muwanga Senoga, 2021). Unlike mats, baskets are allowed to be brought into the tombs from outside, and several baskets await the visitor for ancestral worship and offerings made to the spirits of the late *Kabakas* (image 2.2). The offerings are made in covered baskets, by which one basket is used as the holding body of the offerings, a second basket functions as a lid.

The naturality of the objects that facilitate the offerings are in harmony with the overall architecture of the *Kasubi Tombs*, and bear symbolic meaning, as "the materials, technique, shape and uses of baskets signify respect, comradeship, beliefs and a sense of belonging and within the KRT they are found under a thatched roof that itself is derived from basketry skills" (Muwanga Senoga, 2021: 246).

Image 2.1: Entrance to the main building of the Royal Kasubi Toms with omukeeka mats on the ground and enjulu baskets for ancestral worship placed inside.

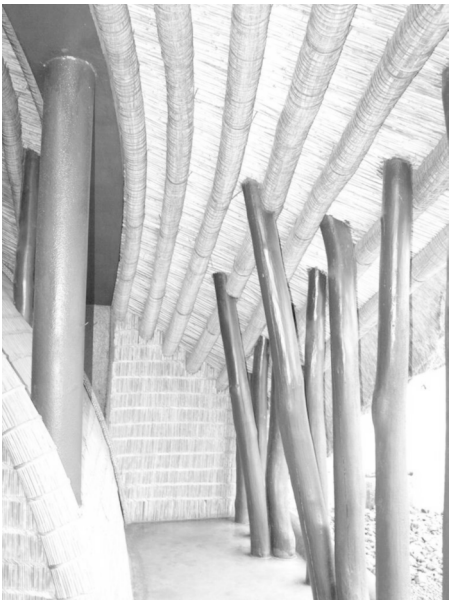
© Harald Hillemanns. Retrieved on 21/11/2022.

The architectural design of the roofs of the *Kasubi Tombs,* too, are thus inspired by coiled basketry techniques (image 2.3). Only in a much larger dimension. The process of reconstructing the tombs after a fire in 2010 has resulted, among other things, in the *Introduction Guide to the Preservation of Traditional Thatching of the Buganda*

Community in Uganda, which includes the description of creating the 'inner rings' of the round ceiling in the shape of an "inverted basket shape" (Moriset, 2020: 11). In spite of their size, they, too are coiled, although the raw material here are reeds tied together with sisal rope. By 2010 only a handful skilled thatcher had remained; it is a widely recognized skill, and to become a thatcher includes almost a decade of workshop trainings as apprentice (ibid). As most roofs are no longer thatched using the coiling technique, it is a skill only few artisans continue to possess.

During my field stays, the plain *enjulu* baskets were frequently referred to as "Buganda baskets". One of the reasons is their close relationship with worship at the *Kasubi Tombs*, but also, as I have learned, with their functions in ancestral worship in people's homesteads (e.g., round-table discussion on 'indigenous knowledge systems', 28/02/2019). A third reason for this name that closely associates one basketry type with a cultural and geographical region is the lack of availability of *enjulu* – cane fiber – in drier regions as in eastern Uganda. It does not grow as readily in Eastern Uganda, for the swampy areas needed for *enjulu* are few, and the land upon which *enjulu* grows frequently privately owned, making it an expensive raw material.

Image 2.2: 'Inner rings' of the roof of the main building of the Royal Kasubi Tombs, reeds tied with sisal rope.



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Kwanjula

As the *Buganda baskets* suggest, there are special baskets used for special occasions. One of such special occasions is *kwanjula*[11] , a ceremony whereby the bride to be introduces her groom to her family. In return, historically, this ceremony allows for him to learn about the family background of his future wife (Kaduuli, 2010). In historical societies in several Ugandan regions, *kwanjula* was the sole and hence essential ceremony that united two individuals and their families. Nowadays it is frequently followed by a western marriage ceremony as well. More than it was about uniting two individuals, *kwanjula* was about uniting two families (Kaduuli, 2010). For this purpose, the groom would bring gifts to his future in-laws, presented in one, or multiple, (decorated) basket(s) called *bibos*. These processes of bonding and uniting are the essentials of a *kwanjula* ceremony. The filled basket(s) is a sign of respect, appreciation and sharing (ibid). *Bibos* are carried by female family members of the groom's family, who line up and move in rhythm to the drums being played while they deliver the goods for the bride's family (image 2.4). After all gifts have been presented to the bride's family, the protagonists and their families are asked whether they wish to eat together, which symbolizes the acceptance of the gifts and with it the unification of the families. During this ceremony, the couple would seek "family blessings and social recognition of a marital relationship. It confers upon the couple a new social status and confirms them as responsible people in society" (ibid: 7).

