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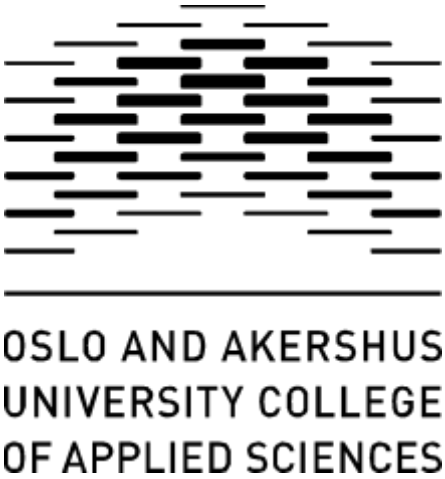
Community based research
- A case study of ontological dynamics in developmental collaboration with rural women in Karamoja



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Abstract

In this dissertation, I discuss the collaboration between a Development Intervention and rural communities in Karamoja. I have explored how rural Karamajong women experience this intervention´s existence in their everyday life. Karamoja has the lowest literacy rate, school attendance and access to health service in Uganda. Together with women from a rural community in Kotido, we have tried to investigate possible approaches which can improve the cooperation between the outside initiatives and the rural communities. This study is guided by an indigenous research framework and the objectives and primary methods are chosen together with these women as co-investigators. The element of time has been a priority, whereas the period of investigation for this dissertation was extended from two and a half months to 14 months. The discussion and analysis of our findings illuminate how the element of time challenges a common understanding motivations and aims between rural communities and the outside initiative takers. A suggestion for further research or possible cooperation between outside initiatives and rural communities in Karamoja is thus to prioritize time to allow the rural communities to participate equally in project development and implementation.

Abbreviations

ABEK	Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja
EFA	Education for All
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
HIOA	Høgskolen I Oslo og Akershus
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
MDG	Millenium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SOC	Sense of Coherence
UPE	Universal Primary Education

Table of Content

Prologue

Reaching Kotido is a 12 hours' bus drive North East from Uganda's capital Kampala, only 40 km away from the border of South Sudan. Driving from central Uganda towards the North-East, there is a rapid change when you reach the "central end". After passing the border of Soroti, the tarmac wears away, the temperature increases, the geography differs between high mountains and wide, dry savannahs. Alongside the road, the pastoral population of the areas are walking to find water, fetching firewood, walking with their cattle, walking from their cultivation areas or a day based job. The men are dressed in chequered or striped Masai sheets knotted around their shoulder. They wear crochet hats with ostrich feathers and carry a handmade stool in one hand and a walking stick in the other. In their ears, around their neck and arms, they wear locally made jewellery. The women wear skirt made of the same Masai sheets, and around their neck, waist and arm they wear multi-coloured jewellery made of the traditional Maasai beads. Some girls have neatly done scarification along their facial lines. These scarifications are burned into their skins in neatly done dots. The patterns differ amongst the women. Some have them; some don't.

Occasionally, you can see small wooden huts with straw roofing, built down in the ground to utilise the cold from the soil. The huts are arranged in thorn fenced Manyata[1] to keep enemies and dangerous animals outside. When you reach Kotido town Council, you primarily meet three main streets. One street is predominantly the market; here you find everything from Masai beads, sheets and other cultural artefacts as chickens, household or cultivation equipment. On the second street, you find local shops with more distributed goods, eating places, guesthouses, mobile money shops and drinking places. The third street contains several brick houses, some with signs outside, some without, and is informally called the "NGO-street". I asked my Karamojong colleague about this, and she replied: "Yes, they are all here."

[1]Manyatas are small communities mainly organised by kinship. It is often organised with an age-hierarchy where there´s a grandfather with one or plural wives and the children, the daughters/sons and their singular or plural wives and children and so on.

1.0 Introduction

> We live in a culture of aid. We live in a culture in which those who are better off subscribe – both mentally and financially – to the notion that giving alms to the poor is the right thing to do (Moyo, 2009, p. 1)

Sub-Saharan Africa has been and still is one of the International Agenda´s greatest target for development. International institutions such as the UN, the World Bank, Doctors Without Borders and Red Cross coordinate and facilitate human, political and economic resources with the attempt to battle world hunger, social injustice and gender inequality. In 2015 the international institutions evaluated the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (UN, 2017a) and agreed on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)(UN, 2017c), who are expected to be reached by the year of 2030. The SDG agenda is promising, but as Moyo (2009) questions; does it really work? In her book, which criticises the rise of the aid-institutions after the 2nd World War, Dambisa Moyo (2009) contest to what extent bilateral aid must be the leading perspective on international collaboration and the reasoning for why the aid- businesses still are argued to exist. Today, the concepts of education and empowerment are fuelling two of the foremost leading international agendas to pursuit poverty, gender inequality and hunger.

In the rural context of Uganda, East Africa, the Ugandan national demographic and health survey conducted in 2011 (UBOS, 2012), informs that 85.3% of Karamajong female and 88,7 % Karamajong male are employed. Women are mainly employed in the agricultural sector. In spite of that, on a national level, only 5% of the women employed in the agricultural sector are working for a salary, which indicates a discrepancy in the understanding of employment. Employment is here understood as activities which contribute to the household, not income generating activities. The second largest employment sector for women is within a household. Men are commonly employed in sales, agriculture/cattle or within homesteads. However, 88.2% of any Karamojan households do not have access to washing facilities with detergents, 58% of the female population have never attended any formal schooling, and only 1.4% of the female population have completed primary school. Karamoja has the lowest school attendance in Uganda. While measuring literacy; 5.5% of the female population of Karamoja, who haven't completed secondary school, could read a full sentence in a preferred language while 7.4% of the female population could partially read a sentence. Accordingly, 18.5% of the male population can read a full sentence in a preferred language, and 5.2% can partially

read a sentence. The statistics indicate that men in the Karamoja region are prioritised to be educated, and the literacy rate in Karamoja is the lowest in the country (UBOS, 2012).

According to the same survey (UBOS, 2012), 87% of the Karamojan female population reports that they don't have access to health care services because of long distance or lack of finance. Moreover, women from Karamoja are more likely to participate in decision making concerning their own health and household purchases than the national average, and they report far less domestic violence or experienced aggressiveness than women from the rest of the country. When it comes to land rights, only 13% of the women in the area own land, although this is the second highest percentage of all the districts in the country (UBOS, 2012).

In this study, I collaborated with women from a rural, indigenous community in Karamoja, Uganda, where we investigated the functionality of the existing aid- initiatives in their home environment. The rural women became co-investigators, and three objectives were developed within our study;

- To prepare me to become a catalyst for the co-investigators in an attempt to bring their voices to a forum they do not easily access.
- To decolonize research in our collaboration
- To create a project where the co-investigators can liberate themselves from existing structures which prevent them from such.

In 1999, Linda Smith argued that the word "research" is one of the history´s filthiest words in an indigenous perception because it derives from a colonial pursuit of exploitation and conquest (Smith, 1999). The goal of this study is to offer rural women of Karamoja to be a catalyst for their voices. To enable this, I have tried to decolonize myself as a researcher. As a Western, white, educated woman, I carry the luggage of a possible oppressor into a community who has limited reason to believe in a collaborating relation to such an outsider. The guiding principles of this study are to decolonize myself to ensure a non-exploitative collaboration with the co-investigators. There is also an inherent intention of supporting ownership of the collaboration amongst the co-investigators to bridge any possible discrepancies, is the guiding principle of this study.

To the best of my knowledge, I set the research agenda open to avoid dictating a process that would only benefit me. The research question was as wide as asking the women of their everyday life and what they found important in their life. Reducing the power imbalance and creating a common research agenda proved to be far more challenging than I could have imagined at that point, and the necessity for an extended research time frame became evident. When I read about and experienced the complexity of the deep-rooted perception of a white person's role in the area, the scope of this study was driven to a far more sophisticated level than I initially anticipated.

The above is one of the reasons why the methodology chapter will have a significant role in this dissertation. Due to the nature of the study, the research process itself and the context we created during this process contain just as many findings as the spoken words of the co-investigators and informants alone. Furthermore, the spoken words must be understood interlinked with the decisions made, relations created and challenges faced along the process.

The co-investigators in this study live in a rural community with strong cultural values but have limited access to food, health services, paid labour and formal schooling. Different non-governmental organisations and missionaries are well established in their area, but the literacy rate in the Karamoja region is low compared to the national average, and access to formal schooling and health services are inadequate. According to UNICEF, project success initiated by the external agents are often inadequate due to discrepancies of understanding conditions of livelihood, cultural values and geographical concerns between the developing agencies and the Karamajong inhabitants (UNICEF, 2009). These conditions give reason to question to what extent these discrepancies are investigated, evaluated and sought to be improved. Furthermore, it is unclear to what extent the agencies question their assumptions about the subjective and objective[2] reality of Karamajong inhabitants while intending to bring development to the area.

The mentioned discrepancies which prevent literacy to improve and health services to develop, raise the question of any ontological differences preventing the development agent and the targeted rural community to connect with a common understanding of a shared goal.

[2] In this study, objective reality is understood as an unbiased reality outside of human perception and link to the linguistic semantics where objective means "outside your context". See Berger & Luckman in chapter 3 for further explanation.

The question of ontology becomes relevant as indicated in the prologue that all the agents are there, yet the status of the area does not really change. However, there must be a mandate for the agents. Otherwise, it is unlikely that the agents can legitimise their presence.

1.1 Problem statement

Although the women in Karamoja seemingly take part in decision-making processes and statistically enjoy a higher gender equality than women from other districts in Uganda, the development in the area seem to be falling behind. The area has a long history of outside forces such as governmental programs, missionaries and NGOs working for development[3] within education, food security and economic growth. Despite all efforts; school attendance, literacy and access to health care are lower than any other district in Uganda. Research by UNICEF (2009) argues that the existing efforts still fail due to the discrepancies of understanding conditions of livelihood, cultural values and geographical concerns between the mentioned developing agencies and the Karamojong inhabitants (UNICEF, 2009). Based on the previous knowledge of the rural context of Uganda, the research questions become:

1. To what extent do ontological differences between foreign agents and rural women affect the achievement of intended developmental intervention in Karamoja?
2. What is the coherence of the contextual realities between the developmental intervention and rural women in Karamoja?
3. To what extent can participatory approaches contribute to a possible positive change in the rural life of Karamoja?

The starting point of this thesis was to examine and to understand the impact of developmental initiatives in North Uganda, more specifically Kotido, Karamoja. The MIE Master's program at the Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences (HiOA) intends to have a critical curriculum where indigenous knowledges and voices from the Global South are emphasised. The curriculum intends to facilitate critical awareness amongst students concerning the hegemony of Western knowledge and the global architecture of education between educationalists from all over the world. My previous knowledge and experience with the Karamajong community, together with my newly attained understanding of the critiqued Western hegemony of education, language, human rights as well research as a

[3]. Development is often understood as a change in positive or negative terms, although it can be discussed to what extent" positive and negative change" is agreed upon between the parties.

concept triggered me to search for its presence and possible alternatives in the rural areas of Kotido, Uganda. The Karamajong population are recognised as the indigenous population in Uganda by the international society, but not by the local government (IWGIA, 2017). Several of my previous experiences and impressions applied to what I learned through our critical curriculum. Additionally, when Skoglund (2016) had finalised her research together with women from Karamoja, she found that two and a half months is not nearly enough to ensure a working and respectful collaboration with her participants. It was also of my perception that the initial timeframe set from the University College to conduct research in this area would be limiting, whereas I extended the research timeframe from two and a half months to 14 months.

1.2 Outline of thesis

Chapter 2 provides a brief contextual background with a short presentation of the historical, political and cultural landscape this study is situated in. This illuminate where the co-investigators originate from and the different aspects that must be respected regarding identity creation amongst the co-investigators. Secondly, it provides a contextual background of the existing developmental aims of the international agenda which guide the current developmental intervention in Karamoja.

Chapter 3 provide the theoretical and conceptual framework which has guided this study. Due to the decolonizing aim of this study and the meta-analysis of our own process together with the investigation of other practices, the theory presented in the methodological chapter will also be relevant for the following discussion of findings in this thesis.

Chapter 4 present and discuss the methodological choices of this study. Since the process was guided by the co-investigators' priorities, challenges and choices, this chapter is the most extensive one in this study. It includes a detailed description of our research process in addition to an extended chapter on ethical considerations.

Chapter 5 and 6 presents, analyse and conclude the findings in this study in light of the theoretical, conceptual and methodological framework in this study. It is finalised with reflections concerning a possible way forward for participatory approaches and cooperation between rural communities and outside initiatives.

2.0 Context

Uganda is a land-locked country in East Africa bordering South Sudan in the north; Kenya in the East; Tanzania and Rwanda South-East; and DR Congo in the West. Before colonialism, Uganda was a geographical area built by several different kingdoms, yet these were to some extent split and divided by the political borders creating "Uganda".

Figure 1, Map of Uganda (Wikipedia, 2017) Karamoja is located North-East in Uganda and contains the districts, Kaabong, Kotido, Abim, Moroto and Nakapiripit.

After independence from the British rule in 1962, brutal leaders such as Milton Obote, Idi Amin Dada and Tito Okello governed the country through military rule and severe Human Rights violations until the sitting president Yoweri Museveni couped power in 1986. Museveni reinstated the political liberation, created economic reforms and allowed freedom of the press. His rule has managed to reduce the tribalism caused by the colonial rule and previous dictatorships, and more children than ever are enrolled in school (UBOS, 2012). Today Uganda is a peaceful country, although the freedom of press becomes more and more challenged every day. Transparency International (2016) ranks Uganda as the world´s 25th most corrupt country and the country face tremendous challenges concerning education, health care and paid employment. According to UNICEF (2013), 84% of the population lives in rural areas, more than 50% of the population is under 18 years old and thereby in school

age. On a national level, 24,8% of children enrolled in school complete primary 7, and the overall country adult literacy rate is 73,2%.

Karamoja District is localised North East of Uganda and consist of arid and semi-arid savannahs. The area has only one rainy season in contrast to the rest of the country which has two rainy seasons. These conditions make cultivation difficult as the crops often dry up in the absence of modern irrigation systems. The population are mainly pastoral, and cattle are central to their culture and identity (Kaduuli, 2008). The dry conditions force the population to move long distances to locate water and grass for their herds. The men and young, unmarried women usually follow the herds, while the mothers and elderly women take care of the children, household and provide elementary services in homesteads during the dry season to feed the family.

During colonial times, fertile land was grabbed by the colonialists and turned into game parks. The colonists planted poisonous weed around the parks to keep the cattle away, and these actions lead to massive deaths of Karamajong cows. Further marginalising efforts have been made by postcolonial governments where development have been tried forced upon the Karamajong population. The approaches have been top-down and aimed at "settling down" the pastoralists with the conviction that western modernisation, cash crops and formal schooling would develop "them" (Kaduuli, 2008). The national curriculum, on the other hand, refers to the Karamajong as backwards, and hardly any of its content accommodate their livelihood, which further causes alienation amongst the students (Krätli, 2001). Education was long perceived to “stand between the man and his cow” (Rex, 4th November 2015), because it was believed to impose unhealthy values to the students and eradicate their own culture.

Cattle raiding have been a central part of the Karamojong's culture for generations, however, when Idi Amin implemented the Karamajongs in the army, they accessed guns which brutalised the cattle raiding. Men were killed massively, putting women and children unprotected and at risk. During 2000 the government undertook a "peaceful disbarment" forcing the Karamajong men to give up their guns (Kaduuli, 2008). The different herds were also marked, and any raided cow was taken by the government. These cows were never allocated to its rightful owner and to this day, a man's value and responsibilities are still highly linked to the cow, yet there is no cow for the man to herd. A man who previously could provide for his family through cattle are now idle, and a family's income is therefore highly

based on any effort made by women (Personal communication, 4th November 2015; Community talk 8th March 2016; Interview 15th October 2016).

The current situation has made the Karamajong see the value of formal schooling in addition to their cultural upbringing, as they perceive it as the only way out of their poverty. However, boys are most often prioritised through school, as the girl child through marriage will belong to the husband's family. Investing in boys' education is therefore perceived to be a greater investment for the community. Due to the financial situation, which also is steered by the ability to earn money from family crops, most families are unable to support their children through primary school, and most rural families are dependent on scholarships and foreign support to succeed.

2.1 Context - The international development agenda

"Empowering rural women is a prerequisite to fulfilling the vision of the Sustainable Development Goals which aim to end poverty and hunger, achieve food security and empower all women and girls" (UNWOMEN, 2016). Women from the Global South still often face gender-specific challenges to full participation in the labour force, contesting economic self-reliance. More often women in the Global South are the sole responsible of the household, taking care of the family, fetching water and firewood and cultivation on land commonly owned by the male head of the household. These circumstances leave women in an underprivileged position in which access to education and economic empowerment succumb non-paid or underpaid activities, and women's power to bargain their position are reduced. This reduces their Human Right not to be marginalised based on gender or their right to self-determination. On the other hand, the FAO report (2011) shows that the family, as well as the whole community, benefit vastly if women hold greater status and power within the household. The report argues that women who hold increased power over income execute greater bargaining power, and they are more likely to invest in education, food, health and children's nutrition rather than covering short term goals and personal needs. In other words, including women in decision-making processes, education and the labour force leads to a more sustainable economic growth.

According to UNICEF (2015), 63 million adolescents worldwide were out of lower secondary school in the year of 2012, and even though primary school enrolment has increased, the out

of school-rate has remained static. Bearing the world population growth in mind, this indicates an increase in out of school youth. The main barriers for completing school is still entrenched gender roles, the language of instruction, domestic duties, living in conflict areas and disabilities. Countries with greater gender parity in primary and lower secondary schools are more likely to have higher economic growth, and one year completed education above the national average contribute to an increased income of 10%. However, young girls, especially from rural areas and/or with indigenous or ethnic minority backgrounds, are still the most vulnerable group.

The SDG´s which are supposed to be fulfilled by 2030, emphasise economic empowerment amongst women as they contribute vastly to the economy whether in businesses, agriculture, as entrepreneurs or private household. Such economic empowerment is critical to achieving land rights, political participation and the pursuit of education (UNWOMEN, 2017a). Women are still excluded from the political sphere both on local and global levels due to gender stereotypes, discriminatory laws and practices, low educational levels and poor access to health care. Overcoming these obstacles and increased political participation amongst women normally benefits the society at large (UNWOMEN, 2017b).

As an alternative viewpoint to the existing aid-business, the discussion of "underpaid or unpaid work" and the capitalist market forces, Jon Bøhmer (2009) argues that social entrepreneurship is naturally the backbone of African work morale as African societies have organised themselves in small-scale enterprises since the day of dawn. Bøhmer defines social entrepreneurship to be solving social problems through financing activities. He further argues that this concept should be accommodated as a new era of development in the battle towards hunger, poverty and gender equality since it is a more familiar structure in African societies than the foreign concept of Democracy or market capitalism with its aim of sole economic growth. Through this point of view, the conception of women in unpaid work or under-privileged positions must be revised, and the question to answer must be what kind of position do the women want, and what kind of payment are the women, community or the "development agencies" aiming for?

3.0 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

As argued in the introduction, the co-investigators of this study live with limited access to food, formal schooling and paid labour even though NGO´s, Governmental efforts and

missionaries are present in the area with the mandate to create "development". UNICEF (2009) portray that the success of projects with such an aim is limited due to discrepancies in understanding culture, livelihood and geographical conditions. The co-investigators are also among North- Uganda's indigenous population and the presence of these outside actors affect their objective reality.

Questioning other people's objective and subjective reality depends on interpretation and interpersonal relations and can become oppressive at the worst and naïve at its best. This study, with its extended time frame, process orientation, participatory aim and the interpersonal relations, has reached a complexity it has been challenging to narrow down without jeopardising to fragmentize the interpretation of the subjective and objective reality.

This chapter will first detail the choice of theoretical and conceptual lenses followed by a presentation and discussion of the lenses and their relevance for this study.

3.1 Choosing a lens

The complex contextual reality I observed in Karamoja enable a broad range of possible questions to ask, and the process and findings of this study could have been analysed and discussed through several relevant conceptual and theoretical lenses. For example, the inclusion of indigenous knowledges in NGO work as the co-investigators of this study are considered as indigenous people, or education policies and educational enrollment as the co-investigators focused vastly on access to education and the failure of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in our conversations. A third relevant concept could have been gender theory and feminism as the co-investigators in this study live in a highly patriarchal structure, in which the standards of measurements often portray these women as the underprivileged gender. Moreover, Said's Orientalism or Attribution Theory could have explained some of the challenges that prevent rural women's voices to be heard or development practices to achieve the intended impact. Due to the limited scope of this dissertation, it is not possible to follow all possible threads. But if we ask ourselves where all of these potential challenges come from in the first place, I find Paulo Freire (1972) and his Pedagogy of the oppressed, and Antonovsky (1979); (Antonovsky, 1996) and his theory of Sense of Coherence and Salutogenesis more relevant. These theories will be supported by the concepts of Ontology, Colonization of the Mind and Empowerment. Lastly, Maslow´s (1987) hierarchy of Needs

will be presented. This is not a primary theoretical lens, but the theory will become useful to discuss some of the achievements of the co-investigators in the discussion chapter.

3.2 Paulo Freire and his Pedagogy of the Oppressed

The main theoretical lens chosen in this study is Paulo Freire's liberation theory from the book "The Pedagogy of the oppressed" (1972). This choice was initially taken to guide me and my approach throughout the process, but later on, it became apparent to me that it also has its relevance for analysing and discussing findings in the study. The primary foundation in this theory is "The oppressed, whose task it is to struggle for their liberation together with those who show true solidarity, must acquire a critical awareness of oppression through the praxis of this struggle" (Freire, 1972, p. 33). Freire (1972) further argues that the task of liberation also includes the liberation of the oppressors, as an oppressor can never truly let go of his privilege for the greater good of the people. The critical awareness is named the process of *conscientizacao*, and "It is a radical posture(…)true solidarity with the oppressed means fighting at their side to transform objective reality which has made them these "beings for another" (Freire, 1972, p. 31). He further argues that the liberation process can only happen in *communion,* which means a fusion containing true dialogue between the leader and the people (Freire, 1972, p. 152). Freire does not limit the concept of oppression to colonisation, but argue that oppression occurs between a minority group who claim, protect and violently withhold privilege over a majority deprived of their freedom.

According to Freire, two central concepts are almost inevitable challenges for the true liberation process; the rise of sub-oppressors and the alarming efficiency of "banking education". If a true dialogue where teachers become students and students become teachers[4] In a co-construction of knowledge, opposed to the teacher owning the knowledge created within the oppressors' systems withholding the oppressor's power, a critical education and thereby liberation can occur. But:

> Almost always, in the initial stage of the struggle, the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation tend themselves to become oppressors, or "sub-oppressors". The very structure of their thought has been conditioned by the contradiction of the concrete, existential situation by which they were shaped (…) Their ideal is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity. This phenomenon derives from the fact that the oppressed at a certain moment of their

[4], This is Freire´s own terminology. In a social- constructive viewpoint, referring to both students and teachers as *learners* could be equally explanatory.

> existential experience, adopt an attitude of “adhesion” to the oppressor… Their perception of themselves as oppressed is impaired by their submersion in the reality of oppression (Freire, 1972, p. 27)

This phenomenon portrays a conflicting reality where there can be no emphasis on "us and them" as the oppression also occurs within if true solidarity and the process of *concientizacao* are not entirely fulfilled. According to Freire, the solution is the dialogical man who

> believes in others even before he meets them face to face. His faith is not naïve. The Dialogical Man is critical and knows that although it is within the power of humans to create and transform, in a concrete situation of alienation, individuals may be impaired in the use of that power (Freire, 1972, pp. 71-72)

In his book, Freire seems to take great inspiration in Che Guevara's efforts in South America during the 60's, and it must be questioned to what extent the theory applies to the Sub Saharan African context 45 years later. It must also be questioned to what extent it is possible to conduct and sustain true solidarity, a humble but not naïve leadership and a true co-construction of knowledge without the leader or the people flipping side in such pressurised circumstances. Secondly, in 2017, we need to critically assess what the meaning of objective reality is. Freire argues towards an objective reality where people are equal, and everyone has the same right to freedom. This is an ideological standpoint to struggle for. However, Freire's definition of objective can also be argued to be subjective, as it eventually is Freire's definition of *objective.* The correlation between subjective and objective reality will, therefore, be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter, as the coexistence of subjective/objective reality is highly relevant to this study, although with some minor modifications to Freire`s viewpoint.

Bearing the criticism of the theory in mind, the theoretical significance of this study is that only the oppressed can create liberation, it cannot come from above, but if someone aims to be in true solidarity with the oppressed, he or she can be a valid resource in the struggle for liberation. Freire (1972) argue that a liberation process must be a *praxis* where concientizacao and action need to go hand in hand for the oppressed to become truely liberated (Freire, 1972, p. 47). Lastly, to achieve what Freire calls *communion* (1972, p. 152) between me as an outsider and the co-investigators as insiders, the concept of ontological differences and Colonisation of the Mind became relevant.