During *kwanjula* ceremonies, everyday handcrafted objects in form of baskets become symbolically loaded with social and political significance. Therefore, their entrance into the scenery is embedded in performative elements: female family members of the groom lined up in one single line place them in front of the bride's family members, who remain seated at their tables. The women are usually dressed in *gomesis*[12] (especially designed dresses considered traditional and worn by women on important occasions), which underlines the importance of the moment, its end being marked by the *mwogezi's* (the moderator or spokesman of the ceremony) question: *ebintu tubirye?* – should we eat?

Kwanjulas today are criticized by several parties for having become too commercialized, swallowed by the logics of neo-liberal economic thoughts (Kaduuli, 2010). Rather than showing appreciation for the parental achievements in having educated

11 Kwanjula means to introduce in Luganda, the language of the Baganda. In other languages the introduction is called kwandhula (in Lusoga, the language of the Basoga). The Bagisu, people of Eastern Uganda increasingly apply Lugandan traditions, and merge them with the local giving-away ceremony, which marks the traditional, here meaning pre-colonial wedding ceremony.

12 Today, gomesis are frequently considered as 'traditional Ugandan women attire'. Its origins, however, could only be traced back to 1905 when its designer Caetano Gomes, an Indian man from Goa, first introduced it. It became popular only almost another decade later, when in 1914 the wife of the kabaka Daudi Chwa wore it at his coronation (Reid, 2017)

their daughter to become a responsible woman by presenting gifts such as "salt, bark cloth, drinks and meat" (ibid: 41), nowadays the groom's presents may include gasoline, crates of soda or beer (or both), *gomesis* and *kanzus* (dresses for men, likewise worn on special occasions and during festivities), fruits and vegetables, envelopes with cash, a suitcase filled with presents for the bride (symbol to her moving into her husband's home), and can, depending on the socio-economic status of the groom also include a refrigerator, a motorcycle or even a car (although it appears that more often than not, cars are rented for the occasion and then returned to the car dealer afterwards) (ibid). As such it is no surprise that the aesthetic language of the *bibos* has changed as well. While historically, *kwanjula* baskets were plain in color and similar to those that can still be found at the *Royal Kausbi Tombs* and in shrines used for ancestral worships, directing the attention to what might be inside the basket, contemporary baskets aesthetically seek to demonstrate wealth and class, which is associated with the color white in combination with glossy decorations in rosé, gold, blue or green, adapted from western style weddings (see also image 7.5; Erlank, 2014).

On the morning of to the actual *kwanjula* ceremony, baskets play another – albeit equally bonding – role. The future brother-in-law – *omuko* – of the groom brings a basket filled with some coffee beans and alcohol, which "symbolizes friendship or 'omukago', literally meaning 'we have bonded'" (Ssenkaaba, 2016: 174). Whether for *kwanjula*, at the KRT or in ancestral worship, baskets facilitate relationality between and among family members and ancestors. Like woven mats they are a symbol of hospitality and respect, and as such of importance for the organization of social life. In everyday life and/or ritual they are frequently not recognized as art, but they do help to establish, maintain and negotiate public social and cultural life, as I demonstrate elsewhere (Klages, 2022). "'Traditional' art forms", I write,

> may, at first sight, not appear as significant in contemporary society and in their aesthetic value. [However] the […] findings […] indicate that so-called 'traditional' art forms are pivotal actants […], as many societal structures, (power and speaking) positions, (gender) roles and notions of aesthetics are […] negotiated through [them]. (ibid:228)

In the paper I draw on the findings from explorative interviews I conducted during early stages of my research, during which I was told that not enough attention was dedicated to artistic handicraft works. The skills of making them was considered to not be valued enough by Ugandans – "almost like greeting" – as greeting may be the foundational principle of every social encounter in one way or another, but it is seldomly valued as such; as a facilitator and enabler of social relations.

Unlike the interlocutors in my explorative interviews, Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuuza considers what she calls indigenous forms of musicking and dancing as well as the material culture embedded as "intimate and vital aspect of living"

(Nannyonga-Tamusuza, 2014: 126) among the ethnic groups of Uganda. This, however, changes, according to Nannyonga-Tamusuza, when they *become* an art form. In using the example of the *baakisimba* dance of the Baganda, for Nannyonga-Tamusuuza this occurred when *baakisimba* became a cultural dance, performed by professional dancers on stages who emphasized on the performance rather than on spontaneity, the conviviality and the groundedness. For Nannyona-Tamusuuza art here means detachment, for in the moment baakisimba "became an art [it] ceased to be an intimate and vital aspect of living among the Baganda as before" (ibid: 126). Her concept of art addresses the questions *what* is art and *when* is art, and adds an important perspective to the discussion, as it – at least indirectly – defines the meanings of cultural and artistic practices by assessing its importance for the people who have developed and continue to practice it, and the social and political assumptions it holds for them.

Socially Engaged Art with Local Material Culture

Besides wickerwork products, Uganda's material culture includes pottery, blacksmithing, barkcloth, beaded jewelry and particular dresses for rituals and ceremonies (Kasozi, 2019; Kayamba and Kwesiga, 2016, 2017; Makwa, 2012; Nakazibwe, 2005). Lilian Nabulime (2011; 2014) and Joan Kekimuri (2019) also include seeds and beans as well as healing practices, which the latter considers as indigenous art forms and/or as everyday objects and practices with deep spiritual and cultural meaning. Others, too, consider them pivotal for understanding local art histories and contemporary, culturally embedded art, for example for the work of Xenson (2016) and Acaye Kerunen (Merali, 2022).

In addition to the Kerunen and Xenson, artist and researcher Lilian Nabulime explored the potentials of soap sculptures with nails, seeds and (coffee) beans as well as other everyday objects she placed inside to speak about HIV (Nabulime and McEwan, 2014). Similar to Xenson, she used seeds and beans because of the associated cultural meanings, which allowed people she gathered in groups to speak about their experiences and fears, thereby overcoming taboos and hence promoting HIV/Aids awareness with the aim of preventing further spread (Nabulime and McEwan, 2011). Unlike Kerunen and other artists such as Fred Mutebi (Siegenthaler, 2019) or Sanaa Gateja (Kasozi, 2019) who work *jointly with* handicraft artists and use their products in form of barkcloth (Mutebi), sisal and woven objects (Kerunen) or rolled paper beads (Gateja) in their artistic productions, Nabulime uses culturally encrypted objects to foster communication. The soap sculptures – alongside a number of basket-based installations – were made especially for the purposes of raising awareness and seeking to find avenues to prevent the further spread of the HIV virus. As such, they differ both in form, aesthetics, and function from the large wooden sculptures Nabulime usually makes.

This idea – to use 'culturally embedded art forms' in socially oriented art projects – also dominated the *Design, Health and Community Project* in 2007 (Guille, 2012). In this collaborative arts-based research project, scholars from the art school at Makerere, the Durban University of Technology from South Africa and from Northumbria University from the United Kingdom, worked together with women affected by the HIV/Aids epidemic, who were invited to share their experiences in basketry and on barkcloth wall-hangings (Guille, 2012; White, 2009) with the ultimate aim of selling the products so that the women artisans could gain an income (Klages, 2022). The *Design, Health and Community Project* sought to combine a social (enabling communication about experiences with HIV/Aids) and an economic objective (generating income) by making art products that were (1.) considered local and familiar to the women artisans, (2.) cheap in material costs and (3.) identifiable as indigenous to Uganda by their customers who received an object that was relevant in terms of its situatedness as a cultural and as a social object. Many socially-engaged art projects I studied throughout the trajectory of my research tap into the very narrative of combining the support of artistic engagement and production with a socio-economic cause. In doing so, they submit to current development agendas of (women) empowerment, poverty eradication and sustainability, and frame art as *a tool* in order to address pressing societal issues (see also chapter 5.2.2).

2.3.3 The Emergence of International Development. Art as, for, and in Development

According to Sunananda Sanyal and Kizito Maria Kasule (2006), the late 1980s and especially the 1990s, marked an epoch during which art students in Ugandan tertiary education institutes began to vividly explore their pre-colonial material cultures as a source for inspiration for their artistic practice – creatively, intellectually, and emotionally. This was particularly boosted by the decision of president Yoweri Museveni to reinstate the monarchies in 1994 – albeit as cultural institutions without any executive political power (Reid, 2017). Although deprived legal political power, ceremonies and rituals, dress and actions do shape the self-perception of the people who identify as belonging to a particular kingdom. As such, the cultural practices and objects become indeed political and at times result in open conflict with government policies as I will exemplify when elaborating on the initiation ritual *Imbalu* of the (Ba-)Gisu of Eastern Uganda in chapter 7.3.