3.3 Ontology

According to Bagele Chilisa (2012), “Ontology is the body of knowledge that deals with the essential characteristics of what it means to exist” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 20). It differs from Epistemology which relates to "the nature of knowledge and truth" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 21). Margaret Kovach (2009) has a simpler, but not very different definition: “Ontology is concerned with the nature of being and reality” (Kovach, 2009, p. 21). In a simple term, ontology can be referred to as “worldview”, whereas epistemology can be referred to as “production of knowledge”. According to Berger and Luckmann (1991), there is a subjective and an objective dimension to ontology and epistemology. One way to explain the dimensions is the reference to "a man being a body and a man having a body (…) a man experiences himself as an entity that is not identical with his body, but that, on the contrary, has the body at its disposal" (Berger & Luckmann, 1991, p. 68). This portrays how knowledge is within the man as a certainty of "what is" (subjective) as well as existing outside of the man (objective). The knowledge is thus produced within the frame of the man's ontology (subjective), yet the ontology is created within the social construction of reality which the man and his social environment establish to create meaning of "the nature of being and reality". To clarify the correlation between objective and subjective reality, ontology and epistemology, and how this correlation is understood to influence one person´s lenses in this study, I have created the following model:

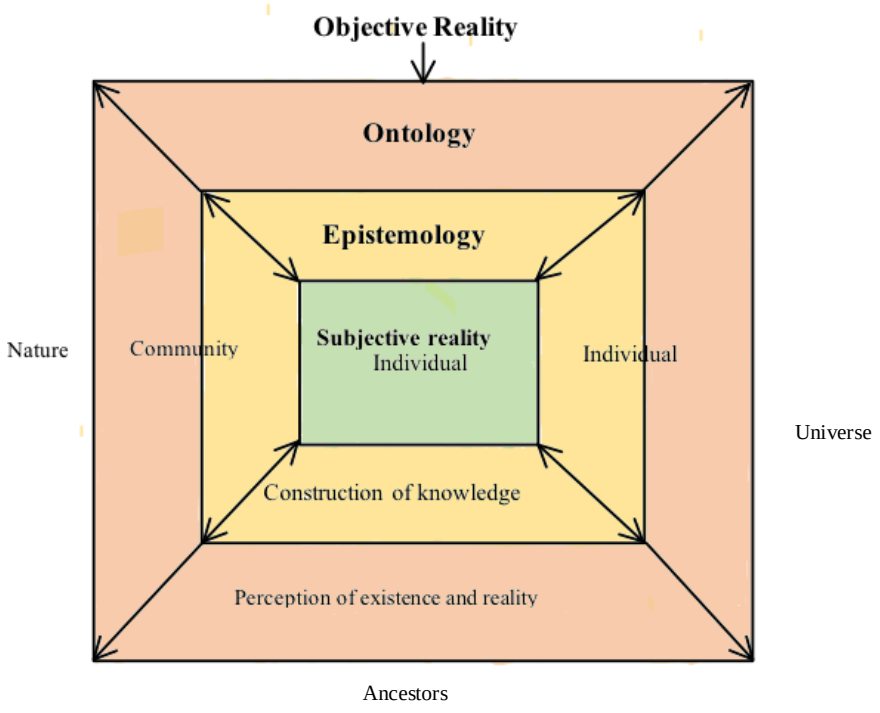


Figure 2, Correlence of Objective and Subjective Reality (Hollekim, 2017)

Ontology in this study is hereby understood as a perception of a reality that exists outside the self, albeit the reality is perceived with the self's lenses. Knowledge is thus constructed within the socially constructed and contextually embedded perception of reality. The perception of reality, and thereby how we organise ourselves in line with the perception of objective and subjective reality occur differently from community to community. The persuasiveness of one ontology is determined by the communication and interaction between people who share geographical, contextual and language commonalities over an extended period of time.

To portray the diversity in ontologies and its implications for a person`s actions and interactions with its surroundings, I will represent two different ontologies relevant to this study below. The aim is to portray the depth of one person's persuasion the other must acknowledge achieving a truthful communion or a trustworthy collaboration between two parties who do not share any historical, contextual, social or geographical similarities. First I will present the Cartesian ontology, also known as a Western worldview. Secondly, I will present Ubuntu, a Southern African Bantu worldview. After presenting these two ontologies, I will introduce the clash of these two during colonialism and the indications of its current existence colonisation of the mind.

3.3.1 The Cartesian- Newtonian Ontology

The Cartesian-Newtonian ontology, often known as Western knowledge is understood as a worldview with an empirical and logic embedded knowledge production founded in a mechanical, modern science which originated in Europe during the Enlightenment in the 15th and 16th century. It places the individual human and its rational thought in the centre of the Universe on the cost of nature spirituality and religion. The knowledge production within this ontology is linked to industrial capitalism and objective, scientific truth which is assumed universal (Breidlid, 2013, p. 1). The universality claim justifies a subordination of other ontologies and knowledge production systems which often are culturally and spiritually embedded which are perceived as primitive and superstitious, as they neither claim universality nor can be rationalised through Cartesian Science (Goduka, 2000, p. 63). The individual and rational emphasis illuminate a secular dimension which justifies domination over nature, albeit geographical expansive and technological progression. This rapid, and geographic expansion has culminated in an ontological hegemony which has paved the way for colonialism and political, economic and epistemological conquest of non-Cartesian

ontological societies. This claim of subordination can be supported by Breidlid (2013) who continues:

> The perception of Europe (The West) as the superior entity in the world contributed to paving the way for imperialism, the colonial discourse, colonialism, and the military, political, economic, and epistemic conquest of the South (2013, p. 7)

The objectivity, rationality and scientific truth in the Cartesian ontology are evident in the French Enlightenment philosopher Descartes' maxim "I think. Therefore I am" which emphasise an individualistic, self-autonomous and secular dimension to the Cartesian ontology. In Descartes' maxim, the individual thought is put in the centre where scientific truth and rational choice contest any ecological or spiritual related ontology. According to Pattberg (2007):

> The ideological domination over the natural environment took hold in the context of (…) the decline of Christianity as a total explanatory structure of human existence, the scientific turn of Cartesianism and the rise of capitalism to a self-replicating structure of rational choice (Pattburg, 2007, p.8, here in 2013, p. 23).

This" domination of nature" perception justify a progressive worldview which links to expansion, is possible to argue as man's domination over nature see no geographical boundaries, hence its opportunity to globalise as well as colonise.

The universality claims, as well as the rationality claim in the Cartesian ontology, assumes one grand narrative that can be discovered. According to postmodernist critics "Western hegemonic epistemology is (…) not transferable across contexts without significant transformations and shifts in meanings" (Ernest, 2007, p. 16, here in 2013, p. 27). This indicates that a grand narrative does not exist, which question to what extent one can claim universality of one knowledge. It further indicates that knowledge is a social construction and cannot be claimed to exist only to be discovered. A second critique important to mention is the feminist movement which critiques the gender stereotypes in science. According to Cathrine Holst (2009), the superiority claim within the Cartesian ontology and science, subordinate women in favour of men, which raises the question of who has the right to determine which questions should be asked, or who determines what a correct interpretation is? These questions are transferable to ontological or cultural superiority/inferiority claims as well, as mentioned previously in this chapter by Breidlid (2013). If we look into the

environmental movement today, the progressiveness of modern science and economic growth cannot be unified with sustainable development, as natural resources are limited.

Even though the Cartesian Ontology is criticised to be hegemonic, claims universality and superiority which justified imperialism, colonialism and domination of nature, it is important not to rubbish all Western technological achievements nor romanticising other ontologies. For example, Enslin and Horsthemke (2004) critique the emphasis on the dichotomy between the Western individualism and African togetherness as it generalises the West as one homogeneous culture without political or ideological diversity, which for instance is evident in the rise of communism or fascism. Keane et al. (2008) further stressed that the subjective verification of knowledge (as opposed to the objective verification of knowledge) could lead to a lack of scrutiny of harmful cultural practices (such as female genital mutilation, honour abuse and forced marriages to mention some). The critique of the Cartesian "I think therefore I am" is further amplified by its African counterpart known as the Ubuntu-maxim "I am because we are, and because we are therefore I am" (Gathogo, 2008, p. 6; Mbiti, 1990, p. 106; Tutu, 2012, p. 46). However, while criticising the individual-orientation of the West through a collective- orientation from (Southern) Africa, Enslin and Horsthemke (2004) reminds us of the uncritical ignorance of the consideration of the other in most Western democratic values. Additionally, entrenched gender roles and occurrence of tribalism are seldom mentioned together with the Ubuntu maxim.

3.3.2 Ubuntu

Ubuntu is often understood as a South African *philosophy* based on Mbiti's (1990) popular representation "I am because we are, and because we are therefore I am" (Mbiti, 1990, p. 106). The notion of Ubuntu's origin in South Africa is further strengthened by Nobel Prize winner Archbishop and Social rights activist Desmond Tutu (2012) who describe Ubuntu as "A person is a person through other persons. I am because I belong" (Tutu, 2012, p. 46). In his book *No Future without Forgiveness,* he argues for the togetherness, hospitality and interdependence in African thought. Nonetheless, Ubuntu can be found in most Sub Saharan societies, but it is expressed in different languages (Bellwood & Ness, 2014; Chilisa, 2012; Gade, 2011; Gathogo, 2008). Desmond Tutu (2012) argue that "Ubuntu is very difficult to render into a Western language. It speaks of the very essence of being human" (Tutu, 2012, p. 45). However, in recent history, Ubuntu has reoccurred in different academic disciplines, as a maxim in popular media, and in fictional literature over the past history, all of which can lead

to narrow interpretations. The purpose of the following discussion on Ubuntu in this section is to illuminate the complexity of Ubuntu and to provide how Ubuntu is understood for this study.

South African scholar Mogobe Ramose (2009) argue that Ubuntu is an *indigenous* African *concept*. He explains that Ubuntu can be described as *humanness* and "regards being, or the universe, as a complex wholeness involving a multi-layered and incessant interaction of all entities" (Ramose, 2009, p. 309). Human*ess* includes the relation of all aspects of nature in opposition to the individual-centred human*ism*. Gathogo (2008) shares a similar notion of the relational dimension of being, but he also illuminates an inherent African *hospitality* which has a religious meaning linked to the ancestors and God (p. 4). “African hospitality can be defined as that extension of generosity, giving freely without strings attached. It can also be seen as “an unconditional readiness to share” (Gathogo, 2008, p. 3). This hospitality can be understood as communal solidarity where sharing food is a valuable symbol as he continues: "In the early days when Ubuntu held the society tightly, no one ate unless all could eat. For the needs of the individual were the needs of the society as a whole" (Gathogo, 2008, p. 10). This solidarity and importance of food is also expressed in the research of South African scholar Moyra Keane et al. (2008), in which her students responded “If a person has no food you give him food” and “you should not look for something in return for helping someone” (Keane et al., 2008, p. 9). Keane support that "Sharing food is a manifestation of Ubuntu. Learning to share food is one of the socialising training in a culture where social responsibility and nurturing are more important than autonomy" (Nsamenang, 1999 here in Keane et al., 2008, p. 9).

One way Ubuntu has been romanticised is a political maxim opposing Western imperialism and hegemony. In the opinion of Mutua (2002), profound democratic values and institutions based on rights and responsibilities existed in pre-colonial Africa and linked Ubuntu to the revitalising of institutions in a post- colonial alien context. (Eliastam, 2015) Claims that "the temptation in times of unsettled transition is to nostalgically invoke the past and attempt to return to what once was" (Eliastam, 2015, p. 6). How realistic or desirable this revitalization is, is therefore disputable.

Gathogo (2008) also questions the neutrality of the inherent solidarity and togetherness of Ubuntu as the patriarchal structure of several African countries denies women the right to

own land, support polygamy and practice female genital mutilation and domestic violence. It can be argued that the humanness, togetherness, hospitality or the relational dimension of being favour men and devalues women (Manyonganise, 2015, p. 2). This is problematic in a contemporary African society where Ubuntu is used as a maxim towards racial oppression, while at the same time uncritically ignore gender oppression. (Enslin & Horsthemke, 2004, pp. 548-549) further critique the inclusive notion of humble togetherness[5] As they find the history of genocide, dictatorships and autocratic rule, corruption, homophobia and citizenship education in African democracies biases contradictory. Participants in Eliastam (2015) research, clearly showed an "us and them" thinking, contradicting the I/We emphasis Chilisa (2012) argue for in the relational ontology of Ubuntu. Eliastam's (2015) respondents claimed that Ubuntu is for our people in our community and that whites do not understand Ubuntu, which also contradicts the relational notion of togetherness.

Obviously, a manifestation of Ubuntu is complex and under no circumstance unproblematic. The scope of Ubuntu varies between being a concept, a human philosophy, ontology or an inherent human quality. However, the critique has an emphasis on human-human relation which reduces the importance of the religious and spiritual connection to ancestors, God and other living and nonliving elements in our construction of reality. If Ubuntu is understood as a pre-colonial embedded ontology where humans are units within a greater organism, and where knowledge and existence are created in a coexistence of living and nonliving elements, the emphasis on human-human relation becomes a limiting deviation of Ubuntu's origin.

The focus on "us and them", gender oppression through contemporary patriarchal structures, corruption and political biases are problematic for the legitimacy of Ubuntu. However, the imposition of Cartesian ontological manifestations on the Sub-Saharan African continent can have disrupted a more natural social, political and economic evolution. It thus becomes difficult to predict how or to what extent the pre-colonial structures within Ubuntu would have evolved without this imposition. Drawn from the different understandings referred to above, Ubuntu is understood as; a collective worldview with the emphasis on a relational knowledge of the self's existence in an interconnectedness with living and non-living beings of which we both shape and are shaped by reality, in this study. It is not the intention to argue that this interpretation of Ubuntu is a complete or unbiased clarification of Ubuntu as an

[5] (Swanson, 2012)

ontology. The purpose of this study has been to illuminate Ubuntu as an exciting and alternative way of perceiving reality compared to the Cartesian ontology which is more familiar to a Western or European educated person.

The impact and possible consequences of a dual existence between the Cartesian ontology and the Ubuntu ontology will frame the discussion of how the co-investigators and informants in this study perceive reality, and to what extent this merge affect the success of empowering and educational efforts amongst rural women in Kotido, Karamoja. This calls for a clarification of the power balance between Cartesian ontology and Ubuntu ontology, whereas the following concept of Colonization of the mind will be presented.

3.4 The Colonizing of the Mind

If ontology refers to the nature of being and existence as indicated above, ontology can also be described as the programming of how you see and relate to the world. If people with one ontology claim superiority over people with a different ontology as indicated in the chapter about Cartesian Ontology, an act of oppression occurs. Previously in this theoretical chapter, I have described and discussed the Cartesian ontology and its universality and rationality claims. Furthermore, I have described that the Cartesian ontology has an individualistic and progressive orientation. Through imperialism and colonialism, the Cartesian-Newtonian ontology has manifested itself on the Sub-Sahara African continent and brought orientations which possibly conflict with the Southern African relational ontology Ubuntu. The intention with the previous chapters has been to clarify what ontology is and how humans perceive their existence in different ways. How a person consciously or unconsciously perceives his objective or subjective reality[6] Depends on historical and cultural structures or values. The perceived superiority of the Cartesian-Newtonian ontology and its imposition on indigenous people who have experienced the oppression of their own ontologies, colonise our minds to this very date (Hussein, 2015). This chapter presents and discusses the psychological impact of the ontological superiority/inferiority assumption in colonialism mainly through scholars from the Global South.

According to Vincent Tucker (1999) "Discourse of progress and civilisation were used to legitimise slavery, genocide, colonialism and all forms of human exploitation. These

[6] (Berger & Luckmann, 1991)

processes were not a mere aberration from the Enlightenment ideal; they are a central part of it" (1999, p. 5). This statement argues for an ontological embedded superior/inferior ontology where people on the African continent were perceived as less human than the European man. Somali scholar Ali A. Abdi (2013) refer to an embedded racism amongst Enlightenment philosophers:

> Immanuel Kant (…) categorically claimed that Africans, due to the colour of their skin, were not intelligent (…) Hegel was sure that Africa was a place inhabited by a child-like race (…) and Thomas Hobbes was sure that blacks were not capable of producing anything in literature, letters and organise social thought (Abdi, 2013, p. 71)

In contemporary times, international policies like the Human Rights Declaration, Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the SDG´s, intend to eradicate the human inequality and discrimination embedded in the historical acts colonisation and uneven distribution of natural resources, political freedom and technology. These Global policies are however founded on Western principles, and as Kenyan author and scholar Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1994) emphasise, such policies are hardly anything but a neo-colonisation as long as such agents dictate the content and control the economy of independence.

According to Ngugi (1994), this neo-colonisation is an intended act to uphold European supremacy, disguised in monopolised global markets. It is maintained by the imperial cultural bomb where the effect is to "annihilate people's belief in their names, their languages, their environment, their heritage of struggle, their unity, their capacities and ultimately in themselves" (Ngugi, 1994, p. 3). Ngugi (1994) further argue that the colonizers have achieved colonial domination of the mental universe “by the destruction of a people’s culture, art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature and the conscious elevation of the language of the colonizer” (Ngugi, 1994, p. 16). These experiences are shared by Maori scholar Linda Smith (1999) who emphasise the importance of reclaiming self-representation to abolish the continuous oppression that lies in being represented through the lenses of other. Smith (1999) critique the historical dehumanisation and disorder of indigenous people in general as they were given

> Characteristics of primitive people who could not use their intellects, invent things or produce anything of value disqualified indigenous people as fully human (…) disconnection from their histories, landscape, languages, social relations and of their own way of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world brought complete disorder (Smith, 1999, pp. 26-29).

Such domination over time leave a deep-rooted impact on the identity creation in the self and distort the perception of its existence in objective reality. This distortion did not evaporate with the coloniser's desertion. It lives on to this present day in the minds of the colonised, as well as the coloniser. By colonising the mind of the perceived inferior people, in this occasion people of Sub Saharan African countries, through language, history, culture and other aspects linked to identity creation, an oppressor has successfully managed to incept notion of inferiority. This idea of inferiority is withheld through what Somali scholar Bulhan Hussein (2015) classify as meta-colonialism, whereas there is a silent acceptance that the colonised do not hold power to change objective reality, and must learn to cope with it. This perception of reality was denoted by Paulo Freire in 1971, but later scholars such as Ngugi and Hussain confirms that it is not a historical fact, it is a present condition.

Ngugi (1994) stress the importance of language [mother tongue] as the carrier of one's culture and advocate for reclaiming one's language in the struggle for liberation from the oppressor (coloniser). However, as the discussion later in this dissertation will show, this acquire *communion* to become a realistic task to encounter. To revitalise the power of Africa's many languages and the minds of the people, both formerly colonial powers, as well as the former colonised, must be decolonized. And "to surmount the situation, people must first critically recognise its causes, so that through transforming action, they can create a new situation, one which makes possible fuller humanity" (Freire, 1972, p. 29). For this study, decolonization of the mind brings us back to Freire's (1972) concept of *concientizacao* and *true solidarity.* These concepts suggest a liberation from the generative themes[7] within an oppressed person´s mind. The consequence of generative themes resembles the effects of a colonised mind. However, the concepts of concientizacao and true solidarity portray a suggestion for active participation in the decolonization/liberation of the mind, and might be more tangible than a "call for revitalization".

To enable such a process, one must ask the question of to what extent these aspects and factors are indeed acknowledged when the NGOs, missionaries and governmental efforts plan their projects for "development" in rural communities in Sub-Saharan African countries. The following chapter will present and discuss the concept of Women's Empowerment, its guidelines and structures relevant to this study.

[7] Wrongful thoughts which misguide a person´s conception of themselves in a perceived reality. See Freire (1972, p. 87)

3.5 Women's Empowerment

Empowerment derives from the word *power,* a word which has a broad range of distinctions. While focusing on the context of Empowerment, there are four relevant distinctions; power *over*, the power *with*, power *to* and power *within* (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). The most common distinction is power *over,* a distinction which often has negative associations to discrimination and oppression. Power *with* is more of a collective and solidarity strength which in this context can lead to the distinction power *to.* Power *to* carries a potential of shaping one's own life that can lead to power *within* where a person has achieved a sense of self-worth and affirms a common search for human dignity (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). How to reach the state of power within seems to remain undetermined, and as Empowerment seems to have become a buzzword in the international development agenda, one question remains the same; How can one become empowered?

To answer this question, I will conceptualise Empowerment by discussing its position on the international agenda. The international agenda has an emphasis on Women's Empowerment, whereas it must be noted that there is a debate going on between Western Feminists, Africana Womanists and Southern Feminists regarding whose right to articulate which rights different women should fight for since a woman initially cannot be generalised. This debate is not relevant to this study, but to understand to what extent the international agenda of Empowerment is applicable or not to the women of this study, some thoughts on the woman's role in Sub Saharan Africa through African feminist literature will be shared. Finding literature from African feminists on African feminism has been challenging, as most of the literature available is written by African American feminists/womanists. It is not of my belief that African American women can represent an African woman any more than I can, therefore this literature is intentionally not included in this study.

3.5.1 Conceptualizing Empowerment

According to Batliwala (1993):

> Women's Empowerment came to be articulated in the 1980s and 1990s as a radical approach concerned with transforming power relations in favour of women's rights and greater equality between women and men" (Batliwala, 1993, 2007 here in Cornwall, 2016, p. 343)

Women's Empowerment is also highlighted on the international agenda for sustainable development where the fifth Sustainable Development Goal is "gender equality (and empower

all girls and women)" (UN, 2017b). A firm definition of what Empowerment is, however, seems difficult to provide. UNWOMEN (2017b) offers guiding principles on Women's Empowerment in the workplace, marketplace and community. Amongst others, the principles aim to: establish equal gender leadership, equal work conditions, ensure the health, well-being and safety of women, as well as promote education and professional development for women UNWOMEN (2017b). UNWOMEN (2017c) furthermore promotes leadership and decision making as empowering focuses amongst women. When promoting empowerment of rural women, UNWOMEN (2016) emphasise access to credit, land rights, climate-smart technologies and finance. One of the key findings of a survey investigating the link between Women's Empowerment and sustainable development, made by the EU Parliament (2016), state that "Women's empowerment means women gaining more power and control over their own lives" (EU, 2016, p. 10). They further argue that "empowered women have a sense of self-worth and have access to opportunities and resources providing her with an array of options she can pursue" (EU, 2016, p. 10). Lastly, the EU Parliament (2016) argue for Women's Empowerment by stating that "there are proven synergies between Women's Empowerment and economic, social and environmental sustainability" (EU, 2016, p. 11). However, while describing the positive societal outcomes of Women's Empowerment, the EU Parliament only highlight the financial outcomes and economic effects. UNWOMEN also has an extended emphasis on Economic Empowerment as it seems to be the only empowerment category singled out in their empowerment agenda (UNWOMEN, 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c).

The limitations of an economic emphasis on women's empowerment are presented by the research Andrea Cornwall (2016) who illuminate the importance of building self-esteem and critical consciousness as grounding factors to achieve and enforce Women's Empowerment:

> Providing women with loans, business opportunities and the means to generate income may enable them to better manage their poverty, but to be transformative, to address the root causes of poverty and the deep structural basis of gender inequality, calls for more than facilitating women's access to assets or creating enabling institutions, laws and policies. Two vital levers are needed. The first is processes that produce shifts in consciousness. This includes overturning limiting normative beliefs and expectations that keep women locked into situations of subordination and dependency, challenging restrictive cultural and social norms and contesting the institutions of everyday life that sustain inequity (Cornwall, 2016, p. 345).

Cornwall (2016) further argues for the predictability and ability to plan, gained from paid work and economic empowerment. Nevertheless, it has little value of its own if an empowering aim is as stated by the EU parliament, for women to take control of their own lives and to have a sense of self- worth. Economic freedom does not instinctively bring change in entrenched gender stereotypes and limiting practices that affect women's freedom of choice. Research from Bangladesh showed that higher lever of economic independence amongst women increased domestic violence as the man's sense of self-worth was perceived threatened by this rapid change in traditional gender roles (Rahman, Hoque, & Makinoda, 2011).

Cornwall (2016) studies the success factors in a wide range of local empowerment and women's initiatives, where the factors are summarised to be 1) to raise critical consciousness, 2) mutual transformative solidarity, 3) engaged role models, 4) representation and 5) economic stability. Cornwall then offers an understanding of empowerment as a process of psychological change founded in a feminist framework:

> The ’personal is the political’ roots the process of empowerment in an expansion of women’s consciousness and capacity to act to transform their worlds. The case studies drawn upon in this article underscore the importance of working at the level of individual consciousness to expand women’s sense of their own possibilities and critical recognition of the societal dimensions of the obstacles they currently face (Cornwall, 2016, p. 356).

In the critique of the limited scope of the present Empowerment focus, Cornwall (2016) argue that there are no “one-size- fit- all solutions” to Women’s Empowerment. She warns about reducing empowerment from an inner process towards a transformative change which governments and agencies can support to handouts done by the government on its people´s behalf. She refers to Gita Sen who argued almost 20 years ago that:

> The danger here is that the focus will shift entirely to the provision of access to external resources, assets or services and away from methodologies that will create spaces for people to build confidence and self-esteem (Gita Sen, 1997, p. 3 here in Cornwall, 2016, p. 356).

Cornwall’s presented focus on the personal and contextual aspect of empowerment are supported by Elisabeth Porter (2013) whose study compare the concept of Empowerment on an organisational level and a local and individual level. While the different organisations understanding of Empowerment varied, the women who came from three different countries

and contexts, emphasised solidarity and a felt sense of security as common denominators to perceive themselves as empowered. The voices of Porter's (2013) study indicate that "empowerment prompts transformative change (…) and it leads to a range of practical manifestations of agency in community life (…) women's participation in decision making at all levels is a crucial outcome of, and vehicle for, empowerment" (Porter, 2013, p. 6).

To summarise the above, Women's Empowerment has an emphasis on gender equality on several arenas, both in the public sphere as well as on the home field. The International Development agenda has an overarching focus on economic empowerment which is believed to support independence and autonomy for women. However, limiting Empowerment to economic empowerment is criticised as economic freedom is not equivalent to having a sense of self- worth and enjoy power *within.* Furthermore, the challenges women face in the struggle to achieve power *within* differs from context to context, although both Porter (2013) and Cornwall (2016) found that female subjects themselves illuminate security, self-esteem and a critical conscience as common denominators for having a felt sense of self-worth and thereby experience Empowerment. Kelleher and Rao (2017) provide a holistic framework on how to support Women's Empowerment in a culture- sensitive and comprehensive approach:

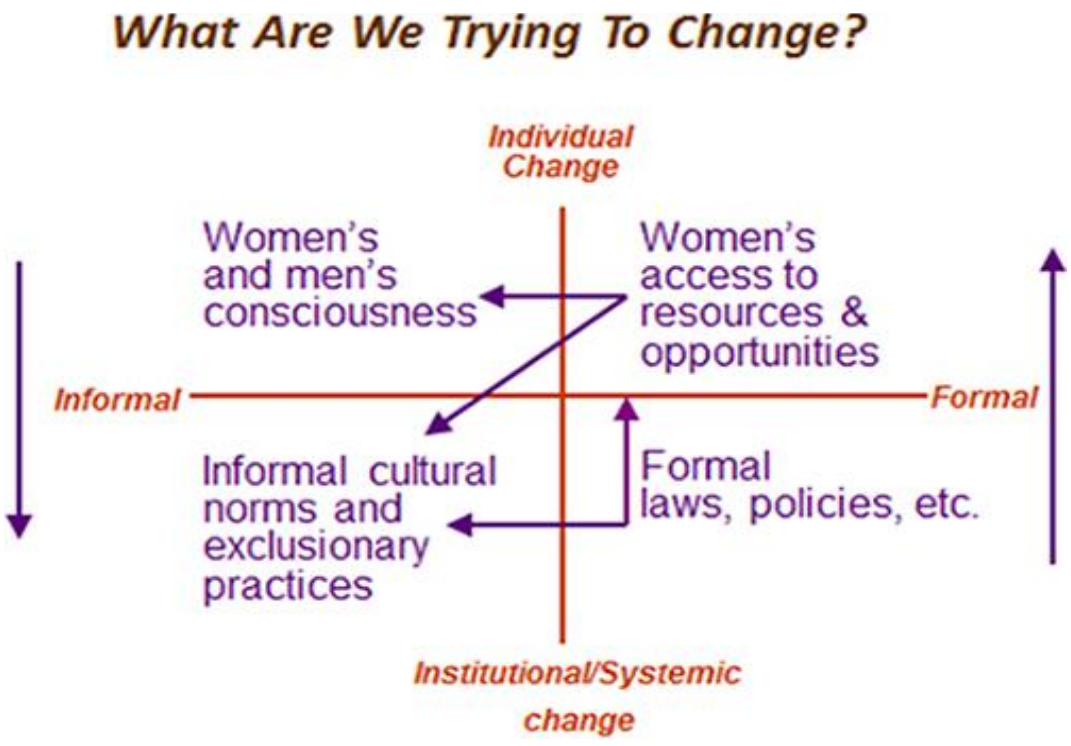


Figure 3, Gender at Work Framework (Kelleher & Rao, 2017)

The model shows different aspects in need of change to achieve Women's Empowerment. The framework portrays biases that need to be unravelled and targeted in the individual as well as the collective, in the home as well as in public, culture and policy. It speaks of a holistic approach that allows contextualizing the empowerment support based on the need of empowerment within the particular context, avoiding a "one size fits all" approach.

3.5.2 Contextualizing Women´s Empowerment

Women's empowerment is understood as a process that requires cultural sensitivity and contextualization where "empowered women" are known as women who can critically assess factors which challenge her ability to pursue her own choices. It also needs to be underlined that the concept of being a woman differs from culture to culture. There has been, and are an ongoing debate of what it means to be a woman between different feminist movements, respectively the Western feminist movement, the Afrikana womanism of African American women and the African feminists. The debate itself is not relevant to this study, and will not be presented in detail. The understanding of being an African woman and which challenges she struggles to overcome from an African perspective is relevant to enable the mentioned culture sensitive and contextualised notion of Women's Empowerment. Therefore, some views on African feminism will be presented below. The perception of the African woman will be given through authors from Zimbabwe, Malawi and Botswana. First, I will explain how the publications contribute to the aim of this chapter. Secondly, I will present the relevant content from the publication in an attempt to portray it. Thirdly, I will present a critique based on the patriarchal structure of many African countries, and lastly, I will provide the significance of these two concepts for the study.

The Zimbabwean professors Mutwati, Gambahaya and Gwekwerere (2011) originally argue for the authenticity of Afrikana Womanism in their article *Africana Womanism and African Proverbs*. However, other literature of Afrikana Womanism I have found is written by African Americans, and I as a European woman do not possess the power of defining to what extent these African American authors authentically speak the case of an African woman or if they speak the case of black women in diaspora or with an African heritage. Anyhow, the three mentioned professors argue that African Womanism is grounded in African culture, although amongst the 18 descriptors the mother of Africana Womanism Hudson- Weems illuminate, these professors draw particular attention to motherhood. The professors support their focus in their analysis of indigenous oral traditions and proverbs from different

indigenous people in Africa. The emphasis relevant for this study will, therefore, be their examples of an African woman analysed in the mentioned proverbs, and not their arguments for the relevance of Africana Womanism.

Muwati, Gambahaya, and Gwekwerere (2011) analysed the Shona word for a girl child *musikana.*

> This word is a compound which posits the woman as *one who creates together with* meaning the woman is the axis around which African life, survival and perpetuation revolve (Muwati et al., 2011, p. 2)

This understanding of the woman's importance in African life is almost spiritual and can be understood through Ubuntu as she is further described as "the centrepiece of creation" (Muwati et al., 2011, p. 2). This understanding illuminates the woman as a mother and an invaluable and integral part of the co-existence between the living and non-living things. According to the professors (2011), this positions the woman as a key participant in African balance where a woman's humanity is profoundly equal to the man. The professors continue this line of argument by referring to the Ndebele people who believe "that they originated from reeds, in the form of a man and a woman who appeared simultaneously" (Muwati et al., 2011, p. 2), and position this in direct contrast to the biblical subordination of woman where Eve was created *after* Adam and argued to be born out of Adam's rib. The professors continuously argue towards unity between the man and the woman in their coexistence to fulfil life. Further examples of the unity between sexes from Ashanti of Ghana, Gikuyu of Kenya and Zulu of South Africa, indicating a Pan African understanding of the woman as centre of life in unity with a man, whereas the African woman's struggle for her sense of self-worth cannot be represented by feminist theories derived from Christian cultures and traditions. According to these African proverbs, the woman came into existence with equal humanity as to the man's, although with different natural tasks. This is a foundational difference from the Western feminism where women foundationally contest the superiority/inferiority claim of a man over a woman, while in an African context:

> In the absence of a wife in the homestead, no one can match her "hospitality, generosity and varied roles and responsibilities that are associated with wifehood, motherhood and womanhood in the African society (…) African people, who are the creators of these proverbs, recognise and acknowledge the mother as a strong, adaptable, dependable, authentic and flexible role player (Muwati et al., 2011, p. 3).

To summarise the above analysis of the role of a woman in African proverbs, her identity is intractably linked to being a mother, as a generous, responsible and equal figure, centre to creation which axis revolve African life.

This equal humanity between man and woman can, however, be criticised based on the patriarchal tradition of African countries that often is portrayed as gender biased towards women (Kalabamu, 2006). Patriarchy can be understood as "a gendered power system, a network of social, political and economic relationships through which men dominate and control female labor, reproduction, and sexuality, as well as define women's status, privileges and rights in a society" (Kalabamu, 2004, p.1 in Madimbo, 2016, p. 2). The patriarchy should not be rubbished as a problematic structure if the woman herself defines a sense of self-worth in fulfilling the female role within this system. However, the patriarchal system becomes problematic if the structure of superiority/inferiority is added to it. Madimbo (2016) furthermore present Ubuntu as a second driving factor that must be understood while promoting and arguing female struggle for representation and leadership in African states. Despite that, in Kalabamu's analysis of patriarchy and women's land rights in Botswana from 2006, he defines patriarchy as:

> Both a system and an ideology that shapes and determines gender relationships and rights in a society (…) it is an open gender power system whereby men and women are constantly searching for ways and opportunities for enhancing their power base, rights and privileges (Kalabamu, 2006, p. 239).

The above definition of patriarchy implies that patriarchy is not gender biased in its nature, but might refer to a negotiation of gendered responsibilities within a society. Technically, there are no more gender biased structures in this definition than in a conservative Christian marriage contract. However, the practices tied to patriarchy today are gender biased according to Madimbo. (Madimbo, 2016) refers to Professor Bingu wa Mutharika who was a well-known Malawian politician who stated that "Malawi is not ready for a female president", and Madimbo argue that the statement is a

> Clear indication that African women exercise leadership in a challenging environment because they are surrounded by cultural, social, economic, and political barriers that limit their access to organisational and community leadership. These challenges demand a way of leadership that is unique to the challenges that African women experience" (Madimbo, 2016, pp. 1-2).

Again, by the Elections of 2016, the USA has neither had a female president, and Norway as my own country is only experiencing the second female prime minister since the Norwegian independence of 1814. Therefore, it can be concluded that the patriarchal structure cannot single handed be blamed for challenges of Sub Saharan African women, but maybe an unscrutinised practice of it.

Kalabamu (2006) finds the right for women to own land as a major challenge in Women's Empowerment in African countries, and criticise the gender equality policies' inefficiency due to the patriarchal structure. "Gender neutral policies, however persistently pursued, do not result in Women's Empowerment (…) recent legal land reforms must be seen as exercises that conceal women's exclusion from the land resource management and ownership" (Kalabamu, 2006, p. 244).

Drawn from the previous arguments by Holst (2009) and Kalabamu (2006), I will argue that African women's struggle for equality within a patriarchal societal- structure resembles the Western feminist slogan towards male supremacy within Western societies. The male dominance in the patriarchal system carries different values, diverse cultures and different notion than those of Western societies, albeit the negotiation for life is the same. Furthermore, I believe that the perception of a woman as a mother can be argued in two ways. It can be argued to exclude the woman from the public sphere since her role is understood as the caretaker of the household. On the other hand, the perception of motherhood and being a mother also has its ontological value which differs from the progressive pursuit of autonomy within Western feminism. Therefore, agency towards Women's Empowerment must be sensitive and highly aware of ontological biases.

In my observations, the co-investigators in this study live in a remarkably patriarchal culture with the common presence of Development agencies who follow the international agenda for Women's Empowerment. Therefore, a presentation of the above concepts has been provided to clarify some of the concepts and structure the co-investigators relate to and negotiate in their contextual reality. In the discussion chapter, possible ontological differences will be discussed due to the definition of the previously mentioned concepts illuminated in this chapter. To summarise the concept of empowerment relevant to this study, it has been argued that women's empowerment must be a process which emphasises critical consciousness. Empowerment cannot be brought from above but is a process which happens within a person.

It can be supported, but such support must be culture sensitive and contextualised. An empowered woman is thus understood as a woman who has a sense of self-worth with access to pursuit an array of opportunities and additionally has the self-esteem to critically assess practices that conflict with her ability to pursue her self-worth. One possible role of an African woman is illuminated here as being a mother, which must not solely be understood as a biased gendered limitation, but as an Ubuntu ontological identity construction. However, the role of the African woman is constantly negotiated within a patriarchal system which facilitates cultural embedded challenges for women that differ from other culturally embedded power systems.

3.6 A suggestion towards ontological alliance in Empowerment Approaches

In addition to the main theory and conceptual lenses presented and discussed above, there is one additional theory and one model relevant for this study. The following theory and model are picked from the field of Pedagogics and suggests frameworks to facilitate motivation amongst students. Antonovsky's (Antonovsky, 1979, 1996) theory of Salutogenesis and Sense of Coherence elevate the importance of respecting a person's need to master the everyday life, and to find their reality and their own existence meaningful. The following model is Maslow's (1987)Hierarchy of Needs. This one is relevant due to the perceived linear pyramid of needs that must be covered for people to reach a state of perceived worth. The structure of this model will be criticised, and I will suggest an alternative structure of the content within the model, to fit the context of this study more purposefully.

3.6.1 Aron Antonovsky´s Salutogenesis and Sense of Coherence

Salutogenesis was first introduced by Aaron Antonovsky (1979) while researching coping strategies and health amongst Holocaust survivors. Antonovsky developed the Salutogenic model as a critique to the dominating pathologic orientation within medicine as

> "(his) original idea was (that) it was more important to focus on people's resources and capacity to create health than the classic (pathologic) focus on risk, ill health and disease"(Lindström & Eriksson, 2005, p. 440).

Amongst the Holocaust survivors, Antonovsky (1979) found that those who had a solution orientation towards stress factors had better physical and mental health than the other Holocaust survivors. This finding led to his research and development of the Sense of Coherence (SOC) scale. The SOC scale map out to what extent people perceive the world as comprehensible, manageable and meaningful (Antonovsky, 1993b). The findings show that

individuals who have a strong orientation to the world as comprehensible, manageable and meaningful are better equipped to master stress and conflict (Antonovsky, 1993a). He further explains that "a person with a strong SOC or hardiness confronted by conflict, she or he will search for meaning and resolution, and not seek to escape the burden (Antonovsky, 1993a, p. 972). Antonovsky (1993b) argue that the SOC scale is cross culturally relevant and context independent as its was applied in 32 different countries by medical personnel, social workers and educationalists, therefore he claims it universal. The correlation between salutogenesis and the SOC scale is that a person's SOC can be improved by a salutogenic orientation towards stress and conflict rather than a pathologic orientation towards stress and conflict.

Antonovsky (1996) called for implementing SOC and a salutogenic approach in research, as he found indicators of deficient findings in health research due to pathologic orientation in the questionnaire framework. To support this, he analysed a research aiming to improve government support towards social isolation amongst elderly living alone; In the research half of the participants refused most offers of help. Antonovsky criticises the researcher´s neglect of analysing why the participants refused help and argue that the responses might have differed if the questionnaire didn't have a pathologic assumption of a *need* for help, but rather a salutogenic focus on *wanted* services which attach a notice of meaningfulness to the service (Antonovsky, 1996):

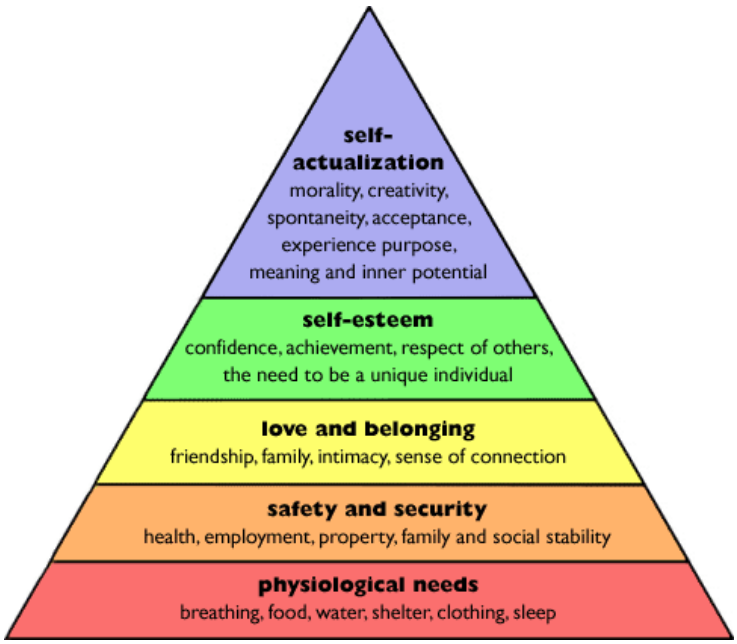
> Perhaps their need is to proudly maintain their *refusal* to acknowledge to a caseworker that they are welfare cases, needing assistance from the authorities? Or (…) to be recognised as productive and needed by the society, rather than being treated at best as furniture to be taken care off? (Antonovsky, 1996, p. 18)

Antonovsky's SOC scale is criticised by Eriksson and Lindström (2006) who found that a salutogenic approach doesn't warrant a strengthened SOC amongst everyone with a lower SOC in all circumstances. She furthermore rejects its universality and cross-cultural value and emphasises its multicultural relevance. Lastly, Eriksson and Linström (2006) point to the SOC scale's relevance to mental health as its relevance to physical health is more complicated than indicated by Antonovsky.

Both Eriksson & Lindström (2006) and Antonovsky (1993b) argue for an interdisciplinary relevance of salutogenesis underlined by educationalists, medical personnel and social workers. Thus, it is purposeful for this study. Salutogenic vs. pathologic orientation will be discussed about empowerment agents approaches as well as its implication for the reception

amongst the co-investigators. Furthermore, it will be used to analyse and discuss the co-investigator´s sense of coherence in regard of their self-determined livelihood and the suggested livelihood from external forces and agencies.

3.6.2 Maslow´s Hierarchy of Needs



Maslow's (1987) Hierarchy of Needs was first presented in 1943 with the intention to explain motivation theory. Maslow himself criticise the model's limitations due to its lack of scientific evidence and call for further research with hierarchy as a framework (Maslow & Lewis, 1987). According to Maslow's hierarchy, humans have a set of basic needs which is predominantly physiological followed by the need for safety and security. As shown in the model, the foundational basic needs are exemplified as breathing, food, water, sleep, clothes and shelter. Maslow argues that these needs can be psychologically manipulated by for instance feeling hungry when the person needs comfort and so on. He further explains that:

> A human being who is missing everything in life in an extreme fashion, it is most likely that the primary motivation would be the psychological needs rather than any others (…) if all needs are unsatisfied, and the organism is then dominated by the physiological needs, all other needs may become simply non-existent or be pushed into the background (Maslow & Lewis, 1987)

Social anthropologist Hofstede (1980) who are commonly known to analyse concepts and theories through culture dimensions such as uncertainty avoidance, feminine vs. masculine, individual vs. collective and power distance, critique the ranking of the different needs within Maslow's hierarchy as he does not understand it as culture sensitive. In the article *Motivation,*

Leadership and Organisation, Hofstede (1980) analysed motivation theory through his own culture dimensions. He found that cultures with high factor of masculinity, for instance, would place the need for esteem as a more foundational need due to the need of proving merits or countries with high score of uncertainty avoidance would position the need for security as a more foundational need as the struggle to achieve security would have a more central role. Hofstede can be criticised as well to have a dichotomous and generalising interpretation of culture (differences), but his culture-sensitivity argument is highly relevant as it 's hard to understand that the perception of basic needs is as linear and determined as suggested by Maslow. Moreover, as previously referred to, Maslow (1987) himself critiqued his own framework due to the lack of scientific evidence, which suggests an objective, rational, progress oriented and universal conception of human and their different needs biased to cultural and geographical determinates.

In an attempt to contextualise Maslow´s hierarchy of Needs through an Ubuntu framework, I have made the model relational rather than hierarchical. It is furthermore, difficult to argue that a Cartesian, individual orientation of "Self-actualization" to be the highest level of achievement. In stead I have placed the more collective orientation of love and belonging in the centre:

Figure 4, Relational Model of Needs – Fusion of Ubuntu and Maslow´s Hierarchy of Needs (Hollekim, 2017)

The different stages in the model can be linked to the empowerment perspective in this study, as it comprises Porter's (2013) emphasis on security as foundational to achieve empowerment, as well as Cornwall´s (2016) success factors which emphasise self-esteem and (financial) predictability. These are also supported by the international agenda represented by UN and

the EU Parliament. However, for this study, the possible Cartesian/Ubuntu contradiction of the model is of great importance, whereas my alternative model is the one which will be referred to in the discussion.

3.7 Theoretical summary

This chapter has presented the chosen lenses relevant to the discussion and analysis of the findings in this study. The theoretical lens of Paulo Freire (1972) and his theory of liberation is the guiding principle supported by Antonovsky´s (1979, 1993b, 1996) and Maslow´s (1987) Motivation theory, backed by the concepts of Empowerment and Colonisation of the Mind which have been presented by several scholars. Furthermore, I have presented Ontology in general and two different Ontologies; the Cartesian Ontology and the Ubuntu Ontology in an attempt to illuminate the extensive impact and possible challenges with the concepts of Empowerment and Colonisation of the Mind in Kotido, Karamoja.

In the next chapter, a presentation of this study´s methodology will follow. Due to the decolonizing efforts of this study, this chapter is extensive and details the process, choices and several challenges in addition to methods, approach and regular research ethics. The extensiveness is chosen in an attempt to be as transparent to the reader, as well as towards the co-investigators as possible.

4.0 Methodology

This chapter details the methodological foundation in this study. It has been an overarching aim to decolonize myself as a researcher and the study itself to decrease power imbalances between me as a researcher and the co-investigators. Creswell (2003) propose that a broad definition of methodology "incorporate the theoretical assumptions about choice of methods and procedure" (Cresswell, 2003, here in Kovach, 2009, p. 122). The previous indicate a critical awareness of the researcher´s lenses and biases, which is especially important while researching in cultures different from the researcher's home culture. To decrease the theoretical assumptions, this study was designed and redesigned continuously together with the co-investigators throughout an extended research period of 14 months. Several of the findings in this study derived from the process and not single handily from statements. Furthermore, the extended timeframe was a way of triangulating methods and validating data. This chapter starts with a table over the intended timeline for the research. Secondly, research design and approach will be described. Thirdly, Access and Site, Ethical considerations and

Sampling will be presented and discussed. Due to the colonising aim and the aspects affiliated with me as a Western educated woman doing research together with rural people of the global South, these chapters are to some extent extended. To be transparent to the reader and faithful to the co-investigators, I will present a detailed timeline of how the research process went on, before the chosen methods, research quality verification and limitations are presented.

4.1 Timeline[8]

Research Period	Action Plan	Location
Period 1 12th August - 2nd December 2015	● Build rapport and earn recognition with gatekeeper and possible participants. ● Sample participants ● Create research objective and questions based on participants' emphasised topics together with the participants	Kampala Kotido
Period 2 3rd December 2015 - 9th February 2016	● Analyse field observations and conversations/interaction with participants ● construct a research framework draft to present to gatekeeper and participants	Norway
Period 3 10th February – 11th May 2016	● Present research draft to gatekeeper and participants ● Develop and initiate an action research framework together with the participants	Kotido
Period 4 12th May- 10th August 2016	● Analyse field observations and conversations with participants ● Give the participants time and space to independently carry out and develop the project	Norway
Period 5 11th August- 13th October 2016	● Evaluate the success factors and challenges illuminated by the action research and the project	Kotido

4.2 Research Design

According to Maori Scholar Linda Smith (1999), research itself is a dirty word that occurred in the activities of the Western hegemonic explorers who travelled the world to "discover" new knowledge and understanding on behalf of the existing indigenous population of the "discovered" areas. These activities have left deep rooted values and notions towards "research" amongst indigenous communities, and as Apentiik and Parpart argue:

> Some perceptions about the researcher are difficult to correct, especially for Europeans working in former colonies, [and] it is important for researchers from such backgrounds to understand their own historical location and the perceptions, privileges

[8] Table 1, Initial Action Plan, created Spring 2015

> and hostilities associated with it. Westerners working in non-Western societies and former colonies should be aware of certain strong perceptions about the superiority and privileges of Western "white person's knowledge (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006, p. 39).

As I went into a rural community with people acknowledged as an indigenous population by the international society, but not by their own government (IWGIA, 2017), bearing these power relations and perceptions in mind was critical when the research approach and methods were selected. Since my approach aimed at handing the authority to the co-investigators and reduce my position to a process coordinator, I have tried to follow the principles of a postcolonial indigenous research paradigm. Bagele Chilisa (2012) propose to indigenize the research process as it "challenges researchers to invoke indigenous knowledge to inform ways in which concepts and new theoretical frameworks for research are defined, new tools of collecting data developed and the literature base broadened" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 101). She furthermore argues that an I/WE obligation rather than an I/YOU illustration is crucial to creating relevance for the community and not only to the researcher. Lastly, she discusses how the relationship between man, place and spirituality should be overt in the research framework. Chilisa supports her perspective by referring to Wilson (2008) who argue that it is not effective to try to insert indigenous knowledges in a Western research paradigm as the ontological and epistemological differences will clash (Wilson, 2008, here in Chilisa, 2012).

I, as a young, blond, Western, white, woman with high level of (western) education, with the opportunity to travel as I please, with an entirely rational and individualistic ontology will never be able to successfully research within a postcolonial indigenous research paradigm. Independent of my ethical considerations, good intentions or respect for the formerly colonised other will always have a biased subconscious as I cannot change the programming I grew up with. I can only improve my knowledge and my conscious behaviour of that programming. Therefore, I am unable to conduct indigenous research or work within a postcolonial indigenous paradigm with veracity. However, I can research *with* indigenous people rather than *on* indigenous people by reversing Wilson's research framework. Instead of fitting the indigenous epistemology and ontology into a Western paradigm and framework, the co-investigators and I have tried to create a research framework that fit the epistemology and ontology of the co-investigators by advocating for them to control the process.

4.3 Selecting a Research Approach

4.3.1 Community-based research

This study was initially intended to be a Participatory Action Research. The guiding principles have been to investigate rural women of Kotido´s perception of their own reality. To do this, an investigation of the relationships between outsiders such as NGO´s, missionaries and institutions and rural communities correlate was conducted. According to Reason and Bradbury (2001):

> …the primary purpose of action research is not to produce academic theories based on action; nor is it to produce theories about action; nor is it to produce theoretical or empirical knowledge that can be applied to action; it is to liberate the human body, mind and spirit in the search for a better, freer world (Reason & Bradbury, 2001, p. 2).