While art students and cultural leaders thus (re-)explored the histories of their material cultures, others continued to dwell on the socio-economic and commercial potential of promoting culturally embedded art production instead. As we have seen throughout the previous chapters, the promotion of artistic handicraft production in Uganda's colonial and post-colonial history has ever been informed by the idea of commercializing ethnically and culturally marked art products. When the new

president Museveni opened the border to foreign aid organization in the 1980s, the *Cultural Turn* in Development was on the rise, and important international actors such as the World Bank or the UN, had just discovered the potential of culture as a possible pillar in and for development (Soini and Birkeland, 2014; Stupples, 2011).

The Cultural Turn in International Development

Museveni had come to power by overthrowing his predecessor Obote in 1986. In the following years, Museveni came to be known internationally as the liberator of Uganda, and hopes in countries of the Global North were high. Accordingly, Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Uganda rose significantly from a little over $10 per capita in 1986 to almost $40 per capita by 1990 (see figure 2.3), in spite of an overall decrease in foreign aid to countries of the Global South and to East Africa in particular in the 1990s (Stein, 2009).

Around the same time, culture received a significant increase in the practical discourse on international development and international cooperation (Labadi, 2017). The available literature does not address direct linkages between the Cultural Turn and development initiatives in Uganda in the late nineteen-eighties and the early nineteen-nineties. Yet, it is evident that local developments did not occur in isolation from international development discourses. Therefore, I will now proceed to discuss the Cultural Turn in international development more broadly, before I return to Uganda, the country of my case study. With Clarke et al. (2018), this process of *zooming in and zooming out* of important elements in particular research situation helps to understand what constitutes the particularities and historical elements of the contemporary manifestations of the situation.

Polly Stupples (2011) finds that towards the end of the Cold War both the political left as well as the political right concluded that prominent development theories of modernism and globalization of the post-colonial era were not able to hold up to their premises and turned to new theoretical concepts that would accommodate successful development policies and initiatives. By the 1980s, she further states, many actors in the field of international (development) aid became disillusioned with the seeming ineffectiveness of measurements taken and monies spent in countries of the so-called Global South (Stupples, 2011). One possible solution to this problem, then, was found in considering local, endogenous and communal cultural customs for a more sustainable and successful implementation of mainstream development projects (Labadi, 2020a; Schech, 2018). From this perspective, the turn towards culture in seeking ways to improve the effectiveness of development aid can be interpreted as a result of (self-)critical evaluation of roughly 20 years of development work.

Sarah Radcliffe (2006) and other critical authors who focus on post-colonial dynamics in cultural studies or politics (e.g., Labadi, 2020a; Munck, 2010; Neverdeen Pieterse, 2010; Okereke and Agupusi, 2015; Schech and Haggis, 2000), however, take

a different stance. With regard as to *how* the Cultural Turn came into the development discourse debates, Radcliffe writes that during the 1980s "development thinking was increasingly challenged by Marxist, feminist, and postcolonial writers and activists, and began to reconsider its own specific institutional, historical, and cultural locations" (Radcliffe, 2006: 3). According to Radcliffe, considering culture was thus not a result of (self-)reflective activities, but rather strongly articulated and empirically grounded reasoning of critical perspectives, which visibilized the Euro-American focused situatedness of perceptions of progress in all its facets as embedded in "Western capitalist political economies and the cultural histories of European colonialism" (ibid 2006: 3). The Cultural Turn in development, as Radcliffe and others understand it, came to be because it was practically impossible to avoid it.

Elisha Stephan Atieno Odhiambo (2002) promotes yet another perspective regarding the question as to why development actors turned towards culture in finding reasons why development aid did not improve the livelihoods of individuals in African countries as intended: "Recent discourses among the developmentalist phalanx have once again foregrounded African culture as a problem of development" (Atieno Odhiambo, 2002: 2), he writes. The Cultural Turn here is neither the result of self-reflection nor a consequence of scientific reasoning, but rather an external (meaning western) explanation as to why development work failed to modernize African countries; their culture simply did not allow for development. This may remind of the 'cultures of development vs. culture for development' debate I will further discuss, but addresses a different issue altogether, as Atieno Odhiambo explains: "this development discourse […] mostly defines modernity as what Africa is not. To put it bluntly, […] neoliberalism needed to find a reason for their failure outside the policies themselves. Hence the reemergence of the discourse on culture as a barrier to development" (ibid: 2). Here, the turn towards culture becomes a strategy to avoid the critical (self-)reflection by constructing the *culture* of the subaltern African *Other* as a problem that needs to – but may simultaneously be impossible to – be overcome.

More recently, Sophia Labadi (2020b) questioned whether the Cultural Turn in development occurred at all. For had it occurred, she asks, should development practices not have changed fundamentally by now? Should ownership of development projects not be distributed equally among partners? Most development projects, she finds, inclusive of those that purposefully include cultural or artistic activities or focus on the promotion and preservation of art and cultural sites, keep the executive and hegemonial power where the funds come from. As such, not much has changed – or *turned* – since the alleged Cultural Turn.

The question regarding the Cultural Turn in international development thus remains complex and multifaceted. The positions discussed here are but a small selection of the large body of literature, which remains a topic in and by its own. Yet,

there are three implications that are important to highlight as they are important for my study and the questions it addresses:

(1) While in the discourse on *culture* in development there is much debate on *how* culture was "put into development discourse" (Neverdeen Pieterse, 1995: 176), there is surprisingly little discussion about what *exactly* culture *means* under the conditions of development. "Culture tends to be treated as if it is, or conforms to, a *structure,* analogous to the state or nation" (ibid 1995: 176, emphasis as in original) Jan Neverdeen Pieterse writes, and this structural reading of *culture* disregards or oversees "the point that culture is an *arena of struggle*" (ibid, emphasis as in original). This observation is of high importance for my study, in which the negotiated and dynamic meanings of visual, material cultural expression, are the subject of inquiry. In addition, culture is a rather tricky word and concept to define, as it

> refers to the ordinary, everyday process of human life and the human mind – subjectivities, identities, values, systems of belief, kinship, patterns, modes of livelihoods – and also the forms of signification that circulate within a society. Words, images, material objects all function as signs or symbols which enable communication between social actors, and their circulation is influenced by states, institutions, corporations and other structures. (Schech, 2018: 291–292)

According to Susanne Schech, culture thus includes the ways individual life, society and politics among a particular group of people is organized at a given moment in time. As such it is structural. However, it is also institutional, as it is shaped by particular actors inclusive of organizations, who might use culture to serve their interests. It is dynamic, too, as the described elements that make culture circulate and thus move within a society. Material and visual culture, then, are materialized symbols of a particular culture at a particular moment in its particular conditions, and yet again, those symbols, too, can be manipulated and altered. But how, then, does this all relate to *development*?

Christiaan de Beukelaer (2017) demands for a separation between 'culture in development' and 'cultures of development', whereby culture in development is regarded as the development of e.g., the cultural and creative industries, and cultures of development as "cultural patterns that inform action […] to gradually, selectively, and partially alter practice in order to foster development that is in line with the cultural context" (588). Schech's conceptualization of culture can be linked with what Neverdeen Pieterse here refers to as cultures of development which then is interwoven with culture in development. Given the dynamic nature of both aspects of culture, it can be easily understood how the meanings of culture and its associated implications, can be site of struggle and contestation (Neverdeen Pieterse, 1995; 2010), even more so when the arena is internationalized and globalized.

(2) If there is no consensus on the meaning of culture in development, then, consequently, there must be at least fuzziness about what culture in development and cultures of development are about. Radcliffe (2006) refers to five main reasons that respond to different notions of "culture as a key concept in development thinking. These […] include the failure of previous development paradigms; perceptions of globalization's threat to cultural diversity; activism around social difference (gender, ethnicity, anti-racism); the development success stories in South-East Asia; and the need for social cohesion" (Radcliffe, 2006: 3). According to Radcliffe, they are not found together in the sense that there are no linkages between the beforementioned perceptions in policies and practice. For example, the 2005 UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* was adopted as a response to the threat of decreasing cultural diversity especially in countries of the Global South due to globalization (De Beukelaer and Vlassis, 2020). Among others, the 2005 Convention proposes the establishment for an *International Fund for Cultural Diversity* dedicated to so-called *developing* countries to make their creative industry more competitive internationally, thereby positioning the creative industries within (economic) development discourses (see also chapters 5.2.4 and 6). Anita Kangas, Nancy Duxbury and Christiaan De Beukelaer (2017) are among several critics of this separation into multiple dimensions that are presented as either social, economic, political *or*, as a result of more recent paradigm shifts, environmental.