As it has been argued earlier, my research motivation was for the co-investigators to have authority over the process. The process and the limited scope of this research, therefore, did not allow such an ambitious motivation. However, Community-Based Research is a description which is more fitting to describe what the co-investigators and I conducted and achieved. According to Minkler and Wallerstein (2003):

> Community-based research equally involves all partners in the research process and recognises the unique strengths that each brings. Community-based research begins with a research topic of importance to the community with the aim of combining knowledge and action for social change (Minkler and Wallerstein 2003, p. 4, here in Lavallée, 2009, p. 24).

Circumstances during the research process which will be presented and discussed later in this dissertation did not allow a completely equal involvement of all participants in this research process. One of the reasons for this is that I am an outsider and not an equal part of the co-investigators´ community. Thus, the community-based research can be perceived as a case study where I have also triangulated the knowledge constructed in the relation between the co-investigators and me with participatory observations, informal conversations and semi-structured interviews. The spinal column of this study has been the thematic investigations with the mission to achieve a conscientizacao praxis where critical awareness and purposeful action fulfil each other. To enable this process, Freire (1972) argues that

> From the investigator's point of view, the important thing is to detect the starting point at which the people visualise the "given" and to verify whether or not during the process of investigation any transformation has occurred in their way of perceiving reality (Freire, 1972, p. 88).

Such an ontological transformation is challenging and at times tedious. It is naïve to believe that a novice researcher with limited resources can thoroughly achieve an ontological transformation in only one year. However, as the co-investigators contributed to a wide range of ideas to solve one generative theme (lack of financial access), and took responsibility for organising themselves to the best interest of succeeding their goal, there is reason to believe that a liberation process can derive from this study.

However, as Keane (2006) argued; When you do research in a rural setting, you might find yourself wondering if you are conducting research or if you are providing aid. She argues that this is because the research process is not as straight lined as some action research supporters might portray. She continues to explain, that you may have strived to accommodate a common goal for the research, you might have enabled to limit the power relations as far as possible, you might have enabled to set common goals, but as Keane (2006) concludes; how realistic are such common goals for the research, if the majority party live in conditions and circumstances where the basic needs of Maslow are not fulfilled? You are after all the one pressurising them to leave the worries of hunting for food for the benefit of some minutes of critical thinking and long-term planning because it can help them covering these basics needs in six months?

While taking my time to learn and understand the differences between the co-investigators and me, I chose to design the research by Paulo Freire and his understanding of concientizacao (1972). This concept is founded on an oppressor/oppressed contradiction and includes to awaken an awareness of people's objective and subjective reality to target political, social and economic challenges that determine the perceptions and actions of one's everyday life. The conscientizacao process enables transformative change and liberation. With this lens, I chose to stay in the field for 14 months, instead of the 2.5 months, my university college granted me in the first place.

Through this timeframe, I hoped to have a more realistic opportunity to establish a research relationship based on Freire's concept of the "dialogical man" (Freire, 1972, pp. 71-72). This concept entails that both I and the co-investigators reach a mental state where we become critically aware of our own participation in the project. This awareness demand that all parties understand and act upon their role and responsibility for keeping the aim of the study to the best of everyone's future interest. This aim would never become possible if any of us started

to dictate a process or mislead the process for self-benefit. Another argument for increasing the time frame is simply a matter of being realistic. I believe it takes time to establish trustful relations with participants. The co-investigators must be convinced that my intentions are not to drain them for my personal gain. If not, I risked to either have very few participants in the research and/or collecting data with little trustworthiness. Furthermore, I am a novice researcher, and the possibility for me to take wrong decisions or rush into conclusions are high. An extended time frame would, therefore, enable the participants to have a greater ownership of the research (Cohen, Manion, Morrison, & Bell, 2011), which is imperative when you conduct research with indigenous people as the co-investigators can dictate terms of the process and thereby decrease power issues to a greater extent. It has been important to be aware of the different challenges that might occur during the process, and a primary goal has been to decolonize the research as far as possible, by giving the co-investigators the mandate to steer the process additionally to their own projects and actions of livelihood.

4.4 Access and site

> Baseline studies and preliminary visits also help the researcher to understand how certain factors, such as roles of authority, individualism, communality, compensation, security, social, economic and political relations, space and even humour shape everyday life and help define groups and individual identities in the researched locations (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006, p. 39)

In April 2015, I did a preliminary visit to Kotido together with my colleague. During this visit, I experienced that the cultural, political and geographical phenomena established were very different environment from those I was more familiar with from other places in Uganda. Social status, cultural practices, dress codes, the spirituality of the bull and the language situation gave an impression of deep cultural values and pride. At the same time the presence of the World food program, UN, Save the Children, Red Cross, Brac, FAWE and many more created a sense of a parallel existence, where the question formulated in my mind was "what is, or how is the dialogue between the rural people in this area and the initiative takers from all of these international initiatives?"

While discussing my upcoming field work for the MIE thesis, my gatekeeper became happy when I told her I was interested in making a research collaboration with rural women of her area, and she offered to help with access to rural communities in Kotido. Hence the language situation, I was initially solely dependent on her in most research- situations, and as we both

were mainly based in Kampala, trips up to Kotido had to be planned accordingly to her schedule. The extended timeframe of the study enabled me a total of five trips to Kotido, and she conducted three additional trips to the community when I was in Norway. During my visits to the area, she enabled me access to different cultural events such as the Warrior Market, a traditional wedding, informal conversations with people working with rural communities, and people of rural communities as well.

The period between 10th of February – 11th of May 2016 I lived in the same house as 7 Karamajong women and girls in Kampala. These are neither participants nor informants in this study, as they were students in the organisation we worked for. However, stories told and experiences shared during this time enabled me access to a deeper understanding of Karamajong culture.

Additionally, I accessed an informant through a woman I stayed with in Kampala for a short period. The woman of mention was organising a conference for Women's organisations´ networking, and I was able to contact the Director who had founded an organisation working in Karamoja for 30 years. This conference was held right after my departure for Norway, so a Norwegian colleague of mine helped me to conduct the interview. This organisation is a North-Ugandan initiative where the founder has more of an insider-role than what an agent from an international organisation might have.

It was also of interest to access the perspective of people with an outsider- perspective. I intended to arrange interviews with two international organisations working for education and development in Kotido. The contact persons were willing to meet, but after I sent them information about the study and the Informed Consent form the contact persons stopped replying me. I did, however, conduct an informal conversation with four female missionaries who shared their experiences and the content of their work in Kotido.

4.4.1 Gatekeeper(s)

Negotiation of trust has been a leading vocation throughout the study, and every time I managed to earn recognition from people who held authority in the community, I was given a deeper access;

> Even relatively egalitarian communities have some individuals, families, clans and lineages, and even organisations who act as gatekeepers. These privileged individuals and groups control access to and power over certain resources, knowledge and information (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006, p. 35)

In line with the above statement, there have been three key gatekeepers in this study. The first gatekeeper was my gatekeeper who granted me access to the site and introduced me to the life in Kotido. Secondly, an elderly woman of one rural manyatta became the gatekeeper of co-investigators. Thirdly, the elderly papa of the investigators´ manyatta held the position as gatekeeper of knowledge. Cohen et al. (2011) emphasise the significant role of gatekeepers:

> As they control access and re-access. They may provide or block access; they may steer the course of a piece of research (…) shepherding the field worker in one direction or another, or exercise surveillance over the research (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 168).

These circumstances were no different for my gatekeepers, especially not the first one as I occasionally was solely dependent on her. This dependency was vulnerable and required several ethical considerations. The gatekeeper and I experienced challenges caused by our work relationship in several occasions whereas the research process was compromised. These work related disagreements could put the whole research on hold until we solved the issues. These circumstances were linked to the rapid shift in professional roles. On the other hand, I learned that a continuous access to one or several rural communities which would enable to reach beneath the surface of donor agency was impossible without her. The co-investigators trusted her, and my invitation relied on that trust.

At one point, I considered to establish a relationship with two alternative gatekeepers, since the existing relationship sometimes was turbulent, but it became evident that this would lead to a shallow communication with participants and I could not rely on those gatekeepers to have time to build the same in- depth relationship with the participants they might have given me access to as my first gatekeeper had.

4.4.2 Language is power

Another important factor while discussing access, trust and gatekeepers is language. It was my intention to access women that most likely do not speak English, a situation that demanded me to have a translator. Due to trust related issues, and achieving an in-depth relationship, it was not an option to separate the gatekeeper from the translator. The

gatekeeper had to *be* the translator. This scepticism was even brought to the surface by one of the co-investigators who requested me to learn Karamajong language instantly for us to communicate directly. He Karamajong language contains few words and relies heavily on tonation, therefore the risk of causing misunderstandings, or being disrespectful would overshadow the recognition I could have received by trying to communicate in their language. When the gatekeeper also is the translator, the possibility of biased translations increases, because it 's hard to validate to what extent she has a personal agenda in the translations. However, a translator with a weaker link to the community could also have caused a bias to my benefit, as Janet Bujra (2006) write, since a translator is equally an interpreter, and an external interpreter could have missed subtle cultural and language codex's that are crucial to understanding the participants correctly. I might have achieved a less biased translation if I had chosen to collaborate with several gatekeepers, but I would rather have a biased translation of in-depth knowledge than an unbiased translation of shallow information.

I decided that the trust between the co-investigators and the gatekeeper was more valuable and that it would be more preferable for me to unveil these biases through the different methods our long time frame could allow us to conduct. Occasionally, I validated the translations by consulting with an external party who knew both the English language and the Karamajong language. Additionally, the co-investigators´ own handling of different challenges experienced during the research process, also unveiled to what extent they felt ownership of the challenge, or if the challenge was imposed on them due to biases and false expectations created by wrongful translation and information.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

Several different ethical considerations and challenges arose during this research process. Several of them are linked to the what Cohen et al. (2011) call the cost/benefit ratio. According to them “The social scientists have to consider the likely social benefits of their endeavours against the personal costs to the individuals taking part” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 75). This consideration is also linked to an insider/outsider, objective/subjective and oppressor/oppressed dilemma. To extend this consideration in the direction of decolonizing research, the principle of reciprocity has been prioritised. In the attempt to decolonize the research as far as possible, I took measurements such as extending the fieldwork period, to allow more time to build a proper relationship with the co-investigators as well as for them to

have more authority in our project and process. Time is crucial as the community needs to prioritise their daily livelihood, and it is not beneficial for neither them nor me if the project inflicts with their wanted priorities. Furthermore, I have tried to undertake approaches that dictate the process or impose aspects as little as possible, which led us to the practical part of the research. The aim of these actions was to equalise the cost/benefits ratio as much as possible, by not imposing cultural insensitive methods and conditions that could cause them harm due to my lack of knowledge of political, cultural and social governance. During the process, it has become clear that this has been impossible due to our cultural differences. One respectful effort one or the other way, cause a new challenge, as I have been solely dependent on a third party to fulfil mine, theirs and ours wishes and intentions. Language barriers, trust, presence or absence of co-investigators, me or the gatekeeper, cultivation seasons, third party communication, etc. cause challenges that only can be clarified through patience, honesty and time. On the other hand, these challenges based on such factors also takes time and causes impatience, which can lead the co-investigators to lose their hope on their goal, as well as me dealing with issues that at one point felt more like charity work than research. These conditions and relations have however been included in the research as such challenges both stipulate my limitations as a researcher, but it also stipulates challenges that might not be considered by other developing agencies because they are limited by time.

4.5.1 Research collaborators

On four occasions, I depended on research collaborators in the field. How the collaborators were involved was determined by the context, and was intended to the best interest of the co-investigators.

The first collaborator was introduced at the end of the third research period according to the initial timeline of this study. By the end of May 2016, the community and I had agreed on a transformative action project where the community was going to produce, market and sell beadwork to the benefit of the community. The gatekeeper believed the community needed guidance in implementing the project, and the community wanted someone from outside the community to have certain responsibilities of structures the community were still uncertain of. The gatekeeper proposed a person who had previous experience from such community work, and this person was set to guide and help the community twice a week between May and August as I would be in Norway. The aim was for the community to gain experience and ownership of the structure and process they had built themselves. This person was informed

that she was not part of the research, but rather helping the community reach their goal, whereas I would come back and have a community talk with the community to evaluate the process and possible transformation.

The second collaborator was a Norwegian colleague of mine. Due to misunderstandings between the gatekeeper and me, I lost my access to the field at one point, and I had to involve a Norwegian colleague of mine. It became agreed that my colleague would take my place and record a community talk on my behalf, with the gatekeeper present. The colleague of mine had previously finished an MA in international education from Manchester University with fieldwork in Uganda, so I was confident that she could conduct the session in my absence. Furthermore, she had good connections to the gatekeeper, so I decided this was the best approach as the women had experienced challenges in my absence and needed to share for further guidance. The same colleague conducted an interview for me, as mentioned previously.

The third collaborator was a male, from the neighbouring district of Kotido I acquainted one year back. After my departure from Kampala in October 2016, a full range of incidents with my gatekeeper occurred, although outside of the research context. The consequences of these events were that I lost all access to communication with the community, and I was unsure who to contact due to safety, trust and corruption issues. Between October 2016 and June 2017, the findings of this research seemed scarce, as I did not find the legitimacy of claiming one finding or the other without the approval from the community. However, in June 2017 this male contacted me, and I ensured his trustworthiness. He visited the co-investigators for me and was able to give me a status report. This man was not involved in the research beyond reaching out to the community and tell them he was sent in my absence. The information he brought back was also coloured by the fact that the community was hungry and desperate. However, he did manage to bring the message, both ways, that my absence does not indicate dishonesty from my side, but that like reciprocity, we have future work to do.

4.5.2. Informed Consent

"The principle of informed consent arises from the subject's right to freedom and self-determination (and) is a cornerstone of ethical behaviour, as it respects the right of individuals to exert control over their lives and to take decisions for themselves" (Cohen et al., 2011). Informed consent can either be collected in writing or orally depending on how the

understanding of what the participant agrees or reject to participate in is best ensured. In an attempt to decolonize research, it is imperative that the participants fully understand what they agree to participate in, otherwise the researcher risk to create further marginalisation or perceived exploitation, even though none of it is intentional.

To ensure that literacy or writing skills would not be an obstacle to the co-investigators understanding of the study's intention, informed consent was collected orally in this study. The intention of bringing the co-investigators' voices to academia based on experiences within our collaboration was repeated each time we met. A second reason for collecting informed consent orally was the co-investigators' stories about exclusion and marginalisation through paperwork as they perceived that papers, secretaries and other "middle links" made politicians, school leaders, donors, etc. more unreachable. This perception is described by (Cohen et al., 2011) who argue that the written informed consent form makes the research "bureaucratic, antagonistic, coercive and alienating" to some people (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 81).

The question about anonymity became an issue in this study. According to Lavallée (2009) and Smith (1999), reciprocity and claiming ownership over your own knowledge and representation is important amongst indigenous people or people in the global South. It is therefore not uncommon that participants want their names mentioned in the study in which they participate. I tried to clarify if the co-investigators wanted their names published in this study or not, but I was never able to trust the translation of the gatekeeper. To ensure that no one was wrongfully endangered, I have chosen to anonymize their names. The co-investigators did, however, act collectively, so the Manyata will be named Lakiru. Lakiru means the boy-child born with rain, which is a blessing.

Written informed consent was collected from the organisation workers I interviewed. Their business language is English, so I did not have the ethical concern of language barriers.

At three occasions, I collected oral informed consent because of the context. I was invited to dinners in two organisation workers' homes. Before we started to communicate, I was not aware nor prepared that the conversations would be linked to my research, so I did not carry the forms.

4.5.3 Trust and Reciprocity

The first gatekeeper of mine, might have both steered the research in her preferred direction as well as contributed her own opinion without my knowledge, but as Apentiik and Parpart (2006) argue; "People may be hostile because of negative experience with insensitive and arrogant researchers in the past, whether academic, government or not- government officials" Apentiik and Parpart (2006, p. 35). This is in accordance with my experiences, where it at times was a tedious process to earn recognition, show my loyalty or ensure my intentions. At the end of the day, I was given the role as a white outsider with money. Without the team play of the gatekeeper to the benefit of the community, I have reason to believe that I would not get out of this given role. However, the elements of time and continuity did break down this initial perception.

Sillitoe (2010) discusses the principles of trust in development, where he argued in line with other scholars mentioned in this study, that the Indigenous Knowledges (IK) inclusion in academia is important. He does, however, point out the dysfunctionality of it, because he claims that the recognition of IK is not properly implemented. One way this is prevalent is the issue of trust. He argues that people who grow up in a system with trust in written sources, the government and third party validation of information fail to recognise the ontological effect of growing up with a different understanding of trust. He claims that verification of knowledge through experience is underestimated when including IK in development projects. For the case of this study, these differences were visible as the co-investigators previous experienced knowledge of the white man's position in their life is for him (her) to exploit, demand trust and bring money. I was nothing more than a novice researcher and a student, who infiltrated their community and asked for their knowledge. At that point, I was not given any chance to prove them otherwise through action.

Lavallée (2009) emphasise that within an indigenous research framework "the knowledge given to you by the participants is a gift (…) the principle of giving back, is essential" (Lavallée, 2009, p. 35). This study is not under any circumstance an indigenous research framework, as I am not an indigenous person, but giving back to the community has been a sole intention with this study. The gatekeeper taught me how the community would appreciate me to show my gratitude, and I gave the co-investigators gifts of cultural value. The elderly men received rock salt, and we made sure to bring the local brew *sorghum* every time we met. In one conversation I gave the co-investigators the traditional vest they usually wear together

with their Maasai skirts. Despite that, I did not find it sufficient to bring material gifts, because my aim was to contribute to transformative change. In accordance with Freire's liberation pedagogy (1972), I asked the women to join me as co-investigators of issues within their everyday life, and I asked them to collaborate with me in the intention of this study to give back to the community on long term basis, not only short term basis which a material gift represent. This is in accordance with Lavallée (2009), who illuminate that a research collaboration with indigenous people establishes a long term relationship with the participants, which extends any phase of the research.

> If contacted by the community, even many years after the completion of the research project, "the research team must be prepared to assist the community with their requests Lavallée (2009, p. 24).

Such a possible request from the community only seemed fair to me, as a possible collaboration between them and me would benefit me with my higher education degree. It only seemed natural that I make myself available for something equally important to the community. However, I do not believe in short term materialism, and opening up for the opportunity of being their white bank is beyond my self-worth. In other words, a possible future relationship would preferably include sharing network, knowledge and gateways to opportunities, even though this can be argued to be my subjective interpretation of what is beneficial in the long run.

4.5.4 My roles as a researcher

> Who we are as researchers cannot help but influence our choice of epistemological framework and theoretical lens, and it follows that this will influence the choice of methods… The partiality towards a particular method has bearing in the personal, social, and cultural construct of the researcher's experience (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006, p. 35).

Due to my previous visits to Kotido as well as several stays in Uganda, I was not a complete outsider entering the field. I had gained particular understanding about the co-investigators' context before the research, which was beneficial to understand the importance of humility, respect for the elders, etc. The negotiations of my different roles as a researcher was undeniably ethically challenging, and often inflicted by factors outside my control (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006, p. 35). I was aware that I was given predetermined roles based on their previous experiences with white people in the area, but also outsiders in general and a long history of exploitation. Secondly, my cultural background, education, gender and my previous

experiences precondition my interpretation of the context and my role in the context. To decrease my biases and any possible power imbalance, I aimed at taking the role as the student to eradicate what Freire (1972) call the teacher – student contradiction. In this concept, the teacher is the holder of knowledge and students are uncritical receivers of that knowledge. Instead of me being perceived as the holder of "the correct" knowledge, I wanted them to understand me as a student of their knowledge and establish that knowledge is equally "correct". As long as objective and subjective reality are social constructions, it is to my understanding impossible for a person to be consciously aware of all his/hers biases. However, one possible bias of mine, based on previous literature and stories about the Karamajong people, was that they are alienated in their own culture due to historical and present marginalisation both structural and social. Therefore, I had the perception of a "dialogical man" who according to (Freire, 1972)

> Believes in others even before he meets them face to face. His faith is not naïve. The Dialogical Man is critical and knows that although it is within the power of human to create and transform, in a concrete situation of alienation, individuals may be impaired in the use of that power (Freire, 1972, pp. 71-72).

This approach often caused confusion as I was expected to have more of a top-down approach. Later in the process, and as we encountered challenges, the approach as a dialogical man created ownership and motivation amongst the co-investigators, although not independent choices.

Secondly, while overcoming this first confusion, well knowing that the negotiation would still find place, my skin colour, gender, age and level of education was understood as superior, and as Smith (1999) argues; "Research" is a problematic term that has created a cynicism amongst indigenous people caused by the uncritical assumption that Western knowledge and methodologies automatically benefit them. This superiority/inferiority dichotomy has created a structure where indigenous communities expect you to spell out their benefit of our work to them, rather than with them. I experienced this with the co-investigators when their responses to any question of mine clearly were based on the notion of "answering the right thing" so that the possibility of gaining something financial from me would increase. How to decrease this superior/inferior dichotomy became frustrating up until the point where I understood that my efforts to reduce the power imbalance was built on the assumption that my intention of collaborating rather than draining them was evident. Despite the preparations I did, and the approaches I chose to approach the community with respect and on their terms, I still had not

managed to decrease the superior/inferiority dichotomy. What I failed to understand are in accordance with Freire (1972) who argue that you cannot fight for a liberation you are not aware that you can have. The question to ask is, therefore; Did I still carry the cape of the oppressor I had worked so hard to demolish or was it at this moment I understood what it truly means to work in communion with the people, be a dialogical man and thereby become a liberator?

As we carried out the community-based research, I decided to step out of the situation to give space for community ownership. At that time I was given the role as a holder of the people`s liberation. I created a framework for the organising of the project, based on one of our conversations and made space for a local coordinator. She was an insider in terms of being brought up in Kotido, but an outsider as she came from a different community and lived in town. I made myself available for any inquiry. This action kept me in a role as the white funder, but on the other hand, the community took responsibility for the success of the project, meaning that they had started the liberation from the superiority/inferiority dichotomy. Instead of undertaking the process "the way they believed I wanted it", they openly showed and discussed frustrations and injustice they experienced with solutions for improvement which I understood as a decrease of my superior position. However, the primary challenge encountered during the project was caused by the relationship between the coordinator my gatekeeper, and I chose to collaborate with the community. The co-investigators´ acceptance of collaborating with the coordinator showed trust in our decision on who to bring into their community. As we tried to straighten the difficulties caused by this situation, it was obvious that my lead was expected, giving me a superior role again. However, I dare to believe that this was linked to leadership, rather than superiority, as they sought my approval of their suggestions rather than directions for further process. Or better yet, they could have dismissed the project, as they knew that the research part of it was nearly done by this time.

4.6 Sampling

“Access (to the sample) is a key issue (…) and might be denied by people who have something to protect” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 152). It has been argued previously in this dissertation, that access to participants from rural communities is a challenge for several reasons. In qualitative studies, non-probability, purposive sampling is a standard sampling

strategy (Cohen et al., 2011). The knowledge constructed in this study relies on the coherence between the insider's (community) perception of reality and the outsider´s (NGO, missionary, government, foreigners) perception of the reality. This has led to two sampling strategies, whereas the insiders are referred to as the participants in this study, and the outsiders will later be referred to as informants. The information given by the informants triangulate the knowledge constructed together with the participants, as well as my own observations.

To access the rural community, a probability sampling was not advisable, because it would require an extended timeframe to create a trustworthy relation with new gatekeepers/translators who are available for the financial and time-consuming process of creating trust and reciprocity with the community. The sampling strategy in this study has initially depended on the gatekeeper who gave access to some participants, and the participants acted as gatekeepers to other participants. This strategy is referred to as snowball sampling (Cohen et al., 2011). The strategy is criticized because it is prone to biases. On the other hand, it is suitable for reaching the hard-to-reach participants (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 159).

The informants in this study were selected by dimensional sampling. This strategy involves identifying "various factors of interest… And to obtain at least one respondent to every combination of these factors" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 158). The extended timeframe of this study enabled contact with several different people, whereas the most relevant ones have been included as informants in this study. How the process of incorporating them occurred are described in the chapter of informed consent.

4.6.1 Co-investigators

The participants in this study are rural women from the indigenous tribe *Jie* in Kotido, North-Uganda. While arguing towards indigenizing research, Chilisa (2012) propose to term the participants as co-researchers. For this study, I am using Freire (1972) terminology; co-investigators, since the study aimed at finding a practical solution to a community problem and simultaneously create a critical awareness of that issue. Since the study aimed at giving the authority to the community, men were not rejected to participate as long as it was approved by the women, and the men agreed to follow the governing law of the women, but the men are perceived as secondary beneficiaries and not co-investiagators.

At several occasions, the boys asked to "help their mothers, by contributing their efforts". The men were also present during any community conversation. They did not participate but sat lined up behind us on a bench. They were instructed not to interfere, an instruction they respected. I was a bit sceptic to their presence as I wondered how it would affect the women`s ability to speak freely. However, they often used the men as practical examples in their storytelling, and at one point, the elderly papa was the one contributing to the women becoming sincere. I, therefore, saw no problem in letting the men attend as long as they respected the women`s governance.

The co-investigators are from one Manyata, hereafter referred to as Lakiru. At the beginning of the research period, it was considered to work with several villages to ensure reliability, but this idea was dismissed as it became obvious that the struggle for access to knowledge due to trust and power relations would create another hinder to reliability.

The sample size was determined by the snowball strategy, whereas more and more women participated during the project. These circumstances required rapid insurance that all participants were aware that they participated in a study and the intent of the study. Informed consent was therefore gathered by the start up of every session. Within Lakiru, the sampling size went from 9 women to 31 women and five men during the process.