Development actors and policy makers who apply culture in their work may thus refer to entirely different notions and functions of culture, albeit without explicating it. Scholars such as Lourdes Arizpe (2004) point out that culture has implicitly always already been part of international development. Or rather, the way development is and has been understood has always already been part of culture (Errington, 1998). The main difference, then, is that culture, possibly in part as a result of the Cultural Turn, was now made explicit.

In spite of all fuzziness and contradictions with regard to what exactly culture entails, the Cultural Turn promoted the idea of culture's agency in development, which, among others, resulted in limited funding opportunities for art within the scope of international development (Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006; Stupples, 2011; Stupples and Teaiwa, 2017). While it can be argued that Radcliffe's listing of *only* five main reasons may be under complex in elaborating as to why the cultural turn came to international development research and practice, for example by disregarding more critical perspectives and especially those from the Global South (e.g. Atieno Odhiambo, 2002), disregarding the sustainability aspect (Kangas et al., 2017), or the economic potential associated with the commodification of cultural heritage (Lafrenz Samuels, 2020; Meskell, 2015), in the empirical situation of my research, some significant policies and practice initiatives – for example the beforementioned *Design, Health and Community Project* – were developed partially in response to those very reasons Radcliffe summarized. Despite some paradigmatic changes towards

sustainability and environmental protection in international development, they continue to be quite relevant for the reconstruction and shaping of contemporary framings of cultural – inclusive of artistic – practices in the realms of civic engagement, socio-economic development, empowerment and cultural heritage, to name but a few.

(3) Ironically, the Cultural Turn in Development, which sought to have brought awareness of cultural underpinnings to normative conceptions to the development arena, did not reflect how it centered around international organizations, their funding strategies and their headquarters in countries of the Global North such as New York City (UN, UNDP), Paris (UNESCO), Washington D.C. (World Bank), or Geneva (WHO, UNHCR, IOM). As such, it placed the Cultural Turn with development actors in the Global North, and so did large parts of the scientific literature about it as well (Neverdeen Pieterse, 1995; 2010; Stupples, 2011; Stupples and Teaiwa, 2017). Since the Cultural Turn in international development is oftentimes associated with channeling funds from the North to cultural activities in the South, it disregarded development efforts, initiatives and agendas from within countries of the Global South. One such example could be the *Uganda Crafts Emporium* I introduced in chapter 2.3.1, which promoted local artistic handicraft production, aiming at national and international markets. The president at the time, Milton Obote, sought to create a sense of national identity among Ugandans through its peoples' material cultures, to commercialize it locally and abroad, and to strengthen the role of women as public actors (Miller, 1975). Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, too, used cultural practices and the arts for the development of nationhood, cultural identity and diplomacy of newly independent Ghana; within its borders as well as abroad (Wolf-Phillips, 1987). Both cases demonstrate that funding for arts and culture did emerge prior to what is considered the Cultural Turn in international development, albeit with different aims and different approaches applied.

The debate around the Cultural Turn was and in part continues to be centered with development actors from the Global North, and it oversaw that in early post-independence years, countries such as Uganda had indeed conceptualized and framed (community) development alongside and with culture. Newly independent Uganda for example had established a Ministry for Culture and Community Development and a National Culture Centre (UNCC) in 1964 (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2006). It was turned into the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development in 1995 by current president Yoweri Museveni.

Considering the heritage conventions from 1972 and 2003 alongside the plentitude of alleged functions and (economic) potentials associated with material culture as identified by local and foreign actors, one might come to think that the space for artists and artisans in Uganda alike to create *the new* art where *the old* – to borrow from Littlefield Kasfir (1999) –, here meaning the local artistic handicraft, remains situated within the arenas of vocational occupation, economization, authenticity,

heritage construction, poverty eradication and increasingly, tourism, is highly restricted. As such, artistic handicrafts become a political issue – one of contestation and competing discourses for the upper hand on meaning making of the local material culture. This contestation is both scientifically discursive and practical, and runs the risk of focusing on urban centers and international actors rather than on the particular conditions of art making in Uganda.