4.6.2 Informants

As mentioned above, I met a wide range of people and agents from outside the rural communities whereas some of them have acted as informants. These will be stated individually underneath as their participation and statements are not part of any collective story I have accessed. All names are anonymized

Kelly, Acholi, Founder of a North-Ugandan initiative for empowering Karamajong women

Kelly comes from the neighbouring district Acholi. She is married into the Karamajong culture, and hold great insight in cultural traditions and values, challenges and expectations. The main vision for her organisation is to ensure land rights to women, critical awareness and experience based learning and mentoring. The organisation function with international and governmental partners, but most works on ground are done by mentors and volunteers.

Rex, from Kotido, project manager at a local branch of an INGO

Rex works with access and improvement of health, education and development within rural communities as well as in the district. He holds great respect to the cultural values and work towards more culture-relevant development-strategies and do not believe in UPE.

Shaddy, from Moroto, project coordinator at a local NGO

Shaddy works with providing clean water and boreholes to rural communities in Kotido. He is very passionate about Karamoja's many challenges and wishes to contribute to a more sustainable and independent mindset in Karamoja.

Adam, from Moroto, graduate – Agricultural and cultural sciences in Karamoja

Adam was a highly engaged male who cared about cultural relevance in project planning and development in Karamoja. He found the dichotomy between ICT-skills requirements and oral traditions of the area problematic.

4.7 The Research Process

This section details the actual research process. The process has several deviations from the initial timeline presented in the introduction of this chapter. The process was guided by the co-investigators´ wishes and the dependency relationship between me and the gatekeeper. Several of the findings in this study derived from the actions the Lakiru community and I did together, whereas a detailed timeline of how we worked together and what we encountered will be presented.

12th August- 2nd December 2015

Building rapport with gatekeeper

When I arrived Uganda in mid- August 2015, it was the first time I entered the country with the role of a researcher, but it was my fourth stay in total. During my previous visits, I had worked as a teacher in a secondary boarding school for two months, as well as visited the country twice with the mandate to prepare work for a newly founded organisation, named Ubuntu-Maata. Initially, this organisation was founded in reciprocity to a young Karamajong woman, and several other Karamajong female student's due to their participation in a study of Karamajong women in the crossfire between tradition and modernity the year before. This woman was just starting as the manager of the Ugandan division of the organisation. I was

part of the Norwegian division, but my role was to help her build and organise a Ugandan administration. The organisation worked with formal and supplementary informal education among Karamajong adolescents and young women situated in Kampala. This work collaboration granted me access to this one woman, which I knew had a deep love and respect for her home environment, Kotido, North Karamoja, and that she holds both trust and respect in Kotido. Thus her network is extended. I hoped she would become my gatekeeper, since she already seemed to know how to access a quite unavailable group of people in Kotido, Karamoja.

My previous stays allowed me a deeper understanding of the country's infrastructure, social codex's, political landscape and cultural diversity, as well as a social and professional network, compared to what I possibly could have entered the context with. I cannot claim to have fully understood the context, but I believe the existing network and experiences reduced some possible challenges concerning access to research site, participants and knowledge.

Few of the intended participants speak English, and I did not under any circumstance wish to depend on the study on Karamajong language[9] Of ethical reasons. I would entirely depend on a translator, which preferably should be the gatekeeper to avoid bringing too many people who need to earn trust and recognition into the life of people I understand as quite protective of their culture, only to fulfil my intentions. Therefore, I needed a gatekeeper I trusted had the sole intention of the community's well-being in focus to eliminate the possible wrongful translations for self-gain on the community's expense. This woman was simply an obvious choice. The nature of our relationship was mostly professional as we acquainted through Ubuntu-Maata, and the aim was for the organisation work and the research not to overlap beyond the fact that the gatekeeper and I would bear two roles. However, the small scope of the organisation created a silver line between professional relationship and personal friendship. I was convinced that she could be the catalyst to ensure a culture-sensitive study which could benefit the community and avoid the perception of drainage of their knowledge in favour of me. In return, the Norwegian division of the organisation funded her education and covered her basic living costs together with the other students in the organisation. To the possible participants, I could offer an extended timeframe to the participants' disposal and

[9] The Karamajong language contains few words and rely heavily on intonation. It furthermore does not resemble any major language in the country. Any efforts of mine communicating meaningfully in Karamajong would most likely cause more disrespect and misunderstandings than just acknowledging that I am solely dependent on a translator.

project autonomy, the rest had to be established between the participants and me when we were at that point.

Building rapport with the gatekeeper was challenging as we carried a lot of tension from our working relationship. The gatekeeper did not indicate that this was a problem for attending the research as a gatekeeper, but the loose foundation of the organisation aimed at a cross-cultural organisation and project development, thus, it also created confusion of aims, responsibilities and mandate. These uncertainties constantly led to misunderstandings between us as both of us failed to establish and agree upon our responsibilities by the mandates given from the mother organisation in Norway. Nevertheless, there was reason to believe that such challenges did not need to comprise a possible research relationship because it would be constructed by our internal agreements without external involvement. It was on the other hand inevitable to spend a vast amount of time to establish such a relationship more or less free from the tension brought by the working conditions. I concluded early that the struggle would be worth it as I was confident that her relation to, and position in, the area was my only option, at that time, to do culture-sensitive and participatory research in Kotido. An ambition that some would argue was unlikely to enable on a Master's degree level in the first place.

By October 2015, we managed to build some shared understanding of my research intention and the scope of our roles in the research. We established that I desired to listen to the rural women's voices and that I wanted to create a study based on their statements which contributed to them somehow. While discussing the scope of her role as a gatekeeper, I offered her to be referred to as a collaborator rather than a gatekeeper due to my dependency of her. Initially, she did not want this because she didn't believe her role deserved such an appreciation, but I kindly asked her to keep thinking about it. During October, she taught me how we could approach the communities, how to build relations and what expectations I would meet. We agreed on topics[10] To open up a conversation and what kind of gifts that would show my appreciation. By the beginning of November, we finally conducted the first trip to Kotido with research purposes.

[10]. The agreed topics worked as an interview guide, see appendix 2.

Building bridges, contesting barriers

We spent one week in Kotido during this research period. In November 2015, we were able to conduct one conversation with nine rural women. To access the women, the gatekeeper sent out word for them, so that they would be prepared to find us in town when they passed by. The conversation found place on the 4th day of the stay when the women passed town on their way home from a day based job. At this employment, the women crush stones for house foundations. One full truck of crushed stones pay 50000 UGX which was shared amongst the women. The demand is arbitrary, but it substitutes their community economy when agriculture employment is problematic because of dry season and lack of water.

The relation building aim of this conversation was sabotaged by a series of incidents. The agreement between the gatekeeper and me did not work as the women did not start the conversation as the gatekeeper anticipated, and she was distorted by some personal matters which denied her to reintroduce both us as people and the setting. While the gatekeeper was across the road handling her business, two town-women joined the group. I could only determine their "status" based on their clothing and English language skills, which I did not find ethically sufficient to decide whether they were welcome or not without confirmation from my gatekeeper. However, it soon enough became obvious that the two women took advantage of the circumstances where I did not have a translator, and they imposed some personal agenda. The two women consequently spoke Karamajong language to the rural women and English language to me. When I asked them if they could translate what they spoke in Karamajong, or if they could translate a greeting from me to Karamajong language, they told me to wait for the gatekeeper. However, they continued this language excluding practice as long as the gatekeeper was absent. My notion of this practice became more validated as the gatekeeper came to our conversation twice in brief moments and tried to direct the practice. When direct instructions did not redirect the two women, my gatekeeper granted me a third town woman and gave her word she could be trusted for translation. After 30 minutes of this confusion, the gatekeeper tried to change location, and she later told me that her aim was to get rid of the two mentioned women. The two women remained, but after we had changed location, the gatekeeper joined the conversation, although the third woman acted as translator and the gatekeeper took upon a guardian role.

These circumstances steered the conversation in an undesirable direction, and there is reason to believe that the two women dictated the focus of the conversation into convincing me to

pay school fees for the women´s children. Any efforts of changing the topic of the conversation led back to a description of school fees and long walking distance from home to school and other sponsor-related issues. However, one of the elderly, rural women, *Eja*[11], took agency and reprimanded the town women, which led the group of rural women to speak slightly more freely, although the context was set. The emphasis of their own concerns was not unveiled, but some relation was established as Eja approached me the following day.
Eja wanted to clarify certain things from yesterday's conversation. Amongst her concerns, she wanted to excuse the townswomen's role. I on my side apologised that I was unable to show my appreciation due to the circumstances. I knew that the rural women wanted a bucket for brewing sorghum, but we failed to coordinate after the conversation due to lack of electricity and the darkness. We came to a common understanding, and she invited me to her manyatta[12] For further collaboration, instead of meeting in town. At this point, I understood her authority within her community and decided that she most likely functioned as a gatekeeper to possible participants.

During this stay in November, I also accessed a man from town who works for a local branch of one of the transnational organisations. This was an informal conversation over food and local Ghee as I was invited into his family home, but the perspective he allowed me must be seen valuable as he provided me access to understand the structures people are struggling with. To summarise, we discussed the dichotomy between culture and education in the area. Furthermore, we discussed the failure of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in the area. He linked the failure to deprivation of financial access, and irrelevant school content[13].

I also had the chance to visit the "Warrior market"- a market they create every Wednesday where rural and towns-people can shop everything from second-hand clothes to cows. This arena was also used by the Government and NGO's for informal education through music. A group of performers wearing t-shirts of the governing political party was having a performance in Karamojong language spreading the message about clean drinking water and hygiene routines. The heat was devastating, and after 45 minutes I had to leave due to the heat.

[11] Eja means aunt in Karamajong language
[12] Small community traditionally organised by kinship. See footnote 1.
[13] Lack of financial access to school was emphasised by the participants in a next community talk.

Lastly, I attended a traditional wedding introduction about one km out of town. I was invited after a second visit to the organisation worker who invited me for food and Ghee, in which I also met the bride to be. I was treated like every other woman from town and was included in the wedding preparations where we cut the meat, peeled the g-nuts and sorted the rice. I already had a traditional outfit, but I was dressed up in additional severe amounts of Maasai beads. My gatekeeper was nowhere to be seen, and I could not help but wonder if I was undergoing a test where they tested the muzungu's[14] Boundaries and prudery. I believe I passed the test, and the wedding became an important milestone in the relationship building process.

In a wedding introduction, the man and the woman "book" each other. A marriage arrangement is often expected to be sealed with an additional church wedding, but according to the gatekeeper, the "booking" is also legally valid. The extended family is invited, and they are grouped into the respective families, guests and visitors[15]. The ceremony included a series of traditional rituals whereas the woman's family and the man's family initially bargain the dowry which traditionally should be no less than 100 cows. However, the cows are scarce after the peaceful disbarment in 2001, leading the dowry of this ceremony to 40 cows and 60 goats[16]. When the negotiation was completed the families went searching for the husband to be amongst the crowd. When the husband to be was found, several groups of women pretending to be from all over the world were introduced, whereas the husband to be's family searched for the proper wife. When she was found and selected, the ceremony was sealed with wedding wows, food and a party where we danced all night.

Several of the rural women I had talked to previously attended the wedding and even though we could not speak the same language, we communicated through actions, and they tried to teach me several of their dances. Sharing this experience together broke down certain barriers and created a common reference. The rural women were in power of the situation, and I had the opportunity to show my humble gratefulness of being invited as well as welcomed into one of their proudest cultural practices.

[14] Word originally derived from Kiswahili symbolising a white person.
[15] Visitors are people from the *Jie* tribe which is the majority population in Kotido. The visitor status represents their relation to the Turkana of Kenya.
[16] In cash, this is equivalent to $20 000 US

Even though people from the whole area of Kotido were invited to the wedding, the rural people were placed in a separate area after the ceremony. At one point, one of the women from the previous group conversation sat down with me. We communicated through body language, she placed her newborn child in my lap and requested for different gifts. At several occasions, the rural people were chased back to "their area" by different town people, including my gatekeeper. While walking home after the wedding party, I asked the gatekeeper and a male from town who I sat next to during the ceremony why the rural people was separated from the rest. The answer was that they must be put together; otherwise they would act like maniacs, and the smell would embarrass the rest of the guests. The argument about the smell was understandable since I experienced it myself when the child that was put in my lap was soaking wet and was only covered by a sheet, but the rest I did not understand. I was however asked not to discuss the issue.

3rd December 2015- 9th February 2016

During this period, I stayed in Norway and analysed the initial phase of the research. Obviously, my intended timeline was too ambitious, and I did not succeed in several of the goals. Compared to the intended action plan in the timeline, this visit enabled me to position me as a person in Kotido. I met several people both rural and from town, and I experienced several cultural meetings. I was also invited to Eja´s manyatta which possibly would determine the co-investigators. I did, however, not get the chance to actually visit the manyatta during this trip, but we agreed that I would visit the next time I came to Kotido. Therefore, the sampling and the objective was not clear after this trip, as the only situation I managed to gather the rural woman in a setting which allowed to collaborate on research matters was the situation which was distorted by the two town women. From this setting, I could not truthfully determine that participants were willing to participate in a research. The focus the town women created in the group talk centred around school fees, and it would be assumptious to rely on this topic to be the rural women´s actual concerns.

10th February- 11th May 2016

While I was in Norway, my gatekeeper had kept in touch with the women in Eja's manyatta. When I arrived Kampala, she informed me that *Eja* and the women were waiting for me. The gatekeeper and I updated each other on the project and research status and ensured that we had a common understanding on what the next visit to Kotido should include. In another

attempt of reducing my Western voice, we created an extensive questionnaire together. The aim was to cover the women's perception of different aspects that affect them positively and negatively in their everyday life. Hopefully, we would not need the questionnaire, but in case something unexpected would prevent the conversation to flow, we would have the questionnaire at hand.

Creating the research framework

We arrived Kotido March 5th, 2016 and by March 8th I was invited to Eja´s manyatta for the first time. After a 10 minutes' drive out of town, we arrived at a small thorn fenced community. The entrance in the fence was built low to avoid the cows and other big animals to enter the community. The elderly papa was seated by the entrance producing traditional headgear. After a while, the women were coming from their cultivation site. After approximately one hour, 15 women had shown up to participate. Some of them were young mothers, and some of them were elderly women. None of them knew their particular age although this was not of importance either. The women spoke and organized themselves according to authority and motherhood. We arrange a circle outside, and the gatekeeper and I were placed in the middle to ensure our ability to hear everyone. The men placed themselves in the background on a wooden bench made out of a carved tree. They ensured they would be quiet and not interfere.

By a couple of occasions, I had to encourage more women to speak up if they had anything to contribute as several of the younger women kept silent. At first, I thought their silence might have been caused by dominant voices amongst the women, but as I kept listening to the content of their stories and how the storytellers switched based on the content, I suspected that it could be determined by a certain collectivism or Ubuntu. This understanding might be supported by the collective pride and engagement amongst the women when we came to the topic of culture and pride where all the women independent of age was engaged in showing me different tokens and cultural artefacts.

At one point during the conversation, the elderly papa interfered. The conversation had up until now circulated the importance of school, where most women understood and spoke about education as the preconditioned western classroom teaching, and both my gatekeeper and I were struggling to expand the conversation. This topic was introduced by me, since this was, voluntary or not, what the women focused on when we spoke in November. However,

the elderly papa told the women to speak their mind and stop feeding me with information they assumed I was looking for. This statement was a turning point amongst the women, and the conversation became less pre-set. They allowed themselves to speak more critical, and they started asking me questions as well as putting certain demands. While analysing the transcriptions from this conversation, I understood that the elderly papa was a gatekeeper and a catalyst of knowledge, just like the elderly mama, *Eja* was a gatekeeper and a catalyst of participants. I believe this point was where a certain trust in collaboration was created. It was ensured at the beginning of the process that I had no other mandate than to bring their voices to people more important than me, but that I would promise to do so in the most respectful way, and that was my reason for asking them to determine the focus on the research. The main request from the women was if I could respect them enough to differ from the people who claim to promote women's empowerment, yet never promote any action. They furthermore requested for us to create a project that would lead to economic empowerment of their community.

After this two and a half hour long talk, I gave every co-investigator a traditional vest as a token of my appreciation. We danced traditional Karamajong dances until the gatekeeper, and I had to leave to beat the dark.

Based on the content of the community talk, my gatekeeper and I decided that the research could culminate into participatory action research where the reciprocity could be economic empowerment of the community. Since the women have extensive skills in traditional Masai beading, we created a framework for production, sales of traditional jewellery and an additional earning system.

Organisation of Community Project

External equipment	Production materials	Governance
Locker box	Beads	Chairwoman
Three padlocks	Wire	Vice chair woman
Moneybox	Mat for production	Three padlocks responsible
Book for records	Bead containers	
Community phone	Pliers	Cost/pricing system
Phone for coordinator	Thread	Saving system
Transport budget coordinator	Needles	Chain of work and distribution
	Locks	Governance of loyalty
	Chains	

Figure 5, Organisation of Community Project (Lakiru Community, Hollekim, 2016)

To encourage community ownership of the project I tried to limit my role as far as possible. One way of doing that was by pointing out a coordinator who could guide the women. The chosen coordinator had experience in community-saving projects and lived in the area, meaning that she was highly accessible. I gave the coordinator a smartphone so that she could update me with information and pictures after every meeting.

By 5th of May 2016, our framework was done and my gatekeeper and I went back to Kotido. We introduced the coordinator, and the community agreed to collaborate with her.

The women decided to meet twice a week for production to combine the project with their other responsibilities and livelihood activities. Through a community vote, they decided on the different governing persons of the project and decided on various punishments if any of their governing laws were broken. They decided that this would be a community project with community saving, but a minor amount of each item would go as direct salary to the producer of the particular item. They shared the work responsibilities amongst each other and even created a community micro loan system. The coordinator helped them with designs and cost/pricing to ensure increased earnings. One of the elderly mamas stated that she had no intention of working for others than herself, which resulted in the community kindly telling her that no one forced her to participate. She re-decided and came back. During the implementation, the number of co-investigators now had increased from 14 to 31 women and six boys asked if they could join to help their mothers.

During the implementation of the framework, my limitations as a white foreigner were obvious. Even though the framework and the materials were based on their own statements from the community talk, scepticism was present amongst the women until the coordinator compared "the box" to a sick cow. This was a cultural metaphor that moved the ownership from me to the community.

12th May- 10th August 2016

Liberation went wrong?

During this period, it was my intention for the women to establish their system and have time to create positive and negative experiences. The aim was to evaluate if it had created any change, what kind of change and their perception of the change.

The group had set themselves a goal and were producing towards the cultural festival at the beginning of July. The coordinator sent me pictures and updates twice a week, delivered messages from the group to me and vice versa. However, by the time the cultural week was supposed to take place, the coordinator informed me that none of the women had shown up to sell because everyone had prioritised to go to the garden. This message frustrated me as the women had expressed no challenge combining the project with cultivation previously. I did not understand the misunderstanding leading the women to drop out of the final act which would pay for their long and hard work. I asked the coordinator if we had failed to create community ownership despite the women expressing otherwise by words, and I asked her if she thought the women felt pressured to be grateful and only "danced by my tune". The coordinator answered, "Nora, no one is dishonest here". A response I found a bit out of place, and after this conversation, the coordinator stopped communicating with me. I had to wait until I arrived Kampala to understand what was going on.

11th August- 13th October 2016

Development; change in positive or negative direction?

I had barely arrived Kampala before my gatekeeper was on the phone with me from Kotido. She had visited our community, and the frustration level was apparently high. The coordinator had stolen the women's money box with their savings, the keys to the locker box and their community phone. The coordinator had allegedly been seen on the cultural festival using the community jewellery for her own performing act. With some investigation, all indicators

pointed towards the fact that the coordinator had gone rogue, and at a later point she admitted that she had spent the community savings. My gatekeeper feared to let the community know too many of these details as she feared for the coordinator's life. I promised that we would make our best efforts to solve the situation, and the community wished to continue their practices. The community got two out of the three keys for the locker box back, but they saw no option or authority in destroying the third padlock. Furthermore, they found it impossible to do any work until they had the money box as it seemingly worked as the main symbol of their production unity.

By mid-September, my gatekeeper and I was supposed to visit the community, but a work-related feud between us deprived me of that opportunity, and my colleague had to travel instead. Luckily our colleague is well familiar with Kotido and has undertaken educational research in Uganda earlier. She was welcomed into the community. Even though these circumstances were unfortunate, it was also an excellent opportunity to examine the sincerity and trustworthiness of the project. The community had so much to share that my colleague was more or less unable to ask any of the evaluation questions. However, the community received a new padlock and a community phone. By this time, they had managed to retrieve the money box and had come up with the following solution to the circumstances; They humbly requested to stop collaborating with the previous coordinator and had a suggestion for a "money box guardian" of their own. This person would keep the money box, but the keys for it would be locked into the locker box in the community.

The community argued for resuming the production but requested if they could organise the production and the sales strategy themselves. This request stumbled me as I thought that had been the practice all along, which illuminates the importance of on-ground management, yet the paradox of local ownership vs. interference from the white. One of the main motivations the group expressed was simply the opportunity of creating something as a group, and as they now prepared to resume the work, they would save for Christmas dinner. Except for the stolen jewellery worth approximately 600000UGX, the group had saved 333500UGX, equivalent to two months of pay as a housemaid, in only three months.

June 2017

The research period and planned field work had been over for eight months, and work-related issues with the gatekeeper created concerns regarding my safety in Kotido. These conditions

left the promise of future collaboration regardless of the research hanging, as well as lack of access to contact the co-investigators or evaluate the project. These circumstances became personal as me and my intentions risked being wrongfully judged by the gatekeeper's sudden justification of prioritising individual needs on behalf the community, the research and a wide range of other relations. By June 2017, I was approached by Shaddy who was concerned about the circumstances. We agreed, and he was able to visit the co-investigators. According to his translation, the co-investigators confirmed that the project had collapsed in both the gatekeeper and my absence and they were asking where "their leader had gone".

The validity of the statements in the conversation must be questioned as the person approaching the participants went with limited background information and the intention of conducting a status-report, not to critically assess the success of the project. It did, however, ensure the co-investigators that I intend to keep my promise, which hopefully reduces the risk of sensed exploitation.

4.8 Methods

The methods used in this study has been guided by Freire's (1972) pursuit of concientizacao and to act as a dialogical man. The emphasis on reciprocity and interrelations between researcher and participants (Lavallée, 2009), the critical awareness of the theoretical assumption in choice of methods (Kovach, 2009), and the right to self-representation and ownership over one's own knowledge (Freire, 1972; Smith, 1999) has led to the following choice of methods; Thematic Investigations, Participant Observation, Conversations and Storytelling and semi-structured world life interviews.

4.8.1 Thematic investigations

Thematic Investigations is the methodology of the concientizacao process within Freire (1972) pedagogy of the oppressed. In these investigations, Freire (1972) emphasise that the people need to be part of the investigation of generative themes in their contextual reality as subjects, or co-investigators. The purpose is to:

Investigate people's thinking about reality and people's action upon reality, which is their praxis (…) it becomes a common striving towards awareness of reality and towards self-

awareness, which makes this investigation a starting point for the educational process or for cultural action of a liberating character (Freire, 1972, pp. 87-88).

The thematic investigations have been the primary method in this study. During the thematic investigations, the co-investigators and I have challenged our thinking about reality and acted upon the challenges and opportunities within these perceptions. The action of which the educational process circulated was a beading- project we developed together where the co-investigators and I sat the generative themes out in practice. This project also functioned as an act of reciprocity, because the project in its physical form answered one of the co-investigators requests for agreeing to collaborate with me genuinely. The construction of our collaboration, thus the educational process with a dialogic relation between thematic investigations and the project, allowed us to evaluate any change in perception from one point of the process to another.

4.8.2 Dialogue; communication through conversations and storytelling

When researching with indigenous people, (Kovach, 2009) argue for conversation as a method because it is flexible enough to accommodate the principles of native oral traditions.

> An open structured conversational method shows respect for the participant's´ story and allows research participants greater control over what they wish to share concerning the research question (Kovach, 2009, p. 124).

The conversation method differs from structured and semi-structured interviews, where the authority lies more in the hands of the researcher as the interview questions are more likely created through the researcher's lens. The structure of the conversations between the co-investigators and me varied throughout the process, where it sometimes was completely open, other times it was guided by themes and sometimes it was semi-structured. However, after the co-investigators liberated themselves from the superiority/inferiority contradiction between us, the co-investigators focused on what was more important to them, regardless of the interview guide I had created[17]. The co-investigators answered the questions briefly and continued with topics they found more valuable through storytelling. The stories often portrayed experienced issues and were illuminated by feelings, relations and a collective outcome. As Linda Smith (1999) emphasise:

[17] Except the first conversation with the co-investigators, I always brought an interview guide in case a conversation would become difficult to initiate. It functioned more as a list of questions or topics I was curious about and was never used as a structural tool.

> These new stories contribute to a collective story in which every indigenous person has a place (...) The story and the storyteller both serve to connect past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story (Smith, 1999, pp. 144-145)

The content of the conversations in this study has been guided by the different material and social achievements and challenges we have experienced during the process. At times, the storytelling could contest my patience as the story could repeat itself. It could become a contradiction between grinding on the past and creating a future.

Throughout the research, I also had several informative, informal conversations. These conversations found place in two people´s home in Kotido and Moroto, and one in a local dining place in Kotido. These conversations have contributed to a historical perspective on research, education and development efforts in the area. Most knowledge constructed in these conversations are supported in the previously written literature, which makes these conversations valuable concerning validating some previously written research.

4.8.3 Participant Observation

Alongside the community talks and the thematic investigations, I conducted Participatory Observation. This kind of observation means that the researcher takes on a role in the situation or context (Cohen et al., 2011). They further argue that participant observations "take place over an extended period of time, and researchers can develop more intimate and informal relationships with those they are observing" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 298). I was never directly participating in the project the women created after the thematic investigations, but I was an active observer. The previous was an active choice, as my participation could have misguided the liberation process the project intended. Secondly, I openly informed about my research when participating in the wedding, at the warrior market, as well as communicating with different people in Kotido. To be aware and observing the context in these situations was crucial to enable focused questions to random people, as well as to understand the context the co-investigators live in. Lastly, I observed the everyday choices of the Karamajong women I lived with for three months. Since this observation did not find place in Kotido, I did not lay too much weight on these observations, but the logic in the women´s decision making and how they approached everyday life-challenges triggered my curiosity, which I occasionally brought with me to Kotido. To document my observations, I carried a field diary with me. If

the context did not allow to bring the diary, I documented the events and conversations of the day during evening hours.

4.8.4 Semi-structured life world interview

According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), the purpose of a semi-structured life world interview is to "obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 6). I conducted one semi-structured life world interview with a North-Ugandan organisation founder who has worked in North-Karamoja for 30 years. This interview helped to triangulate the knowledge constructed in the conversations with the co-investigators and the informants. This interviewee was accessible after my departure to Norway, so this interview was conducted by a Norwegian colleague of mine[18]She followed an interview guide I had written before the interview. The interview guide was detailed, and the most important questions for me was singled out. Other questions were written as guidance in case the interview stagnated. This did not become an issue as the interviewee spoke freely, and my colleague asked focused and relevant follow-up questions.

The interviewee´s educational and cultural background gave her a position in the middle of the insider-outsider contradiction in this study. However, she gave information from a development agents perspective, thus with a critical awareness of cultural differences. The information she shared was a valuable perspective to triangulate the perception from the co-investigators as well as the position of foreign agencies in Kotido.

4.9 Measuring research quality

Within quantitative and qualitative research, the data´s criterion of validity and reliability is often used to measure the quality of the research. Since the data in this study is collected together with the participants as co-investigators, I find the terms valid and reliable problematic. Due to the decolonizing aim of this study, it is more purposeful to measure the data´s quality through the criteria of *transparency* and *trustworthiness.* Although these criteriums do not necessarily ensure that the research can be replicated, transparency invites an external reader to follow the reasoning behind the choices which have led to the collected

[18] Her role is explained under the section about “Research Collaborators”.

data. Trustworthiness measure the circumstances the data was collected in as the perception of trust distorts to ensure the credibility of the data.

4.9.1Transparency

Transparency has certain commonalities with the criteria´s of validity in which "honesty, depth, richness and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached, the extent of triangulation and the disinterestedness or objectivity of the researcher" is addressed (winter, 2000 here in Cohen et al., 2011, p. 179). Kovach (2009) emphasise *reflexivity* as an indicator within qualitative research to "identify and clarify bias to create transparency that readers will appreciate" (Kovach, 2009, p. 33). Indigenous research frameworks are neither objective nor unbiased because of the interconnectedness and relational understanding of reality and existence (Chilisa, 2012; Kovach, 2009).

4.9.2 Trustworthiness

Within indigenous research frameworks, trustworthiness is linked to "evidence of the researcher´s ability to approach this work respectfully" (Kovach, 2009, p. 126), and that "whatever the paradigmatic assumptions that guide the research process the resulting study should be convincing enough that research participants can see themselves in the descriptions" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 164). Such an emphasis targets the historical exploitative nature of research and requires a relational foundation, reciprocity and for the research to give meaning to the participants, not only the researcher. This contest the objectivity claims within the criteria of validity, and can be supported by Freire (1972) who argue that:

> Some may think it inadvisable to include the people as investigators in the search for their own meaningful thematics. That their intrusive influence will "adulterate" the findings and thereby sacrifice the objectivity of the investigation. This view mistakenly presupposes that themes exist, in their original objective purity, outside people (…) and not exist in people in their relations with the world, with reference to concrete facts (Freire, 1972, p. 87).

To ensure trustworthiness, the participants, therefore, must be subjects in their own investigations, and not objects in someone else's investigation, whereas the researcher must have a self-reflexivity.

4.9.3 Analysis of Data

The data in this study has been analysed through a narrative analysis. According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2015)

> Narrative analysis focuses on the stories told during an interview and works out their structures and their plots. If no stories are told spontaneously, a coherent narrative may be constructed from many episodes spread through an interview (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, pp. 253-254).

Alternatively, I could have conducted an open coding and thematic analysis which refers to "the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorising data" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 227). This approach could have made a data reduction process more manageable, especially considering the amount of data gathered in this study due to its extended timeframe. However, as Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) states “coding reinforces a representationalist epistemology that reduces polyphonic meanings to what can be captured by a single category” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 228). A narrative analysis is, therefore, more suitable for the decolonizing aim of this study.

Instead of creating categories, the transcriptions, field notes and observations from work with the co-investigators were broken down into interconnected components as suggested by (Murray 2003, here in Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 254). The interconnected components are the abstract of the story, the orientation of the listener, the complicated action, and content of central details in the narrative. Lastly, the central details of the narrative were evaluated together with participatory observations, field notes and the narrative of the story which emerged from an inductive-deductive collaboration between the co-investigators and me.

Furthermore, it was of interest to analyse possible ontological dissonance. This was done by analysing the narrative of the complicated action within a story from the perspective of organisation workers and the perspective of a rural inhabitant.
The following subchapter details the challenges and limitations of this study.

5.0 Challenges and limitations

Challenges and limitations may occur when a qualitative research is conducted. The main challenges and limitations of this study are listed in four themes below.

5.1 Choice of gatekeeper

It is described in the timeline that the relationship between me and the gatekeeper was challenging. This affected the research in several ways. One challenge was to ensure that we were at peace before we could discuss the way forward with the research. This was often problematic because disagreements caused within our work-relationship could not be separated from our research relationship. The gatekeeper often had difficulties in separating cause from the person, and the person delivering a message was understood as the holder of a message and not as a carrier of a message. This understanding often made the disagreements personal and naturally affected any possible progress in the research. Personally, I also have a strong constructivist approach, where I prefer to create solutions and decisions in unity rather than to dictate actions for progress. This became problematic because the gatekeeper found this approach indecisive.

In the initial stage of the research, I learned how deep rooted the issue of trust, and the value of reciprocity was within communities in Kotido. This affected the access to co-investigators in two ways; If I wanted to release myself from the comprehensive relationship with the existing gatekeeper and rely on others, I would not access a real collaboration with the communities, because of the dimension of time and trust. I had access to two other gatekeepers based in Kotido, but they were already known as organisation-workers and could only provide me with shallow access. This could have validated translations of statements, but equally exclude the validation of the statements themselves. I chose to rely on my existing gatekeeper, to enable a deep-rooted relationship. I learned that the community and the gatekeeper are from the same clan, and I cannot with certainty tell how that affects the dynamics of the gatekeeper and the community.

The comprehensive role of my chosen gatekeeper and her position with the community made me very dependent of her personal schedule compared to if I had used several gatekeepers/translators. In retrospect, it could have been advisable to visit a second or third community together with the other possible gatekeepers/translators to triangulate other

communities' ways of welcoming/resist my presence, but by the time this could have been done, other challenges occurred.

5.2 The objectivity of the research.

Since this study consequently has aimed at being steered by the co-investigators, several challenges have occurred during our process. At times, I have wondered where the boundaries between aid and research fall, and I have questioned ethical issues bound to validity and trustworthiness on several occasions. However, as Freire indicate above; themes exist within people and their relation to the world, so regardless of how challenging it has been to determine the scope of this research, I am convinced that this research has been ethically valid and functional as long as the co-investigators believe so.

Furthermore, this research can be understood as narrow and limited due to the overweight of the representation of the co-investigators´ perspective. Since this study investigates the relationship between rural communities and "outside initiatives", more informants from NGO´s Missionaries and the government sector could have strengthened the study. I did attempt to collect informants from International organisations twice. However, these stopped responding me, when I described the aim of the research.

It is not possible to be confident that the co-investigators´ opinion and motivation are correctly represented due to the dependency of a translator in our community talks. Since the gatekeeper and the translator are the same person, it is difficult to determine to what extent she has inserted her own agenda or not (Apentiik & Parpart, 2006). I have tried to validate the translation through third parties who are well familiar with the Karamajong language and the English language, but there is still a possibility that biases either linked to my gatekeeper's position in the rural society or my role as a white outsider can have diverted the other translators´ objective opinion as well.

A second challenge linked to the over representation of the co-investigators´ perspective is to what extent their experiences and contributions can represent experiences in other rural communities or not. Our collaboration has been guided by what I was told was the community's wishes. Without any acquaintance to other communities, I do not have the opportunity to determine if other communities share the same challenges. Bearing the

challenges linked to create a respectful collaboration between a rural community and an outsider such as myself, it is my opinion that the question of representation would be equally challenging if several communities were involved. Involving several communities could have challenged the access to in-depth knowledge, and I also had reason to believe that expansion to several communities could have caused conflicts amongst the communities.

5.3 An unbiased insider or a biased outsider?

According to (Cohen et al., 2011) "Role negotiation, balance and trust are significant and difficult … Role conflict, strain and ambiguity are to be expected in qualitative research" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 233). In this study, the negotiation of my role has been extensive. The gatekeeper knew me both as an organisation colleague and as a novice researcher. These roles conflicted at several occasions, but it also created opportunities, and it 's hard to predict how this study had developed without these conflicts.

Additionally, the tight collaboration between the gatekeeper and me gave me access to inside information and experiences within Kotido, which other researchers might not gain access to. This affected my approach and collaboration with the community. However, this created a dynamic negotiation of my role as an insider/outsider. At times I might have interpreted situations and observations accordingly to my role as an insider, but this can also have affected the data negatively because my cultural background, experiences and former knowledge will always affect my interpretation from an outsider perspective.

A third challenge is that the written outcome of this study is primarily based on my interpretation of their opinions, while at the same time the power imbalances and "us and them" thinking question to what extent my interpretation is based on honest contributions from the co-investigators. However, these are limitations I have found difficult to avoid since the aim of the study has been to bring out their voices. Triangulation with a second community could have been a solution to these limitations, although access and limited time did not allow such a triangulation.

6.0 Presentation and discussion of the findings

This chapter present and discuss the findings of this study through the lenses of Freire´s (1972) theory of pedagogy of the oppressed, Antonovsky´s (1979, 1993a, 1993b, 1996) sense

of coherence and Salutogenesis and Maslow´s (1987) hierarchy of needs, supported by the concepts of Ontology, Colonization of the Mind and empowerment. These theories and concepts are presented in chapter 3. I also wish to remind the reader that this study also has been a meta-analysis of own practices together with the analysis of other initiatives practices. Therefore, methodological theory, presented in the methodology chapter will appear in this discussion of findings.

The findings are organised into four major themes, which will be presented below, and discussed in the following chapter. The research questions will be repeated in this section to remind the reader of the focus of this study, and for the following discussion;

4. To what extent do ontological differences between foreign agents and rural women affect the achievement of intended developmental intervention in Karamoja?
5. What is the coherence of the contextual realities between the developmental intervention and rural women in Karamoja?
6. To what extent can participatory approaches contribute to a possible positive change in the rural life of Karamoja?

The first theme which emerged from the analysis of the findings in this study is - "Tell the outsiders what they want to hear, to keep them as possible donors". This chapter presents communication between outside forces and rural communities in initial stages of creating cooperation. It discusses the role of time to unveil assumptions and expectations between both parties, and how assumptions and expectations can manifest away from a common goal rather than towards it. Perceptions from both the co-investigators and from an NGO worker are presented and discussed.

The second theme, Local Experiences - NGOs, Missionaries and the creation of donor dependency in the absence of time. This chapter presents and discusses how my co-investigators experience the presence and interaction of the existing NGOs and Missionaries in their home-environment. These experiences are analysed together with the experiences of two Ugandan NGO workers to portray the different perceptions of the mentioned intervention.

In the third theme, "The necessity of time to create trust and ownership" I explore how the dimension of time can contribute to inner motivation and ensure a sustainable empowerment

process within rural communities. Through different experiences with the co-investigators, I discuss how their active role and participation in project planning and implementation affect the project outcome. I also discuss how this approach affects the relationship between the community and the outsider as well as the relation between the project and the rural community.

The fourth theme, "Sub-oppressors and corruption, hand in hand" discuss how power abuse and oppression affect internal and external liberation initiatives. The discussion mainly focusses on ontological oppression, but in some situations, it has also been relevant to link the oppression to gender biases.

As previously argued, the extended timeframe of this study has made a complexity which made it difficult to reduce without risking fragmentation. Fragmentation may occur, regardless of any efforts of avoiding it, since the findings eventually are represented through my lenses. However, it is of interest that the reader understands the structure of this chapter as a systematic analysis of the complex and objective, towards the concrete and subjective. The intention of this structure is to portray how objective and subjective reality affect each other in an interconnectedness that follows in any reflection, action or meeting between people with different experiences, references and cultural backgrounds.

Both the co-investigators and the informants in this study have spoken holistically and through stories. Furthermore, it has been my observation that many stories, reflections and statements carry the syntaxes of the mother tongue, but represented with English words. Although the following choice can distort the meaning of the quote, I have chosen to paraphrase some of the quotes to make the content of the quote clearer.

6.1 Tell the outsiders what they want to hear, to keep them as possible donors

The Sustainable Development Goals promote Women's Empowerment with a strong emphasis on rural women because rural women are anticipated to contribute to the household and national economy. To economically empower rural women is a goal which is expected to improve health, access to education and access to the labour force for the greater community (UNWOMEN, 2016). In this particular study, the co-investigators claim that they want access to capital, which indicates that the international agenda and the co-investigators share the

same future vision. According to the national survey referred to in the introduction, the Karamajong people have less access to education, health services and political participation than the rest of the Ugandan population (UBOS, 2012). Since both the international agenda and the co-investigators allegedly share a common vision, it is my opinion that the presence of the different NGOs and development agencies in the area can be supported. The findings in this study do however show that there are certain contradictions in how this common vision can be achieved and will be presented and discussed below.

Kovach (2009) argue that a researcher, or in this case, an empowerment agent must be self-critical and reflect upon themselves and their practices in the meeting with participants. Such a self-reflection requires genuine parameters for the reflection to be fertile, but this study shows that this is not necessarily the case in the collaboration between communities and empowerment agents. In my initial conversations with the co-investigators, formal schooling was emphasised as a major concern. In the first two conversations, formal schooling and the goal of sending the children in the community to school was mentioned 83 times (Lakiru community 4th November 2015, 8th March 2016). As we continued our thematic investigations, it became apparent that this theme was only presented because the co-investigators thought this was the right thing to say, to ensure me to help them in some way. Nevertheless, access to income generating activities was a consistent theme in our investigations, but the motivation for those income generative activities was access to food and health services, not school.

While doing research in the global South, a researcher should not be surprised if the participants of a study perceive the researcher as a possible donor agent, and reply the researcher with the purpose of receiving something (Binns, 2006; Harrison, 2006). As described in the Research Process section, two women from town in Kotido entered the first conversation I had with the co-investigators of this study. In triangulation with thematic investigations and the observation of how the co-investigators guided the rest of the research process, it became apparent that the town-women aimed to direct our conversation in the direction of donorship. The conversation thus circulated the challenge of paying school fees for their children, and the co-investigators told me to prioritise their children and not them. To what extent the co-investigators agreed to these directives from the town-women or if it was an oppressive act from the town women, is difficult to tell. The emphasis on supporting school fees can be understood through the analysis of the presence of the many educational

organisations and initiatives such as FAWE, BRAC and ABEK and the emphasis on (UPE) and Education for All (EFA) which has dominated in the area for decades. In the 1940´s, the Jie[19] population buried the pen "to symbolise the disdain for education and modernity" (UNICEF, 2009, p. 20). It was perceived as an act towards the alienation caused by the colonial rule. By the 1990´s the Jie realised the advantages of formal schooling. Thus education has been in focus ever since. As it will be discussed in the next chapter, the co-investigators have several experiences with being approached by possible sponsors and scholarships agents before. Thus a mindset limited to education is understandable (UNICEF, 2009).

After seven months of relation-building and creating access, the elderly father of the Lakiru community encouraged the women to speak freely with me instead of seeking for what they assumed I wanted to hear. The following statement was ice breaking, and the co-investigators allowed themselves to share their criticism about my presence and intentions, without a second agenda of saying "the right things" to hold on to me as a possible future donor.

> If you truly have felt that you can come and ask such type of women like us, who will kindly beg you, to not enclose these messages from us to yourself. Share this out there, and challenge your mind not to just speak to those people who only talk about women´s empowerment. Bring whatever funds you get or any little thing you can. Please. We are looking for whatever to do, to help us survive. Bring that, and let us start straight away, with beads or making skirts or what? (Lakiru, March 8th, 2016)

The quote reveals a scepticism to my ability to ensure reciprocity in terms of something tangible. On the other hand, the assumption and the perception these women bring into our collaboration indicate a dynamic where empowerment is brought into the community by someone who is empowered. The women do not suggest working for themselves and their own growth. They suggest working for me. A possible collaboration like this puts the women in an even more vulnerable position as it gives me what VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) would call power over their access to social and economic liberation. They would depend on my intentions and actions to be in their best interest, and I could easily take away this "given access" when it pleases me. From an ontological standpoint, this indicates a self-image and an identity construction where I am perceived to hold greater access to social and economic freedom, whereas I also hold the right to dictate the conditions. As Freire (1972) stress; Liberation cannot be given, it must be fought for (Freire, 1972) Such an uncritical hand-over

[19] Majority tribe in Kotido

of the women´s possible access to economic liberation reminds of a colonisation of the mind[20] where the programming of the mind does not allow you to consider that you have the power to take control or to take responsibility for your own assets.

As indicated in the theory chapter, the mandate of empowerment is unclear. To what extent empowerment is a process which happens within or if it is something to be given from above bore contradictions in this study. The colonisation of the mind indicated in the previous paragraph can be analysed together with the Organisation founder Kelly´s language about her perceived mandate within empowerment:

> Our mission is to empower rural Karamajong women (...) Since we have empowered women, we have seen that there is a change (…) That time, but it is now as we re-popularize human rights and people like this know, education now is coming up (...) (there is) high rate of illiteracy amongst the women. They don't know anything. So we have been creating a lot of awareness on human rights (Kelly 15th October 2016).

The insider- knowledge Kelly has from working 30 years in the area, being a North-Ugandan and also being married to a Karamajong, should not be underestimated. However, the excessive use of terminology indicating that empowerment must be brought from the outside into the unempowered communities might have a connection to the uncritical handover of power from the co-investigators to me. Through the lens of Ngugi (1994) language is a carrier of culture, whereas Kelly´s choice of words plays an oppressive role. The selection of words shows a perspective where empowerment must be brought to the rural people, rather than empowerment being a process that happens from within. To plant such a perception in someone's mind may lead to colonisation of the mind as the rural people are met with the perspective of them being empty bottles which need to be filled with proper knowledge. To take this position in collaboration with people who has a long history of oppression and exploitation, underscore the present condition of meta-colonisation through colonisation of the mind as presented in the theory chapter in this study (Ngugi, Hussein, 2015; 1994).

This oppression is also visible in Kelly´s emphasis on the more Western Concept Human Rights, as proper education. By saying "they know nothing," she dismisses any informal knowledge the rural women have from their culture. This perspective also relates to the Banking of Education[21], where the teacher holds the knowledge and the students are expected

[20] (Ngugi, 1994)
[21] (Freire, 1972, p. 53)

to swallow the knowledge presented to them uncritically. This is a power imbalance between the "teacher" and the "student" which challenge the concept of communion. A communion must be a true solidarity between the leader and the people to enable a true dialogue which facilitates liberation; otherwise, the dialogue become oppressive (Freire, 1972). To my knowledge, this learning and working environment do not facilitate inner motivation, and a common goal cannot be expected to be reached. Furthermore, without internal motivation, it seems difficult for a person to claim ownership to the knowledge or one´s own empowerment. In such circumstances, I wish to argue that the change brought by the empowerment agent will not be sustainable after the agent withdraws from the educational arena. This will then leave the "student" less empowered than what an Empowerment agent without this self-reflection might claim. These contradicting perceptions of achieved empowerment are what I would call a deception of Empowerment.

6.2 Local Experiences - NGOs, Missionaries and the creation of donor dependency in the absence of time and relations

After the evaluation of the "Education for All" efforts, the Millenium Development Goals and the strive for *quality* education (UNICEF, 2015), The World Bank (2011) emphasised "Learning for all" as a concept to pursue. Language of instructions, alienating school content, unaffordable school fees and entrenched gender roles, alongside high youth populations and societal needs of practical skills call for a broader and more inclusive education era The aim with the "Learning for All" is to utilize the knowledge and skills the people acquire, rather than focusing on the numbers of years counted in a classroom (World Bank, 2011; UNICEF, 2015). While investigating peace-building and education programme implementation in Karamoja, Simone Datsberger (2017) claim that:

> The majority of education and peacebuilding interventions remain explicitly and implicitly framed regarding service delivery and formal, or conventional, educational infrastructures. Critics allege that if education interventions in fragile environments are to have a sustainable impact on the peacebuilding process at large, they have to operate across different sectors embracing processes of social change (Datzberger, 2017, p. 327).

The challenge of ensuring sustainable impacts, focus on service delivery and formal infrastructures, are also experienced amongst the informants and the co-investigators in this study. During my first visit to the field, I was invited to share a meal with Rex, the organisation worker for a local branch of an INGO and his family. During the meal, we spoke

about project content and their time frame within the different development interventions in Kotido:

> **Rex**: You have all the minor issues surrounding education, not only the education. Good documents don't improve that.
>
> **Nora**: The Westerners or the NGO' s working seems to take that, or "Quality" for granted.
>
> **Rex**: Yes. It is all about spending the money when they come with projects.
>
> **Nora**: And in three years.
>
> **Rex**: Haha, yes, three years. What can you do in three years? You don't get to change mindsets in three years. It is all material change (Conversation, 4th of November 2015).

Rex is problematizing a material focus on external structures such as well written policies, a sectorized project-focus and limited time frames, rather than sustainable and transformative social change. This focus may objectify the people perceived in need of the change the programme or project targeted because the focus lies in documenting projects results rather than to ensure sustainable implementation of its intention. The founder of the North-Ugandan Empowerment organisation, Kelly, criticise this mechanical approach and call for more holistic action:

> We have seen that to empower, empowering work in the community, needs many people. All people should come. You may say I am dealing with HIV/AIDS only. But there is a lot surrounding it. It all comes to livelihood. Livelihood is loaded. Education, economics, political… (Kelly, 15th October 2016)

Rex and Kelly´s perception of the educational and development intervention in Karamoja can be understood through the unclear mandate of Empowerment. As indicated in the theory chapter, there is no clear definition of Empowerment to guide the intervention, and both The UNWOMEN (2017b) and the EU Parliament (2016) neglect the social aspect of Empowerment in favour of the possible economic impact of economic empowerment in their policies. As the Gender at Work Framework (2017) for women's empowerment[22] Indicate, a holistic approach which unravels gendered, structural and cultural biases is possibly more likely to succeed because it targets social change within the individual and the collective, and

[22] See figure 3.

not only in external structures. A holistic approach towards social change do, however, require time and patience, and these aspects seem to be unaffordable luxuries within the demand for well-written policies, reporting results and documenting the use of funding.

Both Rex and the co-investigators problematize access to school and the failure of UPE in Kotido. Both of them discuss the contradiction between the limited access to paid labour and the requirements for school fees. Even though the primary education is supposed to be free of charge, mandatory additional expenses such as examination fees, compulsory boarding schools, school uniforms and school requirements prevent the parents to keep their children in school (Rex 4th November 2015, Lakiru 5th November 2015, Lakiru 8th March 2016). This contradiction has established a structure where rural children depend on donors and scholarships to access formal education. The co-investigators further argue that this donorship is corrupt and demeaning:

> About the NGO´s, there is no reality that they are really helping. Because. They come in the name of saying we are going to help and do this, but then you go to the sponsorship being given, you find, the vulnerable to be thrown there. And the people in position are deciding. Like corruption, going to people they know. They fix their school fees, yet they have parents. They are leaving the actual orphans. So no one is to speak a voice for them. But they know.
>
> Now the missionaries. On a mission and like being helping. They bring the sponsors here to see. To see the real vulnerable. And then they go back. The two boys being seated there get to go to school. But then they are dragged out of school being told that you are not a student here (…) they push the vulnerable out and replace him with one from the trade centre (…) the sponsor still gets the picture from the village, but how can he know? He is not here (Lakiru, 8th March 2016).

The co-investigators´ experiences with NGO´s, missionaries and access to school is an indication of how a top- down approach can cause more harm than empowerment within a rural community. The co-investigators do not suggest an optional way to access formal education in their stories. Every child mentioned has accessed and dropped out of school within this accepted nature of given sponsorship. Within VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) framework of Power, the rural people do not hold power to decide if they wish to send their children to school or not. Neither do they have the power within to create a solution without this dimension of sponsorship. They are however dependent of NGO´s and missionaries who hold power over their access to formal education, and the above stories indicate that the

missing empowerment within the community allows the missionaries and NGO´s to abuse that power.

This powerless state of mind is also mentioned by Shaddy who work with an organisation which provides boreholes to rural communities:

> Currently, a lot of people in Karamoja believe they can't do without NGOs. Even including some working people. Currently, you can't do research here. Everyone would want you to interview them because they think they are registering people for relief food (Shaddy, July 4th, 2017).