The academic literature, it appears, not only fails to consider the multidimensionality and simultaneity of culture in development as Radcliffe (2006) and Kangas et al. (2017) suggest, but also keeps a narrow perspective when studying the Cultural Turn in international development, as they largely focus on development actors from the Global North while paying fewer attention on actors from the South or on South-South cooperations. In part this neglect bears similarities to the discourse on civil society in Africa, whereby the rise of civil society in African countries is frequently associated with the end of the Cold War and as exported to the continent to foster democratization (Obadare, 2011). What indeed was exported to Africa was the western civil society language and conceptions thereof, which frequently equalize civil society with non-governmental organizations (NGOs). However, much like culture and cultural practices were part of development schemes in African countries prior to the Cultural Turn, civil society, too, – of course – existed prior to the arrival of theoretical concepts from the North in the late 1980s (ibid), albeit in different ways, with different objectives, and in different conditions. Both examples remind of the importance of considering the situatedness of phenomena, paradigms and *turns*, and to pay particular attention to the perspectives that are not considered – in development practice as well as in policy making and in academic writing about both.

In the available literature on funding for the arts and cultural activities in Uganda, the impact of the Cultural Turn has not yet been explored. However, cultural institutes such as the French Alliance Francaise, the German Goethe Institute, the Britih Council as well as organizations such as the Dutch Prins Claus Fund which are among the major funders of art in Uganda shaped and were equally shaped by the Cultural Turn (Stupples, 2011; Stupples and Teaiwa, 2017). In addition, the UN World Decade on Cultural Development which is frequently linked with the Cultural Turn (Labadi, 2020a) addressed issues such as the "acknowledgement of the cultural dimension of development", the "affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities" or the "promotion of international cultural co-operation" (UNESCO, 1999: 4) which influenced development agendas and discourse positions until this day. The Cultural Turn, I argue, is a historical element that co-constitutes the contemporary discourse (Clarke et al., 2018) on sustainable development in Uganda and is thus relevant for the empirical reconstruction of the situatedness of contemporary artistic handicraft production in the realm of civil society.

2.4 Conclusions
Art, Crafts, and Everything in Between

In this chapter I introduced the situatedness of art, art education and artistic handicraft in contemporary debates on art and craft in Uganda. I further displayed how, at least since the early twentieth century, artistic practices, and art education in today's Uganda have been interwoven with colonization and evangelization through which new hierarchies were established and through which especially people living in rural areas were downgraded, inclusive of their ways of living and meaning making, social and political structures. Especially the legacy of Margaret Trowell, the founder of the art school at Makerere College (now Makerere University), continues to impact the discourse on art in Uganda. While she challenged Europeans to think outside their normative assumptions about art from Africa and to consider cultural and societal differences when viewing artistic handicraft objects, she also promoted the idea of a local peasant society with appreciation for manufactured everyday items produced by local artisans that would foster the economic development of the Ugandan Protectorate.

After her return to Great Britain in 1958, her successor Cecil Todd began to modernize the art school to the dismay of Trowell's protégées around Sam Ntiro, Eli Kyeyune and Gregory Maloba, who, one after the other, left the art school after the curriculum was altered significantly. At the same time, Ugandans worked towards independence. During anticolonial and independence movements, the establishment of cultural identity, at times symbolized through particular aesthetic features such as wearing barkcloth, had become important for the development of individual and collective identity. After independence, Uganda's first president Milton Obote sought to use culturally significant symbols, artefacts and art objects for the creation of a national identity through *the Uganda Crafts Emporium*. Craft centers and markets were created alongside a catalogue, which was distributed among high commissioners and in embassies abroad, and for the first time it was particularly women who were encouraged to become handicraft artists.

Throughout all those developments, the separation of visual arts in higher art education and artistic handicrafts as a part- or spare-time activity – one being art and the other being craft – grew. It was during the brutal dictatorship of Idi Amin during which the lecturers left at the Makerere art school began to re-explore working with local raw materials in larger numbers as paint, tools and painting grounds were difficult to get and became very expensive. During this period, Francis Nnaggenda became a leading artists and lecturer in Uganda, for he was among the few artists who had already explored the use of unconventional materials in his large sculptures. This development reached a peak during the nineteen-nineties and after Yoweri Museveni had come to power. His regency led towards an influx in official development assistance (ODA) in the late nineteen-eighties and early nineteen-nineties, a rise in