All of the above stories indicate long term practices of giving and receiving instead of aiming at social transformation and the self-esteem to work for yourself rather than for the one bringing in possible resources. In addition to Shaddy´s comment on the relief food, this aim is mentioned by Kelly: "Sadly, if we don't have porridge they don't come" (Kelly, October 15th, 2016), as well as UNICEF who emphasised the importance of giving food to motivate participants to join the ABEK[23] initiative (UNICEF, 2009). This indicates a miscommunication between the initiative taker and the rural people who participate. The stakeholders are aiming to fulfil a programme, whereas the rural population seem to join to receive free food. This indicates that the project holders have not succeeded in creating inner motivation for the program content amongst the participants whereas a transformation cannot happen either. The program outcome becomes to feed the population regardless of what the well-written project policies indicate.

If the above miscommunication is interpreted through the lenses of different ontological aims; A Cartesian progressiveness or a relational Ubuntu ontology, a collaboration based on this ontological power discrepancy can also reduce the aspects of security brought to the discussion by Porter (2013). Due to my priority of allowing time to earn recognition and trust between the participants and me, I could also observe patterns between a scepticism to me as an outsider and a wish for collaboration with me as an outsider. However, the invitation to "bring whatever I can for them to start working" also invites a false security and dependency on uncontrollable external factors. Since I come from a background embedded in a Cartesian ontology, it is also likely that my priorities would be founded in my cultural biases. This uncritical handover of the power to develop the framework for our collaboration, therefore become an invitation to possibly develop something that later can be perceived as unsuited for

[23] Adult Basic Education Karamoja

their everyday life, priorities and wishes. Such an ontological power discrepancy could therefore potentially contribute to an extended dependency and a false sense of security. As referred in the theory chapter of this study, Cornwall (2016) emphasise:

> Providing women with loans, business opportunities and the means to generate income may enable them to better manage their poverty, but to be transformative, to address the root causes of poverty and the deep structural basis of gender inequality, calls for more than facilitating women's access to assets or creating enabling institutions, laws and policies. Two vital levers are needed. The first is processes that produce shifts in consciousness. This includes overturning limiting normative beliefs and expectations that keep women locked into situations of subordination and dependency, challenging restrictive cultural and social norms and contesting the institutions of everyday life that sustain inequity (Cornwall, 2016, p. 345).

The women´s suggestion of me giving them something to start making beads and skirts are linked to Cornwall´s description of poverty management. However, without a focus on self-esteem and consciousness, the root-causes of their poverty will not be addressed, and the women are more likely to become less empowered rather than economic empowered through such a collaboration. If the women´s self-esteem and ability to take responsibility of their own economic generation is not addressed, it is likely to believe that 1) I would abuse this given power, or it would be perceived that I abused this given power over our collaboration, or 2) The income generating activity would collapse if I withdrew from it.

6.2.1 The consequence of unpredictable relations

According to Freire (1972), the oppressed[24] Is not necessarily critically aware of his or hers limiting beliefs and may need support from a true solidarity leader to become conscious of how to liberate themselves from such beliefs. As discussed above, the limited power within or power to contest the practices of those who are perceived to hold power over access to education contradict any intention of contributing to positive change. It rather adds to the opposite. The co-investigators spoke of a state of mind which reminds of a distorted self-image and the creation of a coping mechanism:

> You cannot die because of this, but all we do is suffer. Continue. And no issue but to get used to the situation (Lakiru, March 8th, 2016).

[24] The co-investigators of this study are termed oppressed by Freire´s definition of oppressed as they are a minority who do not hold power to control external factors that impose on their social, political and economic freedom.

This coping mechanism includes an agenda of receiving resources and give something (their work), whereas the loyalty to the development agenda dissolves when a short-term goal is reached (like receiving food). Within this contradiction, the one who brings the resources from outside become a leader for the conditionality brought together with the resources, and not a true solidary leader of liberation praxis. Empowerment is thereby reduced to the exchange of material goods rather than transformation and social change.

When I asked Shaddy how his organisation implemented their projects, he answered that they conduct needs assessments and they also wrote proposals that ensure the agreement on how the project is supposed to be carried out. The needs-assessments are carried out with the attempt to map out the explicit rural community´s needs, but in Shaddy´s experience, the rural communities change their part in the agreement after the needs-assessment and proposals are written. The question thus becomes to what extent a thematic investigation[25] together with the community could be more efficient, to ensure that the project gives coherence and meaning[26]to the rural community. Otherwise, how can you be sure that the needs- assessment ensure coherence and meaning to the community and not only to the creators of the assessment?

6.2.2 Ontological dissonance and its implications for empowerment dialogue

Kotido is a dry area in North- Uganda where the population have strong cultural beliefs, and the majority of the population lives in rural areas where the cultural practices and motivations are not embedded in a progressive, individualistic and secular orientation such as the Cartesian ontology that dominate in a more "modern" and Western orientation. In this study, there are indications that the co-investigators´ sense of coherence is embedded in knowledge constructed within a more relational and co-existent ontology such as the Southern African ontology Ubuntu. When research is undertaken between a Western person and people acknowledged as an indigenous population in Sub-Saharan Africa, it is common to emphasise epistemology, also understood as knowledge production. It could be argued that this would be relevant to this study as well since several of the findings and upcoming arguments can also be viewed through the lenses of indigenous knowledge. Nevertheless, this study tries to look at the framework behind epistemology; ontology, where one's perception of existence and reality frame how you interact with the world and construct knowledge.

[25] (Freire, 1972)
[26] (Antonovsky, 1993b)

The cow's position in the Karamajong culture reveal the difference between ontology and epistemology and support the emphasis on ontology in this study. Regarding epistemology, the cow is a currency for wealth. The more cattle a family own, the wealthier the man is perceived to be, which again gives him a higher social status. This is indicated by the women when they are asked what they are proud of:

Being married, and they ask you how many cows are paid. That means that women in this culture are treasured. And they are proud of it (Lakiru, 8th March 2016).

In an ontological viewpoint, the Ox is part of a Karamajong´s perception of existence. It has a spiritual value. According to James Tumusiime (2011): "Each Karamajong man would keep a special ox among his herd. Each man should simulate acts of bravery by invoking the aid of his special ox" (Tumusiime, 2011, pp. 152-153). This indicates a spiritual connection with the ox. Tumusiime continues to inform that a Karamajong man could kill his ox when it became old or sick, showing a relational respect and humane purpose for taking its life. This relation between the man and his ox speak of a worldview with an interconnectedness between the self, the living and nonliving by the Ubuntu ontology.

This worldview is however not shared by the organisation founder Kelly, who intends to promote empowerment in rural Karamoja. During our interview, she talked about the value of being exposed to other cultures and how the rural Karamajong people should learn to prioritise differently. While mentioning the cow, she said:

> …they don't sell even their cows when the cow is still very healthy. When the cow is dying, that's when they take it to the market. He can be having so many cows, but not doing anything with it (Kelly, 15th October 2016).

This quote assumes that a progressive and capitalistic relation to the cattle could solve the financial struggle of the rural Karamajong people. As presented above, such an assumption conflicts with the spiritual relation to the cow. While developing a system to increase the opportunity for economic liberation could be emancipating, since the cattle are a local resource, the ontological crash of how to determine the cow´s value would create conflicting motivations for how such an initiative would work in practice. Being told why it is a wise

choice to slaughter the ox for financial gain, therefore, becomes irrelevant and alienating to the Karamajong man.

Through the collaboration between me and the co-investigators, there was no question of to what extent the co-investigators had knowledge of the financial gain of producing and selling products:

> I give an example of 20000. I've sold things of 20000. And then I am going to put 10000 back in the box… Then. The group agrees it will always be there as going to buy more beads, to come and make more. Tomorrow I´m back making more. And there is food in the house; the children are eating. The more products I make, I take to market and sell. The more I sell, the more things, rations I get (Lakiru, March 8th, 2016).

This quote presents an understanding of production and trade of products which do not conflict with the co-investigators ontological values and it is possible to argue that there is an ontological clash between the empowerment agent and the community. If we look at this in the perspective of Antonovsky´s (1979) Salutogenesis, it can be argued that I acted on a different perception of the community´s knowledge of economic generating activities than Kelly. I had a salutogenic approach where I focused on what they *can* do and what they *want* to do, rather than what they cannot do and what they should do.

The co-investigators in this study have expressed their relation to outside forces, such as the government, NGO's and missionaries, and their position in the co-investigators´ life. They have expressed frustration over exclusion from the capital market, constant disappointment over broken promises such as Women's Empowerment´s initiative and access to formal schooling. They have expressed a fundamental disbelief in the agenda of the mentioned institutions, simply because they have not experienced anything but misery caused by the promise of the institutions` existence and the disappointment of their failure. The co-investigators in this study have an inherent wish for less struggle and more freedom, and they do express the highest motivation to achieve liberation and financial self-sustainability. However, the organisation founder Kelly expresses to have experienced the opposite:

> Some of them (our volunteers) are not Karamajong. Because they (Karamajongs) are lazy, first of all. They don't want to work. When you bring someone who is hardworking, they complain. Sometimes I challenge them and say "but you don't want to work". Sometimes when we don't have money to pay them for work, they start

> quarrelling, but then I refer to those who are not Karamajong who are willing to work even though the payment is not there, and they become angry.

Kelly´s experience with the Karamajong employees can be understood through Antonovsky´s (1996) theory of sense of coherence if you ask the question; does the work contribute to making the world more comprehensible, manageable and meaningful to the Karamajong employees? Kelly describes a context where the employees hold no inner motivation for the work, whereas they complain if they do not receive salary for the work they do. Every time I was supposed to meet with the co-investigators, they were either walking from a low-income occupation or being late because they were walking from their cultivation site. These actions contradict the perception of the Karamajongs as lazy. However, it is indicated earlier in this chapter that the financial situation of most rural Karamajongs is neither comprehensible nor manageable. Through the lens of Maslow (1987) and the Hierarchy of Needs, such living conditions demand to prioritise to feed and house the family. Therefore, there is a reason to question the assumption of to what extent you as an organisation founder and them as employees share the same motivation for fulfilling the job, or if you as an employer expect the vision and mission of the organisation to be rewarding enough for the employees. I will, therefore, argue that, if two parties believe they work in solidarity with the best intention for the community, yet they are incapable of perceiving each other as resources, there is an ontological dissonance conflicting the common goal; to be liberated.

Porter (2013) also argues that empowerment cannot evolve if a sense of security is not established. In this context, sense of security can be discussed through several lenses. As implied in the paragraph above, Kelly and I do not share the same perception of the Karamajong population´s work-morale. One way of perceiving a sense of security is through the lenses of Patriarchy and gender roles. In the thematic investigations with the co-investigators, it was evident that any possible project would have a subsidiary position to the women´s everyday household chores. Regardless of any occupation through our collaboration, the women would still spend time to fetch firewood, water, brew sorghum, cultivate, make food and take care of the children. In my cartesian trained mind, it would be natural if some of the men offered to contribute to some of those chores, to ease the burden on the women. Madimbo (2016) finds these gender stereotypes problematic and marginalising towards women, whereas she claims that men within a patriarchal structure dominate women´s status, privileges and rights in a society. This did, however, not become a problem in our collaboration. The men were told to contribute to the project by the co-investigators,

and the participation list confirmed that they did. Furthermore, the men did not openly oppose that the project was owned by the women and not by the men:

> The men still now have nothing to do. Whereby you find any woman telling the man this is this, you are doing nothing, my husband. Can you learn this and do this and do this. The men are always positive. So they believe it will happen. Because the cows are all gone, and this is what will make the family better. Or a father can say let me struggle for the boys while you struggle for the girls. And we share the responsibility (Lakiru, 8th March 2016).

This way of determining responsibilities and contributions to the family is following Kalabamu´s (2006) definition of Patriarchy as an ideology and a system where both men and women negotiate their responsibilities to fulfill life. It is not of interest to romanticize patriarchal structures in this study, and it must be said that the women raised several gender-biased struggles. If we bring the discussion back to work-morale and sense of security, it can also be argued that the women perceive empowerment in fulfilling their existing tasks whereby they can delegate excessive work to the men. By this organisation, both occupations are secured to be fulfilled properly and benefit the whole community. If we analyse the women's way of organising their livelihood and perceiving responsibilities through my Ubuntu inspired version of Maslow´s Hierarchy of need together with the African perception of motherhood, where the woman is the centre of creation[27] it can be argued that the women have ensured the four first steps in Maslow's hierarchy simultaneously[28]:

1. The women have delegated responsibilities which increase the community access to physiological needs by adding on a second occupation.
2. The women are both respecting and ensuring social structure by activating the men without disturbing the gendered notion of responsibilities.
3. Love and belonging pervade their structuring of both occupations by making sure that also the men have a sense of meaning in their life after the loss of their rightful occupation and opportunity to provide for the family; cattle.
4. Empowerment can occur for the men as well as secondary beneficiaries if the structure succeed. Both men and women have the opportunity to be useful for their community, where the possible economic empowerment of this supplementary project can contribute to self-esteem and thereby social transformation away from the perception of being idle.

[27] (Muwati et al., 2011)
[28] See figure 4, Relational Model of Needs.

6.3 The Necessity of Time to Create Trust and Ownership

To ensure a critical conscience of one's liberation and to ensure that the project content is relevant to achieve the aim, the participants must be involved in the project as co-investigators (Freire, 1972). This can only be done by acting in communion with the participants. The participants need to investigate their generative themes and be conscious of what their issue is, to come up with a solution they have ownership to. This ownership is also emphasised by Antonovsky (1996) who stress the importance of the solution creating coherence and meaning to the ones who are involved with the solution. Otherwise, there will be no dialogue between the leader and the participants, whereas the program will not solve the actual needs of the community, but the symptoms of the problem. To create inner motivation for a possible solution that is initiated by outside forces, Antonovsky (1996) also emphasises which perspective the investigation is conducted in. Does the process of investigating the problem to find a solution make sense, and does it create coherence to the person? Is it problem or solution oriented; does the investigation focus on what is lacking, or on what can be done? A critical awareness of these questions became evident when the project the co-investigators and I created together through the thematic investigation was ready for implementation. As shown in the Figure 3. The external structure, the governance and the material framework were agreed upon between me and the co-investigators, but when I brought it in its physical form, the co-investigators rejected it as if it was a disease. The external coordinator chosen to support the community in my absence encountered the rejection through storytelling and cultural connotations:

> "You might see the box as contaminated, but if it was a cow, you received when your daughter married. Would you see it as contaminated or as a sick cow? And what would you do with the sick cow? You make sure it becomes healthy again" (Coordinator, May 5th, 2016).

This statement underlines the importance of ontological references to break through the protective attitude amongst the participants. It must be noted that the above statement is a translation, but it is the owner of the story who translated it. As presented at the beginning of this chapter, the stories often carry the syntax of the mother tongue but are represented with English words. Seen through the lenses of Ngugi (1994), where the language is a carrier of culture, it is interesting to see that the coordinator chose to compare the project, mainly created by the co-investigators themselves to a contaminated cow. This rejection brings the

discussion back to the issue of trust and the initial statement where the co-investigators asked me to bring something tangible. Now that the project had become physical, it was also obvious that the co-investigators had to take responsibility for their wishes. On the other hand, the coordinator's metaphor helped the co-investigators to choose, and they worked steadily twice a week for two months until the coordinator went rogue and disorganised the community's relation to the project[29]. This indicates that the co-investigators did create ownership to the project, when they were given the responsibility of the project process and evaluation, instead of relying on dictations from the outside holder of the resources. To what extent the project had a reciprocal effect which differs from the donor agency was too early to establish at this point, but after encountering several challenges that could have led the project to failure, the community still showed an inner motivation to keep the project alive:

> They have never done this before. It's their first time to be in the group. They were very happy that they are making something so that at the end of the year, that must be Christmas time. Then each of them will have some little money and that they will go and buy rice for their families[30] (Lakiru, 19th of September 2016).

This statement was given four and a half months after the co-investigators implemented their project, and seen through the lenses of Maslow (1987) the four first steps of the hierarchy of needs are in play. The co-investigators are setting long term goals which indicate a sense of achievement and their long-term goal itself relates to love and belonging because they wish to share a meal with their family during the festive season. Once again, I wish to portray the hierarchy relational, because the individualistic centrism does not capture the ontological framework for the co-investigators´ success factors and current challenges. The goals the co-investigators refer to in this statement, also indicate a liberation process in motion compared to the rejection of the physical project four months earlier. This transformation relates to the created independence discussed in chapter 6.2.

6.3.1 Conquering the Dependence

The independence dimension was evident amongst the co-investigators, also before the indication of liberation and ownership in the paragraph above. However, the co-investigators contested this perceived reality towards the end of our research process. As described in the research process chapter, the project coordinator stole the community savings, their project

[29] This situation will be discussed in detail under the section of sub-oppressors.
[30] The quote is translated by the new coordinator chosen by the Lakiru community themselves. The context indicates that the statements are in past tense due to the consequences brought by the former coordinator.

phone and most ready-made products. This experience disorganised the project structure and rhythm. The community requested a solution whereas I told them to take responsibility and come up with a suggestion themselves. After a month, they came up with a possible solution which I supported. However, a verbal acknowledgement of their solution was not sufficient. Only when it was confirmed in person, for the fourth time, the community believed the responsibility for the project was theirs and not mine and acted upon their solution. This decision can be seen as an act of emancipation through Veneklasen's (KILDE) power dimensions, where the co-investigators took power to change their own situation instead of waiting for someone who is perceived to "hold power over them" to decide the way forward. This action showed a motivation to recreate the structure of the project, regardless of the obstacles created by the incident with the coordinator. This act of emancipation can be explained by Freire´s (1972) emphasis on acknowledging the participants of a project as co-investigators of possible problems which concern them. In our collaboration, I held one single mandate; to allow enough time for the co-investigators to break down their illusion of me as the decision-maker, and to be supportive and understanding of the challenges the co-investigators might have conquered by such action. As discussed in chapter 6.1, in the perception of the co-investigators, such a decision could possibly risk them to lose me as their donor.

As indicated in the previous discussion, an ontological dissonance can occur when you do not question the assumptions of to what extent the motivation or values behind a “common” goal correlate with each other. During the research process, we encountered several possible challenges which derived from ontological dissonance. One example is the common interview setting. Such a setting was not only unwanted due to the decolonizing aim of this study, but it was also not possible. The co-investigators acted collectively towards me, and that was also obvious in our community talks. Despite the translator, one woman at the time took the role as a storyteller where the rest of the group contributed with details if needed. The information they gave me was organised as a narrative story from a “we-perspective” instead of a reflective argument from an “I-perspective”. This can be understood through the I/WE emphasis Chilisa (2012) found within the Ubuntu ontology. Initially, this way of sharing information with me conflicted with my Western way of thinking of ethics and right to self-determination. It was consequentially the elderly women speaking, and I wondered to what extent their stories represented all understandings in the group or not. I was reassured that people would speak their mind if they had a different perception, but the community

continued in the same pattern. Margaret (Kovach, 2009) argue that a story represents a collective memory. When stories are present in research she warns about wrongful interpretations of the story:

> The use of story as a method without an understanding of cultural epistemology, defined broadly, can create problems with understanding the totality of Indigenous narrative. Cultural specificity of indigenous story is manifest in teaching and personal narratives and can have profound implications for the interpretation of story within research (Kovach, 2009, p. 97).

The collective story was a consequent way of speaking to me whenever the co-investigators and I had community talks, whereas I had a choice; I could either pursue my initial (Western) belief in ensuring ethics through individual voices and self-determination or I could trust that there was a reason for this choice of communication and seek to understand how this provided ethics for them. As argued in the theory chapter of this study, sharing is more important than autonomy within the Ubuntu ontology according to Nsamenang (1999, here in Keane et al., 2008). Therefore, striving to link this collective memory to specific individuals would be unethical and possibly risk the same distance as Kelly is argued to experience in her ways of collaborating with rural communities.

The perception of goals in our collaboration was also determined by ontological differences. Through the lens of Cartesian ontology, a goal should be reached as time- and financial efficient as possible. An immediate challenge should, therefore, be solved as fast as possible to ensure that the challenge does not conflict with a financial or progressive goal more than necessary. Through the relational lenses of Ubuntu, solving the challenge itself might be the goal because the actions surrounding the goal is relational and not linear (progressive). In this study, the co-investigators experienced a challenge which threatened the progressive success of our project. As previously described, the coordinator removed the co-investigators access to their own project by stealing their savings, the phone, the access to the box and the production materials. With a progressive perspective, it could have been more natural to keep working with what they had left, or to leave the project and find another way to earn money, which the co-investigators were advised to do by a person they engaged to help them face the challenge:

> I was telling them to be sincere. Maybe stop it in the whole run. But they all want to go ahead. It is only the other woman who was training them. (Lakiru chosen collaborator, 19th September 2016).

The motivation to continue the collaboration with me and our project might seem irrational in a Cartesian lens. The physical evidence in the form of materialism and capital generation was abolished, indicating that there is nothing left to work with. On the other hand, the co-investigators insisted on continuing to work with the project. This motivation can be argued to be reasonable through the lens of Ubuntu. The interconnectedness between them as humans and the project as a non-living thing still exists. The coordinator did not go through the relation-building process with the co-investigators which suggest that she does not actually exist within the project. The project still exists as long as the community, and I exist. This is also an indication of the long lasting relationships indigenous people expect according to Lavallée (2009). This finding was concluded when Shaddy was able to reach the community on my behalf, eight months after I was last available to the co-investigators in Uganda:

> Within the group, they have been asking so much that where is our leader? Where has Nora gone? (…) and they were saying there was a lady [the gatekeeper] brought called [coordinator]. And the coordinator helped them a little bit of saving money, but later on, she disappeared with all the money they had saved (Shaddy, 12th of June 2017).

Regarding relations, this statement is also important to analyse in the perspective of the community's relation to outside forces such as Missionaries and NGO´s. If I do not have the intention of creating closure or to maintain the relationship the co-investigators and I created, there is a reason to believe that I have contributed to the mistrust I fought so hard to overcome. It thus is my reflection that a missionary or an NGO worker needs to respect the relational aspect of the collaboration with the community, and not assume that the collaboration is done only because the written tasks in the project instructions are fulfilled or determined failed.

While conducting thematic investigations together with the community, coherence and meaning[31] was difficult to establish because the co-investigators kept feeding me with what they assumed was correct. Even so, a sense of ownership was developed as our collaboration continuously required them to make decisions based on their perception of their context. I intentionally took the role as the advisor by asking critical questions to their suggestions and demanding the co-investigators to look for solutions rather than focusing on what all their obstacles were. To create ownership, coherence and meaning relied heavily on the continuous negotiation of trust which at times was a tedious process. However, an obstacle was never

[31] (Antonovsky, 1993b)

handled as a project failure, or as a breach of any contract, whereas the community slowly developed a self-esteem to make independent decisions without believing they were risking to "lose their donor". This minor ontological change is in line with how Cornwall (2016) argues that one can support someone else's empowerment. However, this study indicates that if you wish to involve yourself in someone else's empowerment, it is imperative to implicitly enable a perception of security, where the participants do not suspect an inequality between the working parties. A sense of coherence, meaning and ownership must be present for the participants to have the motivation to work for themselves and not for the holder of the resources. This can be enabled by including the participants as co-investigators and by having a salutogenic (solution oriented) approach which supports the participants´ inner negotiation of trusting their ability to make independent decisions against the "superior". In this study, the superior is the NGOs and their representatives, since they are the ones who are perceived to control the resources. This perception is created and maintained by what I will discuss in the next chapter: The Sub-oppressors and corruption.

6.4 Sub-oppressors and corruption, hand in hand

In Kotido, there is a visual cultural difference between the people who live in the town centre and the rural people. The majority of the population who live in town have a level of formal education and dress in Western inspired clothing on a daily basis. This population holds greater knowledge of the English language than the national language Luganda, as a second language to their mother tongue; Karamajong. The majority of the rural population dress in their traditional costumes, and speak the Karamajong language supplemented with the language of the neighbouring districts such as Acholi. As presented in the theory chapter, Ngugi (1994) claims that the colonisers have achieved domination of the mental universe by destroying people´s education, language, culture and art amongst others. If we analyse the relations between the people in town and the rural population in Kotido, we can ask the question; to what extent is a person really liberated when the person's choice of language, dressing, occupation and reputation has more resemblance to the colonial heritage than their pre-colonial heritage? This question became necessary in the critical reflections concerning how to best support the co-investigators in fulfilling their project and will be analysed in this section.

The thematic investigations established that access to financial capital was the biggest problem in the co-investigators´ struggle for liberation. Therefore, a project development process started where the co-investigators discussed and reflected on how they could turn their financial situation around. The co-investigators had several ideas, and my role was to ask critical questions to unveil possible challenges in their different solutions. After the co-investigators had come up with a concept, I concretized their ideas of production, sales and governance in writing and made the material arrangements to make their project possible.

This was the point of departure where the ethical questions of my role in the future process arose. To stand in true solidarity following the principle of Freire (1972) with the community, I decided that the time had come for me to withdraw from the process as my cultural and professional role could distort the community ownership more than it would support it. This decision was based on the experienced dichotomy between the expectations of handing the power to me with the possible hegemony I could induce with my Cartesian bias, and the upcoming disappointment when my biases probably cause an ontological crash. The community did, however, wish for someone to guide them, and the gatekeeper suggested a Karamajong woman with experience with work similar to the project the co-investigators had invented. The gatekeeper had taken proper measurements for ensuring the coordinator´s competence, and I and my limited cultural knowledge (compared to hers) did not claim authority to overrule the Gatekeeper's suggestion as long as the co-investigators approved her. The coordinator was accepted by the co-investigators and the reports the coordinator gave me twice a week indicated that the collaboration worked well. Also, the project chief received a phone from me in case the co-investigators wished to contact me directly. The phone was intended to reduce the coordinator's ability to oppress the community like the community had experienced earlier with the missionaries and school- sponsorship situations. However, after two months of collaboration between the coordinator and the co-investigators, I learned that there was deception within our project and through the lenses of Freire (1972); the deception was caused by sub-oppression:

> But [the coordinator] had promised to come on a Sunday and show them the jewellery and bring them the keys and give them their phone and their money that they have been saving, but she never came … They don't miss her because she was getting rude to them. And violent to them, taking them like she was the boss and everything. By the time they stopped, they wanted to do it alone, which was giving them the privilege to do what they wanted, because [the coordinator] at time would reach an extent of telling them organise this. They had made necklaces and put maybe this, for example,

> your bangle. But the things that stopped the work was because of the keys … She even went as far as harassing them and tell them: [the gatekeeper], she's nothing to me, she's under my foot. And you talk of Nora Nora, that book doesn't belong to Nora, it is me who is the owner. I'm the one trying to help you (Lakiru chosen collaborator, 19th September 2017).

When the coordinator agreed to contribute to the community, her chosen words were a language of true solidarity. She argued that her motivation was to support her fellow Karamajongs. However, her actions towards the co-investigators show what Freire (1972) argue to be a lack of consciousness of herself being a part of the oppressed class. In the name of liberation, the coordinator subconsciously took the role as their boss, in a distorted image of solidarity and generosity in which that distortion oppressed the co-investigators. If we understand the liberation praxis as a process of concientizacao, where people increase their critical awareness of their social, political and economic situation, and acts upon it, the coordinator was abusing a social status which was not rightfully given to her. She self-proclaimed it on behalf of the co-investigators.

As presented in the theory chapter, the oppressed almost always become "sub-oppressors" in the initial stage of liberation (Freire, 1972). This can be explained by a distorted self-image by historical dehumanisation through the oppression of language, culture and mind (Freire, 1972; Smith, 1999; Ngugi, 1994). The individual liberation from oppression is linked to a personal humanisation process, however, as Freire (1972)argues:

> Their ideal is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be oppressors. This is their model of humanity. This phenomenon derives from the fact that the oppressed at a particular moment of their existential experience, adopt an attitude of "adhesion" to the oppressor… Their perception of themselves as oppressed is impaired by their submersion in the reality of oppression (Freire, 1972, p. 27).

When the coordinator stole the community savings, she also acted upon a self-proclaimed right to the money generated from the co-investigators´ project. The community did not initially trust themselves to keep the money within the community out of fear for people both within and from other rural communities to misuse or claim the money. The coordinator was trusted by the co-investigators to be an unbiased holder of their savings, whereas she abused that given power. This same distortion is also found in the school management in the area, according to the co-investigators:

> There, before it used to be black men, or African men like us, who were in this Mission and all this trash. [They] came because of chairmen in schools trying to ill advice in order for these ones (rural youth) to be out and they could [do] whatever they wanted. It was bad … Favouring. As for now, we believe on a European. When he says a word, he finishes it, not like how we do it as Africans (Lakiru Community, 8th March 2016).

The trust in a European as indicated in this statement is two-sided as argued earlier in this discussion. However, the statement of African men abusing their political power in favour of their own interests can also be understood as sub-oppression. As presented through Kalabamu (2006) in the theory chapter, the patriarchal structure becomes problematic when the dimension of superior/inferior is added to it. Not unlike the coordinator who perceived herself as the boss over the co-investigators, the men referred to in this quote acts out of a self-proclaimed higher political status than the co-investigators. Instead of selecting the people who initially was supposed to access school, the mentioned chairman took it upon himself to decide who deserved access to school the most. These actions are often perceived as corruption, but a more interesting question is how these actions are justified by the person who makes these choices.

This perceived corruption can also be founded in ontological differences. At several occasions, I have learned that the Karamajongs values direct contact with the stakeholder. This can be linked to cultural norms and practices, as well as the orality of their culture. The distance created by written papers, secretaries and other obstacles creates space for different perceptions of the same situation. It is possible that the rural children failed the admission exams due to limited English language skills or late school attendance. However, from the community perspective, they did as they were demanded to, and every attempt to come to understanding is perceived rejected. This miscommunication leads to distrust and resistance. Their experiences tell them that donorship is the only real access to formal school, yet the donorship is not truly accessible to them, which leads to scepticism. In this perspective, formal schooling, NGO´s and Missionaries are concepts which disempower the community by taking away their hope.

Both the school chairman and the coordinator´s sub-oppressive actions can also be discussed through the Colonisation of the Mind (Ngugi, 1994). The self-proclaimed justification to take action upon others is a subconscious bias where they perceive themselves superior to the co-investigators. This superiority can be linked to the notion of being more "enlightened and

modern" than the rural people, and the distance from the rural people are symbolised by the coloniser's language, dressing and culture. As argued in the theory chapter, "language is a carrier of culture" (Ngugi, 1994), and the sub-oppressors are unconsciously carrying the culture of the oppressor in their communication and interaction with the co-investigators. The knowledge of the colonizer's language, the choice of the colonisers dressing and status received from working in an institution built by the coloniser create a perceived superiority over the "uneducated" and "primitive" co-investigators. The assumption that you are more fully human while at the same time, you dress, speak and act as an oppressor is a colonisation of the mind where your social liberation was not dialectic to the economic or political liberation process. As Freire (1972) emphasise; liberation cannot be given, it must be fought for through a liberation praxis. This praxis must involve unity, true solidarity and generosity to form a communion between the people and its leaders. Such a communion cannot occur unless the leader has the full support of the people, whereby a self-proclaimed leader naturally become an oppressor.

Concerning empowerment efforts, sub-oppressors as the middle link between project holders and the community can be difficult to become aware of unless the initiative takers operate on the ground and have tight connections to the community. As indicated in the discussion chapter concerning empowerment, middle links can show a donor a picture of the agreed receiver of a school sponsorship, while on the ground, a different child chosen by the middle link is receiving the sponsorship. It is natural to assume that this contradicting practice reduces the belief in the legitimacy of the sponsorship structure amongst the communities, and it contributes to a resistance towards empowerment agents. Kelly´s organisation has tried to eliminate the challenge of risking middle-links to be sub- oppressors, by using people with experienced knowledge on the topic to be taught, as coordinators:

> The practical issues to empower a rural woman, that someone goes to a rural woman [you need to] be with the rural woman and start trying to create awareness to the rural woman. Because many people talk about it, but I can see there is still a big challenge … When we go to the villages, we dress like them, and we have to be like them (…) and then I had someone who was from there, an elderly woman. Who was practising FMG. But now she's an activist… So, we brought all those tough people and then even the men, the traditional leaders, [at first] they didn't want women, even [in] meetings, women would sit here, and then men sit, but now the men are there. The women are there (Kelly, 15th October 2016).

Kelly's story about how her organisation started to collaborate with the communities indicate that they reached the community by showing solidarity. Her workers try to reduce the distance between the outside forces and the targeted community. She furthermore utilises the expertise of people who have experienced knowledge of the topic they try to create awareness of. This is an indication of an approach the communities appreciate. However, at the end of the interview, Kelly admits that even her organisation´s methods have limited success and suggest cultural exchange to support critical awareness:

> We should not only concentrate on educated people because of the majority of the Karamajong people, but they are also not educated. But being there. As a human being. They need to know some skills. Life skills. So even the young girls, even the women, we need to have exchange and see how people live in some other places.

This suggestion is in line with Freire (1972) who emphasise the effectiveness of isolating people to sustain oppression. As presented in the introduction, the illiteracy rate in Karamoja is the highest in the whole country. Furthermore, their language does not resemble with any language spoken elsewhere in the country except a few bordering counties and the infrastructure leading you to Karamoja has a very low standard. These structural challenges socially isolate the Karamajong population from sharing knowledges, culture and practices with their fellow nationals. These circumstances do not only impair the Karamajong populations opportunities to be inspired and learn from other people around them, but the Karamajong people also have limited opportunities to affect other people´s perception of them. As Anette Skoglund (2016) discusses in her MA thesis, this was, for instance, problematic during the presidential elections in February in 2016, when people who believe that the Karamajong population are backwards and primitive, blamed the Karamajong population for the election results (see appendix 4). The national marginalisation of the Karamajong population is not the main focus in this study, but it is noted that the national perception of the Karamajong population is challenging to affect as long as they are living such an isolated life, not only by choice but also by structural force. This limit the resources the communities have to exchange knowledge as well as it contributes to their distrust of outsiders.

In the case of Kelly´s organisation, there was an overarching emphasis on "penetrating" the community. Kelly´s organisation has an extensive use of previous victims of HIV/AIDS, FGM and domestic violence as advocates for HIV/AIDS and FGM prevention in rural communities. This approach relates to the importance of experienced knowledge rather than

the written knowledge. However, the question recurs: if you need to "penetrate" a community, do you provide approaches and content which allows the community to be co-investigators of their own challenges? Do you ensure that the content creates coherence and meaning to the community, or to you and your stakeholders? If a communion between the outside forces and the community is not a focus in the project implementation, it 's hard to believe that the community creates ownership to the content and thus gain inner motivation for the content. Such initial differences in motivation prevent empowerment, critical awareness and self-esteem.

6.5 The sum of all = TIME

As the previous discussion has indicated, the ability to support empowerment in rural communities requires time to break down barriers and perceptions which prevent a genuine collaboration between outside forces such as NGO´s and missionaries and the rural community. These barriers and perceptions must be broken down by questioning the assumptions and thorough investigation of motivations and aims. However, this study indicates that most projects do not prioritise a relationship building process, nor time to create a common understanding of what is the challenge to encounter. Both in a conversation with my gatekeeper and with Rex, the issue of time was raised. When the gatekeeper and I discussed the initial timeframe for field work within a Norwegian MA, my gatekeeper laughed at me: "2.5 months? Hahahaha. What can you do in 2.5 months? Pick a topic?" (Gatekeeper November 3rd, 2015).

In the discussion of the first theme in this study; Telling the outsider what they want to hear, to keep them as a possible donor. It is presented that it took seven months before barriers and perceptions were broken down to a level where this research did no longer need to depend on *my* experiences and interpretations. The ice breaker after seven months opened up for a dialogue between the co-investigators and me which allowed us to start a more genuine exploration of which circumstances that prevent the co-investigators of reaching their goals. The discussion of this theme also shows that there is an underlying assumption from the empowerment agent in this study that the rural communities need help. It is also an underlying assumption amongst the co-investigators that they cannot create change for themselves but must be workers for someone else. The discussion of the second finding investigated the effects of these underlying assumptions.

In the discussion of the second theme; Local Experiences - NGO´s, Missionaries and the creation of donor dependency in the absence of time and relations, it is shown that ontological manifestations are not questioned. It thus does not matter how well intended a project aiming to support rural communities are. Many efforts fail when the ontological dissonance become intrusive. One way the ontological dissonance is evident is the Cartesian idea of progression and the Ubuntu idea of relations. When a correlation between progression and relations are not explored or prioritised, the projects become mechanical, and the rural communities create a coping mechanism where they relate to the outside initiatives but doesn't actually associate to them. This seems to create counter-effective tendencies where the rural communities become dependent on projects which drive them to a more and more powerless state. To handle this negative spiral, the organisation founder Kelly and the organisation worker Rex suggests more holistic approaches to target the root causes and to facilitate transformative change. However, this motivation seems to conflict with external project structures such as deadlines, evaluation and funding.

The third theme; The necessity of time to create trust and ownership, discuss possible solutions to change the expectations, ontological dissonance and created independence. Through the collaboration between the co-investigators and me, we have experienced how challenges both rise and can be encountered when the rural community are incorporated in all stages of the process. This collaboration repeatedly required me to change my mental programming to avoid a possible oppressive act due to my biases, and most likely I still oppressed the co-investigators unintentionally. However, our collaboration shows that patience, time, proper relation building and tolerance for different ways of solutions can make an outside force a resource to a rural community rather than an employer.

The fourth and last theme; sub- oppressors and corruption hand in hand discusses the effects of power abuse in collaboration between rural communities and outside forces. This discussion portrays an uncritical awareness of one´s own position and how the use of one´s position can oppress others. Isolation and self-proclaimed justification to act on behalf of others create a superiority/inferiority contradiction which leads to further isolation and perceived inferiority. It is discussed that a liberation process can be distorted if a person gets access to political and economic resources and power without critical awareness being part of

the process. This distortion leads people to oppress others to maintain these newly accessed resources, which brings us back to the mantra of Freire (1972) in this dissertation:

> This then is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and the oppressors as well...The oppressors who oppress, exploit and rape by the virtue of their power cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves (Freire, 1972, p. 26).

In such circumstances, time must be prioritised for the victims of such oppression to develop a praxis to oppose the oppressive actions. As both Kelly´s experiences and our experiences shows, one cannot be prepared for all positive oppressive challenges. One can however be prepared for the challenges to come and develop self-esteem and motivation to encounter them, rather than a sense of powerlessness.

7.0 Concluding reflections

The central concern of this dissertation was to investigate the functionality of the development intervention from a rural community´s perspective, in Kotido, Karamoja. People from Karamoja do have a long history of oppression and marginalisation, and in an attempt to avoid falling into these statistics, it has been an overarching emphasis to decolonize myself and this research. The participants of this study have therefore been invited as co-investigators, and we have all been subjects of our own thematic investigation. Triangulating methods which have contributed to validate the knowledge constructed together with the co-investigators, as well as expanding my own knowledge and critical awareness, has been conversations, semi-structured world life interviews and Participant observation.

The objectives and research questions which have guided this study are as follows:

- To prepare me to become a catalyst for the co-investigators in an attempt to bring their voices to a forum they do not easily access.
- To decolonize research in our collaboration
- To create a project where the co-investigators can liberate themselves from existing structures which prevent them from such.

7. To what extent do ontological differences between foreign agents and rural women affect the achievement of intended developmental intervention in Karamoja?

8. What is the coherence of the contextual realities between the developmental intervention and rural women in Karamoja?
9. To what extent can participatory approaches contribute to a possible positive change in the rural life of Karamoja?

The starting point of this study was the perception that time was not sufficiently valued in the development efforts who intend to help the Karamajong population to increase their life quality. As Anette Skoglund (2016) indicated after her research with people from Karamoja, two and a half months is not nearly sufficient if the intention is to ensure that the participants of a study experience reciprocity and respectful collaboration. The driving motivation for this study was to provide reciprocity and a respectful collaboration where the aspect of time in other emancipation or development initiatives has been equally investigated as the element of time within our study. This study has thus found that time to question ontological assumptions and to clarify differences in expectations are not prioritised. Neither is time to ensure a respectful relationship between the rural community, the project and the project initiative taker. Time to allow people to make decisions of who to involve in their own lives or what kind of struggles the community should solve first is not prioritized. The results of the existing practices create a perception that the rural communities are in such need for help that they must agree to whatever initiative handed to them. This status does not correspond the findings of this study. This study finds that participatory approaches and involving the community as people responsible for decisions in their own lives create a willingness to invite new resources into their community to create new solutions to their struggles. These resources must, however, be critically aware of the perceived superiority they bring into the collaboration. This perceived superiority must be scrutinised by a critical awareness of one´s own limitations, whether the superiority is linked to ontological dissonance, gender biases or a colonisation of the mind. If a person wishes to involve themselves in other people's lives, this person needs to act with generosity and in true solidarity with the participants. Thus, a critical awareness must be scrutinised in communion with the people intended to be part of the initiative. In this way, they people act as co-investigators and hopefully struggle to liberate themselves to become true solidarity leaders of their co-peers.

Based on this research, it would be interesting to investigate further how the request for help indicated in this study and the hand out of this help can be structured on a foundation of dialogue and communion between outside initiatives and the rural communities. The answers

to these research questions have created new questions; Who questions the assumption of the need for these organisations and missionaries working in Karamoja? Who assesses the actual impact of their practices? And to what extent are the rural communities in a position with the power to overthrow negative practices? As long as the rural communities do not perceive that the development intervention works for their benefit, I find it questionable that no one yet has made a thematic investigation together with the communities to create a foundation of what the communities believe is the best practices. Alternatively, the organisations and missions must scrutinise if they exist in Karamoja to help the population with their liberation, or if they are working there to fulfil their personal motivations.

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Appendix 1: **Informed Consent Form**

Informed Consent Form – Data collection for Master's Thesis

Title of the Study: Projecting pastoral Karimojong female's own understanding of their own reality[32]

Principal investigator: Nora T. Hollekim, master's student

Contacts for any inquiry: nora.hollekim@hotmail.com

Institute: Faculty of Education and International Studies, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Norway

Project Duration: 07.09.2015-31.12.16

Thank you for making yourself available for me today. My name is Nora T. Hollekim and I am a master's student at Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences. I wish to conduct an interview with you, concerning your organizational work experience with women empowerment and development in Kotido, Karamoja, Uganda. More specifically, how your organization work and collaborate with communities in the area of interest. The information you provide me today may be used in my dissertation. All data material is continuously anonymized and will be deleted when the thesis is finalized in May 2017.

The interview should take approximately one hour. If you allow me to, I will record the session to avoid loss of any of your statements. All your responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will only be shared with my advising professor, and we will ensure that any information we include in the dissertation does not identify you as the respondent.

I will emphasise that your participation is voluntary and that you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to. You may end the interview at any time. Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you willing to participate in this interview? Are you willing to allow the interview to be recorded?

_____ _____

Interviewee signature

[32] This was the initial title of the study presented to the informant and participants when signing the form.

Appendix 2: **Interview Guides**

Questionnaire Introduction Conversation(s)

1. Information about myself
    a. Who I am, family, what I do.
2. Introducing themselves
3. Anything you want to tell me about yourself?
4. Anything you want to ask me?
5. Can you tell me about a regular day in your life?
6. What do you appreciate in your everyday?

7. What would you like to do something about?
8. How can those things change?
9. What do you want to do about such things?

Questionnaire Community talk

AREA OF ACADEMICS:

THEME STUDY: MULTI- CULTURAL AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH.

1A). Do you think school is important?

B). Have you gone to school?

C). Why/why not?

2A). Do you want to go to school?

B). Do you want to send your children to school?

C). Why/Why not?

3A). What can school do for you? Would it change anything? What/how?

B). If the level of school you want are not available home, would you move to access it?

C). Would you stay in the city of the school when you were done, or would you like to move back home?

D). Would you prefer to stay here if it was the same access to education here? Why? What is it about this place that make you choose to stay or leave?

4A). If you could change anything in your life. What would that be?

B). How would your life be if the issues of money weren't there?

5A) What do you think about the government's efforts and presence here?

B). If you could decide, what would you like them to do here?

C). Which changes could the government facilitate for you?

6A). What about the other forces here? Like missionaries, NGOs and so on.

B). What do you think about their efforts? Do they help in any matters? Do they cause more trouble?

7A). Do you love culture

B). What do u think and love about your culture?

8A). What do you think about Education and culture compared to your experience today?

B). Do you think culture has been maintained by Education?, if yes then how has it helped?, if not what harm has it done and what can be done to help it be positive with Education today.

C). Being what you are; what do you think about cultural diversities in your area.

D). Do u have difficulties of multi-culture in uniting together since we know we need each other in all we need in terms of help?, if yes then what benefits do u gain from that?.

9A). What does it feel to be a woman in the village?

B). As women facing several difficulties according to the culture, what changes would you love to be adjusted and what are you doing to solve these issues as women in the culture?

C). What are the things you are doing to find different solutions to what u face today as women.

D). What makes you proud as a woman?. And why.

Final Community talk

- Introduce Research assistant and her purpose of being there. Kindly request them to acknowledge her through Gatekeeper's confirmation.
- Tell them I´m sorry that I couldn't come, but I want to see them next time.
- Gather oral consent
- Decide if they wish to be anonymous or not.

1. How are you?
2. Do you want to tell us or ask us about anything?
3. It's been a long time since we sat together, and that is caused by several things. I know you haven't gotten back your phone, something went wrong with the collaboration with the coordinator etc. so we have a lot to talk about. So firstly: How is your work going?
    - How do you organize yourself now without the coordinator there, setting the agenda?
4. How do you find it working on your own?
5. Is there anything that is easier now when you are on your own, than when you were working with the coordinator?
6. Is there anything she did that you actually miss and want help with now?
    - (What is the reason you want help with that?)
7. Let's leave the coordinator, and go back to your work specifically. Let's go back to the time when you came from work and met the gatekeeper and Nora in town. If you think about your everyday life now and then. Is anything different? (Why/why not, what has changed?)
8. How does this affect you? (possible changes)
9. Do you experience any new challenges due to this work? (organizing, production, collaboration, money handling, attitudes from the men or others, selling…?)
10. Does the work bring you any joy?
11. Do you think this work can add value to you? How?
12. What does this work provide for you? (is it stress- releasing or stress – creating?)
13. Is the work different from any other initiatives you have experienced before? (in terms of education and empowerment)
14. When you look at the other initiatives you have experienced, e.g. to school access, financial access etc. How do you find the conditionalities of our work compared to other initiatives?
15. If we go to the details of our work: We have talked about expanding. Like for instance using the earnings to invest in cultivation etc. have you thought of any future projects you would like to invest the savings in? (Beyond earnings and food)
16. It might take some time before we see each other again. Is there anything you would like to achieve until next time we meet? (Set a month? E.g December?)
17. are there any challenges you think should be cleared until next time? Which ones?

18. Officially, my research period is done soon. That means that we are going to keep working together as friends, not as research collaborates. However, there might be things I don't understand later, that I would be humble if you could clarify.
19. Do you want to ask us something?

Interview Guide CBO

1. Can you explain to me your organisations vision and mission in Karamoja?
2. How do you collaborate with the rural communities?
    a. How do you approach the rural communities?
    b. How do you access your intended participants?
3. What do you consider as your greatest accomplishments?
4. What are the challenges you target to eliminate?
5. How do you evaluate the success rate of your projects?
    a. Do you seek participation in project planning and evaluation? How?
    b. Do you ask for feedback from your participants?
6. Do you or how do you include the men in your advocacy?
7. How do you think your organizational work provide a difference?
8. Do you face any challenges in your project implementations?
9. How do you monitor your projects?
10. Are there any other more general challenges you face in your practices?
    a. Are their visible tendencies in the implementation process that is more successful?
    b. Tendencies that are less successful?
11. Any other concerns you wish to add?

Interview Guide Educational Institutions

1. Can you explain to me your organisation's vision and mission in Karamoja?
2. How do you collaborate with the rural communities?
    a. How do you approach the rural communities?
    b. How do you access your intended participants?
3. What do you consider as your greatest accomplishments?
4. What are the challenges you target to eliminate?

5. How do you evaluate the success rate of your projects?
    a. Do you seek participation in project planning and evaluation? How?
    b. Do you ask for feedback from your participants?
6. Do you or how do you include the men in your advocacy?
7. How do you think your organizational work provide a difference?
8. Do you face any challenges in your project implementations?
9. How do you monitor your projects?
10. Are there any other more general challenges you face in your practices?
    a. Are their visible tendencies in the implementation process that is more successful?
    b. Tendencies that are less successful?
11. Any other concerns you wish to add?

Appendix 3: **Framework for community project**

Image from the production circle in the village

Internal and External structure

External equipment	Production materials	Governance
Locker box	Beads	Chairwoman
Three padlocks	Wire	Vice chair woman

Moneybox	Mat for production	Three padlocks responsibles
Book for records	Bead containers	
Community phone	Pliers	Cost/pricing system
Phone for advisor	Thread	Saving system
Transport budget advisor	needles	Chain of work and distribution
	Locks	Governance of loyalty
	chains	

Under this statement there are three boxes. They symbolize the three different boxes we shall organize the handling of money spent and earned to generate income to the community, as agreed

Production capital	Savings 1 Community	Motivation Individual

Production capital 500000UGX
First purchase: Spent on beads, thread, masaai sheets and needles.

While making an earning we can for instance decide to buy sheets from the earnings. There is no directives for what kind of materials or items that is bought for the 500000UGX. The point is that there shall always be items and materials for <u>at least 500000UGX</u> in the first box.

The community needs to agree on the production cost for each item and a fair selling price that ensure the community earnings.
What are the community saving for in the saving box?
It can be several things we wish for. The important thing is that we all agree on what we are saving for, and what we are allowed to spend this money on. It shall benefit the whole group, not personal interests.

Example:
Production cost of headgear: 15000UGX
Selling price of headgear: 25000UGX
Earnings from the headgear: 10000UGX
Back to the box for capital: 15000UGX

How are we distributing those 10000 UGX?

How much shall be put in the box for savings 1 and how much should be given as motivation?

Who is responsible for the production and the sales?

Areas of responsibilities:

Ensure that the cash are divided as agreed between the different boxes.

Ensure that the ones agreed to sell in a particular time actually sell the products.

Ensure that the ones that should produce at certain times actually produce the items.

Carrying out weekly meetings where status of production, sales, earnings and new goals are discussed and agreed upon.

Who is responsible for the use of the savings?

Terms and conditions for the savings

What we are saving for must be agreed upon by the community, not dictated from single person's interests.

No individual is allowed to remove or spend money from the savings without the community's consent.

One agreed part of the savings must go to the production capital box to ensure increased capital for increased production.

The people agreed as responsible for the savings are responsible to gather the community to agree on what the community can afford to spend and what it shall be spent on at different times.

This people is also responsible for updating everyone on the status of the savings to motivate the rest of the group and to update everyone on how close or far away we are on reaching our goal.

The community need to agree on what the consequences are for breaching the community's agreement, misuse of materials and capital.

The community also need to agree on how the lost/misused money or material shall be retrieved.

Remember to be positive and motivate each other, not to speculate or put unfair blame on anyone

Appendix 4: **Social media screenshot 21st of February 2016**

(Screenshots by Nora T. Hollekim, 21st of February 2016, retrieved from Anette Skoglund)